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The Country Reputation of Sweden: a case study of Sweden 2013

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ABSTRACT

Purpose

The aim of this paper is to analyze the country reputation of Sweden and to analyze how Sweden is perceived differently from its neighbor countries Denmark, Norway and Finland.

Design/methodology/approach

The data comes from an online study from Reputation Institute that measured the G8, general public, view of 65 countries. The Swedish results have been analyzed against Denmark, Norway and Finland with the branding framework Points of parity (POP) and Points of difference (POD).

Findings

The country reputation of Sweden 2013 is perceived to be very strong. Sweden was ranked as number two after Canada, the highest reputable country. In comparison with all countries Sweden has its POD in the political dimension *Effective government*.

Against its neighbor countries Sweden has its PODs primarily in the reputation dimension *Advanced economy* that describes the commercial aspect of Swedish products & services and brands. The second dimension that gives Sweden a POD against its neighbors is the political dimension *Effective government*. The third dimension *Appealing environment* is seen as a POP.

Research limitations/implications

The country reputation study was carried out in a western perspective. If the study had been carried out in an Asian or in a more global perspective the results might have been different.

Originality/value

This article includes the branding framework POP and POD in a country reputation context. The same theories used for positioning brands can be used in a place branding perspective. The article also discusses two sources of country reputation: well-known international brands and reputed cities.

Keywords

Country reputation, city reputation, place brand, country reputation index, and country POPs & PODs.

INTRODUCTION

Interest in country reputation and place branding has increased during the last decade. The branding research field started in the mid 1990's with Aaker (1991), Kapferer (1992), and Keller (1993). The branding area has then moved from product branding to corporate branding. We also see the increased interest in the corporate reputation field that started with Fombrun (1996), continued with Fombrun and van Riel (2004), and van Riel (2012). Corporate reputation has since the beginning of the 1990's moved from companies, organizations and employees to places such as cities and countries. Kapferer (2012) argues that among the most spectacular extensions of the notion of a brand we find countries. Recent research from Reputation Institute (RI) has measured the reputation of places such as countries and cities. The aim of RI has been to describe country and city reputation rankings and drivers.

Like corporations, a place like a city or a nation needs a strong reputation. Some of the benefits that can come from a strong country reputation are: it will attract tourists, FDI (Foreign Direct Investments), business, and foreign knowledge workers.

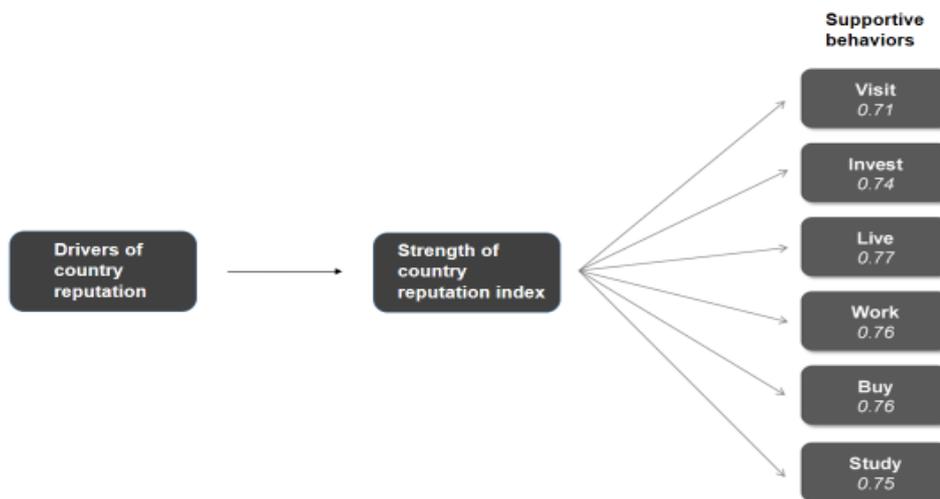
This paper is structured in three stages. The first stage describes the country reputation model used in this paper. In the second stage we analyze the Swedish country reputation results and compare it to the Danish, Finnish and Norwegian results, using the POP and POD branding framework. In the third stage the author proposes a new approach to get a more in depth understanding of the associations, emotions and brand personalities connected to different places such as cities and countries.

DESIGN/METHODOLOGY/APPROACH

In the early spring of 2013 Reputation Institute began collecting data for the Country Reputation study. An overview of the structure of the study is given in figure 1.

In a rating phase, respondents were asked to give a detailed rating of two of the countries with which they were ‘very familiar’ or ‘somewhat familiar’. In total 26 questions were measured, including four reputation questions, 16 attributes questions (table 1) and six supportive behavior questions (table 2).

Figure 1: Overview of structure of study.



Country reputation index

The rationale of the investigation was that the strength of each country’s *Reputation index* was calculated based upon on the respondents’ views of each country on the four reputation questions, the same questions as Reputation Institute use to measure the overall reputation of companies. These four questions measure the *Emotional core* of the model. The highest possible score was 100, in a scale between 0–100.

The 16 attributes questions measure the dimensions *Appealing environment*, *Effective government* and *Advanced economy*.

Table 1. Rating questions.

Emotional Core

I admire and respect this country
I think this country has a good overall reputation
I have a good feeling about this country
I trust this country

Appealing environment

It is a beautiful country
It is an enjoyable country
It offers an appealing lifestyle
The people are friendly and welcoming

Effective government

The country offers a favorable environment for doing business
It is run by an effective government
It has adopted progressive social and economic policies
It is a responsible participant in the global community
It is a safe place
It operates efficiently

Advanced economy

Produces high quality products/services
It has many well-known brands
It is an important contributor to global culture
It is technologically advanced
It has a well-educated workforce
It values education

Supportive behaviors

Six questions were used to measure supportive behaviors.

Table 2. Supportive behaviors.

I would recommend visiting the country
I would recommend living in the country
I would recommend investing in the country
I would recommend buying products/services originating from the country
I would recommend studying in the country
I would recommend working in the country

In early spring of 2013 Reputation Institute began collecting data for the Country Reputation study. Table 3 gives an overview of the sampling method.

Table 3. Data sampling

Fieldwork period: January-March 2013.
Method: CAWI (online interviews).
Total sample size: 27.817 interviews in total providing both internal and external ratings.

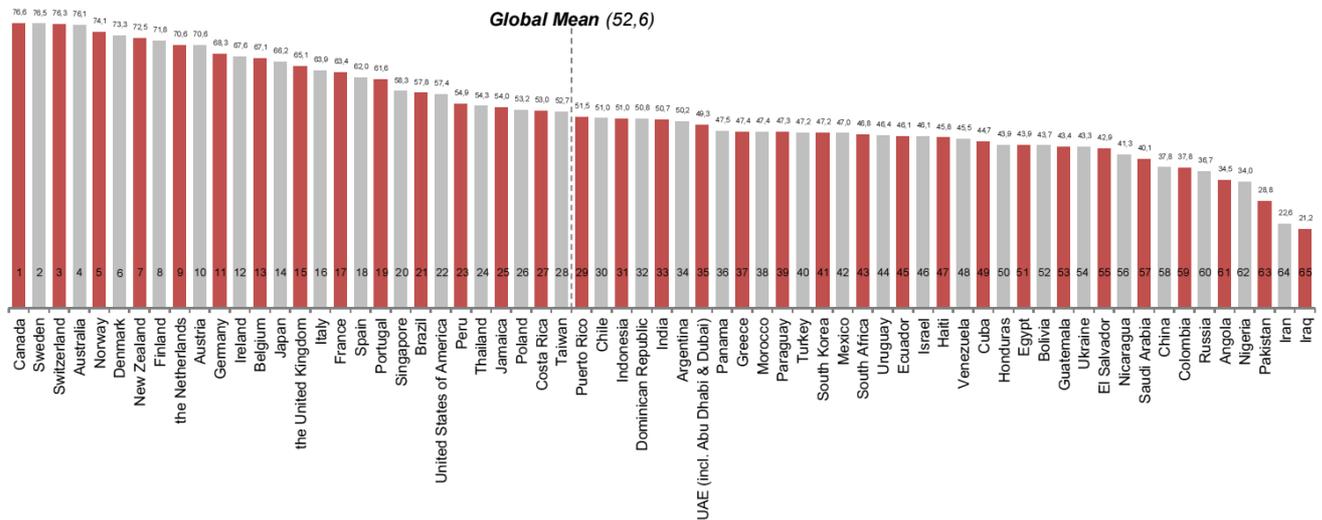
Stakeholder group: Members of the general public in the selected G8 countries, who know the countries included in the study well or very well.

Country selection: Size of the economy by GDP, size of the population and countries of interest for recent economic, political or natural events.

OVERALL COUNTRY REPUTATION RESULTS 2013

The top four countries Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and Australia all have a country reputation index over 76 (figure 2). In the 2012 country reputation study by Reputation Institute these four countries have been rated in the top four positions. Another important finding is that all the Nordic countries have top positions in the ranking of 2013. Sweden comes out as number two, Norway as number five, Denmark as number six and Finland as number eight.

Figure 2. The Country Reputation Results 2013.



Some countries' populations think more highly of their own country than others do (they have a surplus) while others are the opposite (they have a deficit).

The results of 2013 show that Russia, China and India have the largest gaps between how they see themselves in comparison with how others, from a western perspective, sees them. (The differences between different countries in this respect is an interesting and important subject for future research.) The external Russian country reputation index 2013 was 36.7 and the internal index was 69.9. The Russian gap in 2013 was 33.2. The external Chinese country reputation index 2013 was 37.8 and the internal index was 69.3. This means that the Chinese gap in 2013 was 31.5. Finally, the external Indian country reputation index 2013 was 50.7 and the internal index was 75.9. This means that the Indian gap in 2013 was 25.2.

Each of the 16 attributes has been ranked according to its importance in driving reputation. In figure 1 above the most important of these attributes are referred to as drivers of country reputation. The top 10, most important, attributes in the Country Reputation study 2013 are: ‘The people are friendly and welcoming’ (weight 8.1%), ‘Is a safe place’ (7.8%), ‘Is a responsible participant in the global community’ (7.1%), ‘Offers and appealing lifestyle’ (7.1%), ‘Is run by an effective government’ (6.8%), ‘Is an enjoyable country’ (6.7%), ‘Has adopted progressive social and economic policies’ (6.5%), ‘Operates efficiently – it does not impose unnecessary taxes or waste resources’ (6.4%), ‘Is a beautiful country’ (6.4%), and ‘Produces quality products and services’ (5.9%). However, these drivers can differ from country to country and the top 10 attributes mentioned above are drivers on a global level.

BENEFITS FROM A STRONG COUNTRY REPUTATION

The study reveals that a country with a strong reputation achieves benefits from its reputation. The country reputation study confirms that there is a strong correlation between country reputation and resulting supportive behaviors such as: ‘Live in the country’ (0.77), ‘Work in the country’ (0.76), ‘Buy products from the country’ (0.76), and ‘Study in the country’ (0.75) etc., see figure 1 above.

FINDINGS BASED ON THE SWEDISH REPUTATION RESULTS

When analyzing the Swedish reputation results we see that Sweden is perceived strong in all 16 attributes, Sweden is perceived in a top 10 position, in a comparison to all other countries, on all 16 attributes.

Sweden scores best of all countries on two attributes: ‘Has adopted progressive social and economic policies’, and ‘Is a responsible participant in the global community’.

On another nine attributes Sweden is among top 3 in comparison with all other countries: ‘Offers an appealing lifestyle’, ‘The people are friendly and welcoming’, ‘Offers a favorable environment for doing business’, ‘Is run by an effective government’, ‘Is a safe place’, ‘Operates efficiently’, ‘Is an important contributor to global culture’, ‘Has a well-educated workforce’, and ‘Values education’.

The analysis shows that the attributes that differentiates Sweden can primarily be found in the main dimension *Effective government*. In this dimension Sweden is perceived as number one in two attributes and among top 3 in the remaining four attributes.

Since all Nordic countries have high country reputation scores it is of interest to analyze how Sweden compares to Denmark, Finland and Norway on all 16 attributes. One way to compare the Swedish results with the other Nordic countries is to use the framework Points of parity and Points of difference (Keller, Ap éria, and Georgson, 2012). Points of difference (PODs) are strong, favorable and unique associations for a brand. Points of parity (POPs) on the other hand are associations that are shared with other brands.

The analysis shows that Sweden scores higher than the other Nordic countries in all attributes. Denmark and Norway score similarly, while Finland has the lowest scores in 15 of the 16 attributes.

Furthermore, Sweden has nine PODs and seven POPs, in comparison to the other three countries. In my comparison, all attributes as well as supportive behaviors are classified as PODs if the Swedish scores are two points higher than the scores of Denmark, Norway and Finland. If not, I have classified them as POPs.

No Swedish PODs can be found in the *Appealing environment* dimension when we compare all attributes to Denmark and Norway. In a comparison to Finland, all attributes can be seen as Swedish PODs.

In the political dimension *Effective Government* we find the following three Swedish PODs: ‘Operates efficiently – it does not impose unnecessary taxes or waste resources’, ‘Is a responsible participant in the global community’, ‘and Has adopted progressive social and economic policies’.

In the commercial dimension *Advanced economy* all six attributes are Swedish PODs: ‘Produces high quality products/services’, ‘Has many well-known brands’, ‘Is an important contributor to global culture’, ‘Is technologically advanced’, ‘Has a well-educated workforce’, and ‘Values education’.

The aim of country reputation is to achieve benefits from its reputation. In comparison with the other Nordic countries Sweden outscores them with PODs in five of the six supportive behaviors measured in the study, see figure 1. The only POP was found in ‘Visit the country’, where Sweden has the highest score 78.7 while the Norwegian score was 77.9, the Danish 77.1 and the Finnish 74.6.

In the whole comparison with Denmark, Norway and Finland, the attribute that stands out as the strongest Swedish POD is ‘Has many well-known brands’. The Swedish index regarding this attribute is 71.3, the Danish 66.6, the Finnish 65 and the Norwegian 64.6. In order to get a

deeper understanding of why this attribute is so differentiating for Sweden, I have analyzed the RepTrak results in the Nordic region between the years of 2012–2013.

RepTrak is an annual survey by Reputation Institute that measures the corporate reputation of the largest and most visible companies in different countries. The author has been the Swedish representative for Reputation Institute during the period 2003–2013. This means that he also has been responsible for the local Swedish RepTrak studies. When we compare all the companies that have been measured in all four countries, we see a clear pattern that Sweden has many more well-known international brands than all other Nordic countries. In Sweden we have a long list of successful well-known companies with strong global brands. Some good examples of well-known companies are IKEA, H&M, Ericsson, Volvo cars and trucks, Scania trucks, TetraPak, and Electrolux. We also see some modern Swedish Internet companies such as Skype and Spotify. Some of these examples have been measured in the Swedish RepTrak studies while some have not. In Denmark we see well-known international companies such as Lego and Carlsberg. In Finland we see Nokia, and in Norway we can't really, from a general public point of view, find any strong international brands at all.

Another interesting source of country reputation is city reputation. When I analyze the city reputation research data from the RI City reputation study 2013 the results shows that Stockholm is the third most reputed city in the world after Sydney and Toronto. The reputation index of the Nordic capitals 2013 was very high for all four Nordic cities: Stockholm 76.9 (number 3), Copenhagen 74.3 (number 10), Helsinki 74.2 (number 12), and Oslo 73.1 (number 17). In the city reputation study 100 cities was researched. These cities were selected upon a combination of their population, gross domestic product or GDP, and city tourism.

In the next phase I analyzed the cities of Russia, China and India, the countries with the largest gaps between how they see themselves in comparison with how other sees them (see our earlier discussion in this paper). The city reputation of Mumbai was 51.9, New Delhi 51.7 and Kolkata 50.0. These results can be compared with the almost equal Indian country reputation of 50.7. However, the city reputation of St. Petersburg was 60.2 and the reputation of Moscow was 50.0, both cities had much higher scores than the Russian reputation of 36.7. The city reputations of the Chinese cities reveals that the scores of Hong Kong was 61.4,

Shanghai 54.6, Macau 54.4, Guangzhou 52.7 and Beijing 52.6 while the Chinese country reputation was 37.8.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT

A good country image helps business (Kapferer, 2012). A strong country reputation will enable people working with brand management a possibility to include the Swedish aspect into their brand building activities. A good example is the Swedish furniture retailer IKEA that uses its Swedish heritage, as a vital part of the brand. The IKEA store uses the same colors as the Swedish flag (blue and yellow). All products in the store have Swedish names, and in the IKEA restaurant you can order Swedish meatballs with the Swedish flag on the side of the plate. In an interview with Ulf Smedberg, the former IKEA marketing director in China, he says that the use of the Swedish heritage is a vital part of the IKEA branding activities in China. Another company that is using its Swedish heritage when launching the brand in new markets is the North European retailer Clas Ohlson, a company that helps customers to find solutions for home projects.

In an interview with Klas Balkow the Clas Ohlson CEO, he said that the Swedish heritage is of great importance for the Clas Ohlson brand in two ways. One is that the Swedish heritage is perceived very positively in a new market, and secondly it is important for all employees to learn about its Swedish heritage. The Swedish heritage will be used as a competitive advantage for the company. In Norway we see a most interesting recent example of how a company can use its country heritage. It's the airline named Norwegian that has been able to expand from being a local airline in Norway to become a new European challenger in the airline industry.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: IS THERE A NEED FOR A NEW AND MORE ELOBORATED RESEARCH MODEL FOR PLACE BRANDING?

One problem, already hinted at above, is: why does the general public in Russia, China and India rate their own country so differently from the general public in other countries? Is the simple answer that the study was carried out with a western perspective? This is an interesting question that could be measured and analyzed in future research.

A second suggestion for future research is the interplay between city reputation and country reputation. Can China and Russia use their cities with a much stronger reputation than their countries in order to strengthen their country reputation?

A third suggestion for future research could be to elaborate if a country like China could use made in Hong Kong or made in Shanghai as a stronger endorser than made in China. A study with cities as endorsers could for example suggest that a certain city could endorse one type of product categories while another city could endorse other categories.

Kapferer (2012) argues that country brands as well as all strong global brands encapsulates a myth, a stereotype that boosts its own attractiveness through an emotive resonance. One example is the United States, a country built by immigrants, encapsulates the myth of liberty. Inspired by Barthes (1973), Ostberg discusses mythologies of Swedishness in the sense that it is not important to establish whether a mythology is true or not. Ostberg describes some illuminating examples of connotations connected to Sweden. One connection is the 'Welfare state' based on a social democratic heritage. The 'Swedish model' based on modernism, politics, and secularism gave Sweden somewhat international reputation. These concepts have been used as good examples of how the state intervention has benefited citizens. Other myths are the 'Swedish sin' and 'Swedish politicians' working on an international scene. Good examples of politicians are the former Prime Minister Olof Palme and former Secretary General of United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld.

Other sources of connections come from 'Swedish crime novels' by authors such as Stieg Larsson and Henning Mankell, 'Swedish music groups' such as ABBA, Roxette, Avizii and Swedish House Mafia. Other sorts of Swedish celebrities are 'Sports stars' such as Björn Borg (tennis), Zlatan Ibrahimovic (soccer), Jan-Ove Waldner (ping-pong), and other forms of celebrities such as Ingrid Bergman, Greta Garbo and Ingmar Bergman.

In China Jan-Ove Waldner is the first foreigner that has been immortalized on a Chinese stamp (Hedelin 2013).

Is it necessary to understand a country or a city reputation more in depth? When we compare the attributes in table 1 with the more mythological aspects discussed by Kapferer (2012) and Ostberg, a lot of differences are visible. This is an interesting area that could be investigated in future research.

Would a more symbolic and emotional approach lead to other conclusions of what drives a country or city reputation? The author proposes a projective research approach where the aim is to get a more in depth understanding of the associations and emotions connected to different place brands. In order to more fully comprehend how relations between brands and consumers are created, it's important to understand projective research techniques. The main

argument for trying this approach is that it will help the responsible for the place brand to understand the more emotional side of their place brand.

The aim of a projective research approach is to give those responsible for the place brand important information about how to compete for supportive behaviors such as more visitors, more investments, and more people wanting to live in the city or country.

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The strategy of positioning the image of an innovative city

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ABSTRACT

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on innovation as a contemporary characteristic of positioning and as a major deciding factor in the creation of city's desired image. The article highlights also the role of a strategic communication approach to image positioning of an innovative city.

Approach - The author herein approaches the matter of the positioning of cities from view of their potential for innovation. She therefore undertakes a detailed characterisation of the structural and functional features of an innovative city and the principles for its strategic positioning.

Findings – One of the most recent criteria for the positioning of cities is their innovation. This feature refers to the concept of the "new economy", an economy based on knowledge and learning organizations. It expresses a new look at the conditions and factors of urban development. Due to this new approach urban development is determined by the level of reorientation of the new factor of progress - innovation. Creating new ideas, solutions and products will decide about the future of cities, also about the future of their all associated stakeholders, both internal and external.

Having an image of innovative city is undoubtedly a decisive factor for its competitive advantage. It has to be underline that achieving the status of innovative city is not an easy task, achieved by one-off action. It requires a long-term and consistent implementation of the strategy of image positioning.

Originality/value - This paper may help local leaders to understand the strategic approach to positioning the image of innovative city.

Paper type - conceptual paper

Key words – city, innovation, image, positioning, strategic communication, urban development

Introduction

Innovation is a crucial driver of urban economic success. That's why cities' authorities see investing in innovation processes as essential to maintaining competitive advantage, increasing productivity and creating new jobs.

Innovation, which main source is knowledge, can be a difficult concept to define, so there are number of competing definitions. Generally innovation means the successful exploitation of new ideas and comes in many forms: new or significantly improved products (goods or services), processes, marketing techniques, organisational methods in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations all constitute forms of innovation.(Crowley, 2011)

Innovation simply means doing things better in new ways. It might be the result of years of research, or the result of a chance discovery; it is important to, and can happen in, any part of the economy from high tech manufacturing or knowledge intensive sectors to basic service sectors such as retail. Innovation comes in many forms and includes product, process or organisational innovation. It can be radical or incremental and includes ideas which are new to the market as well as ideas which are new to the firm.(Crowley, 2011)

All above may suggest that innovation creates new markets, generates comparative advantage for companies and increases productivity through more efficient use of labour, land and capital.

Due to a "new economy" approach, an economy based on knowledge and learning organizations, contemporary urban development is determined by the level of reorientation of the new factor of progress – innovation. Cities of course don't innovate, but they provide the support environment for firms, entrepreneurs and institutions within them to innovate. They are vital for innovation, they foster the creation of knowledge by bringing businesses, people and institutions together – the innovation ecosystem. They help the flow of ideas, facilitate localised knowledge spillovers and enable innovation. Different cities support very different types of innovation. Some cities have a focus on technology led innovation, others support the creation of new products in the service or creative industries.(Crowley, 2011)

Having an image of an innovative city can be undoubtedly a decisive factor for its competitive advantage. This is because the term “innovative” entails only positive connotations to the people's mind (i.e. smart, digital, creative, know-how, hi-tech). It has to be underlined that achieving the status of innovative city is not an easy task, achieved by one-

off action. It requires a long-term and consistent implementation of the strategy of image creation and its positioning.

The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on innovation as a contemporary characteristic of positioning as a major deciding factor in the creation of city's desired image. The article highlights also the role of a strategic communication approach to image positioning of an innovative city.

The idea of an innovative city

The idea of an innovative city as well as an enterprising, attractive and competitive city refers to the research stream establishing that the largest potential resource determining economic development is knowledge, while innovation (being emanation of knowledge) is the main driving force of growth and economic development. The effect of innovation implementation is modernization of effectiveness and competitiveness growth, and, as a result, the size of generated income. (Marszał, 2012)

An innovative city is a structure that offers real environment for innovations based on clusters and institutions of the research-development sector, products and globalization processes. A particular role in these cities is played by technology parks, industrial districts with appropriate infrastructure, scientific centers promoting cooperation of science and companies, entrepreneurship incubators operating at universities and technology transfer centers.

In order to characterize an innovative city, it should be emphasized that it is a unit which records an accelerated social and economic development as a result of meeting two conditions: new knowledge resources are generated and absorption of the most recent knowledge in the sphere of business practice takes place. These two basic, but very general conditions can be supplemented with a set of features that in more detail characterize an innovative city. Among these features the greatest role is fulfilled by: (Marszał, 2012)

- the ability to generate new solutions ideas, for instance, in terms of creating urban fabric,
- innovative policy of public authorities,
- openness to the inflow of any kind of capital from the outside,
- creating favorable investment conditions,
- the development of modern institutional and technical infrastructure,

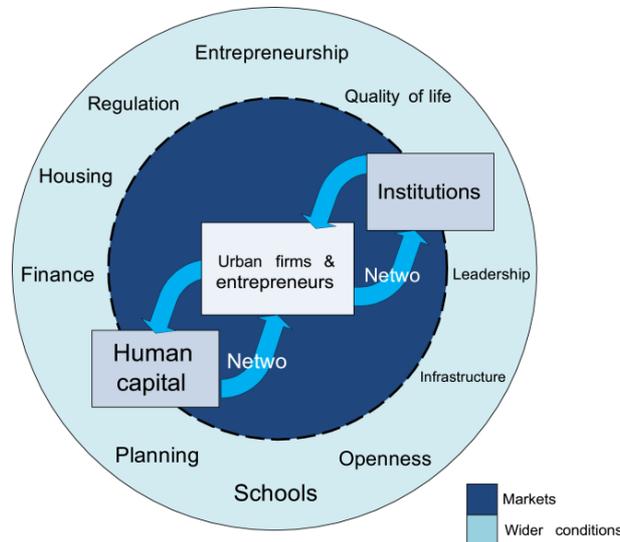
- protection of constant investments in science, culture and education,
- care for the research-development sector in which knowledge resources are generated and gathered,
- promoting qualitative development of human capital,
- the ability to select creative entities and social groups ready to cooperate for common good,
- care for the natural and cultural environment,
- the ability of expansion into external markets and
- skillful marketing and self-promotion.

Bearing in mind the specific nature of the aforementioned features and conditions, it may be concluded that a city is not innovative by definition, but it becomes innovative as a result of many-year implementation of partial strategies, permitting creation of the base for "a new" innovative city, including competent institutions, procedures (systems) and creative class. An innovative city can be specified by the 3I formula, namely intellect – institutions – infrastructure. This principle expresses the opinion that a city may become an innovation center provided that it has proper intellectual resources, develops competent institutions adequate to the goals and disposes of modern infrastructure in a broad meaning of this word. Only in such cities new needs, new ideas, new technologies, new products and new experiences may appear, leading to changing the nature of the city and its major orientation. (Szromnik, 2012)

Comprehensive and strategic approach to using innovation as a carrier of cities development should, however, assume something more, namely a systemic approach. It makes us aware that innovation of a city is not determined by single companies or institutions – innovation of the whole body is necessary in which research organizations, financial institutions, production and service companies, commercial organizations and local authorities create an innovative network operating for competitiveness of a city – so called innovation ecosystems (Figure 1). Hence, innovation of a city depends on the degree of networkization consisting of integrated set of scientific economic relations and technical inside, inter and intra entities (inventors, technologists, traders financiers, consumers, organizers and administrators along with companies, offices and scientific units, which they represent). The complex nature of interactions and networks generated on their basis results

in a demand for organizational and institutional innovations capable of promoting cooperation (Domański, 2000)

Figure 1. The urban innovation ecosystem



Source: (Crowley, 2011)

Companies and entrepreneurs are the central element of the urban innovation ecosystem. They drive private sector innovation and are at the centre of where the demand for, and supply of, new ideas takes place. (Crowley, 2011)

At the end of the above discussion, it should be emphasized once more that innovations constitute an important impulse for the city development. Investment friendly development strategies lead to many favorable changes in the spatial-functional structure of cities, raise the quality of life of the inhabitants and are profitable for different categories of beneficiaries. Sample benefits arising from the innovations implemented in cities are presented in table 1.

Tabela 1. Examples of cities' implemented innovations

City	Implemented innovation	Benefits
San Francisco	The City of San Francisco is funding the country's first universal college savings account program for all of its public school kindergartners. The initiative will foster a college-going culture and alleviate rising tuition costs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentivizes kids to go to college • Provides funding for ever-rising tuition costs • Exposes under-banked families to mainstream banking system

Denver	Based on the belief that true innovation must be embraced by line-level staff as much as by mayors and agency heads, Denver has launched Peak Academy, an innovation school where city employees can get training, develop new ideas and gain support for new approaches.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovations developed by the Mayor and department heads are more likely to receive support than resistance at the agency level • Agency workers themselves are developing new ideas that are being implemented throughout the city
London	Using a new crowdsourcing website, the funding of capital projects—bridges, gardens, community centers—is being transformed throughout the United Kingdom as communities develop and jointly fund major new projects with local government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cities fund capital projects without additional debt • The process generates community interest and a sense of public ownership • Some projects may garner enough community support to be achieved without any government investment
Los Angeles & Chicago	Immigrant entrepreneurs account for a disproportionate share of new businesses, and given their language skills and established networks in their native countries, there is clear potential for many to export their goods and services. Chicago and Los Angeles are targeting these enterprises in order to double citywide exports, thereby boosting local economic growth.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing city exports • Engaging immigrant business owners • Inspiring collaboration between diverse immigrant entrepreneurs

Source: (Wagner, 2013)

Innovation as the essence of the city brand and its positioning

Innovation as the essence of the city brand, as its main characteristics communicated undoubtedly brings many additional benefits to the city and all the interested parties –city clients. It is not accidental then that so many cities in the world build their brand based on the idea of an innovative city, trying to show what distinguishes them from among competitive cities, and implement appropriate strategies positioning in the target recipients' awareness (Szromnik, 2012)

A brand, generally speaking, means reliable, subjective impressions, ideas and feelings created under the effect of contact with a given object, in this case a city. It is a distinguishing product or service as a result of its positioning in respect of competitors and through its

personality, which includes a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values (Florek and Augustyn, 2011)

Similarly as in the case of goods or services, the brand of the city may and should satisfy the rational needs (functional or utility) as well as emotional. It should offer something more, something unique that may become the cause of a strong emotional association with the brand. It is a problem and a real challenge for cities to create such added value so that it is visible, accessible and distinguishing, and, at the same time, consistent with reality. (Florek and Augustyn, 2011)

This value added in the case of cities, which create their brand on the foundation of innovativeness, may be: (Szromnik, 2012)

- prestige,
- modern infrastructure,
- access to new technologies,
- tax exemptions,
- purchase of pioneer products,
- attractive job offers,
- high salaries,
- contact with science and access to innovation,
- concentration of investment,
- the possibility to raise qualifications,
- government assistance and financial support,
- foreign contacts,
- other benefits under priority.

A skillful definition of the essence of brand, namely the most distinguishing characteristics of a city, seems of key importance in the brand creation process. This process should be preceded by an in-depth analysis of the possessed resources and selection of unique attributes, as compared to competitors.

Generally positioning can be defined as a process of creating a perception of a brand relative to competing brands. In effect, positioning refers to the place the product occupies in consumers' minds: high or low quality, high or low price, reliable or unreliable, and so forth across several dimensions. (Blythe and Megicks, 2010) In referring to the place positioning it

can be defined as an active shaping of the place image in relation to competing places.(Short and Kim, 1993)

Place positioning answers the question ‘What kind of place is this compared with other places?’ in the consumer’s mind. Every strategic plan for managing a place’s image must determine that image for it. Place marketers try to influence the first association that pops into the target audience’s mind on hearing the place’s name. The common concept used to describe place positioning is the *unique selling proposition* (USP), and this is employed to create a distinct and positive image of the place in the mind of the target audience.(Avraham and Ketter, 2008)

The city brand should be positioned, above all, through the prism of showing the aforementioned USP, i.e. unique features and benefits the city offers to different categories of beneficiaries. Positioning the city with the use of the "innovativeness" feature indicates reference to the best cities, the most dynamic in their development and the most modern cities with ambitious, long-term features. An innovative city may offer to selected target groups various benefits which, at the same time, can be the essence of positioning. And so, for instance:

- Benefits for entrepreneurs - emergence of new elements in the spatial and functional structure of a city accompanied by the development typical of innovative industrial activities (technology parks and business districts); development of a new generation of service operations, at the place of traditional production, especially services related to information provision, knowledge diffusion and the sphere of culture (science and technology fairs, exhibitions, museums, children's universities and Universities of the Third Age, life-long education), service by means of computer technology and the formation of network virtual relations;
- Benefits for inhabitants - changes in city centers with developed residential function, functions related to higher education and science as well as recreational and entertainment function (shopping-entertainment centers, science and theme parks); changes in urban fabric accompanied by transformation of behavior patterns among city inhabitants (ways of spending free time, relations and social contacts);
- Benefits for investors - raising the importance of transport interchanges in the structure of the cities (related to motorways, fast railway, airports) with concentration of investment operations;

- Benefits for the young— high quality of education adapted to the needs of the local labor market, cooperation of science and business, internships and professional trainings, attractive workplaces that guarantee professional promotion and high salaries, attractive social and residential offer of a city.
- Benefits for the tourist – clear city information system, implemented mobile applications, rich in maps, guidelines, recommendations concerning local attractions, accommodation and restaurants, presentation of pedestrian or bicycle tourist routes facilitating moving around the city, depending on the planned time of visit.

The position of the city brand on the basis of the aforementioned benefits can be described in the form of one sentence expressed in the language of a "consumer". The positioning sentence should constitute a point of reference for planning the future strategic marketing activities, the essence that should be contained in the future messages directed at addressees of the promotion. The positioning sentence can be simply constructed on the basis of the following scheme: '*Among [target market], [x] is the brand of [frame of reference], that [point of difference] because [reason to believe]*'. (Moore, 2009)

Filing in the blanks in the template is not as easy as it may seem. Each element represents an important strategic decision that must not be taken lightly and is often subject to much debate. (Moore, 2009) Analyzing each elements:

- *Target market* – there are many possible inner or outer target markets for innovative city, for example: dwellers, entrepreneurs, investors, managers, qualified staff of specialist, researchers, tourists, young and creative people, etc.
- *Frame of reference* - it should reflect how innovative city define the market in which compete. It can be expressed as a territorial product/offer category, but just as often the frame of reference is a customer need.
- *Point of difference* - within the *frame of reference* innovative city's product/offer must be different from competitors on one or more dimensions that are meaningful to customers in defined target market. Ideally it should specify the single most compelling and persuasive reason city's target customer would choose its offer over any other on the market. The *point of difference* is innovative city's 'promise' to customers, the essence of its value proposition.
- *Reason to believe* - customers have to believe that brand of innovative city can deliver the *point of difference*. Why should they believe it? What evidence can persuade city's

offer *point of difference* believable? The innovative city's functional, economic, and/or emotional attributes must be credible to assure customers that the brand will deliver on its promise. The *reason to believe* is something that is inherent in the city's offer that customers associate with its ability to deliver the promised *point of difference*.

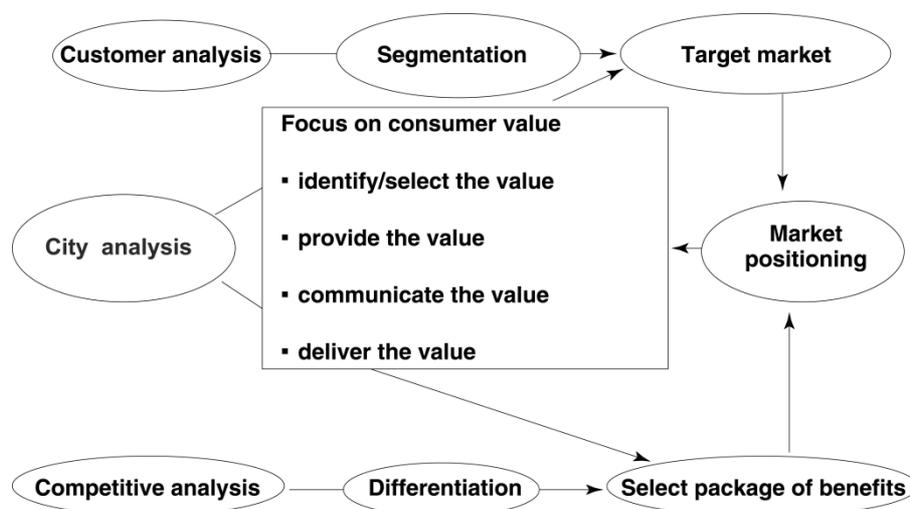
It must be underlined that positioning statement is a statement of communication strategy. Thus it should come from good analysis of the innovative city's resources, the competitors, and customers - the past, present, and future.

Strategic city image positioning

The process of strategic city positioning involves two interrelated sets of activities. First, it requires the city to analyse the market, to segment it and to select segments to serve. Second, it requires the city to perform an analysis of competitors, to differentiate its offers and services, to select a package of customer benefits to promote. These two sets of activities converge to position the city's offer which has implications for marketing strategy including marketing mix (Figure 2). In selecting the target markets to serve and the package of customer benefits to promote, the city should refer to an internal resource analysis.

It is thus extremely important to preserve the strategic perspective because positioning the brand is not a tactical operation, but strategic, aimed at development of a consistent competitive advantage. (Kotler and Pfoertsch, 2006)

Figure 2. Process of city strategic positioning



Source based on: (Bradley, 2003)

Positioning as an integral element of a complex marketing strategy of the city at the stage of preparing the entire project, aimed at expected customers' perception of a given town unit, comes down to acceptance of relevant criteria of "positioning" the city in the minds of strategy addressees. For this reason, the most important conceptual moment in the city positioning strategy is the adoption of target, assumed and expected image, namely a general answer to the question – in what way the city wants to be perceived and evaluated, how it wishes to be associated and related to key qualities of contemporary cities, including innovation itself. At the same time, assuming orientation of the city to innovations and innovativeness, what should be the criterion or criteria accompanying or supplementing, for example: (Szromnik, 2012)

- innovative+ friendly city,
- innovative+ safe city,
- innovative+ prestigious city,
- innovative+ rich city,
- innovative+ cheap city,
- innovative+ dynamic city,
- innovative+ tolerant city.

The actual perception of the city as, for instance, innovative and rich or innovative and tolerant, and even innovative and safe, depends not only on facts and numbers, but largely on the active, strategically conducted communication campaign. Through repetition of slogans, situations and contexts we can shape a mental image, an idea based on the adopted combination of features, even when the starting condition significantly differs from the expected condition – the one assumed in marketing strategy. (Szromnik, 2012)

In the innovative city positioning strategy we should pay attention to two essential elements; firstly, the addressees of positioning and, secondly, the arguments, slogans, situations and people that in relevant promotional communications will reflect and express an innovative character of the city.

The orientation of image campaign should be addressed, first of all, to internal customers - the inhabitants of the city. The inhabitants should be the first to perceive and understand the city as innovative to properly communicate it, reason and justify its higher attractiveness. (Szromnik, 2012)

Reasoning, namely persuasion by means of a set of adequate features determining the assumed position of the city, means in reality making its characteristics credible. The fact that the city, as a target, wants to be positioned as an innovative center comes down to emphasizing its potential resources and predispositions to generate novelties, actual accomplishments in this scope and perspective possibilities. A message containing appropriate characteristics, reasons and justification should be credible and unambiguous, finalized with general promotional slogan with original, communicative and multi-layered nature. (Szromnik, 2012)

Basing the city promotion strategy on innovation, namely adopting, as the essence of information – image campaigns, innovative character of the idea, structural solutions, organizational systems, technologies and products presents the city undoubtedly in positive light of modernity, progress and positive changes. The definition "innovative city" is, however, at the same time the obligation of people and institutions initiating respective strategies and programs to actual perception consistent with the reality as well as assessment of development opportunities of the city. Temptation and the desire to stand out, even only declaratively, should be confronted with the actual innovative potential of the city. This comparison should provide a proper answer to the question: "can a city even in a long-term perspective achieve the status of an innovative city?" A single inventor or a group of experimentalists and seekers, a single company as well as its products, a university, scientific-research centre do not make the city innovative, just like messages, declarations or promises. Shaping the city as innovation center means a relevant base and resources, people and tools, ideas and their implementation and finally institutions and standards. (Szromnik, 2012)

Conclusions

Innovation is a crucial driver of urban economic success. Innovative cities tend to grow faster, that's why local leaders should invest in innovation processes as essential to maintain competitive advantage, increasing productivity, and creating new jobs. Being an innovative city is, however, not only the expression of high ambitions of local leaders, but also an extremely important image aspect, a distinguishing feature suggesting a whole range of additional benefits for all the interested people – city clients.

Creating the image of an innovative city and its strategic positioning means reference to the best, the most dynamic cities in their development as well as modern cities with

ambitious, long-term objectives. Achieving the status of innovative city is not an easy task though, achieved by one-off action. The image and the corresponding position in the mentality of different target groups is shaped for many years, methodically by means of consistent information-promotional strategies.

The city positioning strategy, assuming assigning the image of an innovative city, the image of ambitious and original city, requires thus time, funds and professional marketing projects. The requirements are particularly important if the previous image of the city significantly deviated from the assumed image and when the city is associated with some strongly rooted image – a stereotype.

Positioning the city as an innovative city requires the initiators, performers to have special sense of realism, thorough analysis of opportunity and possibilities to implement the project. Otherwise, these will be only unattainable wishes in the existing state of affairs – visions and delusions. Even considerable funds meant for the information and promotional campaigns, involved institutions and experts will not build a right, unambiguous image of an innovative city – the perception of reality will be a barrier impossible to overcome. (Szromnik, 2012)

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A Sense of the City: Food as an element in city branding

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Abstract

Based on the experiences from a multisite field-study of 20 metropolitan cities from around the world, this article starts from the observation that food, meals, and gastronomy are in different forms increasingly used in branding places, be it particular city districts, towns, regions or nations. Some of these place-branding efforts are directly aimed at creating or strengthening the link between the character and quality of the food-related activities and an image of a place. Food and meals can however also be utilized indirectly in attempts to create an attractive – and competitive – atmosphere of the place in its vying for human, industrial and financial resources, and in its effort to become a desirable destination.

The article gives examples of how cities are using food for branding themselves. However, despite the extensive resources invested in such city branding programs, there is an inadequacy in scientific knowledge of the phenomenon of food branding and the impact food-related activities play in the formation of complex city brand images. This article therefore also intend to present a conceptual framework that will aid to identify and describe processes involved in using food and gastronomy for strategically branding and positioning cities.

The article proposes a framework based on a sensory perspective on place that is founded on three assumptions: (a) that places can be seen as sensory landscapes, or sense-scape, (b) that food contributes with powerful cues in a poly-sensory positioning of the city, and (c) that a sensory landscape of a place can be experienced as a “a space - producing affect” – operating in space (as a sensory topography and architecture), and in time (as sensory choreography and orchestration).

Key words: Placebranding, food, gastronomy, sensory experience, sensory positioning, sense-scape

Food for Cities

On a transcontinental flight from Copenhagen to the 2013 City Branding Symposium in Beijing, we happened to glance through Scanorama (10-2013), the inflight magazine of SAS. To our great surprise we found that more than 50 per cent of the editorial pages contained pictures and text presenting food, eating, drinking, gourmet destinations, restaurants, bars, food festivals and ethnic cuisines. We imagine that an airline has a strong vested interest in enhancing the attractiveness of destinations they are visiting, but then, is food a suitable means of conveying the appeal of a place, maybe even to favour to beautiful sceneries, historical monuments or for that matter culture in general?

Literature is full of examples of how food has been used in the branding of cities, and food and meals in various forms is a key issue in making destinations appear attractive. This is consistent with earlier observations in studies of city branding processes in large metropolitan cities across the globe (Berg 2010)¹. A recent review of 170 published studies in the area of city branding (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011) shows for example that elements of food, beverages, and gastronomy are used frequently as elements in city branding. However, in most city branding studies, these food or food related phenomena are mainly noted as interesting side effects rather than as key elements in the city branding efforts.

Apart from studies on food and wine tourism (Croce and Perri, 2010) there are relatively few scientific studies dealing with a strategic use of food for the competitive branding and positioning of cities. Moreover, few studies address the connection between food/gastronomy and tourism, even though there is an affirmed connection between these two phenomena (Kivela and Crofts, 2006). Despite explicit evidence of the scale and scope of food branding efforts in practice, scientific reports on using food in various forms for the branding and positioning of cities are relatively rare. Thus, despite the extensive resources invested in city branding programs, there is a flaw of scientific interest and knowledge of the phenomenon of food branding and what kind of impact this might have. This is due to an absence of robust conceptual frameworks that would take into account the role food plays in the formation of complex city brand images. We have in fact come to assume that the increased use of food in city branding might reflect some fundamental hitherto unexplained elements or processes involved in the formation of place-images. This assumption is also the point of departure of

¹ <http://www.fek.su.se/en/Research/Subdisciplines/Marketing/Stockholm-Programme-of-Place-Branding/>

this chapter, which aims to present a conceptual framework that will help us to identify and describe the means and mechanisms involved in using food and meals as elements in strategically branding and positioning cities.

Food and place

What aspects of food are branded in cities? Here we will use a broad definition of food as experience in city settings because we include all aspects of production and consumption of food and meals. Different aspects of food and food-related activities is comprised, including all kinds of food as well as wine, beer and other beverages (Hall and Mitchell 2001), particular origins of food (e.g. organic, locally produced), its preparation (e.g. ingredients related to specific regions such as the Nordic Cuisine), the way the food is served (fast food, slow food, snow food, etc.) and the very environment in which it is served and consumed (food quarters, streets, and so on.). Moreover, though one can debate if food and beverages should be grouped together, we have in this study chosen to do so. For our purpose we will also include different aspects of consumption of food, as what we eat, what we drink and different kinds of consumers as gourmets, and foodies (persons which as a hobby has a refined interest in good food and drink), gastronomic tourists or just visitors. Food tangible products with certain characteristics such as quality, place of origin, and level of nutrition are also included. Another phenomenon closely related to food is the meal, i.e. the very act of eating and drinking and where, how and when food and beverages are served and consumed. Concepts related to meals are e.g. gastronomy, street-food, restaurants, cafés, ethnic cuisines, and farmer markets. For our convenience, we will from now on simply use the term food branding when we mean city branding in relation to food, beverages, meals, eating and gastronomy.

Place branding is generally accepted term for territorial branding activities (Kavaratzis 2004). It is most often referring to cities (Lucarelli and Berg 2011). Place branding through food is no exception, and there are numerous examples of food cities, and gastro-cities. However, the recent development of place branding through food also includes the positioning attempts of other types of places than cities. This includes for example smaller parts of cities, such as food-districts, main streets, city cores, water front areas, city squares, and commercial centers. The term place might also refer to units larger than cities, such as regions, clusters of cities and geographically connected “trails” of cities. In branding of national and ethnic identity

food also plays a historically important role shown as for example French, Italian and Thai “cuisines”. In this chapter, as we will mainly use cities as our empirical examples, we will choose city branding to include also our cases of place branding.

How are cities using food for branding themselves?

Our first question will address how branding through food takes place. People increasingly search for new gastronomic experiences when travelling, and food and cuisine have become important elements in the promotion and differentiation of tourist destinations ((Lin 2009)and (Cambourne and Macionis 2003). Maybe the most conspicuous way, in which food is used in CB, is destination marketing. It appears in the area of Food or *Culinary Tourism* (Hornig & Tsai, 2010, (Hall , Sharples et al. 2003) (Long 2013) ((Hjalager and G 2002) and Boyne & Hall, 2004). Culinary tourism has moreover been coined a label, and the industry’s first comprehensive culinary tourism certification program for cities has been created (Culinary Tourism, 2011)². Another example of this trend is the increased “wine tourism”, targeting cities and regions around the globe, with cities such as Stellenbosch and Beaune, and regions such as Marlborough and Bourgogne to name a few.

Along with tourist certification of cities, cities are also officially or unofficially certified for their food products and institutions position as food cities or gastronomic cities. UNESCO started in 2008 to appoint cities to a City of Gastronomy network, and in their statutes they state that a city of gastronomy should have a “Well-developed gastronomy that is characteristic of the urban center and/or region, and a vibrant gastronomy community with numerous traditional restaurants and/or chefs”. There are a number of regular rankings of “food cities”, as well as gastronomic places “worth a journey” as noted for example in the Guide Michelin ranking system. We have also noticed that there is an increasing number of bloggers and journalists traveling to cities around the world who enjoy good food and meal milieu, and rate their experiences accordingly, thereby signaling to the world which cities are worth visiting.

Cities are also branded through food festivals, events and exhibitions. (Hall and Sharples 2008) (Robinson and Clifford 2012)This includes for example Crave (Sydney International Food Festival), San Francisco Street Food Festival, Culinary Copenhagen (festival and

² See e.g. <http://www.culinarytourism.org/>

culinary city walks related to the Nordic Cuisine), Grüne Woche in Berlin, the October Bier festival in Munich, Culinary Amsterdam (culinary events calendar), and the Hong Kong Wine and Dine festival.

Not only food itself, but also modes and ways of eating are today used in branding attempts. In the contemporary setting, we also witness food related activities with one important purpose being to brand places. An example is the Slow City (CittaSlow) activity stemming from the Slow Food movement, and hence a grass-root response to globalization. These two activities are different but complementary, and are both in favor of “local, traditional cultures, a relaxed pace of life and conviviality” (Knox, 2005: 6).

In our brief overview we have shown that food is used in many types of different city branding strategies, from event-based strategies (festivals, exhibitions, etc.), and excellence and core competence strategies (e.g. City of gastronomy, and City of origin) to various architectural and spatial strategies (e.g. iconic food halls, and waterfront restoration areas). In most such cases food is treated as one of many other possible attraction assets, with no particular investigation of what makes food special as an instrument in the branding process. Food can also be as an element in a destination branding strategy directed at visitors (mainly tourists), with less focus on a communication of an overall desired image of the city in order to attract investments, strengthen the sense of local identity among citizens, and mobilize local stakeholders.

Why are cities using food for branding themselves?

It is generally assumed that food is an important way to increase the attractiveness of a city. However, the mechanisms through which this takes place are seldom well described or accounted for. Our second question is why cities are using food to brand themselves, or more precisely, what are the rationales expressed by key stakeholders involved in city branding activities as well as by scholars, for using food as a branding and positioning element,

Here we can see four arguments expressed by cities to become associated with attractive food products and meals. One is obviously the interest in supporting and protecting a strong and important food industry in the city in question, such in the case of Parma with its food cluster, and such in Copenhagen/the Öresund region with its Food Science Platform, and for food and

wine producing regions around the world that claims place of origin as one of their prime competitive advantages (Andrián & Berg 2011 and (Andrián 2013)). The most obvious way is when food, beverages and meals are used to strategically position cities as protected geographical markers of origin, e.g. through the three EU schemes known as PDO (Protected designation of origin), PGI (Protected geographical indication) and TSG (Traditional specialties guaranteed) which promote and protect names of quality agricultural products and foodstuffs. This includes for example beverages (Champagne, Rioja wine, café de Colombia, and Darjeeling tea), food (e.g. San Francisco sourdough bread, Asiago cheese, Kobe beef and ham from Parma), and vegetables (basilica from Genua). In this case the quality and status of the product becomes an integrated element in the overall brand image of the place from where it originate (Frochot 2003).

A majority of studies in the area of place branding related to food is of cause related to tourism, destination marketing (Rand, Heath et al. 2003) and (Du Rand and Heath 2006) (Hashimoto and Telfer 2006)hospitality research, for example in terms of how gastronomy is a way to attract visitors to a particular destination (Hjalager 2002) (Feagan 2007), or in terms of general place promotion (Boyne and Hall 2004)

A second reason expressed by a city to use food in its branding efforts is to protect and amplify the identity of a place, (Everett and Aitchison 2008, Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013) (James 1996), and Lin, Pearson et al. 2011), i.e. the sense of same and belongingness of a place(Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013. Distinctive local, regional and national “kitchens” are frequently used in the branding of larger regions and nations, such as the French, Italian, Thai, Mexican and Russian kitchens. In Bangkok for example, the Thai kitchen plays an important role in promoting a distinct and attractive element in the city brand profile. However we can also see how places today actively work to develop “new” kitchens. In our research project we have come across this for example in Sydney where world (fusion) food is used in an attempt to position Sydney as a cosmopolitan city. Another example is the current awareness and determination to preserve and safeguard the culinary heritage of provincial France (Bessi ère 1998), in order to maintain the nations attractiveness as a culinary destination. We have also observed the use of food in place and city branding, in for example the Nordic food in the city of Copenhagen with the ambition to become the Gastronomic Capital in Scandinavia. Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2007) similarly note how a Danish Island is using

gastronomy as a way of positioning itself in order to be seen globally, and, Ryan and Mizerski (2010) describe how a town in Australia is branded basing their brand on “bread, olive-oil and wine”. Food is also researched from the perspective of maintaining, or amplifying local identities, cultures or ethnic profiles in order to strengthen the attraction of a destination image (Tellstrom, Gustafsson et al. 2006, Bianchini and Ghilardi 2007).

It is also obvious that cities are using food in their attempts to physically rebrand themselves, for example by turning parts of the inner city into dense culinary spaces, such as Darling Harbor with its restaurants in Sydney or to bring life into the old heritage quarters in Cartagena (Colombia). Another example is the World Cup “fan walk”, i.e. the famous routed walk that was created from the railway station to the Cape Town Stadium. Even though this was created to handle the problems of traffic congestion during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it soon developed into a parade walk surrounded with restaurants caf  s and street food trucks. A similar development took place in Bogota, where the city regularly closes down the city center for traffic on Sundays, thus allowing for street food and open-air restaurants in the streets (Boyne, Hall et al. 2003). (Cassel 2006) .

Food can be more or less important for city branding. In some cases it is the most fundamental element expressing the culture core of a city’s brand-identity. This is the case for Singapore. It has for example 112 hawker food centers (with yet another 10 to be established), each featuring dozens of food and drink stalls – which taken together becomes a characteristic and central feature of the experience of the culture in the city. Another aspect of this is the way in which food is used as an element in expressing the heritage of a place (see for example (Fox 2007)). This of course includes numerous examples of ethnic food that thereby becomes important elements in heredity branding processes, as food and meals are claimed to be authentic expressions of the history and heredity of a place. It may take place through claims of local and regional produce, and is clearly seen in the form of open-air markets. One such example is the Ferry Plaza Farmers Market in San Francisco (located in a restored ferry building), which is a California certified farmers market operated by a non-profit organization. It also appears in Bangkok with its many food markets and canal markets presenting Thai cuisine. Tellstr  m et al (2006), shows that an association to an alleged origin in a local or regional food culture is seen as an attractive way to interest the urban consumer in new food product brands.

Finally, and at a more general level, food seems to be used extensively as an active ingredient in the attempt to producing, maintaining or changing city atmospheres. We see how a city's cultural heritage is maintained and amplified with the support of food related activities, but also how a city may create, restrict and transform a place. One example of the latter ambition is the Food Festival in Malmö, which together with the special redesign of a city square into a food square, Lilla Torg, seems to have contributed to the change of the Malmö identity in the 1990s (Berg & Östberg, 1998). Examples of research within this area are Shultz et al (2005), arguing that food can actually be used "for recovery, sustainable peace, and prosperity". and (Burstedt, Fredriksson et al. 2006) who see food and gastronomy as a way to build local place brands in a Swedish archipelago. There are even those that argue that food might have a positive influence on the policies in war ridden zones. (Shultz, Burkink et al. 2005)

To summarize, food, meals and gastronomy appear in various forms, and is used in a multitude of ways not only to promote the image of cities, but also in attempts to affect their identities and even to spatially transform them to become more desirable as a destination and attractive as a place to live and work in.

We presupposed that a city is considered important to cities and its stakeholders. The validity of this assumption has still to be proven, although it is at the very core of beliefs among scholars and city management alike not only as a reason for their food-branding activities, but also for city-branding efforts in general with ambition to making cities attractive. Food and meals may however also be used indirectly, when attempted to create an attractive – and competitive – "atmosphere" of the place in its vying for human, industrial and financial resources, and in its effort to be a desirable tourist target and wellbeing destination. (Kotler) 1973 has been interested in the creation of an atmosphere, but at that time, in 1973, meaning the design commercial places only, when he stated that there are three major art forms (atmospherics) that contribute to atmosphere recognition of such places: architecture, interior design, and window dressing.

Even though food branding may be a chosen strategy to improve the competitive strength of a place for example for tourists and investment capital it often seems to intend to improve the atmosphere for the inhabitants, thereby also boost the quality of living. We see a circular

relationship, as food related activities influence the brand that in turn have an impact on the atmosphere and attractiveness of the place. This can only be explained if we consider that people, when visiting a place do not only see and listen to the place they visit, as (Lew 1987) once assumed, but that people's all senses are activated. People see and hear, but also smell, taste and have tactile experiences of a place. Food then, is very particular as it is truly experienced through all senses and not only (visually) perceived. It is also from this basic assumption that we will develop a conceptual framework to argue for some rationales for using food in branding cities.

Place branding through food from a sensory perspective

There has been a split between urban designers regarding what constitute the urban quality and sense of place. Some have put emphasis on design styles, the way buildings open out into spaces, landmarks, and gateways, and thus on a "physicality" as well as a more cognitively rational and "objective" view of urban design. Others have focused on the "psychological" factors of place, described as a more romantic, subjective view that involves how a place feels: is it safe, comfortable, vibrant, quiet and/or threatening? A third "sensory" perspective, that presents a combination of the rational, objective with the romantic, subjective view of urban design, implying that urban quality should be considered in a broader sense to include and combine quality in three crucial aspects: physical space, subjective experience, and activity (Montgomery, 1998), and (Urry 2000) This latter view on city design and architecture is best in line with our research because of its holistic character. However, also within the sensory perspective there are many different approaches to the study of sensory experiences of places, from attempts to communicate taste and smell in written form (Swan 2011) to arguments that cities need to be "bodily experienced", and that marketing mechanisms need to be adopted to this. (Pan and Ryan 2009).

A sensory experience of the city

To apprehend things and events with respect to how they appear momentarily and simultaneously to our senses represents a genuine way for human beings to encounter the world. Experiencing a place by visiting it involves all five senses, and it is in other words an aesthetic experience. A German philosopher, Martin Seel (2005), examines the existential and cultural meaning of aesthetic experience and he claims that such involvement also results

in an experience of “authenticity”. Referring to Thrift (2009) we may add that it also means an experience of the atmosphere of the city. He goes even further in his claim, stating that experiencing an authentic atmosphere occurs with a sixth sense.

When a person visits a place like a city, she simultaneously engages her thought, and she acts and relates. All these different aspects of a city experience complement each other and according to Gambetti (2010) and Rämö (2011) they are relevant for consumer experience, and thus also for city branding and sensory positioning of a place. Agapito, Mendes et al. (2013) and Agapito, Valle et al. (2014) who show that the concept of sensory positioning is a traditional topic in tourism research also have explored the conceptual foundation of the sensory dimension of tourist experiences.

Lindström's (2005) argues that whereas the majority of all brand communication today is focused on two of our senses, namely our sight and hearing, 75 per cent of human emotions are generated by what we smell. Also, smell is said to easily invoke one's memory of a visited destination (Wilkie, 1994, and Son & Pearce, 2005). This is also consistent with Agapito, Valle et al. (2014) who has identified four multiple sensory informed themes (clusters), in South West Portugal, and their observation that all the sensory-informed themes embrace references pertaining to at least three external human senses.

In tourism and in research on tourism, we discover a similar, too limited idea, meaning a particular emphasis on the visual, scenic, sightseeing aspects of a place. However, also within tourism, the pattern is changing, and Löfgren claims that “tourism has gone from gazing to grazing”, following the argument that the more senses you appeal to, the stronger the message conveyed. (See also Bell (2002)).

Food, in all its forms is essentially a sensory experience, and therefore a possible strong element in branding of a city. We experience food itself and the environment in which food is consumed through our eyes, through smell, taste, and our tactile senses. Cuisine is claimed to be the only art form that speaks to and involves all five human senses (International Culinary Tourism Association, 2005). The sense of smell is largely and strongly associated with and appealing to the dining experience (Dann & Jacobsen, 2003).

However, the idea of a distinct relationship between food and culture is today severely challenged and replaced by the idea of displaced culinary cultures, i.e. as in the example of London, which is thriving on its cuisines from all over the world. (Cook and Crang 1996). It is also challenged from the perspective of that food, particularly food that is foreign to the visitor is always perceived as enjoyable. The very character of the food might be repelling (e.g. when snakes, dogs or insects are presented as delicatessen to a visitor), as might also the hygienic and eating environment. According to culinary establishments facilitate the overcoming of those constraints by providing a “culinary environmental bubble” to tourists. (Cohen and Avieli 2004)

The city as a sensescape

Our claim is that cities today should consider a holistic approach, including sensory positioning for poly-sensory experiences. The claim can be related to Morin’s (2009: 68) assumption that “politics always demands that we develop a ‘sense of the Whole’ or a sensibility for the Whole”. The same author also argues that in a fully globalized world, the sense of the whole can only arise when there is an understanding for entities and their interplay. Within the field of marketing this is reflected in the different attempts to capture places from the perspective of the geography of the consumption of food (see for example (Bell and Valentine. 1997) and (Jackson and Thrift 1995). This of course leads into the metaphor of the landscape, i.e. a portion of natural territory with particular quality or appearance that can be viewed at one time from one place. The concept of landscape is related to the visual experience of a place, i.e. way we experience the topography, the colors and the activities of a place through our sight. It is also used in the form of cityscapes, to denote the physical landscape in the city, with its buildings and spatial design.

However the landscape metaphor has also been borrowed to capture other modalities of the sensory experiences. One example is sound-scape to denote the sonic environment of a place (Garrioch 2003, Landry 2007); still another example is smell-scape to describe the distribution of smells in an area (Landry 2007). Tourist researchers may use “taste-scape”, as a way to outline the distribution of gastronomic attractions at a destination, and there are even those who talk of foodscapes (Adema 2008), relating to the distribution of food-outlets in a place. The idea that all these multimodal experiences form a unique universe, a sense of a

“landscape” of senses, or a sensescape, is not new. Each scape is a perspective depending on the situation of those navigating their way within it and how they view, perceive and act upon them. We thus agree with Quan and Wang (2004), who argue that communicating experiences in tourism in addition to “landscapes” should include several other sensory experiences, “sensescapes”, such as “smellscapes”, “tastescapes”, and “soundscapes”. Yet another aspect of mapping the sensory landscape has been proposed by (Dann and Jacobsen 2003) in their discussion of “smellscapes”. They argue that: ”for a tourist destination to succeed there has to be the aromatic equivalent of a flâneur or voyeur – maybe a dégustateur or flaireur, a connoisseur who, like a wine taster savouring a bouquet, can discover and nostalgically possess aromas before they evaporate. Only the olfactory tourist, it would seem, can coterminously experience the past and the present in their full sensory richness” (p.20)

Research on sense scape at a particular locality has come to rest mainly on the totality of all sensory modalities, sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch, Thus we assume that in the same way that cities have spatial topographies, based on their physical geography, they also have sensory topographies, related to the distribution of sensory experiences. Pan and Ryan (2009) gives an example of how an analysis of the sensescape of the main destinations at New Zealand based on sound, smell, taste, and touch, can be used to create an “ideal and mediated itinerary for visiting journalists to acquire a comprehensive experience of what NZ has to offer”.

Apart from the terms above that describes the spatial distribution of particular sensory cues at a place, there are a number of other used to denote the place from a multi-sensory perspective, such as sensescape (Appadurai 1990, Dann & Jacobsen, 2003) or experience-scape (O’Dell & Billing, 2005). Even though the focus might be on one of these dimensions of sensory experiencing a place, we also generalize it to sensescapes to denote the full breadth of sensory modalities that allow us to interact with the environment and the full richness of the way we experience it.

This leads us into the next step in our discourse, i.e. the way in which these sense- scapes are communicated to audiences in and outside of the cities. (Appadurai 1990), as well as (Wang 2005) regard for example image-scape, as well as media-scape as configurations of various images, sounds and programs presented by the mass media. For our interest however, the

most interesting concept might be the concept of the brand-scape ((Sherry 1998), (McCracken 1988), (Kornberger 2010)), i.e. the fabric of brands and brand-related items (logos, ads, and so on) within a culture or market.

Sensory Positioning

In this study, we are particularly interested in the ways in which places are using the sensory elements related to food in their attempts to produce a desirable brand image of themselves. We know from contemporary research on branding, that brand image concerns not only the way in which an agent is able to convey an captivating image of the place, but it is also dependent on the way the place is depicted in popular media, and ultimately how it is appropriated by audiences.

Given the all encompassing view of food that we have, including not only the particular character of the food and beverages related to a place, but also the environment for exhibiting, buying and eating, and the meals themselves, it seems reasonable to take a look at the ways in which cities try to have an influence on their sensescapes, from a food perspective. However, as we are here particularly interested in the competitive sensory communication of food, we chose to look at how that is communicated. Furthermore, we look at communication from a strategic positioning perspective, i.e. the way a place is using food to assume a desired position in the audience's awareness/mindset/sense-set by owning a specific set of associations. We are interested in discussing how sensory cues are drawn on in branding cities and what is perceived as the relative importance of food and meals in these branding efforts.

Positioning has long been acknowledged as a core branding activity (Ries & Trout, 1981; Aaker & Shansby, 1982; DiMingo, 1988) aiming at designing an organization's offering and image in order to occupy a distinctive place in the target market's mind (Kotler, Kartajaya et al. 2010) Sensory positioning of cities concerns the ways in which sensescapes are communicated to audiences in and outside of the cities. The concept of positioning has previously been used not only for cities, but also for regions as well as for nations (Quelch & Jocz 2005 and Harrison-Walker 2011).

Sensory positioning relates to tourism, as tourism is involved in our sensual existence, and tourism can be seen as the activity that “celebrates the bodily desires” (Wang, 2004: 303). Sensory positioning can moreover be linked to the concepts of vibrancy and cosmopolitanism, aspects that are supposed to be found in global cities around the world (Julier, 2004). In the marketing literature we also see an increased academic interest in the impact of sensory perception on consumer behavior (Krishna, Elder and Caldara, 2010). In the tourism literature the non-visual aspect of the tourist experience is similarly and increasingly put in focus.

Positioning Culinary Space

In our field studies we have noticed how big cities have transformed parts of their city into dense culinary spaces. Many places and cities have moreover encouraged and funded extensive transformations of architecture and design, including for example the establishment of pedestrian plazas and development of waterfront areas (Barcelona and Copenhagen). We have also seen a recapturing of the city for pedestrians (Bogotá (Lloyd and Ricardo 2009) and Cape Town), cosmopolitan cultural facilities, and various festivals and events. All in all, we have observed various examples where cities appear to take food and gastronomy into consideration when designing city architecture to foster city attractiveness, and how that that also sometimes affects the flows in the city.

As we see it, food, as a way to position the sensory topography of a city, is used in three different ways to maintain and amplify the topography of a place. The first is to appear in the overall design of the city, through the allocation of particular areas for food, thereby creating a more dense, variegated and thus sensory loaded experience. Traditionally, city squares have for example been used for open-air food markets or farmer markets, and certain cities are famous for their network of squares where food is bought and consumed.

Food is not used only as an element in maintaining and amplifying existing elements in the sensory topography, but it is also utilized to create, or regenerate new topography. Robertson (1999) argues that “If you want to regenerate a town center, set up a local market” (p...), and Faulk (2006) delivers similar statements. The regenerative function of food where food is used as a component in the rejuvenation of places can also be seen in numerous examples of waterfront development sites around the world, from Darling Harbour in Sydney, V&A

Waterfront in Cape Town, Docklands in London, and the waterfront area in Rosario, Argentina. In all these cases a dense culinary environment of restaurants, bars seems to be a leading ingredient in the physical transformation of the areas.

Food is also playing an important role in the very architecture in places. One example is loading heritage–buildings with meaningful sensory content, such as the Ferry Building marketplace in San Francisco with almost 50 small shops and restaurants, and the old heritage quarters in Cartagena, Colombia. Another example is the Eataly food chain that started in a shut down Vermouth manufacture in Turin, Italy, and then spread across the world. Yet another is the Paddy’s Food Court in Sydney.

Food to stimulate flow

Another way of experiencing cities is to see them as clusters of “spatial events”, events that take place in time and space (Isarangkun Na Ayuthaya 2012). One can also observe how the attempts to increase the areas of pedestrian streets in city centers are intimately linked to the establishment of hawkers and vendors in street food stalls, as well as to restaurants and bars. A representative example is Bogota in Colombia, where car-free days in the city center, and new legislation making it forbidden to park on pavements, led to an increase of restaurants and fast food stalls, and correspondingly, a change in the choreography of the city (Lloyd and Ricardo 2009) and (Wright and Montezuma 2009). Another example of (Wright and Montezuma 2009). Another example of the way in which food becomes an important element in changing the atmosphere of a city, is the “fan walk” in Cape Town, which contributed to the creation of a new “coffee shop culture”.

Knox (2005) mentions daily, weekly and seasonal rhythms as the basis for the creation of a sense of place and community. Food can be seen as such a means in setting the “pace” of the city. Daily rhythms can be exemplified by e.g. mid-morning grocery shopping, a stop for coffee on the way to work, an “aperitivo” after dinner. Examples of weekly rhythms include street markets and farmers’ markets, whereas seasonal rhythms can involve food festivals, etc. These rhythms are dependent on certain kinds of spaces and places, such as public open spaces, streets and squares, as well as pubs, sidewalk cafés and “trattorias”.

Arranging different forms of events has historically been a frequently used way for cities to receive attention. Today cities increasingly compete to host large events (Andersson and Niedomysl, 2008) for reasons being the positive affects those events are perceived to bring, e.g. job creation and increased economic activity (Dwyer, Forsyth and Spurr, 2005). Events, such as fairs, exhibitions and sports events, are also seen as important components in city branding (Berg and Östberg, 2008). As events are related to the above-mentioned rhythms, as events are seen as having an impact on the daily pace of people's life (Whyte, 1980).

Food festivals are aiming at both food and wine tourism. They differ from other kinds of festivals in part due to the important and daily part that food plays in consumption and the economic system. Food festivals are not only a part of food marketing, promotion, and retailing but also related to the nature of contemporary agricultural systems, maintenance of rural lifestyles and communities, conservation of rural landscapes, and consideration of food quality (Hall and Sharples, 2008).

Food to highlight attractions

Food-rankings may increase the attractiveness of a place. Today we experience a number of ranking institutions that aim at influencing people and other actors' preferences. Some of these ranking may create values of cities or parts of cities that make them iconized. In the contemporary setting, cities can become famous for their unique cuisines (Horng and Tsai, 2010). There is also numerous "gastronomic places" that are said to be worth a journey, noted for example in the Guide Michelin ranking system and by an increasing number of bloggers and journalists traveling to cities around the world. People who enjoy good food and meal atmospheres create the rankings, and by rating their experiences and they signal to gourmets which cities are worth visiting. In addition to the more formally well-established rankings (e.g. the 50 best restaurants in the world³), there are a number of unofficial, independent ratings of cities worth to visit because of their quality of food. Not all of them come to the same conclusion. There are differences in taste and experiences may also change over time. For example, a journalist from the Food and Wine magazine announces in 1988 a list of the 20 best food cities in the world excluding Osaka from the list, but instead including Paris, Sydney, Bangkok, Rome, Hong Kong, London, Tokyo, New Orleans, Lyon, Singapore, New

³ <http://www.theworlds50best.com/>

York, Montreal, Buenos Aires Oaxaca, Istanbul, San Francisco, Bombay, San Sebastian, Brussels, and Marrakech whereas one blogger claims that Osaka is the greatest food city in the world (Guardian, 2009).

However, the process could also be the other way around, i.e. that place icons also affect the production and consumption of food. (Wai 2006). has for example how iconic fragments of “Old Shanghai” have been foregrounded and muted by the Xintiandi landscape after urban regeneration

The phenomenon of rankings and expressing own preferences for a certain place and its food activities demonstrates explicitly that branding of a city is not entirely in the hands of stakeholders of a city. Free agents, as international organizations travel magazines and other media that are addressing consumers of food activities or just tourists may have a pivotal role in the creation and maintenance of the attractiveness of a place. We are also noticing how chefs reach celebrity status by bringing their cooking to audiences through television shows under names such as “Iron Chef” and “The Naked Chef”. Some of the most well known celebrity chefs as Jamie Oliver, Gordon Ramsey and Bobby Flay⁴ travel the world in search for new and different gastronomy, ingredients and new culinary destinations (Kivela and Crofts, 2006). Moreover, cities themselves engage in food related awards for restaurants and chefs, such as Hong Kong with its yearly “Best of the Best Culinary Awards” where top chefs compete for the glory of winning the first prize, while tourists take the opportunity to enjoy the high-quality cuisine that the competition brings about (Horng and Tsai, 2010). The connection between iconic restaurants and/or chefs and a city may be seen as beneficial to the city brand, but a branding activity designed by free agents may as well be harmful for a city that strives to increase its attractiveness.

Sensescapes and attractiveness

In this chapter we have argued that one reason for the growing interest for using food and food related activities for branding places, might be that food allows for polysensory experiences, and thus a more comprehensive image of the place. An experience of a place

⁴ <http://www.zimbio.com/Celebrity+Chefs/articles/d6Ex2fDmqkf/10+Most+Famous+Chefs+World>

that involves all five senses might, we argue, result in a holistic involvement that can be described as a feeling of an atmosphere. An atmosphere is not something out there, outside of the subject. It is something integrated within the subjective experience. Maybe this is what (Thrift 2009) calls experiencing through the sixth sense. And, in addition, can a poly-sensory food related experience of a city create “atmosphären”, another aspect of space, coined by Sloterdijk in 1998 meaning the commonly or taken for granted elements of space that conceal information crucial to developing an understanding of human co-existence?

Is then the current interest in branding food cities arising out of a combination of symbolic evolution, technical evolution, and psychic evolution, as Stiegler, (2007, p.335) would have put it? It is these three inter-related evolutions and how they permit new forms of knowledge of disposition to exist which allow experience to be recalibrated and focusing on human senses that are connected with the consumption of food? This is what we have tried to explore in this research project.

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Positioning the cities through the spiritual identity and the cultural heritage: the case of Bursa

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The history of the mankind also refers to the history of the civilizations. The mankind and the community have struggled throughout the history in order to live in the realm of existence. The mankind with the power of his mind realized that he has to live in a society following his requirements. So, a familiarity was formed between the city and the civilization. The communities reached their perfection through living in a city. The people inhabited in the city then create the new civilizations. City is a culture and a civilization.

The mighty civilizations introduced themselves to the world by their authentic cities. Then architecture, art, literature and music were emerged in the cities related with their culture and civilizations. The cities composed of the stories of the late persons not the alive ones. So the Kings, the Sultans, the Emperors, the Prophets and the saints are the primary figures that contribute a lot to the introduction of the cities. The real and imaginary stories, the historical assets related with them formed the main part of background of the cities and create an opportunity to the authorities of the cities to position their city.

Anatolia has been the highway of the nations crossing from East to West, and occasionally reversing their course. This privileged position of Anatolia provided many opportunities to host many cultures and civilizations. Anatolia hosted many cultural movements such as the Roman Empire, Byzantine Kingdoms, the Seljukians and finally the Ottoman Empire. Therefore many historical moments occurred in the Anatolian geography. The Ottoman Empire lasted for over 600 years and although it had been centered in Anatolia, it achieved a great dominance in the southeastern Europe as well as Middle East and became one of the largest, most powerful and longest-lasting empires in the history of the world. Bursa, the first capital city of the Ottoman Empire, located on the northwestern slopes of Mount Uludag (Mysian Olympus) in northwestern Turkey. It hosts many architectural artifacts of the Early Ottoman Period and called as many phrases that indicate its distinguished and notable worth in Turkish culture: “A city in which the Ottoman Empire was born”, “Hudavendigar (God’s gift)”, “Sacred city”, “Sacred capital city of the Ottoman

Empire”, “A city which bears the Turkish spirit at full strength”. The mosques, the domes, the fountains, the plane trees, the tombs as the last stop of the magnificent lives give some spiritual messages to the people who visit them.

In this paper, we seek to indicate the background of a city that witnesses the foundation of an empire that lasted for over 600 years and figure out its identity depend on cultural heritage and spiritual identity. There are many historical monuments such as mosques, tombs, fountains that take us away from current time and sent us to the second time, to the past in Bursa. The power that sows the seeds of a mighty empire based on a spiritual concept with the Muslim saints and their relation with the Sultans is obviously seen in many places in Bursa. The numerous numbers of the saints who lived in Bursa contributed a lot to the foundation of Bursa in many aspects. The humble behaviors and attitudes of them, their blessings, and training activities covering both moral and spiritual supports for the citizens created an original city called as Bursa and composed the identity of Bursa in cultural heritage context. The identity of Bursa, based on the cultural heritage and spiritual power of the Ottoman Empire, is one of the unique examples that show the relation between cultural heritage and positioning in branding.

Key Words: Positioning a city, cultural heritage, spiritual identity, Bursa.

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a historical trend. The major advances in all lines of human history have been through the growth and nurture of urban life. The leading city has ever been the type of human progress. Every great culture had a main city. The city then became the life blood of civilization. Scholars often consider these cities with urban qualities simply arose as natural responses to various forms of political and/or economic centralization by which people were, in Childe's famous words, "*persuaded or compelled*" to congregate in considerable numbers in certain places, together with large and impressive structures and arrays of structures intended to express and further legitimize the authority of powerful political, religious, and/or military leaders (Cowgill, 2004).

When we examine the interest for the urban phenomena, we can underline four basic reasons. First, compared with the other aspects of society- e.g., *language, religion,*

stratification- cities appeared recently and urbanization, meaning that a sizable proportion of the population lives in cities, has developed only in the last few moments of man's existence. For the first time the majority of humanity will be classified as urban rather than rural. Second, urbanism represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Itself a product of basic economic and technological developments, it tends in turn, once it comes into being, to affect every aspect of society. The third source of sociological interest in cities is the fact that, once established, they tend to be centers of power and influence throughout the whole society, no matter how agricultural and rural it may be. Finally, the process of urbanization is still continuing; so many troubles associated with it are unsolved; and, consequently, its future direction and potentialities are still a matter of uncertainty (Davis, 1955). In this context, the term “*city or urbanism*” is a vital theme for us and can be evaluated in many disciplines. In this rapid process of urbanism, the connection between the religion and urbanism or the cities should be reviewed again.

The spiritual life of the mankind redound upon the attitude and behavior and not only formed by the elements identified by the modern psychology but also by the religious consciousness and beliefs and the perceptions regarding existence and genesis (Burckhard, 1979). The relation between the city and the religious background has been started since the beginnings of the early cities. And the spirituality, faith, mystic, holiness, sacred, sanctity, magic, saint, heaven, divine are some of the terms that associate with the cities as the religion is sine qua non of the cultural evaluation throughout the history. Therefore many cities related with the spiritual origins. In order to keep historic centers alive and protect their valuable urban history, tangible cultural assets, we have to set up a holistic understanding of the legacy of religious, symbolic, and cosmological references that have engendered historic cities and sacred places.

Today with the great technological innovations in a rapidly urbanizing world, our present-day worldview prevents us from feeling the ambience that touches us very deeply in spiritual concept. We pull down the position of the human being to molecules banging against each other and the cosmos to dust that has evolved over billions of years into its present structures. This modern cosmos conception eliminate the word “*spirit*” or makes ultimately meaningless, simply a poetic metaphor with no correspondence to objective reality as far as the accepted, legitimized structure of knowledge in our world is concerned. Before modern times, the historic cities are also considered as sacred cities, it was taken for granted that all cities and all human life were touched by the Spirit (Nasr, 2000).

There are many different types of city, classifiable with respect to economic base, density of population, principal functions, legal institutions, provision for defense, or place in a hierarchy of cities; indeed there is no limit to the number of viewpoints that may be counted. The names given to different types-garden city, coke-town, civitas, metropolis, linear city, temple city, market city, capital, satellite, railroad city- evoke concrete images of their essential character. Yet all are cities. The common denominator among them is principally a way of life, a frame of mind, and a manner of thinking, speaking, and behaving. It is its spirit that makes a city (Friedmann, 1961). Today with the power of modernity, the new identities are added for describing cities as we have seen above. But as long as the human being survives, the spiritual power and the religions survive forever and never lose their power.

In this view, other features of the earliest urban places arose either as unintended consequence of these new kinds of settlements or as responses to these unintended consequences. However, investigators increasingly are thinking harder about links between kinds of early polities and kinds of settlements or communities. Perhaps many cities did simply come into being as unintended consequences of sociopolitical and technological developments. But many of the first cities (some would argue all) may have been intentionally created in their entirety to serve the interests of powerful individuals or groups(Cowgill, 2004).

The spirit of the city arises from its social heterogeneity. The city may also be culturally, even racially, heterogeneous, a place where different languages are spoken, different customs practiced, different gods worshipped. All cities have in common a way of life that is characterized by varying degrees of social heterogeneity and cultural vitality, and by inventiveness, creativity, rationality, and civic consciousness. The city has the heady excitement of politics with its periodic crises, the fights, and sometimes glory and victory, its whispering campaigns, conspiracies and rumors, with its essential mystery of power. The city has color and variety in its markets, bazaars and workshops (Friedmann, 1961). Then some cities emerged and labeled with their spiritual background. The city becomes a place of broad cultural dynamism related with their spiritual power. Sometimes not only one religion but also different religions intersect as we see in the example of Jerusalem which deservedly got the title of “*the most powerful brand in history*” (Metti, 2011). They are sometimes the cradle of civilizations, religions and cultures or sometimes the bridge between the cultures.

The emergence of the cities based on the production level acquired by the societies in history and the social organizations related with these accomplishments and the urbanism

movement and the cities kept on its development process in parallel with the societies (Tuna, 2011). After all these accomplishments the mankind formed the city as Plato defined in his statement: “*the greatest virtue of the mankind is building cities*” (Cansever,2010).

Throughout the human history, the religious and intellectual functions were united-whether in the Egyptian and Babylonian priesthood, the Brahmins, the Mandarin class, the Islamic ‘*ulama,*’ or the medieval Christian priesthood. The functions of the theologian, priest, and scientist were united in a single organ that was conceived as the heart of society (Nasr, 2000).

The first traces of this connection were observed in the early years of history. The requirement for the early settlement related with not only the livelihood and survival but also religion and holy places. Holy places are the spaces that are frequently visited by the many people before building cities. Mecca, Rome, Jerusalem, Varanasi, Beijing, Kyoto, Lourdes still remembers their early spiritual roots and they are proud of their spiritual power. Probably we can add Sodom and Gomorrah, as the cities of sin in the context of religion.

Mumford described the ability of sites to attract non-residents and claimed that city begins as a meeting places to which people periodically return and finally uttered his well-known statement: “*the magnet comes before the container*”. Thus, the first purpose behind the city was in the ceremonial meeting place that serves as the aim for pilgrimage. It is a site to which family or clan groups are drawn back to, at seasonable intervals, because people associate these places with high spiritual values. The religious instinct became a center of attraction and competed with the economical structure and acquired the basic criteria of founding a city and consequently the religion took precedence in the process of urbanism. (Mumford, 1961). The religion is the basic phenomena of the Ages of the Man and manner is the reflection of religion in shape. Jacques Cauvin once noted that “the beginning of the gods was the beginning of agriculture” and added that Neolithic Revolution was emerged as a consequence of religion rather than economy in his book called as “*The Birth of Gods and The Origins of Agriculture*” (Cauvin, 2007). City became the symbol of potential and obtainable acquirements as the agent of cosmos and as a tool that brings the heaven down on the earth (Mumford, 1961).

The cities were known as the religious center for the society in the early years of civilization. The cities were called as the residence center to identify the new organizations and recent accomplishments (Tuna, 2011). Mesopotamian cities were the gifts provided by gods and the Mesopotamian rulers are said to have been touched by gods. Their existence

under the influence the gods. There are many documents indicating the roots of the cities based on gods (Huot et.al., 2000). Aristotle claimed that *Hippodamus, the creator of the first rational city plan, affected by the Egyptians who had a sacred knowledge for city construction* (Miller, 2009). Anu considered as the local deity of Uruk, Enlil as the god of Nippur, Enki as the god of Eridu, Ur, the chief center of the worship of Sin/Nanna, *Utu/Šamaš were the god of Sippar and Larsa* (Huot et.al., 2000). The ancient Egyptian pharaohs were considered as divine beings. No differentiation was made between divinity and kingship, nor between kingship and military, political, magical and religious powers (Hoffman, 1979). It has been said that Alexander the Great conquered Asia Minor by the magic power (McQuillin, 1922) to fulfill oracle's prophecy.

Sumerologist P. Anton Deimel, Adam Falkenstein, T. Jacobsen, *René* Labat, Karl Wittfogel as the author of "*Oriental Despotism*" all stated the religious phenomenon in urbanism movement in the Sumerian region. The agriculture was carried out only by controlling and organizing the irrigation and thus the owner of the land had to be the gods not the private people. Nearly 20 temples dominated the whole cultivated land in the Sumerian city Lagaš. Economic life based on the land and the temple was regarded as the owner of the land. The political life of Mesopotamia had been formed one by one between the clergy society and the Kings. The existence of the primitive hydraulic capital had been managed by the *hierocratical structure* (Huot vd., 2000:72-76).

In many traditional sources—Islam, Hinduism, the Chinese tradition and Christianity, and many other religions—the human body itself is oftentimes compared to a city or kingdom, with all its political and social functions (Nasr, 2000). The Muslim scholar Ibn-I Rushd, known as Averroes supported this comparison and said that *the case of this city is like the case with natural beings* (Averroes, 1974). In this perspective, the heart has an indispensable position and considered as the seat of the intelligence associated with the brain and the mind in unitive mode rather than discursive. So, the sacred places regarded as the heart of the society. It is from that center that all of the other parts of the city grow and to which they are organically related. For instance, in Christian culture the layout of cathedrals originally built to symbolize the Body of Christ, as represented by the cross. It was in consideration of this space that the old European cities, which retain their beauty for people today, were planned always having a cathedral in the middle. In Islam culture, the *Ka'bah* at the very heart of the City of Mecca, the primary spiritual center of Islam corresponds to the human heart. These sacred cities whether in Christianity or in Islam always give us a sense of intimacy, of

belonging, of being at the center. There is always a center, which reflects our own center in these sacred cities. Jerusalem is one of the unique examples which cover the three monotheistic religions and based on celestial reality (Nasr, 2000). The urbanism movement seen in Islam also observed in Christianity. Within the twenty years of crucifixion, Christianity was converted from a faith based in rural Galilee, to an urban movement reaching far beyond Palestine and in the following years Antioch, Tarsus, Ephesus, Nicaea, Iconium, Athens, Constantinople became the major cities of Christianity (Stark, 2009).

OTTOMAN CITY

S. H. Nasr argues that the *cities have a kind of archetypal reality and they are devised to be a kind of reflection on Earth of a celestial reality*. He states that *the cities are not just physical conglomerates that were built as an ensemble. They reflect a reality from the spiritual world and in many traditions what is below is considered as the reflection of what is above*. This viewpoint is identified with Plato and the Platonic ideas and familiar in the West. Swedish visionary, Immanuel Swedenborg draw a parallel between the city and the tree. According to him, *a tree grows out of the principles that are contained in its seed and the seed of a pear tree will never grow into an apple tree; it always gives pears*. In his perspective the principle of the city observed as the embodiment of its “*seed*” in the world above. With the contributions of Descartes, we have quantified dimensionality and try to consider space as quantitative. This quantified view of space leaves no room for qualitative and symbolic space (Nasr, 2000).

This point of view holds true for traditional architecture and urban design. Many traditional sources believe that sacred cities are in a sense like the crystallization in the world of space and time of a reality that belongs to the world of the spirit. They believe that these cities develop according to principles and laws contained in the “*idea*” of the city in question in the archetypal world, much like the growth of the plant from its seed (Nasr, 2000).

Cities are the main places of civilizations and cultural development. In this framework, it has been noticed that urban spaces incorporate social, cultural and political institutionalization from the prehistoric times till now (Mumford, 1961). City is a space that symbolizes religion, social and political system. The city is a meeting place, markets of

intellectual dealings, in which the people with their possessions and the ideas wander around it (Le Goff, 2006). As we have seen in the previous lines, the connection between the religion and the city has been keeping on since the early periods of history. So, this tradition also reflected to Ottoman City and became one of the fundamental structures of the Islamic city.⁵ The unique examples of the relation between the city and the religion sometimes in the form of architecture and the archetypal and celestial reality are observed in the Ottoman cities.

City, as the largest physical construction, the most important item, covers the human life. It is a reflection of heaven in Islamic culture. It was constructed to ornament the world. The cosmos was entrusted by God and therefore the man is responsible to safeguard and beautify the world. “*Safeguard*” and “*beautify*” are the key words in Islam’s concept related with city (Cansever, 2010). There is a saying of Prophet Muhammet: “Whatever you have done in the world is the reflection of your faith”. According to this saying, one Muslim should behave within the border of his faith. The form and manners shouldn’t surpass the mankind norm. The motto “*Small is beautiful*” reflects Islam’s perception covering city foundation Feeling and living the life is essential in Islam rather than just only watching (Cansever, 2012). During the Ottoman period, the houses were built in the light of this information and they never corrupt the habitat and the gardens are the indispensable part of the houses.

The eternity reflection seen in the great pyramids and massive temples in Ancient Egypt and in Antiquity couldn’t be seen in Islamic architecture. These indications are associated with the genetic aesthetics by E.Diez, (Diez, 1938). Western societies, with their inherent separation of secular and sacred, church and state, civil and religious law, are said to have promoted an autonomous domain of secular culture and civil society which are the bases of modernity. Conversely, Islamic societies, lacking a differentiation of secular and sacred, have been tied to binding religious norms, inhibiting their potential for secularization and development (Lapidus, 1996). Man is regarded as the Caliph of God in Islamic concept and therefore responsible for the environment and related with this context, the Islam’s city conception is the best to practice modesty and simplicity rather than pride and eternity (Bonine, 1990).

⁵ This notion is criticized by some scholars such as E. Wirth, H. Hourani, G.E. Von Grunebaum and Weber. They insist that the characteristics of the Islamic cities based on the ancient Eastern Cities (Wirth, 1982).

Islam is the religion of city rather than rural area. It was developed in a city. The word “*medeniyet*” is the equivalent of the word “civilization”. *Medeniyet* is derived from word the “**Medine**” which means “city”. In Aramaic, the word “*Medina*” refers to a settlement which is under the jurisdiction of a court. After the emigration of Prophet Muhammad to Medina (known as the Hijra) that the word “*Medina*” acquired a strong terminological use and converted into “*Medine*” from “*Yathrib*”. This adjustment is a kind of manifesto that underlines the relation between the religion and the city. By renaming the city “*Medina*”, the Prophet implied *that religion (Islam) will be experienced or manifested in this space, also defining the city and even the state* (Cansever, 2012). This evidence testifies the relation between the city and Islam.

With the spread of Islam, the Muslims established new cities such as Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Cordoba, Basra, Konya, Erzurum, Bursa, Bukhara, Khorasan, Cairo, Istanbul with the traces of Islam ranging from architecture to social life (Karakas, 2001). William Marçais also studied the Islam and urbanism and stated *that Islam is essentially an urban religion and Muhammad himself and his leadership group of the early Islamic proselytizers were members of the urban bourgeoisie of the Peninsula*. The performance of Friday communal prayer at a congregational mosque is another testifier for that indicates Islam is an urban religion. The second point stated by William Marçais is that *Islamic civilization was not merely a set of religious beliefs and laws but also a functioning society which was Islamic in the sense that it organized the life of Muslims into a community not just of believers but of doers* (Marçais, 1928). Gustave E. Von Grunebaum supported the ideas of Marçais on Islamic city and noted that *Islam, from its very outset unfolding in an urban milieu, favored city development. The tasks of the Islam is carried out fully only in a city, with its Friday mosque, its markets and, possibly, its public baths* (Grunebaum, 1954).

The term between the 7th and 11th centuries are called as *the Islamic Period of Urbanism* after the spread of the cities, the development of the economy and the civilization in the Islamic geography. Following the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire in the world, particularly the relation between the East and the West, the Islamic city obtained a new form and style. The Anatolia region was conquered and Islamized by the Turks and they led up to vitality in many sides such as architecture, economy, political organization and ext. The inheritance getting from the Seljukian Empire was renewed with a similar norm and Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul were founded as the Ottoman cities (Lombard, 1957). The French poet and statesman, Alphonse de Lamartine observed two features of the Ottoman city: First, the

cleanliness of the country, noone never imagine this kind of purity and the second one is the beauty of this country (Cansever, 2010).

There is a relation between the Islamic principles and Islamic architecture as it is seen the relation between the faith and practice. Islamic architecture is a discipline of the Sacred Art. The Sacred Art term isn't limited with only mosques and the other holy places. The term Tawheed (the doctrine of Oneness of God) doesn't allow the division between the sacred items and the secular items as the every point of the Universe and the every minute of the life are the revelation of the Sacred Being. In Islam's Holy Book Quran stated this fact: *And to Allah belongs the east and the west. So wherever you [might] turn, there is the Face of Allah . Indeed, Allah is all-Encompassing and Knowing* (Al Baqarah:115). Therefore, most of the Islamic architecture formed according to the religious principles. The Holy Existence should only be seen in the Sacred Art (Cansever, 2012). The architecture is a discipline that covers the entire fields of the existence. The architecture is also a reflection of cultural formation covering the part of culture including religion. Therefore it is important to reflect Islamic perspectives in Ottoman cities. Calligraphy, light, modesty and visual privacy are just a few samples that indicate Islamic identity and roots. In the light of Islam, the houses with courtyard rather than balcony were built to provide visual privacy.

Cities are processes, not products. The three Islamic elements that set in motion the processes that give rise to Islamic cities were: a distinction between the members of the Islam Nation and outsiders, which led to juridical and spatial distinction by neighborhoods; At first, there is a segregation of the sexes which gave rise to a particular solution for the spatial organization; the second one is related with a legal system which, rather than imposing general regulations over land uses of various types in various places; and finally the third one is leaving to the litigation of neighbors the detailed adjudication of mutual rights over space and use (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

The great religious symbol, the great concrete image in Islam, one can almost say, is the Qur'an. The Book was eternal, was an attribute of God as identical with His speech, and the paper-and-ink copies of it were sanctified images of it and were sometimes practically exalted as themselves sharing the eternal divine character. The words of the Quran are, certainly, above all evocative and only incidentally informative, in the ordinary Muslim experience: they function as symbols sooner than as simple concepts. It is in this sense that calligraphic art can be far more than decorative, can be full of symbolic meaning (Hodgson, 1964). There is a famous phrase related with calligraphy underlining the Turkish contribution

to this art: “*The Qur'an was revealed in Mecca, read in Egypt and written in Istanbul*”. The calligraphy flourished in Istanbul during the Ottoman Empire and the most beautiful copies of the Qur'an were written by hand. So, it can be easily seen the glorious past writings at mosques and other monuments in Turkey.

Life's universal cycles ebb and flow through tides of darkness and light. However varied in interpretation, light is considered as the essence of life, whereas darkness echoes inevitable death. Light is fundamental to religious experience, and its symbolism pervades the geography of sacred landscapes. As sun, fire, ray, color, or attribute of being and place, light serves as a bridge between interpretation of landscape and religious experience. The phenomenon of light bridges the interpretation of landscape and religious experience. The presence of light in the manifestation of the holy spans multiple religions. Light, through presence or absence, sets apart the sacred from the profane and, in its cognitive, aesthetic, and symbolic forms, reveals and delineates the world, fosters sensual and emotional awareness, and gives life a literal focus and meaning. Color, as affirmation of light, reveals and defines relative purity, sanctity, and supremacy. Pervading both religious landscapes and movements, light is fundamental to religious experience, evoking varied responses and representations both among and within particular belief systems (Weightman, 1996).

L. Kahn underlined *the importance of light in architecture* and believed that *humans gravitate toward the light, a concept that has metaphorical as well as structural implications for the architecture* (Rielly, 2003). Light, in symbol and substance, is fundamental to Islam and the essence of Islamic architecture and it is reflected to the Ottoman cities. Light is identified with the joy of the soul, with the functioning of the intellect, and as an ordering and sacralizing principle. Light defines space and infuses it with the Word; Word as light reverberates and sanctifies. A mosque's minaret is called al-Manarah, the place of light. Quran states that *Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth (An-Nur:35)* Islam is the light of Allah, who illuminates the world; it is divine knowledge. One of Allah's ninety-nine names is al-Nur (The Light) (Weightman, 1996).

The formation of gender segregation is perhaps the most important element of the structure of the city contributed by Islam. The rules of the section are determined not only to establish physically distinctive regions; more important, they were to establish visually distinctive or insulated regions. The object was not only to prevent physical contact but to protect visual privacy. Line-of-sight distance, rather than physical distance, was the object of urban design. Therefore, Islamic law regulated the placement of windows, the heights of

adjacent buildings and the mutual responsibilities of neighbors toward one another so as to guard visual privacy. . Architecture assisted this process and keep on its process in the light of Islam (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

BURSA

Braudel stated that *the civilizations tightly coupled to the region that designed with geography. Civilization has a geographic understanding: each civilization based on an area with more or less fixed limits and has its own geography with its own opportunities and constraints* (Braudel, 1992). Anatolia is a place in which many religions especially the monotheistic religions were met each other. Anatolia acquired this advantage from its geopolitical position. It is very close to Middle East where Islam, Christianity and Judaism were born. Therefore many cities related with spirituality and obtained the label of “Sacred” range from the paganism to the monotheistic religions. The cities located in Anatolia such as Pessinus, Myra, Didyma, Ephesus, Antioch, Tarsus, Nicaea, Iconium, Constantinople, Bursa, Urfa (Edessa), Mardin are all based on history of religions and known as the “faith tourism” centers.

Bursa, "*Green Bursa*," is as vital a part of the Turkish Republic as it was of the Ottoman Empire, which it cradled and became a spiritual center for the contributions of the Muslim saints and the first Sultans. The ancient name of Bursa is known as "*Prussa ad Olympium*". Prusias I (232-192), King of Bithynia the second century B.C., was believed to be the founder of the city. In addition to Prusias I, the second person related with the foundation of Bursa is Hannibal. During this period, The Carthaginian King Hannibal, upon losing his battle against the Roman Empire, took refuge at the court of Prusias I with his army. Here, he was met as a victorious commander and respected as such. In return, Hannibal and his soldiers built a city and therefore Pliny the Elder names Hannibal as the founder of Bursa (Pliny the Elder, 1906). The region was under the control of the Roman Empire and during the 11th century the city frequently changed hands between the Byzantine and the Seljukian Empire. In 1326, the Ottomans laid siege to the city, conquered by the Orhan Ghazi. It was after Prussa- called Bursa by the Turks - became the Ottoman capital in 1335 that it started to develop as a major political and commercial center (İnancık, 2012).

Bursa had taken the characteristics of the Turkish civilization from the Seljukian Empire and passed on to the Ottoman Empire. A kind of spiritual bridge from Konya

(Seljukian capital city) to Istanbul (Ottoman capital city). Bursa has been described with the epithets of “*typical Ottoman city*” or as “*the cradle of the Empire*”. We can observe the roots of the Ottoman Empire in Bursa as the reflection of Ingeborg Bachmann’s statement: “*Oh! City. All the roots of civilizations lie in your heart*”, and Victor Hugo’s statement: “*City is an inscription written on a space*” (Armağan, 2006). The Ottoman Bursa, in many respects showed the characteristics of an Islamic city with a congregational mosque and a *çarşı* structure (bazaar) in the center of the city and division of neighborhoods on the basis of different religious groups. The institutions existed in Bursa bear the Islamic characteristics and therefore considered as different from the Western city concepts and obtained the label “*the Ottoman City*” or the “*Islamic city*”. It hosts many architectural artifacts of the Early Ottoman Period and called as many phrases that indicate its distinguished and notable worth in Turkish culture: “*A city in which the Ottoman Empire was born*”, “*Hudavendigâr (God’s gift)*”, “*Sacred city*”, “*Sacred capital city of the Ottoman Empire*”, “*A city which bears the Turkish spirit at full strength*”, *Bursa: A bunch of grapes of the eternal truth in the earth*. The mosques, the domes, the fountains, the plane trees, the tombs as the last stop of the magnificent lives give some spiritual messages to the people who visit them. So after all of the contributions, Bursa labelled as the quintessential Ottoman city.

The distinguished Turkish poet and author Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar says *there is a second time in Bursa* in his famous book called as “Five Cities” underlining the historical reflections that drag you to the Ottoman Period. Bursa preserves the remnants and historical structures of the early years of the Ottoman Empire and bears the Turkish spirituality. Turkish traveler and writer Evliya Celebi (1611-1682) named Bursa as “*spiritual city*” as it bears many Islamic saints and underlining their contribution to the foundation of the first capital (Tanpınar, 2011). Bursa, as a mystical city, enlightened by the entire Ottoman civilization with its mosques on every corner and streets which are decorated with historical fountains.

The Ottomans first settled in the fortified city of Bursa and developed it to suit their needs. During the 1330's, Orhan Gazi and his brother Alaeddin Bey each built a mosque and a hammam (Turkish Bath) inside the walled city. Alaeddin Bey's mosque (1335-36) and public bath were near the Zindan gate; the Orhan Gazi mosque and Eski Hammam (Old Bath) stood in the vicinity of the Gümüşlü Kümbet and of the Orta Pazar (Middle Market) respectively. The perfect blend between architecture and embellishment of the Green Mosque in Bursa attracted the A.Gide’s attention and he was filled with admiration and stated that this

Green Mosque is the healthiest product of the fully grown intelligence of the mankind (Tanpınar, 2010).

In the history of cities in the Ottoman Empire, Bursa became a prototype for the following capital cities of the Ottoman Empire: Edirne and İstanbul (Constantinople) After the Orhan Ghazi period, Bursa became a trade center between East and West and became a silk and spice point. The center in which the caravans from the East, the merchants from Italy met here (İnancık, 2012). Bursa, the most important center of silk trade and industry in the Near East in 1550- 1650. It was a major entrepot through which not only Persian but also locally produced raw silk was sent to Europe, mainly via Italy. Bursa, again, was a major center where European cloths-mainly woollens and light silks-were sold and competed directly with the locally produced cloths (Cizakca, 1980). Ibn-i Batuta, a fourteenth century Moroccan scholar and traveler, *underlines the importance of religious infrastructure in Bursa*. He also expresses the *fine bazaars and wide streets surrounded on all sides by gardens and running streets* (Ibn-i Batuta, 1962). The minarets of its 18 mosques and 130 mescids (small mosques), 22 madrasah (theological schools) and the other social institutions were the second largest city after Istanbul in 16 century. Bertrandon de la Broquière, the French traveler, states *that Bursa is a city in which the Lords of Turks are buried and is the best city belonging to the Grand Turk* in his visit in 1432. The Spanish traveler Pero Tafur, two Florentine travelers Bonsignore Bonsignore & Bernardo Michelozzi, German Arnold von Harff, French Pierre Belon all indicates *the commercial power of the city* in their 14th and 15th century travels (Lowry, 2003). Johannes Schiltberger, a German of Munich, taken as a captive in Ottoman Empire identified *Bursa as the trade center for the world silk industry* (İnancık, 2012).

Every city is to some degree a center of high culture and intellectual life, and it is principally the intellectuals who are involved in keeping active and if necessary in transforming, the cultural traditions they inherit. High culture, in this context, refers to that tradition of fundamental values by which men live (Friedmann, 1961).

Walt Whitman stated that *a great city is that which has the greatest men and women*. In this perspective one of the basic feature that makes Bursa *spiritual capital* is associated with the Muslim dervishes (saints) lived and contributed to the foundation of the city. Geyikli Baba⁶, Emir Sultan, Konuralp, Somuncu Baba, Süleyman Çelebi, Molla Fenari, Abdal

⁶ "Baba" is a Turkish word literally means "father, dad". But sometimes it is used for prasing and respecting the holy persons and old people as a title.

Mehmet, Abdal⁷ Musa and so on. As the number of the Islamic saints is high, it was called as the “*City of Islamic Saints*”. You can see the tombs of these saints in one corner of the city and sometimes the names of these people were given to the streets in order to conserve their cultural and spiritual heritage. The Turkish author A.H. Tanpinar stated *the passing away is understood by the Eastern countries and added that the Turkish people tamed the case of “death”* (Tanpinar, 2011).

The legendary side of the dervishes is generally the most known and shared among the people. The communities, who lived around the tombs of these holy men and followed their cult and belief system, would generally tell the strangers the short stories proving the superiority and holiness of the dervish. Some of the stories are kept in written form and compiled in a book (Taşoturacak, 2009). These books are called as “*Menakabname*”⁸ in Turkish. In Islamic faith, despite some disapprovals, it has been regarded that the Spiritual power contribute to the social life. If we give an example, the theme is more clear. During the wars between the Islamic sides against the other side, the spiritual power of the Islamic saints is always felt. For example, Geyikli Baba (1275-1350), a Muslim saint born in Khoy in West Azerbaijan Province of Iran, came to Anatolia with a group known as *Khorasan Saints*. He left his hometown, power and position and migrated to the Anatolia. He likened the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to a birth of new religion. During the campaigns against the Byzantine Empire, he participated to the Ottoman Army. He always travelled on his deer during the war. He was called as “*Geyikli Baba*” (Saints of Deer or Stag Dervish) as many people observed his miracles during the capture process of the castle. After the conquest of Bursa, he settled down in Mount Uludağ.⁹

He had a simple and normal life by giving lectures to new dervishes. **Orhan Gazi**, the **second sultan** of the Ottoman dynasty, built a İmaret¹⁰ (A Charity Institution) for the honour of Geyikli Baba. At first, he didn't come to Bursa, despite of Orhan Gazi's insistent invitations. Then a few years later, he went to Bursa and visited the castle of Orhan Gazi. In the yard, he planted the tree which he cut on the foothill of Mt. Uludağ and uttered the

⁷ “Abdal, Baba, Dervish” are the titles given to the mystic people. Literally means abandon everything in the life and devoted himself to God. Sometimes they became the social leaders of the society.

⁸ Menakabnames tell the extraordinary life stories of Dervishes (Muslim Saint). They are indispensable source for historians.

⁹ Mount Uludağ with an altitude of 2,543 m located in Bursa Province. Ancient name of Mt. Uludağ is Mysian Olympus. The former Turkish name of this mount is Keşiş Dağı (Mountain of Monks) then this name adjusted and became Uludağ (Sublime Mountain).

¹⁰ A type of **charity** association built during the **Ottoman** period. It is sometimes called as public kitchen for travelers, pious mystics and the poor amongst others.

following lines: *As long as this reminiscence (plane tree) survives, the prayers of the dervishes will be upon you and your generation. Your generation and your state will take root and spread to the far and wide like this tree and served to the Islam religion.* He read a verse from Quran.¹¹ This plane tree grew and became a great tree and still continue its existence. He refused the valuable presents given by the Sultan and returned to Uludağ (Mount of Monks) and kept on his education activities. After he passed away, Orhan Gazi built a tomb, a mosque and a dervish lodge for the honour of him. There are many dervishes like Geyikli Baba not just only in Bursa but in many provinces of Turkey. All of the dervishes have legends and they transmitted from one generation to another. The tombs of these dervishes are frequently visited by the people. Fastening a bit of fabric, sacrifice an animal for God are just a few rituals taking places around the tombs of these dervishes.

The tekkes (dervish lodge), the places in which the dervishes were dwelled, prayed and disseminate their religious beliefs, were indeed more than just sacred buildings for the followers of the dervish. Firstly, they were the center for the economical activities of the surrounding settlement areas. Secondly they were centers supplying services for the travelers and the traders and the settlers of the area. Finally they were also political agents that played important roles between the people and the state. (Taşoturacak, 2009). Therefore the tekkes played an important role for the Ottoman society.

As we stated above, the first spiritual identity of Bursa related with the dervishes. Hence Bursa became a sacred city and acquired many identities identifying sacred titles. The second feature that contributes to the spiritual identity of Bursa also related with the people but now with the statesmen, the Sultans. The city of Bursa ranks as a national shrine, for there are buried Osman and Orhan, the first two sultans of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the first two sultans, the tombs of the following sultans are also located in Bursa: Sultan I. Murad Hüdavendigâr, Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid, Sultan Çelebi Mehmed, Sultan II. Murad. According to the A.H. Tanpınar, Ottoman identity lies in its fourteenth-century ‘spirit’ and could be easily observed in its architecture, founding fathers, and topography. He emphasized the Ottoman identity in Bursa in the following lines: *“Whatever the adjustments, calamities or neglect, whatever progressive or felicitous stages it [Bursa] might have gone through, it has always preserved the spirit of its formative age, it conserves with us through it and breathes its poetry”* (Tanpınar, 2011).

¹¹ Have you not considered how Allah presents an example, [making] a good word like a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed and its branches [high] in the sky? (Abraham, 24)

During the Ottoman period, architectural conversions took place at sites of former Byzantine splendour, with the attendant reuse and adaptation of Byzantine spaces. Subsequently, the Ottomans transformed the existing urban order by adding new structures and reviving elements of the ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine layers. The Ottomans, the reinventers of Bursa, ‘*Ottomanised the past*’ as they built their capital city into a metropolis. In this context, for example Osman Ghazi, the Ottoman founder was buried in a Byzantine religious building in the upper city – the legendary “*Silver Dome*” of a prominent religious complex called Manastır (Monastery) in Ottoman sources travellers’ accounts. Orhan, who died in 1362, is said to have been buried in the main church of the same monastic complex as his predecessor, Osman (Çağaptay, 2011).

After the conquest of Bursa, the remaining Christian residents either continued living in the old city or formed new neighborhoods outside the walls. In addition to the Christian population, the Jews who previously had been fleeing to escape the heavy taxes under Byzantium were welcomed once again into the city, where they were granted freedom to build their synagogue and settle their residential quarters. The tolerance of the Sultans seen in the social life reflected to the physical transformation. Therefore the architectural adjustments especially on the sacred places were in minimal size and never lose its former features (Çağaptay, 2011).

CONCLUSION

In sum, Bursa is a unique city with its historical characteristics and it doesn’t only just attract the attention of the Ottoman Turks but also the other nations. Bursa is important as it was the cradle of the Ottoman Empire which spanned three continents, controlling much of Southeastern Europe, Western Asia and North Africa. It was at the center of the interactions between the Eastern and Western worlds for six centuries. It is necessary to learn the Ottoman History if anyone who wants to learn the history of mankind. Ottoman armies carried the banner of Islam and made noteworthy contributions to the Islamic civilizations. Therefore, Ottoman Empire is regarded as the representative of Islam on the theories of the clash of civilizations between West and Islam.

When we analyze the urbanism and the emergence of the first cities, we have obviously seen the role of religions. Before establishing the cities, the mankind gathers around for pilgrimage. The religious instinct became a center of attraction and surpassed the economical structure and acquired the basic criteria of founding a city and consequently the

religion took precedence in the process of urbanism. Hence, it is impossible to find a city which has no relation with any religion or spiritual identity. Jerusalem, Mecca, Rome, Constantinople, Antioch are the main provinces related with spiritual power and religion.

As the Ottoman Empire was a strongly Muslim state, there are many common features between the Ottoman cities and the other Islamic cities. In Ottoman culture city is regarded as a reflection of heaven. You have to reflect your faith to your architecture. As Islamic architecture is described a discipline of the Sacred Art, you can see the Islamic reflections over them.

So, Bursa, cradle of the Ottoman Empire, as a mystical city, enlightened by the entire Ottoman civilization with its mosques on every corner and streets which are decorated with historical fountains. Islamic institutions in Bursa bore the hallmark of the early Ottomans' popular Islam, which was culturally inclusive and tolerant. Since its emergence, Bursa always positioned as a sacred city. This sanctity was also seen in Christian period. The former name of Uludağ (Mysian Olympus) is Keşiş Dağı (Mount of Monks). In the Roman Empire and Hellenistic Ages, Mt. Uludağ was a shelter for early Christian monks. This tradition goes on in the Ottoman Period and Muslim dervishes lived on this mountain.

Finally, there are two main points that makes Bursa spiritual capital. The first one is the dervishes. They contributed both materially and spiritually. The second one is the Sultans. As an Islamic city there is a close relation between the Muslim scholars and the statesman. The Sultans always applied to the Muslim scholars for their advice and pray. Therefore during the foundation of Bursa, the reflection of Islam is clearly seen. As the second contributors, the Sultans buried in Bursa, are called as the founder of the Ottoman and they were respected a lot. This spiritual label or power of Bursa still used in many perspectives and Bursa therefore called as a faith tourism center in Turkey. Bursa, cradle of the Ottoman Empire, obtained the spiritual identity from Islam, Ottoman Empire, the Sultans, the Muslim dervishes, mosques, fountains and the other architectural attractions. While positioning a city through the spiritual identity and cultural heritage, Bursa can be given as a unique example which preserves its cultural heritage beyond any doubt.

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The new identity of Belgrade ś Savamala district. An urban transformation from an oriental Turkish to a creative new district in modern Belgrade

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Abstract

The district we know as Savamala was an important area in oriental Belgrade, located around the present day Sava wharf. Despite its high historical significance, this area was one of the most neglected parts of Belgrade ś downtown during the 20th century. The Savamala district is transforming into a hip creative urban district where the old buildings in the neighborhood are gaining a new role.

The study reported in this paper examines the changes in the Belgrade Old Town district of Savamala. This change in Savamala has been occurring over the last few years, and the results are already visible. The warehouses and courtyards in the core of the Savamala district, Karadjordjeva Street, are being repaired and used as creative venues. One of the old buildings in Karadjordjeva Street has become the base for Mikser House. The area now boasts numerous creative projects, including the OFF Guide Savamala, a Goethe Institute project in Belgrade. Thanks to these new cultural activities and venues, Savamala has a historic chance to become a leader in the creative industry in the Balkans.

The paper shows recent changes and suggests further developments for the Savamala district; it examines its new identity within modern Belgrade. The main goal of the paper is to illustrate the new identity of Belgrade ś Savamala district.

Keywords: city marketing, public space, urban history, urban transformation, new identity, creative city, Belgrade, oriental Turkish town, Savamala

Introduction

Belgrade is a European city and the capital of Serbia. The city lies on the confluence of two major European rivers, the Danube and the Sava. Belgrade's history saw major changes in the 19th century, when everything related to the oriental Turkish Belgrade was demolished and the city was fully reconstructed. The year 1867 is marked as the turning point in the history of the modern urban development of Belgrade. It is the year when the founder of modern Serbian urban planning, Emilijan Josimovic, completed his urban plan of modern European Belgrade and transformed it from an oriental town into a European city. Belgrade had only 25,000 inhabitants at the time of this reconstruction (Bojović, 2003).

In only a few decades Belgrade was transformed from a derelict and poorly arranged small town, with winding, narrow streets into the main economic, cultural and governmental center of the young Serbian state.

Throughout its long history the Serbian capital, Belgrade, has often been a border city between the East and West and a city which has often been pulled down and attacked. This fact has not only influenced, but also shaped its urban structure. Located on the border between Austro-Hungary and Turkey, Belgrade was oriental in character for almost five full centuries before it became transformed into the modern European city it is today. Prior to its urban transformation, when everything related to the oriental Belgrade was destroyed, Belgrade looked like a typical Ottoman city (Djurić-Zamolo, 1968). As opposed to European town planning, where everything is situated in a geometrical system of streets, in Oriental Belgrade all the elements were adapted to the topography. The streets between houses were adapted to the terrain, so they were mostly winding. From the residential districts, streets and roads were directed towards the bazaar and the complex of public buildings, and only the bazaar had somewhat straight streets.

Savamala is situated on the southern bank of the River Sava. It is part of the waterfront, which was one of the most neglected parts of Belgrade during the 20th century. However, things started to change recently when a group of creative people and cultural organizations decided to transform this gray and forgotten city district into a new cultural/creative destination.

History of Savamala

Savamala was an important area in oriental Belgrade, located around the present day Sava wharf on the southern bank of the River Sava. Present day Savamala streets which have the remains of oriental Belgrade are 7th July, Gracanicka, Cara Lazara, Karadjordjeva (to the Bristol hotel), Brace Krsmanovic and Kraljevica Marka streets.

The name Savamala comes from the name of the river Sava and the Turkish word for a district or a block of houses, *mahala*. Savamala stretches along the banks of the Sava River south of the Kalemegdan fortress and was actually the first district constructed outside of its walls. The area has historical importance as it was reconstructed in 1830 by the order of Milos Obrenovic, the Prince of Serbia and founder of the Obrenovic dynasty (when a Hattishef of 1830 was issued, the Serbian government gained greater autonomy from Turkey). Prince Milos Obrenovic ordered a new development plan for the Savamala district which included the dislocation of the district's inhabitants to other Belgrade districts. The major change was the demolition of the old ruined houses and the building of new ones (Petrović, 2010).

Karadjordjeva Street is the biggest street in Savamala. This street was once the center of the economic, social and cultural life of Belgrade, a street with numerous famous hotels, restaurants and shops. Nowadays it is the main arterial road for international traffic through Belgrade and is frequently used by heavy trucks, bringing noise and pollution to Savamala.

Among the very important changes along Karadjordjeva Street carried out on the order of Prince Milos Obrenovic was the construction of Djumurkana, the public building that served as the center of cultural life in Belgrade at that time. The port at Savamala had an important role as a main international trade center. A banking and insurance joint-stock company which was established in 1882 in Karadjordjeva Street in one of the most beautifully ornamented buildings in the city. The biggest construction activity in Belgrade at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century took place there in the area around the port and spread to Karadjordjeva Street. That was an important period for Belgrade's development, and Savamala was at the center of it. Restaurants and bars in Savamala, mainly in Karadjordjeva Street, had a major role in the development of social and cultural life in Savamala as they were often a stage for concerts and performances. This atmosphere attracted merchants and rich people to Savamala, both to open their businesses and to move

there as well. Soon, Savamala became a business center and was the area where Belgrade's first bourgeois class was created. Its favorable position near Sava port allowed good connections with Europe after a couple of centuries of Turkish oriental dominance. Here in this area some of the beautiful richly decorated historical buildings can still be found, as a testimony to Savamala's past glory. Although in very bad shape there are beautiful examples of Academism, Art Nouveau or Secession architecture (Petrović, 2010).

Despite its high historical significance, Savamala was forgotten during the 20th century, especially during the former Yugoslavian Socialist regime. Its historical heritage was left behind and many buildings stayed abandoned. Many objects became seriously deteriorated.



After World War II, Savamala was in a constant state of dilapidation and marked as socially disadvantaged and underdeveloped district. The former Sava port, once the pride of Belgrade during its glory days at the beginning of the 20th century, is today filled with abandoned wrecks.



Figure 1 Belgrade's Savamala district. Photo by the autho



Figure 2 The Belgrade Cooperative Building, located at 48 Karadjordjeva Street, was built in 1907 in the style of Academism by famous Serbian architects Andra Stevanovic and Nikola Nestorovic.

These architects were directly influenced by French architecture from the beginning of the 20th century. This beautiful highly ornamented building is unfortunately in very bad shape like many other buildings in Savamala. Until World War II it belonged to the joint stock company of Belgrade cooperatives. After the War the building was assigned to the Institute of Geophysics and is thus known as the *Geozavod* building. Today, while waiting for its reconstruction, the Ministry of Justice is using the building (Djurić-Zamolo, 2009).



Figure 3 The second important historical building that will be mentioned here is the beautiful secession building of the Hotel Bristol, built in 1912 by the same architects, Andra Stevanovic and Nikola Nestorovic. The three storey building is located at 50 Karadjordjeva Street. The Hotel

Bristol is one of the oldest hotels in Belgrade and at the time it was built was one of the biggest buildings in the city. It spreads over an area four streets wide. Today this building shares the same destiny as other buildings in Savamala district, it is in a very bad shape (Djurić-Zamolo, 2009).

The new identity of Savamala

Cultural organizations, events and initiatives such as the Urban Incubator by the Goethe Institute Belgrade, Cultural Center Grad, Mikser Festival or design Incubator Nova Iskra are announcing the new age of the Savamala district.

Mikser is a multidisciplinary initiative and social hub with the aim of promoting and developing national and regional creative industries (architecture, new media, visual arts, music, media and design). There are various projects organized by Mikser such as the *Ghost Project* (since 2006), the international showcase for young industrial designers who aim to connect industry with emerging talents, the *Young Balkan Designers* competitions or the *Soundtruck Call* competition. The Mikser organization has set-up its own creative industry festival, Mikser, first held in 2009. One of the aims of the Mikser creative festival, besides

promoting young regional talents, is to help the transformation of Savamala. There are numerous multidisciplinary projects during the festival (workshops, lectures, competitions, performances) connected with the Savamala urban transformation initiative, which makes the Mikser organization one of the most active players in transforming Savamala into a creative district (Mikser).

Held in the late spring, the Mikser festival transforms the neighborhood into an open stage with workshops, readings, concerts, video installations, exhibitions and performances. Any resident and visitor of Savamala and Belgrade can take part. According to Florida, places are also valued for authenticity and uniqueness. Authenticity comes from several aspects of a community - historic buildings, established neighborhoods, a unique music scene, or specific cultural attributes. An authentic place also offers unique and original experiences. Thus a place full of chain stores, chain restaurants, and nightclubs is not authentic. You could have the same experience anywhere (Florida, 2002).

Mikser House is a new venue space located at 46 Karadjordjeva Street in an old 1000m² abandoned warehouse. The huge open space is transformed into a modern room and equipped for cultural, educational and commercial activities that take place over the whole year (the Balkan Design Store and Balkan Gastro Corner present selected regional products). This transformed space is a leading venue in the new Savamala culture district and is ready to host

various international workshops, exhibitions, lectures and concerts. Mikser house has the capacity and ambition to become the leading regional center for creative industries.



Figure 4 Karadjordjeva Street: Mikser House and Disco Club Mladost. Photo by the author

The Urban Incubator: Belgrade is a project which helps and promotes the idea of the revitalization of the Savamala district. Project *Urban Incubator* was initiated by the Goethe-Institute Belgrade and is supported by the City of Belgrade and the Municipality of Savski Venac. It involves architects, artists and Savamala residents and supports the idea of change

in Savamala. *The Urban Incubator: Belgrade* embraces more than ten local and international projects within areas of architecture, community engagement, urban development and art. Some of the institutions and authors involved in the project are the University of Technical Sciences (ETH) Zurich, raumlaborberlin, the artists´ collective *Third Belgrade*, Hamburg University of Fine Arts, Zurich University of the Arts, GingerEnsemble (CH), Camenzind (Zurich) and Goethe-Guerilla (the program has been running since 2010). One of the projects, known as *URBAN INCUBATOR featuring*, is currently in the Spanish House in the period between May and November 2013. Different performances, concerts, debates, exhibitions, workshops are taking place during this period (Goethe Institute Belgrade).

The Spanish House is one of Savamala´s many devastated buildings, left aside after reconstruction attempts. In the time of Savamala´s glory, this building used to be a customs house, which was then left aside during the period of communist Yugoslavia. There were some attempts at reconstruction and transformation in the past, but without any success. This ruin has now been transformed into a creative venue and is used for events within the Goethe Institute´s project Urban Incubator: Belgrade.



Figure 5 Cultural center Grad. Photo by the author

In 2009, Cultural center Grad moved into the old warehouse from 1884 in Savamala at 4 Brace Krsmanovic and since then has presented various activities such as concerts, exhibitions, performances, workshops and lectures (Cultural center Grad).



Figure 6 Spanish house. Photo by the author



Figure 7 Gallery12HUB is also located in Karadjordjeva Street, just opposite Mikser House. It is a new creative space and as the name says is a hub of art and technology with the main aim of promoting digital and performance art. The gallery is a great contribution to the development of the new creative scene in Savamala. Photo by the author



Figure 8 Mural Waiting for the Sun in Savamala was made by Aleksandar Maćašev for the occasion of the Mikser Festival in 2013 and by the initiative of the Mikser organization and Ceresit Facade Paints. The mural is located on the wall of the house just opposite Mikser House in Karadjordjeva Street. Photo by the author

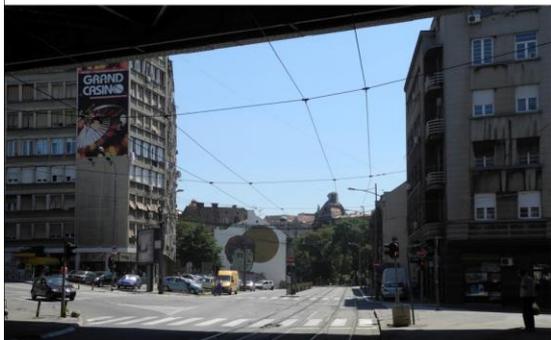


Figure 9 Mural La Santa de Beograd made by Giom Olbi Remed in 2008 is located in Karadjordjeva Street in Savamala. Photo by the author



Nova Iskra is a new and independent 350m² design center located in Savamala in Gavrića Principa Street and is divided by several spatial units. It also serves as a platform and important instrument of networking for young designers, visual artists and architects. It offers working space and support for the professional development of young creative people. The objective of the Nova Iskra is to interlink creative potential with industry, trade and the service sector in Serbia. Designers Lab for example provides working space for eighteen young designers within the Nova Iskra building (Nova Iskra).



Figure 10 Street art in the Savamala district. Photo by the author

Future developments

Modern Belgrade is a fusion of the old and the new, the East and the West. The 20th century introduced major changes in Belgrade's urban structure (Belgrade was destroyed twice in the two world wars and around 40% of all the building capacities were either destroyed or damaged in the bombings of 1941 and 1944). After World War II Belgrade had the highest population influx in its history and in only a few decades, it became a city with a population of almost two million (Maksimović, 1983). The construction of New Belgrade after World War II was the major urban project in Yugoslavia which influenced the influx of new residents coming from within Serbia. The economic development of the old communist Yugoslavia turned Belgrade into a new administrative center (Bojović, 2003). This golden age of modern Belgrade was interrupted in the final decade of the 20th century when war in Yugoslavia started. The destruction of Yugoslavia, followed by political events, was also marked by the political blockade of Belgrade. The final decade of the 20th century was a decade of major social crisis, followed by serious urban decay, too. Numerous flamboyant buildings in Belgrade remained empty and unused (Arandjelovic, 2008).

When speaking about modern Belgrade, the riverfront cannot be avoided. During its long history the city has used its riverfronts primarily for defense. This changed at the beginning

of the 20th century when the city came down to the rivers, especially when Savamala took a leading role as an economic and trade center. The next change taking place at this prime location was the creation of a new industrial zone which made closer connection between the rivers and Belgrade citizens impossible. The waterfront was left behind during the 20th century and became an area that constantly suffered from systematic neglect. Belgrade is among the few European cities that didn't integrate their riverfronts successfully into the city core.

One of the reasons for neglecting Belgrade's riverfronts is the building and development of Novi Beograd (New Belgrade) on the left bank of the River Sava, the biggest and most prestigious urban development project in the former-socialist Yugoslavia. New Belgrade got all attention and interest and was the Yugoslavian project that aimed to demonstrate its new power while the Sava riverfront was the legacy of the feudal and capitalist Serbian past.

There are many problematic issues in the riverfront zone that need to be transformed in the future if the city aims to use this particular natural potential in the right way. The current situation is one of devastated industrial zones and public promenades in poor condition. The Belgrade riverfront definitely has great potential for future development.

The Savamala district is changing, and the creative industry is playing an immense role in the transformation of the area into a cultural hub, because for the first time in the last few decades, Savamala is an important subject and topic of interest. Belgrade's citizens are visiting the location more than ever and the topic is presented on international platforms. Savamala definitely has a favorable position located at the riverfront near the city center and near the main train and bus stations. It is on the way to establishing itself as an attractive creative industry scene in the region. At the moment, Savamala looks wild and alternative with its neglected courtyards, attics, abandoned basements, warehouses or various historical palatial spaces. Savamala looks grey and dark and seriously deteriorated spaces are visible all around.

The biggest problem is that many property issues are still unresolved and future legal procedures are very complicated. Also, some further investments in the infrastructure and public spaces, which this district needs eagerly, must be put on hold because of limited financial possibilities. These are some of the challenges that Savamala is facing. Compared with these problems, artist and designer initiatives look utopian. Serbia has been facing a serious financial crisis since the last decade of the 20th century and there are still no visible results. All elections since the 90s have started with promises that riverfronts must be re-

vitalized and reconstruction will be done, all this with loud speeches stating that no metropolis should allow wrecks in the city center on its rivers. The city authorities always have big plans and great stories to tell but the only change so far has come from cultural initiatives. The most

important thing is the change we are witnessing every day here. The cultural initiatives from the Goethe Institute Belgrade or Mikser festivals are good steps forward in attracting young designers and artists to join the process of transformation.

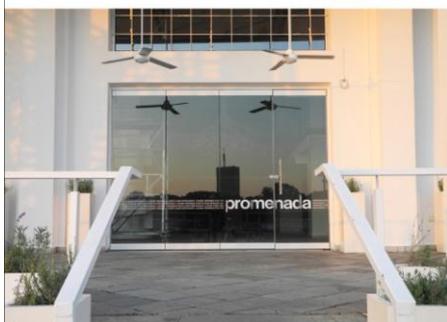


Figure 11 Savamala promenade. Photo by the author



Figure 12 Beton Hala at Savamala promenade

The Beton Hala building (Concrete Hall) at 2-4 Karadjordjeva Street is a newly reconstructed location that hosts several trendy restaurants and clubs. This 300-meter complex is located directly on the Sava riverfront and is one of the first reconstructed spaces. Until recently this complex of historical industrial storage buildings was one of the many abandoned spaces in Savamala, while today it is a top trendy destination.



Conclusion

Creative city and creative industries are terms inseparable with a contemporary metropolis. According to Florida, people are drawn to places and communities where many outdoor activities are prevalent – both because they enjoy these activities and because their presence is seen as a signal that the place is amenable to the broader creative lifestyle. They prefer

indigenous street-level culture, a teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between performers and spectators (Florida, 2002). Cities started to invest in their creative industries after realizing that they may advance the tourism industry. Creative industries also encourage creative institutions to invest in new infrastructure, which generates additional revenues, brings benefits and contributes to the public image of a city. Place branding and place management are a part of every strategic spatial development.

Belgrade could benefit from making a *new creative identity* in this neighborhood with its rich heritage. Is Serbia ready to recognize that, as Richard Florida said, creativity is the new economy? Belgrade is suffering a hard transitional process after being heavily damaged in recent decades, and Savamala might be a great opportunity for making a new image. The whole area offers space available for potential new businesses. The possible arrival of an art scene may transform this city area into a really attractive creative district that may in the future attract not just the Balkan, but also the international creative class. Creative industries could be used in the branding of Belgrade, and the arrival of festivals and events like Mikser is just the first step.

The recent change in Savamala is a fresh phenomenon and it is too early for final conclusions. Savamala has the potential of becoming the new home for global nomads moving from one place to another. Belgrade was already a regional center and the capital of Yugoslavia, thus everything is possible. Before this can happen, many serious changes need to be made. Concerning the actual political and economic situation and knowing the fact that Serbia is not yet close to becoming a Europe Union member, this might seem like a pure illusion.

Financial support for culture and the arts has been cut in the last years in Serbia. The city has made very few and not enough attempts to support 'creative industries' by giving some subsidies to avant-garde art projects. Belgrade is a city in transition and the country is at the moment in poor economic condition after two decades permanently in crisis. There is still a long way to go for there to be any connection between Florida's 'creative class' and Savamala. Economic prosperity in Belgrade is not certain, and neither is the future of Savamala. It is not yet possible to say to what extent the creative industries can and will influence the future of Belgrade's economy.

The Savamala neighborhood has definitely benefitted from the arrival of Mikser House and other young bohemian residents, who have already improved the area for all its residents. The Goethe Institute in Belgrade is playing a huge role in all their projects and activities. Small

independent creative venues and art galleries in emerging creative districts may attract commerce. With this, Savamala might become a more attractive site for investment which will in turn create numerous new opportunities for its residents in the future. The importance of Savamala as a tourist site and flagship city branding mechanism could be enormous. During the next few years, the urban growth coalitions must invest in the development of creative institutions in Savamala if the city wants to spur any urban economic development in this area. Belgrade should use this opportunity.

But, Belgrade is unpredictable and in a constant state of change. Savamala has space available for new businesses, and its waterfront space and good transportation infrastructure are all beneficial for its future development. The historical significance and the presence of some of the magnificent but unfortunately neglected architectural works from the beginning of the 20th century make this district even more interesting. Possible cultural districts like Savamala, as mixed use areas, might help the process of urban renewal. Renewal policy should not miss this opportunity to develop this traditional and neglected district and to integrate it better within a wider urban structure. Creative industries could be used in the regeneration of this marginalized area. The arrival of the art scene is the just first step.

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Customer satisfaction survey for urban transformation project of housing development administration of Turkey (Toki): an application in Konya

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Abstract

Urbanization policies in Turkey have gained a new dimension through the projects of Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ), which is a central foundation along with private sector organizations and municipality. TOKİ aims to meet a significant proportion of housing need with the project they put into practice, especially since 2003. Implementation of urban renewal projects concurrently with housing production is also important for the formation of city branding.

Housing Development Administration must give importance to customer satisfaction of individuals who are primary customers in these projects, as well as residential projects. Because customer satisfaction is extremely important in meeting communal needs. In this study, satisfaction level of the customers of TOKİ, which has an important role in the creation and branding of cities as well as housing production, will be analyzed. To this end, the data obtained from surveys of residential properties produced and sold by TOKİ in Konya will be evaluated, and thoughts of users/customers about success of implemented housing policies and quality of fully-produced houses will be put forth.

Keywords: Housing Development Administration of Turkey, Customer Satisfaction, Housing, City, Konya

1. Introduction

From its inception, Housing Development Administration, which is most important institution for formulation and implementation of urbanization policy in Turkey by the help of opportunities provided by Mass Housing Fund, provided housing loans through the financial support for approximately 950 thousand houses until 2002. At the same time, the construction of 43,145 houses on their own plots of land has been completed.

TOKİ is authorized to operate urban renewal projects within the framework of the legal regulations carried out in 2003. To this end, within the scope of the Regulation on how to use the Mass Housing Administration Resources, TOKİ also added “conversion of slums and provide funding for the purpose of improving” to the between areas of management resources to use. Thus, following a comprehensive policy of planning living areas and contemporary urbanization in cooperation with the municipalities is prioritized. Urban renewal projects have been launched in cooperation with the municipalities.

TOKİ allocated a significant amount of resources for the projects to attain livable conditions in the slum districts in almost all cities of Turkey, especially in big cities, since 2003. Because, one of the principal goals of TOKİ is enhancing the living standards in the cities exposed to the negative effects of rapid urbanization. Towards this goal, a large-scale reconstruction process has been initiated with a contemporary planning approach and all available resources are directed to urban planning and the renovation works of substandard, unplanned structuring.

As of 2011, showing the success of the production of 600 thousand housing, during this time, TOKİ also carried out slum prevention, social qualified housing production, housing for low-income and poor's, satellite city, disaster housing, agricultural and rural practices, migrant housing, resource development and revenue-sharing projects, as well as urban renewal projects.

Especially since 2003, beginning to perform a rapid construction of housing, TOKİ's applications based on housing production projects, which should be analyzed in terms of quality and quantity, have become one of the major issues that keeps construction and housing sector, professional chambers and the public quite busy. Because TOKİ has become the most important actor of construction industry by the projects carried out. Therefore, the "customer satisfaction" has become a valid concept for measurement of success for TOKİ.

The study that examine the customer satisfaction of the houses produced by TOKİ consist of two parts. In the first part, information about the objectives, content, scope and method of the "Customer Satisfaction Survey" that is conducted in residences produced by TOKİ, in the province of Konya, will be given. In the second part, results of customer satisfaction survey which is applied in the scope of study will be analyzed. The study will result in an overall assessment.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the level of customer satisfaction of residences produced by TOKİ, which has an important place because of both its production capacity in

the housing sector and being public institution. The results of the study will provide information about the success of the housing policies implemented by TOKİ, production quality of houses and usage condition.

2. A Research Conducted in Konya TOKİ Houses

2.1 The Objective of the Research

The objective of the study, regarding the assessment of houses produced by TOKİ in terms of customer satisfaction, is to analyze the level of customer satisfaction of people who use houses. After strengthening legal infrastructure with legal regulations, TOKİ has become the driving force of the housing sector, especially since 2003. As well as housing production for the middle and lower income groups, urban transformation projects, social facilities, land development, public institutions projects, landscaping and reforestation activities, R&D projects, lending activities has also expanded the zone of influence of the TOKİ. Therefore, it is important to investigate the customer satisfaction of TOKİ's activities.

In the survey study, questions about topics such as construction quality and the use of houses produced by TOKİ, landscaping, social facilities, the environmental integrity of the housing are included.

1.3 Research Method

2.2.1 Scale and Data Collection

Questionnaire used to collect data has been prepared in line with analysis of similar studies conducted previously in customer satisfaction, customer satisfaction surveys of TOKİ and the expectations of residential householders in the Konya Selçuklu-Yazır-TOKİ. Prior to application, a preliminary survey was conducted in 30 houses in order to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of the survey and make the necessary adjustments.

Making the necessary adjustments according to the results of the pre-study survey questionnaire was finalized. The questionnaire consist of three parts. In the first part, questions about the identification of houses are included. In the second part, questions about demographic, socio-economic characteristics of the respondents residing in the dwelling are included. Finally, in the third part, questions about the importance and satisfaction survey for TOKİ houses took place. Importance and satisfaction questions are designed according to 5-point likert scale, and the grading of the questionnaire results is as following; "1: it does not

matter at all - I am not satisfied at all", "2: it does not matter - I am not satisfied", "3: neither important nor unimportant - neither satisfied nor unsatisfied", "4: important - satisfied ", " 5: very important - very satisfied ".All surveys conducted by interviewers with face-to-face interview method.The sampling technique used in this study is stratified sampling, and proportional distribution approach is preferred in the distribution of the sample volume to the stratum.The data obtained after administration of the questionnaire, were evaluated using the program SPSS 16.0 package.

2.2.2 Population and Sampling of the study.

Population of the study is the people who reside in TOKİ houses; the sample size of the study is the people reside in TOKİ houses in Konya and its counties.TOKİ, in Konya and in its counties, has completed 7976 houses and delivered to their owners, the vast majority of those houses were for lower income group and social housing.In these projects, schools, mosques, shopping centers, social reinforcements such as recreation areas are included as well as houses.Within the scope of research, the distribution of questionnaires according to application areas is given in the following table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of Questionnaires According to Application Areas

Application Areas	Number of Questionnaire	Percentage	Current Percentage
SELÇUKLU	111	19,2	19,2
MERAM	247	42,7	42,7
EREĞLİ	29	5,0	5,0
CUMRA	11	1,9	1,9
SEYDİŞEHİR	70	12,1	12,1
KADINHANI	30	5,2	5,2
BEYŞEHİR	30	5,2	5,2
ILGIN	50	8,6	8,7
Total	578	99,8	100,0
Unanswered	1	,2	
TOTAL	579	100,0	

Meram survey questionnaires were utmost by 42.7%. Followings are Selçuklu with 19,2%, and Seydişehir with 12,1%. A total of 578 questionnaires out of 579 were answered.

Survey data were analyzed to determine the reliability of the scale.Reliability; "is the degree of measurement, in a stable and consistent way, of a thing that a test or scale want to measure"(Altunışık, 2004).A reliable scale, should give results that are similar within a given

standard deviation when it is applied again under similar conditions. Levels of reliability are values ranging from 0 to 1. 0 indicates no internal consistency, whereas 1 indicates complete internal consistency. Accepted value in the literature is 0.7 or higher. (Nunnally, 1978). Cronbach's alpha value for the reliability analysis of the study was calculated as 0.822. This result shows that Cronbach Alpha value is at a quite acceptable and reliable level in terms of social sciences.

2.2.3 Data Analysis

The data obtained from surveys, which is within the scope of the research, are conducted in five different categories. In the first part; the personal information of the participants of the study, in the second part; general information about the houses within the scope of research, in the third part; the significance level for the survey respondents' expectations, in the fourth part; data on the level of satisfaction with TOKI houses of residence, and in the fifth part; comparison between the level of importance and the level of satisfaction were analyzed.

2.3 Research Findings

2.3.1 Personal Information of the Participants of the Study

The frequency-percentage related with personal information of the respondents is given in Table 2. Accordingly, half of the respondents are female and half of them are male. When the distribution of age is checked, it is observed that 28.9% is seen in the age range 33-40, 22.7% is seen in the age range 25-32, and 20.6% is seen in the age range 41-48. Therefore, the rate of 72.2% could be characterized as young as the age range is 25-48.

In the evaluation of the total monthly household income of those surveyed, it is observed that level of income distribution is as following; 30% of 1001-1700 TL, 28.9% of 801-1100 TL, 12.3% of 201-800 TL, 11.6% of 1701-2000 TL. And 17.1% of those have income of more than 2000 TL. Based on these results, residents of those houses are said to be involved in the middle and lower income groups. Participants are mainly composed of primary school (42,1%) and high school (25,5%) graduates, according to their level of education. These rates are followed by 14,2% of university, 11,6% of secondary school and 3,3% of junior college graduates. And the rate of those who did not go to school is 3,3%. In the occupation distribution of respondents, housewives are in the first (39,4%), respectively, workers (18%), civil servants (11,4%), retired (10,4%) and the artisans (8,1%).

Table 2: Personal Information of the Respondents

Personal Information		F	%
Gender	Women	284	49,2
	Men	293	50,8
Age	17-24	30	5,2
	25-32	131	22,7
	33-40	167	28,9
	41-48	119	20,6
	49-56	67	11,6
	57-64	34	5,9
	65 +	29	5,0
Monthly Household Income	201-800	70	12,3
	801-1100	165	28,9
	1001-1700	171	30,0
	1701-2000	66	11,6
	2001-2900	49	8,5
	2901+	49	8,6
Education Level	Did not go to school	19	3,3
	Primary School	243	42,1
	Secondary School	67	11,6
	High School	147	25,5
	Junior College	19	3,3
	University	82	14,2
Occupation	Professional	6	1,0
	Artisan	47	8,1
	Civil Servant	66	11,4
	Worker	104	18,0
	Housewife	228	39,4
	Farmer	5	,9
	Retired	60	10,4
	Student	17	2,9
	Unemployed	3	,5
	Other	42	7,3
Marital Status	Married	516	89,1
	Single	27	4,7
	Engaged	7	1,2
	Widowed	29	5,0
Social Security	Have	541	93,6
	Does not have	37	6,4
Economic Situation	Well	96	16,7
	Moderate	392	67,8
	Bad	90	15,5

By marital status of the participants, it is observed that the vast majority were married (89.1%). About social security, we see that a large proportion of the respondents (93.6%) have any social security, and a very small proportion (6.4%) have no social security. According to the answers given to the questions which are asked in order to learn their own thoughts about the economic situation of the respondents in the survey; 67.8% of respondents stated that their economic situation is "moderate", while 16.7% of respondents

stated "well" and 15.5% of respondents stated "bad". Accordingly; percentage of participants who stated that they belong middle and lower income group is 83.3%.

2.3.2 General Information About the Houses

General information of houses within the scope of research is presented in Table 3. Accordingly, a large proportion of the residents of those houses (89.8%) reside in the city that we can express as declared province-district centers. When it is analyzed in terms of previous housing type, first detached home (47.2%), the second apartment (41.6%). Ratio of residents who resided shanty houses expressed as slum houses before moving to TOKI houses is 3,8%.

Table 3: General Information about the Houses of Participants

Information		F	%
Previous Residence	Provincial Center	231	40,0
	County	288	49,8
	Village/Town	57	9,9
	Abroad	2	,3
Previous House Type	Slum Housing	22	3,8
	Detached House	273	47,2
	Apartment	241	41,6
	Housing Complex	26	4,5
	Public Housing	17	2,9
Motive to Prefer TOKI	Affordable	323	55,8
	Family Reasons	43	7,4
	Social Opportunities	44	7,6
	Safety	22	3,8
	Physical Features of Houses	31	5,4
	Proximity to workplace	50	8,6
	Other	66	11,4
Ownership of House	Own	411	71,4
	Rental	145	25,2
	Reside without rent	20	3,5
Size of House(m ²)	41-80	140	24,2
	81-100	129	22,3
	101-120	125	21,6
	121-140	169	29,2
	141+	15	2,5

According to the data in Table 3; the most important reason TOKI residences are preferred is economic/affordable (55.8%). Besides being economical, proximity to the workplace, social facilities, family reasons, and factors such as physical characteristics of housing leads to TOKI residences to be preferred. Sizes of houses within the scope of the research are as

following; 29.2% of 121-140 m², 24.2% of 41-80 m², 22.3% of 81-100 m², 21.6% of 101-120 m², and 2.5% of them has a size more than 141 m².

2.3.3 Findings Based on Information of Importance and Satisfaction Level

Within the scope of research, findings about importance of factors that affects the choice of TOKI residents' housing decisions are given in Table 4, and the findings about satisfaction are given in Table 5.

It is concluded that almost all of the factors listed in the survey, is very important and crucial with a very high percentage. Although the ratio of satisfied and very-satisfied in the ranking in terms of the degree of satisfaction in respect of mentioned factors is very high, results shows lower values than degree of importance (significance degree). Data related to comparison of importance-satisfaction level are given in Table 6.

In Table 6, weighted average of importance and satisfaction level of each expression in survey is given, and differences of dissatisfaction are calculated. According to this; open fields of housing area, auto park, green area in the field of housing, crowded/quiet housing area, noisy housing area, close proximity to each other, apartment plans and usefulness of these plans, number of rooms, size of the rooms, size of the living room, size of the kitchen, size of the bathroom, housing insulation and ventilation, quality of material used for housing, neighborhood relationships, neighbor to get help when needed, social relationships in housing area are expressed as "important". Furthermore, transport facilities, shopping areas, access to health care centers, education and transportation facilities, disaster safety, property and life safety, being safe for children are expressed as "very important".

According to the level of satisfaction; it is obtained that participants are satisfied with open fields in housing area, quiet residential area, close proximity to each other, apartment plans and their usefulness, number of rooms, size of the living room, housing insulation, good neighborly relations, neighbor to get help when needed, social relations in residential area. On the other hand, it has been concluded that participants are neither satisfied nor unsatisfied with residential auto parking, green space in the field of housing, the housing area to be crowded residential area, housing area to be noisy, room size, the size of the kitchen, the size of the bathroom and WC, transportation facilities, shopping areas, housing ventilation, the quality of the materials used for housing, health care centers and its transportation, educational facilities and its transportation, disaster safety, property and life safety, safety for children.

The dissatisfaction differences values which are calculated as the difference between satisfaction and importance level values indicate that TOKI does not meet customer expectations.

Table4: Importance Level in Housing Preferences

	1-Not important at all		2-Not important		3-Neither important nor unimportant		4-Important		5-Very Important	
	F	%	f	%	f	%	F	%	f	%
Open spaces in housing area(such as walk way)	15	2,6	15	2,6	39	6,7	225	38,9	284	49,1
Auto park in area	21	3,6	29	5,0	68	11,7	242	41,8	201	34,7
Green spaces in area	7	1,2	7	1,2	43	7,4	207	35,8	314	54,2
Being crowded area	22	3,8	38	6,6	135	23,3	220	38,0	162	28,0
Being silent area	7	1,2	22	3,8	60	10,4	232	40,1	256	44,2
Being noisy area	39	6,7	32	5,5	87	15,0	223	38,5	196	33,9
Approximity of blocks to each other	25	4,3	39	6,7	114	19,7	223	38,5	176	30,4
Apartment plans and usefulness	11	1,9	11	1,9	45	7,8	219	37,8	290	50,1
Number of room	3	,5	17	2,9	39	6,7	240	41,5	278	48,0
Size of rooms	1	,2	16	2,8	46	7,9	232	40,1	282	48,7
Size of the living room	2	,4	17	2,9	47	8,1	238	41,1	275	47,5
Size of the kitchen	7	1,2	22	3,8	61	10,5	205	35,4	282	48,7
Size of the bathroom	17	2,9	24	4,1	82	14,2	234	40,4	220	38,0
Size of the WC	27	4,7	31	5,4	106	18,3	202	34,9	209	36,1
Transportation facilities	3	,5	6	1,0	21	3,6	163	28,2	384	66,3
Shopping points	1	,2	5	,9	25	4,3	195	33,7	351	60,6
Healthcare and its transportation	4	,7	2	,3	16	2,8	125	21,6	430	74,3
Educational facilities and its transportation	5	,9	6	1,0	25	4,3	180	31,1	358	61,8
Disaster security	6	1,0	1	,2	26	4,5	175	30,2	369	63,7
Life and property security	0	0	7	1,2	12	2,1	133	23,0	425	73,4
Safety for children	4	,7	7	1,2	21	3,6	148	25,6	393	67,9
House ventilation	14	2,4	10	1,7	54	9,3	224	38,7	275	47,5
Heat insulation	3	,5	3	,5	34	5,9	200	34,5	337	58,2
Quality of material used in houses	10	1,7	7	1,2	38	6,6	188	32,5	333	57,5
Neighborhood relationships	1	,2	10	1,7	28	5,2	211	36,4	325	56,1
Neighbor to get help when needed	2	,3	9	1,6	39	6,7	197	34,0	330	57,0
Social relationships in housing area	3	,5	10	1,7	53	9,2	232	40,1	279	48,2

Table 5: Satisfaction Level of Houses

	1-Not satisfied at all		2-Not satisfied		3-Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied		4-Satisfied		5-Very satisfied	
	f	%	F	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Open spaces in housing area(such as walk way)	49	8,5	67	11,6	103	17,8	235	40,6	124	21,4
Auto park in area	44	7,6	55	9,5	148	25,6	230	39,7	101	17,4
Green spaces in area	74	12,8	87	15,0	113	19,5	175	30,2	128	22,1
Being crowded area	33	5,7	56	9,7	182	31,4	235	40,6	72	12,4
Being silent area	29	5,0	46	7,9	132	22,8	250	43,2	121	20,9
Being noisy area	49	8,5	76	13,1	176	30,4	206	35,6	69	11,9
Approximity of blocks to each other	19	3,3	54	9,3	152	26,3	250	43,2	101	17,4
Apartment plans and usefulness	36	6,2	47	8,1	114	19,7	275	47,5	104	18,0
Number of room	39	6,7	79	13,6	98	16,9	258	44,6	103	17,8
Size of rooms	42	7,3	89	15,4	115	19,9	223	38,5	107	18,5
Size of the living room	38	6,6	63	10,9	98	16,9	241	41,6	137	23,7
Size of the kitchen	89	15,4	101	17,4	100	17,3	202	34,9	85	14,7
Size of the bathroom	62	10,7	84	14,5	116	20,0	215	37,1	99	17,1
Size of the WC	73	12,6	83	14,3	104	18,0	211	36,4	106	18,3
Transportation facilities	95	16,4	71	12,3	72	12,4	230	39,7	109	18,8
Shopping points	83	14,3	79	13,6	117	20,2	181	31,3	117	20,2
Healthcare and its transportation	127	21,9	106	18,3	67	11,6	150	25,9	127	21,9
Educational facilities and its transportation	86	14,9	75	13,0	93	16,1	219	37,8	99	17,1
Disaster security	81	14,0	59	10,2	123	21,2	214	37,0	100	17,3
Life and property security	79	13,6	82	14,2	115	19,9	193	33,3	108	18,7
Safety for children	69	11,9	60	10,4	104	18,0	228	39,4	112	19,3
House ventilation	62	10,7	62	10,7	139	24,0	219	37,8	94	16,2
Heat insulation	41	7,1	52	9,0	108	18,7	225	38,9	151	26,1
Quality of material used in houses	92	15,9	94	16,2	124	21,4	185	32,0	82	14,2
Neighborhood relationships	28	4,8	49	8,5	89	15,4	235	40,6	176	30,4
Neighbor to get help when needed	26	4,5	38	6,6	103	17,8	224	38,7	186	32,1
Social relationships in housing area	33	5,7	50	8,6	115	19,9	220	38,0	158	27,3

Table 6: Analysis of the Responses to the Questionnaire

Importance		Expressions	Satisfaction		Dissatisfaction Differences
4.29	Important	Ö1.Open spaces in housing area	3.6	Satisfied	0.74
4.02	Important	Ö2.Auto park in housing area	3.5	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.52
4.41	Important	Ö3.Green spaces in housing area	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.07
3.8	Important	Ö4.Being crowded housing area	3.4	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.36
4.23	Important	Ö5.Being silent housing area	3.7	Satisfied	0.56
3.88	Important	Ö6.Being noisy housing area	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.58
3.84	Important	Ö7.Approximity of blocks to each other	3.6	Satisfied	0.21
4.33	Important	Ö8.Apartment plans and usefulness	3.6	Satisfied	0.7
4.34	Important	Ö9.Number of rooms	3.5	Satisfied	0.81
4.35	Important	Ö10.Size of the rooms	3.5	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.89
4.34	Important	Ö11.Size of the living room	3.7	Satisfied	0.69
4.27	Important	Ö12.Size of the kitchen	3.2	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.11
4.07	Important	Ö13.Size of the bathroom	3.4	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.71
3.93	Important	Ö14.Size of the WC	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.59
4.59	Çok Important	Ö15.Transportation facilities	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.27
4.54	Çok Important	Ö16.Shopping facilities	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.25
4.69	Çok Important	Ö17.Healthcare and its transportation	3.1	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.61
4.53	Çok Important	Ö18.Educational facilities and its transportation	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.23
4.56	Çok Important	Ö19.Disaster security	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.23
4.68	Çok Important	Ö20.Life and property security	3.3	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.39
4.6	Çok Important	Ö21.Safety for children	3.4	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.16
4.28	Important	Ö22.House ventilation	3.4	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	0.9
4.5	Important	Ö23.House insulation	3.7	Satisfied	0.82
4.44	Important	Ö24.Quality of material used in houses	3.1	Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1.32
4.47	Important	Ö25.Neighborhood relationships	3.8	Satisfied	0.63
4.46	Important	Ö26.Neighbor to get help when needed	3.9	Satisfied	0.58
4.34	Important	Ö27.Social relationships in housing area	3.7	Satisfied	0.61

3. Result

By TOKI, total of 7,976 residential units, for which is mostly lower and middle income groups, were completed and handed to their owners in Konya and its counties. In these

projects, schools, mosques, shopping centers, social reinforcement areas such as recreation areas are included, as well as houses.

579 importance-satisfaction survey were administered to the residents who reside in TOKI houses in Konya, and 578 of them were evaluated. As a result of analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaire; it is emerged that residential users heed contemporary urban life, and beside physical features of houses, indispensable elements of urban life such as transportation, education, health, security, social facilities are quite important for people. In contrast, based on houses and services offered by TOKI, it is arised that level of satisfaction is lower than level of importance.

According to dissatisfaction difference; health care services, transportation and material used in housing rank first. In addition to this, security, transportation, green space of residential area, factors such as the size of the kitchen were well below expectations.

As of 2013, TOKI, which is decisive institution in the housing sector with both a huge production capacity and financial & legal structure especially since 2003, had generated 600 house production. TOKI, giving priority to the production of social housing for lower-middle income groups in all provinces of Turkey, is recently taking important steps in the urbanization with urban renewal projects especially in big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir. During the next period, quality of the material used in homes, increasing usability features of houses, and increasing transportation and security services should be taken care. Thus, while customer satisfaction will increase, people will also have the living space in expected level.

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Media Strategy and Place Branding – an Agenda Building and Service

Approach

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Abstract

Purpose: The aim is firstly to present a conceptual discussion about the relationship between media strategies and place branding, media effects and relations between sources and journalists. Second, based on a case study, the aim is to describe and analyze a contemporary agenda-building, media service-oriented place branding strategy.

Method: The empirical case consists of a descriptive study of Öresund Media Platform, an EU Interreg project. A content analysis of how the news press in the Öresund Region has reported on Öresund place issues 2002-2012 is presented.

Findings: Earlier research questions direct media effects and describes the relationship between organizations and media as a power struggle. The interactive and digital media development in combination with changing relations between sources and journalists has created a new media landscape. Uni-directional media strategies may still be relevant, but strategies adapted to the contemporary organizational processes of media organizations are becoming more relevant. The media-service approach, focusing agenda-building using semi-independent news agencies is an example of a new branding media strategy.

Originality/Value: This paper is as an example of an alternative approach to place branding, based in media studies and strategic communication. The case study describes an innovative city and place branding strategy, founded in the contemporary media development.

Keywords: Media Strategy, Place Branding, Media Relations, Media Service

Introduction

Place branding is a growing industry and research field that took off in the 1990s as a consequence of increased place competition and scientific, commercial and political acknowledge of the growing service economy (Skinner, 2008). As in other new scientific fields of knowledge, place branding is struggling with its identity in the academic realm. In one of many literature reviews on place marketing and branding, (Gertner, 2011) found a dominance of qualitative, multi-disciplinary, descriptive and disparate case studies based on minor empirical studies. Gertner (2011:101) critically concludes that the field is in need of unification, testing of models, and development of “robust theory”. In another review, focusing city branding, (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011:22) also found a high degree of multi-disciplinarity and theoretical fragmentation in a rapidly growing field, but do not argue for increased unification: “What we propose, however, is not essentially more rigorous research, but rather research based on alternative and critical approaches that focus on the political, aesthetical, and ethical implications (...)”. This article may, hopefully, be viewed as an example of the alternative approach to place branding, based in media studies and strategic communication, two research fields that so far has been rather unexplored in place branding studies. The role of media is of course acknowledged in earlier research, especially regarding nation branding and public diplomacy: ”Mass media, in this case, forms a very powerful tool that can greatly enhance or severely impeach the reputation (and brand) of any country” (Freeman & Nguyen Nhung, 2012, p. 160). But the theory that is used is traditonally based in a marketing or tourism approach, not taking into account media and communication theory. There are also few links to the field of strategic communication, in other words organizations targeted communication aiming to defend, create or enhance organizational legitimacy to operate on different markets and societies (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Verčič, & Sriramesh, 2007). An exception is Kavaratzis (2004) who has developed a communicative framework for place branding, and described journalism about cities as a relevant but unintentional form of communication that’s is hard to manage from a branding perspective.

The aim of this paper is two-fold. First, the aim is to present a conceptual discussion on earlier research about the relationship between media strategies and place branding, media

effects and relations between sources and journalists. Second, based on a case study, the aim is to describe and analyze a new form of agenda-building media strategy for place branding, based in the contemporary media and communications development.

Öresund Media Platform, which is the main empirical case, is used to illustrate a semi-journalistic, agenda-building and service-oriented strategy. The Öresund Media Platform, an EU-supported independent news agency in Malmö, Sweden and Copenhagen, Denmark, aims to increase media coverage about the region and the main cities.

Mediatization and Branding

The role of the media in social, economic, political and cultural processes has received increasing attention over the past decades. The mediatization of society is an integral part of the development of modern and late modern society, where the production and distribution of symbolic products both influence and saturate communication flows and relationships between institutions, organizations and individuals (Thompson, 1995). While mass communication technologies (sender-oriented and uni-directional) dominated the development of modernity, digital and interactive technologies step-by-step have created communication flows that are more alike face-to-face communication flows. From a place branding approach, media strategies focusing uni-directional publicity in editorial media, by using traditional PR tactics such as press releases or press conferences, is still relevant but only as a part of a wider strategy taking the interactive and convergent development into account. The boundaries between public relations, marketing and other forms of promotion and advocacy has become increasingly unclear. Technological, substantive and cultural convergence is also the dominant trend since several years in the media industry (Falkheimer & Heide, 2013; Jenkins, 2006).

It is very difficult to draw any direct correlation between media exposure and influence. This is well-known by most marketers. Still many branding campaigns have a strong focus on advertising and add traditional PR tactics re-actively, following and not leading the advertising strategy, to get media coverage. But times are changing. Last years there has been increased interest in using social media for branding, sometimes by engaging people outside to be “curators” and ambassadors. An example is a nation branding campaign,

“Curators of Sweden”, where the Swedish governmental agency Visit Sweden let a citizen send tweets somehow linked to Sweden from the official national Twitter account. Another trend is to replace visible persuasion messages by messages investments in contexts not associated with advertising, so-called embedded marketing. An example of this is place brand exposure in feature film, television shows and other forms of media content. Place placements obviously have similarities to product placements, a growing form of marketing communication, but is also problematic in the same way. Soba & Aydin (2013:114) conclude that product placements “delivers a good return on investment and significantly increases brand awareness”, but also point out the risks of losing control, negative associations and ethical concerns. The effects of place placements is even more problematic considering all three critical aspects.

Drawing general conclusions about media effects based on earlier research is next to impossible, but some provisional truths that media scholars generally agree on may be conveyed. One of the oldest conclusions is that the media reinforces rather than changes people's perceptions and that opinion leaders have a crucial role in the formation of opinions (Lazarsfeld & Katz, 1955). Another truth that most research agree on is the basic conclusions in agenda setting theory: the media has an impact on what is being discussed but does not necessarily determine the outcome of these discussions (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). On the other hand side, the media has strong framing effects, meaning that they define problems, responsibilities, and possible solutions (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

A final conclusion is that media coverage has a stronger attention effect when people know less and lack direct experience of something, e.g. a place.

The increased focus on the events can be seen as part of the contemporary communicative transformation. One of the key motivations behind organizing city, region or nation events is media coverage. The actors behind the events assume that the publicity of the place lead to attitudinal and behavioral effects, such as increasing the number of tourists, investors or inhabitants.

Traditional promotion methods, such as advertisements or brochures, are challenged in late modern society with increased fragmentarization, information overload and lack of trust. The stories that are communicated through journalism, events, entertainment shows and so

on are viewed as having significantly greater impact on people's attitudes and actions compared to directly controlled presentations in the form of brochures or advertisements.

Media Relations and Strategies

Relationships or power games between professional sources and the news media received increased attention by European media researchers in the 1990s (Corner, 1993; Cottle, 2003). The research area has different names depending on perspective. In strategic communication the area is mostly named *media relations* (Coombs, 2010; Cutlip, Center, & Broom, 2006) which emphasizes that it is an exchange relationship, rather than a power struggle. In media and political communication research, the concept *news management* (Manning, 2001) had a strong impact from the 1990s and on. News management may be defined as the strategies and tactics that professional sources use to create, manage, change or reinforce their perspectives and ideas through news journalism.

The long-dominant theory of Excellence in public relations (Grunig, 2001; Grunig & Hunt, 1984) shows a marginal interest in publicity issues. The four (and five) public relations models are based on a distinction between asymmetric and symmetric communication, where the normative goal is to create symmetrical relationships between organizations and their publics. The oldest form of public relations is called the publicity model and is viewed as one-way communication with similarities to propaganda. The publicity model lacks a truth objective, is only interested in media exposure and is completely unidirectional. In practice, this has given public relations bad reputation since it “(...) define public relations as the use of communication to manipulate publics for the benefit of organizations” (Grunig, 1989:18).

The main criterion determining if a person has a chance of becoming a news source is journalists assessment if he or she is credible (Reich, 2011). Case studies (Reich, 2005) show that interpersonal communication still has a crucial role when journalists interact with sources. (Manning, 2001) made an extensive study of news sources importance in Great Britain and attached particular importance to the organizational processes in media corporations. Organizational drivers such as the desire to create security and control are crucial for the selection and use of sources. More specifically, two driving forces are

mentioned: (1) the pressure to meet deadlines and to produce content that is news worthy (leading to that those with established power is given more space as they are considered more news worthy); (2) the need to be efficient and cost effective (which means that news agencies and other media are important sources).

Most of the earlier studies are based in research in a media context that differs from that of today. The previous context was dominated by traditional mass communication where professional journalists and professional sources had clearly defined roles. Media technology and distribution channels belonged to professional players. With the emergence of social and new media there has been a change. The line between strategic communication practitioners and journalists are no longer as clear as they were before. Periodically traditional media expose famous journalists who have chosen instead to work as press spokesmen for companies or governmental agencies. This is not new in itself, but it is possible that this trend has become even deeper (Journalists, 2011; Nygren, 2009). Two trends are evident in the statistics. First, the proportion of freelance journalists is increasing and more and more journalists are employed through staffing industry. The proportion of permanent staff journalists has decreased while the proportion of hired journalists has increased in recent years, this as part of the rationalization processes in media companies. It is inevitable that freelance journalists often work with both strategic communication and journalism. Based on the reduction of staff journalists, one can therefore assume that the line between journalism and media relations have become somewhat more vague.

From the professional perspective of the sources, new and social media has meant several changes. That said, with some caution. Emphasizing that the media right now are in a period of transition has been standard for a long time and could always lead to hasty conclusions. However, there is less doubt that there is an impact. The dyad that existed between journalists and professional sources has gradually evolved into a *triad*, where a third party - made up of individuals and different social groups that have not previously had access to either the media or distribution opportunities - become more important. The traditional tools of media relations, such as press conferences or press releases, are still used but there are signs that new forms of communication challenge them. (Waters, Tindall,

& Morton, 2010:243) note that the one-way communications which dominated earlier news management and/or media relations is being replaced by “media catching”, i.e.: ”rather than having practitioners contacting lots of journalists, broadcasters, and bloggers in hopes of gaining media placements, thousands of practitioners are being contacted at one time by journalists and others seeking specific material for stories, blog postings, and Web sites with upcoming deadlines”.

The professional sources that are most successful with “media catching” are those who are best at delivering services that creates value for journalists. Maybe we are entering a new phase. The first phase was *publicity hunting*, through more or less spectacular efforts, to create media coverage. In the second phase a *fairly stable relationship system* was created where the sources applied classic media tactics such as press conferences or sending press releases to journalists. The possible third phase is a *media service era*, where journalists are viewed as customers in a fast market. The media service approach is evident in the case that will be described now.

Case Study: Öresund Media Platform

The aim of the Øresund Media Platform is to promote increased integration within everyday Øresund region through innovative journalistic practices that increase the general knowledge of the cross-border development in the Öresund Region. The target group is hardly a target group at all: the Swedish and Danish public. From a place branding approach the project is quite different, since the focus is internal (creating attention, interest and legitimacy among inhabitants), semi-journalistic (on the one hand side funded by the EU and by cities or municipalities in the Öresund region of Denmark and Sweden, on the other side not influencing the journalistic selection of topics or angles). The project is divided into two parts: (1) Öresund Media Studies where Danish and Swedish researchers analyze media coverage of the cross-border development in the Øresund region. Knowledge gained from these studies is supposed to develop the journalistic working methods of the production-oriented part of the project and help to develop existing media practices. (2) Öresund News, a news agency aiming to increase coverage of the Öresund

Region (Denmark in Sweden, Sweden in Denmark) in established news papers, TV, radio and social media.

As a background I will shortly present the Öresund region. After this I will present Öresund News agency, as an example of an innovative media strategy.

The Öresund region

The Öresund bridge physically connected two nations that had been separated since the south of contemporary Sweden was conquered from Denmark in 1658. The Öresund bridge was surrounded by high expectations, e.g. “as a social experiment and a testing ground for cultural integration within the European Union, a model for the new Europe without borders” (Berg, 2000, p. 8). The Öresund region is recognized as a cross-border region in the European Union, has 3.8 million inhabitants and strong business clusters in e.g. ICT, medical technology and tourism. The main city is Copenhagen, capital of Denmark, situated opposite Malmö in Sweden, a former industrial town that has transformed into a knowledge-intensive city since the 1990s.

A main argument behind the investment in a bridge was economical. The connection between Denmark and Sweden was supposed to lead to increased economic prosperity due to better logistical mobility and synergies that new corporate collaborations would lead to. Another main argument was cultural-communicative. There was a strong belief, from several actors and institutions that the physical connection would lead to the development of a transnational identity and a common Danish-Swedish public sphere. Regional governmental actors hired public relations and advertising agencies for creating a common brand and identity for the Öresund Region (Falkheimer, 2004). From 2000 and on the Öresund Committee branded the region as “Öresund: The Human Capital”, created a branding organization (Öresund Identity Network) and launched different promotional activities. The branding organization was dismantled after some years and the promotional activities were minimized. The main reason was that the effects of the brand strategy were weak. The Öresund identity was “(...) artificially created by a group of politicians and does not reflect the feeling the majority of the inhabitants have: most feel still Danes and

Swedish in the first place rather than residents from the Euregion of the Öresund” (Hospers, 2006:1028).

The mobility between Denmark and Sweden increased a lot and the number of Swedes working in Denmark and the other way around increased more than 400 per cent 2000-2013, even if this development has slowed down since 2008 due to the financial recession.¹² But the cultural integration and the creation of a common brand have not been as successful and is still a debated topic in research, business and politics. The trend last years has been that the main cities in the Öresund Region, Copenhagen and Malmö, have started to brand the two cities (as twin cities) and left the regional approach. This has led to criticism from minor cities in the region.

A media analysis was made as a part of the project, based on a content analysis of internet news articles that deal with the Øresund Region during week 46 every year in Swedish and Danish newspapers (and a TV-news station) during 2002-2012. The analysis of week 46 (an ordinary news week) is based in earlier news media research methodology in Denmark and Sweden (Lund, 2001). Overall, the analysis covers 695 Swedish news articles and 687 Danish news articles during 2002-2012 in three newspapers in the South of Sweden and five news papers and one TV-news station in Denmark (but only from 2007). The total amount of chosen news media are higher in Denmark than in Sweden, so the first conclusion is that the media coverage of Öresund regional issues is larger in Sweden than in Denmark.

1. Media reporting about the Øresund Region has decreased since 2007 in both countries. A peak in reporting was visible in 2004 while in 2012 there were fewer articles than any other year. The decrease of media coverage follows the economical recesssion.
2. The reporting is dominated by so-called routine and service journalism. Routine journalism is journalism, where the journalist reports from events that are orchestrated by an external source. Service journalism consists mostly of raw material from press releases, reports and so on, not processed or analyzed by other sources. During the whole period 2002-2012 there is very little focus journalism

¹² <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/hem/oresundsfakta/>

where editors have given priority to write independently or in depth about the Öresund region.

3. The issue that dominates the media coverage of the Öresund region is culture and entertainment, which, however, also has less exposure in recent years. Second, the reporting is dominated by news about crime and accidents. This is similar in Denmark and Sweden. Business, education, research, environment, health, lifestyle and other issues are given minimal space.
4. The representation of different actors varies a lot depending on the issue that dominates. Politicians dominate the election but are also quite frequent in reporting overall, especially in Sweden. Citizens are also visible, as well as celebrities and artists. But the representation of citizens is mainly linked to news about crime. The business community is more visible in Danish than in Swedish news media.
5. The reporting in both countries is dominated by simple details or information on what is happening on the “other side”. More serious articles, creating knowledge or a sense of regional identity, are not common.

From an integration perspective, news media is believed to contribute constructively to the development of the region and its cities. But the content analysis shows that the media coverage on both sides of the Öresund region is minor, mainly focused on service- and routine journalism, dominated by simple news about culture, crimes and accidents. From a qualitative perspective, news journalism in both countries is linked to a national and local paradigm, not a transnational regional dimension. National stereotypes are prevalent in both Danish and Swedish news media. The regionality that is portrayed in Denmark and Sweden is very shallow and can not in the last ten years be considered as contributing to an increased interest in the integration or exchange process.

The national framework is, as mentioned, dominating and the transnational region of Öresund has almost no visibility in the traditional media. The idea of late modern society, “(...) recognized for their mobile and fluid identities” (Felgenhauer, 2010:77) does not manifest itself in the news media that were analyzed.

A Media Service Approach: Öresund News

Öresund News was launched as a regional news agency project in 2011. The news agency produces independent journalism but the selection of news is done with an explicit agenda-building strategy (Botan & Hazleton, 1989; Zoch, 2006): increasing news about the region and its cities. In this way the news agency is converging traditional journalism and strategic communication. The news are distributed free to news papers and other established journalistic channels in Sweden and Denmark. Öresund Media Platform provides a platform for a cost effective and co-financed production of Öresund journalism by an open source thinking.

The journalists working for the agency were selected because of their prior experience and knowledge on Öresund regional issues, business and political journalism. Following the development in the media industry as well as the service-oriented media strategy approach mentioned in the theoretical review, the news agency distribute news free to news papers and other established journalistic channels in Sweden and Denmark. During the first phase of the EU Interreg project the journalistic project leader for Öresund Media Platform presented the news service agency to editors at different media organizations to emphasize that even if the agency is an interest-financed project, the news production is professional and independent in all other ways, except that it focus on transnational Öresund issues. The arguments for publishing the news (directly or re-written) in Swedish and Danish news papers were partly that there is a public interest in Öresund news, partly that the news agency in fact fit well with the driving forces in news management, following the reasoning by (Manning, 2001): (1) the pressure to meet deadlines and to produce content that is news worthy; (2) the need to be efficient and cost effective (which means that news agencies and other media are important sources).

The Öresund News agency has produced and distributed news since the fall 2012, and the project may already be regarded as a success from a cross-border place branding perspective. During the first year news produced and distributed by the news agency has led to massive further publication in Danish and Swedish news media. The agency has also launched an image data bank at Flickr that is well used by journalists.

The increased media exposure of news about the Öresund region linked to the Öresund Media Platform is clear but we cannot make any conclusions about the wider effects on regionalization or place branding. It must be said that the focus on media content is not enough to draw conclusions about how the public is influenced by the news coverage. But one assumption is that increased media coverage has an agenda-building effect, i.e. that it leads to a public discussion about the possibilities of increased regionalization and collaboration.

Conclusions

The focus in this article has been media strategies for place branding, using a media and strategic communication perspective. Earlier research in place branding has shown interest in media issues, but mainly from a marketing perspective. The aim of the article was to present a limited review on earlier research about the relationship between media strategies and place branding, media effects and relations between sources and journalists. Another aim was to describe and analyze different media strategies. Earlier research questions the idea of direct media effects and describes the relationship between organizations and media as a power struggle, in constant transistion. The interactive and digital media development in combination with changing relations between sources and journalists has created a new media landscape. Uni-directional media strategies using traditional PR tactics may still be relevant, but strategies adapted to the organizational structures of media organizations are becoming more relevant. The media-service approach, focusing agenda-building where semi-independent news agencies are used (respecting journalistic ethics) is viewed as an example of a new media strategy. For place branding this strategy obviously means less control over mediated city brands, but the question is if the process of city or place branding through journalism ever has been controlled. The limited review on media relations and news management research shows the need for more research in this area, integrating place branding, media and strategic communication research.

The case study describes a media service-oriented strategy used for increasing public attention and interest in the Danish-Swedish Öresund Region and it´s cities. The media analysis presented in this paper shows that the increased European interest in transnational

regionalization has not, in the case of the Öresund region, led to increased transnational news journalism 2002-2012. The Öresund Media Platform and the news agency Öresund News may be a new media strategy to apply also for other transnational city-regions, aiming to increase media coverage not through traditional publicity tactics, but through legitimate and agenda-building journalism.

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Place Branding through Its Cultural Heritage

- The working case of branding Daquan Village into the Tofu Village

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Abstract

Historical and cultural heritage is an integral part of place identity, infrastructure and landscape. The paper explores the process of using local historical and cultural heritage as the foundation for branding small-scale tourist destinations in China. Referring to the current working case of Daquan Village, the paper describes major phases of place branding by applying the 4D Model, which is created by the author and her Tsinghua City Branding Team when working for Chinese cities. Set in a particular context of being sponsored and supervised by the local government authorities, this paper also provides an outline of some related issues standing in the way of the branding process for place branding in China.

Key Words: place branding, local cultural heritage, the 4D Model, Shouxian Tofu Village

Introduction

In China, over the past few years place branding – in particular, village branding – through cultural heritage of the place has become popular and increasingly important. The interest to this particular research area is not fortuitous, as it provides foundation for developing tourism, which generates significant amounts of revenues, creates new jobs, improves housing and public space related issues.

In the rapid process of urbanization, Chinese villages are in desperate need of renovation. Younger generations prefer to move to big cities seeking for development opportunities. Village farming and other businesses whither, which creates even bigger outflow of workforce from villages to big cities. Moreover, the many Chinese villages have a long history and cultural tradition, therefore bearing a large potential for branding through exploring their cultural heritage.

The study explores the ways of branding a Chinese village through its local cultural heritage by applying the 4D (discover, define, design, deliver) Branding Model. The study object is Daquan Village, located in Shouxian County, Anhui Province, which is now being under construction and renovation for a new brand identity as the birthplace of Tofu of China. The case will provide thoughts on how a small place can be created as a brand through targeting its local cultural heritage and become a tourist attraction.

Shouxian County has a long history and many historical sites and relics. First and foremost, Shouxian is the birthplace of Chinese tofu. The area is enriched by pure, drinkable water springs and vast soybean fields, all of which sets a perfect environment for making tofu. Moreover, the residents of Shouxian have preserved the unique variety of tofu recipes as well as the authentic tofu making equipment. Last but not least, throughout the time, tofu making craft has made its way into the culture; the local history, art and language – all bear tofu cultural heritage. Tsinghua City Branding Studio found Shouxian traditional tofu making craft to be the ultimate cultural value for place branding while utilizing its location, natural resources and local culture at the same time.

Branding a Place through its Cultural Heritage

Abankina (2005) stated that, “branding plays an important role as a strategic resource and capital of a place – especially in the cultural and tourism sectors – which allows the place to get economic profits from non-economic benefits, such as symbolic attributes and advantages, tangible and intangible reputation elements, legends, myths, cultural traditions, fancies and prejudices, public taste and preferences.” Branding through cultural heritage requires exploration of local cultural features of the place, identifying what features are prominent as well as finding the ways of explicating and enhancing the features. The task is not easy as it requires a thorough systematic approach.

The following sets the conceptual framework by engaging in the discussion of relevant theories and methods related to branding a place through its cultural heritage.

Brand and Culture

Presently, the approach to city branding rotates around culture as culture is believed to be the engine of economic development. However, the term “culture” does not necessarily refer to culture as historic heritage. More often this term is perceived as describing people’s life style. For instance, Van der Borg and Russo (2005) talk about “place culture” while describing how local industries are affected by certain urban environments. The authors mention different types of “place culture” one of them being “culture of sociality” or “café culture” characteristic of different European cities, i.e. Paris.

However, understanding of culture in the sense of “historic cultural heritage” is still in place. Van der Borg and Russo (2005) point out that most European cities possess both tangible, i.e. “monuments, religious building and historical city grids” and intangible cultural assets, i.e. “atmosphere-related elements, which are also a legacy of their political and economic history” (2005:37).

In this paper the term “culture” is directly related to “cultural heritage” and “local cultural resources”. Therefore, the approach used in this study case can be classified under the category of *Evolution development models* —as defined by Abankina (2013) — being based on steady development of tourism potential using specific regional resources: location, cultural heritage and trade.

Brand Identity

Just like in branding of a commercial product, brand identity in place branding is the first crucial aspect that needs to be attended. It focuses on both sides of the spectrum: the image projected by the image creators as well as the image as perceived by the target audience (Konecnik, 2005).

However, branding a place requires a different approach than that of a product identity. Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2000), Konecnik (2006) and Cai (2002) emphasize the “tourist destination brand identity” as “the process of developing a destination brand identity, which incorporates relevant local cultural characteristics” (Konecnik, 2008). Therefore, from the point of view of brand identity, the study case falls under the category of tourist destination identity.

The 4D Working Model for Place Branding

This part will offer a detailed description of the 4D branding model created by the author and developed by Tsinghua City Branding Studio. It is used to position the city and create

its image through conducting thorough research, which was then followed by the execution of the designed project as well as the implementations of further advertising and promotion techniques applied in a city undergoing a branding process.

The 4D Working Model

Tsinghua City Branding Studio employed its 4D Working Model for the Shouxian Daquan Village case, and this case study introduces the 4D Working Model. The Model contains four phases: Discover, Define, Design and Deliver.

1. Discover – Preliminary research of the place and cultural values and resources through questionnaire, workshop, interview, research on written materials and analysis.
2. Define – A positioning stage where a definition, description and slogan of the place are set.
3. Design – Designing the place with branding strategies, which includes physical design, business planning, cultural exhibition, and ecological preservation of the place.
4. Deliver – Communicating the brand and key messages about the place to target audiences, including inner and outer targets.

“Discover” is the first phase where preliminary research takes place, and it can be divided into five constitutive parts: Questionnaire, Workshop, Interview, Research and Analysis. Discovering the image or the identity of the place is critical in branding. Kotler and Andreasen (1991) defined the image of a place as a sum of beliefs, ideas, impressions that people have of a place. Cultural Heritage often has traditional values and cultural values of certain regions including beliefs, ideas, traditions, foods and etc. Thus, cultural heritage is influential in creating the image of a place. Food can be considered as an essential element in building a destination brand (Hashimoto and Telfer, 2006). The reason is that food often contains the cultural, natural and social personalities of a certain region.

The Discover phase focuses on seeking available source for theme creating, such as cultural values, historical stories, local specialties and natural resources. Morgan, Pritchard & Pride (2007) write that the branding process has two main stages: the internal one, where gathering the information and cultural and historic artifacts helps to identify the desired and appropriate image of the city, and an external one, which helps to discover the citizens’ perception of the cities. The important point here is that it is a bilateral process. The Discover phase includes both perspectives: the internal and the external one. A direction and a theme of branding strategy are set in this phase; therefore, the phase is critical

because branding strategy cannot be useful unless the direction or the theme is outlined and carefully planned. Questionnaire focuses on finding the place's unique features and identifying what local residents would like to show to visitors/target audiences. This part is often neglected in China, which poses an obstacle in the way of harmonizing the concept and the reality. Workshop represents a more focused group discussion with strong involvements of local leaders. It focuses on what to preserve and develop while exploring available resources. Interview looks even deeper into historical and cultural background stories that can be utilized in theme creating and branding through focused discussions with government officials and local residents. Research focuses on written materials related to the place, the branding object. Therefore, discovered stories can be verified and enriched with more details. There are certain difficulties and limitations in finding the most suitable image or choosing one among many. Analysis is the stage where we use SWOT analysis and other methods to breakdown all the resources that are collected through previous Discover phase activities.

The "Define" phase is a positioning stage where the simple, clear and solid definition of the place is being laid down. It starts with extracting a word or creating a slogan in the form of a memorable phrase or sentence that defines the place. From the slogan, another condensed and extended description of the place is created in the length of a paragraph, which describes the place in a fuller picture.

The "Design" phase is the most complex phase in the 4D Model. It is the phase of making the place a brand based on its positioning. Similar to Kotler et al.'s concept of branding a place (1999), which states four distinct strategies that are the bases for establishing a competitive advantage: design (character), infrastructure (fixed environment), basic services (service provider) and attractions (entertainment and recreation). The Design phase of the 4D Model includes four aspects of work in branding a place: physical design, cultural exhibition, business planning, and ecological preservation. The main distinguishable parts of the physical design are urban, landscape, architectures and infrastructure design, thus the physical appearance of the place reflects the unique attractions of the place. Cultural exhibition here indicates that cultural heritage in forms of paintings, relics, traditional songs and performances, food making, local customs or ceremonies, etc., should be exhibited in the process of image formulation and image communication. Ecological preservation. Business planning has six aspects to consider, i.e., eating, living (accommodation), walking (transportation), sightseeing, entertainment

(games and shows), and purchase (souvenir and local specialty). Ecological preservation aims to protect the natural resources of the place from not being harmed or ruined for business purposes.

The Deliver phase in 4D Working Model aims to communicate with target audiences to create or strengthen the image of a positioned brand. In this phrase the place communicates its brand to target audiences through different channels, such as website, social media, mass media, advertisement, PR events and so on. Branding communication can be started and the core brand messages are consistently delivered throughout the whole Design phase.

The Study Case of Shouxian Daquan Village

The following part will include a brief introduction of the brand-building project – branding Shouxian Daquan Village to The Chinese Tofu Village – as well as a preliminary outline of major problematic areas. After that, the paper will proceed to the application of the 4D model to the brand building process of the village into a tourist attraction for its origin of Tofu culture.

Shouxian: the County and its Development

The administrative division of China is indeed very complex. Under the system the five major levels are unidentified: the provincial level, the prefectural level, the county level, the township level and the village level. The system was officially adopted in 1949 and was then further advanced. Counties are found in the third level of the administrative hierarchy in Provinces and Prefectures, and followed by the Township level and the Village level.

Shou County or Shouxian is a county in Anhui Province, Southeast China. The area of Shouxian covers an area of 2,986 square kilometers and has a population of 1,370,000 people.

History

Shou, formerly known as Shouchun or Shouyang, was built as the location of the capital of the former Chu State during the rule of Zhou Dynasty (which is dated back to B.C. 203). Ever since then, Shou was capital of Chu State for four times. A number of very important events happened in Shou throughout its long history. For instance, it is famous for once being the site for King You of Chu's tomb. It also saw Zhong Dynasty's emperor Yuan Shu coronation in 197. As did it witness the Battle of Fei River, one of the most significant battles in the history of China. In 1980s, Shouxian was awarded The Historical and Cultural City of China.

Cultural Heritages of Shouxian

The hometown of Chu culture and the birthplace of Chinese tofu, Shouxian is famous for its history and culture.

The old town has grand structure with its most eye-catching site—the city wall. Rebuilt in 1206, the 7.141 meters-long wall surrounding the old town is in excellent shape due to the protection measures undertaken by the local government.

Originally designed to protect the city from being flooded when the surrounding Feishui and Shouxi Lakes would burst the banks, the wall now serves as walking path and a tourist attraction for people from all over China and abroad.

Another even more prominent distinctive feature of Shouxian is its being **the birthplace of** the famous Chinese delicacy—**tofu**. Tofu is a vegetarian dish made from soy bean and water, by coagulating smashed soy beans and pressing the resulting curds into blocks. It is famous for its nutritious value and health benefits.

Geographically, Shouxian is a famous agricultural county, with a number of well-known lakes or rivers in its territory. The two most famous and significant Shouxian water pools are An Feng lake and Wabu Lake. An Feng Lake is located 30 kilometers southwest of the county having the area of 34 square kilometers and has a more than 300 years history. The lake plays the role of providing irrigation, transportation as well as supporting tourism, cultural and other industries in Anhui province. Another famous water source is Wabu Lake. It is located in the southeast of the county covering the area of 148 square kilometers and having the water depth at 3-4.5 meters. There are several small islands in the middle of the lake; each of them has its unique landscape. The lakes and rivers crisscrossing the county make it very successful agriculturally.

Shouxian Daquan Village is the perfect place to make traditional tofu. The water in the natural springs located in the area is clean and the soil is rich. Apart from lakes, the area is also rich in natural springs. One example of such springs is the Pearl Spring. It has the form of a perfectly round crystal and a long history. Despite of the severe drought, the spring does not dry up. Today, tofu serves as a base for hundreds of various dishes prepared in ways that satisfy every picky eater. Some of the dishes made out of tofu are: fried dumplings, tofu spicy paste soup, tofu bean soup and tofu curd.

To the advantage of Shouxian Daquan Village, people who live there have preserved the rich variety of original recipes and equipment with which the good old time hand-made Tofu was produced. The residents also remember various legends associated with tofu. One of the famous legends is that of Liu An, the father of tofu. According to the legend,

Liu An, the local king at that time, was obsessed with the idea of longevity and eternity. In his attempts to create the perfect longevity medicine, Liu An experimented with various combinations of natural ingredients, which resulted in discovering the recipe of tofu.

Another cultural feature associated with tofu is that of Chinese proverbs. Chinese people value proverbs and consider them to be educational. That is why Chinese proverbs incorporate the way the Chinese see the world, their cultural values. One of the famous proverbs is (someone is) “*as plain as a dish of white bean curd and green scallions*”, which means that someone is completely innocent.

Local Government Policy

In order to protect the historical sites of Shouxian, the county government has undertaken certain measures. With regards to the city ancient wall, which was listed as cultural and historic relics under county protection in 1958, the county authorities have undertaken several protective measures seriously.

However, the measures mostly concern the ways to make the city more modern, which often requires construction of new, high story buildings that lack “personality” and do not carry the cultural values of the place.

The government has already given life to a project aimed at expanding the area and building the new town, about 17 kilometers away from the old village. However, these measures do not comply with the idea of supporting the traditional cultural spirit of the place.

Seeking to further transform the place into a tourist destination Shouxian government had appointed Tsinghua City Branding Studio in charge of the project. Having conducted thorough research, Tsinghua City Branding Studio settled on tofu making culture as the main characteristic feature of the place and proposed the modification plan for Daquan Village, one of the small villages of Shouxian County. The attempts¹³ of transforming the village into some sort of tourist destination had already been made by the local leaders; however, due to a lack of comprehensive approach and a total absence of communication strategies, the actions undertaken by the local government had failed. Tsinghua City Branding Studio proposed a comprehensive plan aimed at transforming Daquan Village into Tofu Village accompanied by complete renovation and restructuring of the place as

¹³ The local government had built the village gate with the words “Tofu Village” on it. However, this step was not followed by further transformations – neither tangible nor intangible; therefore, the village remained unattractive for visitors.

well as certain relevant communication strategies. The Shouxian government accepted the proposal.

In order to build a strong brand, Daquan Village was required to promote its history, lifestyle, culture and diversity. The following chapter will dwell on the theoretical foundation and the conceptual framework of the case citing the 4D branding model (discover, define, design, deliver), which was applied in the case of Shouxian Daquan Village branding.

Shouxian Daquan Village Branding Project

The 4D branding model was used for designing branding strategies for Shouxian Daquan Village. The following parts will explore and define major steps undertaken by the City Branding Studio as well as outline relevant areas and issues tackled in the branding process. Each of the 4D phases will be exemplified with specific strategies used to achieve the desired goals.

Discover

In the Discover phase, preliminary researches took place, in order to find cultural heritages and available resources. Quantitative research with regards to cultural values and resources were implicated through questionnaires which involved a significant amount of local residents. After questionnaires, quantitative studies were conducted through workshops and interviews with local leaders and government officials. From quantitative and qualitative researches, Tsinghua City Branding Studio revealed that Shouxian is well-known for well-preserved natural resources – the wall from the times of Zhou dynasty and dietary tradition related to tofu; however, at the same time, several problematic areas were revealed as well, such as mal-preserved cultural heritages, undefined features of the place, abandoned local specialty, lack of efficient water landscape, lack of cultural values in architectures and underdeveloped city landscape. Through discussions and research, one cultural value was chosen as the branding theme: Tofu. Tsinghua City Branding Studio researched a wide range of written materials related to the history and culture of Tofu in Shouxian area to add more unique stories and values to it. Based on collected information and resources, SWOT analysis was employed to analyze the findings and identify the competitive advantage of Shouxian within the tofu culture.

Define: Shouxian Daquan Village

In the Define phase, the City Branding Studio defined and positioned Shouxian as *the birthplace of tofu*. The local municipal government decided to brand one of the villages in

the area – Daquan Village – as tofu village. Chosen village has been known as the birthplace of tofu with longest tofu production history, craftsmanship, unique recipes and cultural heritage related tofu, and the village was renamed as Shouxian Tofu Village (Shouxian Tofu Cun) from Daquan village. From positioning, extended description of Shouxian was creased as follows:

Tofu Village is the crib of Chinese traditional food culture, the tofu culture. The village is known for its hospitality, family warmth and picturesque rural landscape. It is a tourist destination where people come for relaxation and reuniting with nature. In Shouxian Daquan Village you will find buildings of ancient style accompanied by flower beds of breathtaking beauty, stroll around in the main square, and take a refreshing boat tour along the channels in the summer heat. You can spend leisurely afternoons in the commercial district or enjoy a quiet evening at the museum, relax at the local organic-style SPA. You can make your own tofu vegetarian feast by taking part in family workshops that allow children to experience and enjoy the process of making tofu. Shouxian Daquan Village offers the best you can out of your ideal peaceful village life.

Design

Tofu Cultural Heritage

Chinese culture is a very comprehensive system containing interrelated values in various aspects. It is necessary and important to look at the Shouxian local culture from different angles. In the Design phase, Tsinghua City Branding Studio started the process of integrating tofu culture into renovating and building the physical form of the village. From the point of view of the 4D model, the physical design and cultural exhibition are two works carried out at the same time, with the objective to make the cultural heritage and identity of the place visible through urban, landscape, architectures and infrastructure design.

As mentioned before, Shouxian has rich cultural heritage related to tofu. Tofu culture is widely presented in the daily life, language, literature and history. Therefore, major cultural categories such as “People, Area, Poetry and Proverbs” were selected as target concepts for more explication and development. Throughout the branding process, those categories were explicated and visualized by designing.

The “People” category is closely related to famous historical figures who contributed to the development of Tofu culture. First and foremost, this includes the story of Liu An, the father of Tofu. According to the legend, Liu An created Tofu while trying to make a recipe for longevity medicine. To explicate the story and increase Liu An’s presence in the village, Tsinghua City Branding Studio designed the Temple of Liu An. The “Proverbs” category includes famous sayings that are associated with tofu or that use characteristics of tofu as the foundation of a metaphor. For instance, the famous saying “*a mouth as sharp as a knife and heart as soft as tofu*” (Chinese: 刀子嘴豆腐心) is often used to describe a person who uses tough language but with soft and kind mind. To visualize and explicate proverbs, Tsinghua City Branding Studio designed a “knowledge path” along the “tofu tourist route” where several big paving blocks located along the road with tofu proverbs engraved on them accompanied by brief explanation and history of the proverb. These paving blocks add educational values to the route.

Landscape and Infrastructure

Physical design, especially with regards to infrastructure and landscape, is found to be in close relationship with ecological preservation. Infrastructure and landscape of the Tofu village were designed to connect natural and cultural resources while preserving them. Natural water ponds were scattered, thus new landscape design connected them; the sewage system was designed to preserve the water and improve the quality of life for the residents. According to the landscape master plan, the idea was to construct the integrated water supply system and provide the ecological affinity of the site and the waterfront natural landscape. As for the water landscape design, there are four different design concepts. "Located by Water" some of the residential houses are designed to be located by the water to emphasize the traditional style as well as the healthy nature of the place. "Waterfront Areas" refer to the big long waterfront which is united by the natural ponds and springs that are scattered along the southern part of the village. "Surrounded by Water" is designed for high-end leisure and relaxation place; it is meant to be private and quiet. "Containing water" are the places which require the construction of small water pools and ponds for creating the atmosphere of close relations with nature and a cleaner environment. As for the infrastructure and mobilization of the place, the Main Street and roads in the village were poorly designed in the past, thus new infrastructure design focused on improving the functionality for tourism. New infrastructure and city design considered preservation of old space, thus new streets and buildings were designed to harmonize with old city design and spaces. On the other hand, for pavements and sidewalks, most local

streets were designed to be unpaved or paved by stone from local area while the Main Street was designed to be paved by asphalt.

Architectural style

Village buildings were renovated or newly built to harmonize with natural resources and local culture. With regards to architecture Tsinghua City Branding Studio set the goal of preserving as many authentic building as possible. This way, not only are the residents able to keep their homes, they also get the old buildings renovated at the expense of the local government. For renovation and building new architectures, the studies in architectural culture of the region were conducted. Through the studies, three architectural styles and color scheme were identified. The styles are: *Huizhou style in black and white*; *Huainan style*; *Tofu Village residential area style*.

Huizhou architectural style is a dominant style in the village, and the feature of Huizhou style is that it uses black and white as dominant colors; and supplementary colors are blue, brown, red and etc. Other physical features of Huizhou style are small roof tiles and curvy ornaments on the roof tops. With regards to the material, it is usually white stone with wooden elements.

Huainan style buildings are characterized by the predominant gray, white, dark red and brown colors. Supplementary colors for this style are cyan and yellow colors. Building height is usually low, one or two-story building located at the foot of the mountain or by the waterside.

The Tofu Village color scheme includes yellow, gray and brown as its dominant colors supplemented by dark red and beige. The style incorporates gray brick walls as the main material supplemented by wooden components as well as Huizhou architecture wharfs. With regards to building height, it is usually two-story, rarely three-story buildings with flexible building layout.

The major strategy regarding architectural design is as follows:

Reconstruction and renovation

As mentioned before, the major principle of the project is to provide protection for the buildings with cultural and historic significance. Damaged parts of the building were repaired and the general style of the buildings was renovated in accordance with the three basic styles and color schemes as outlined above.

For demolition, in some cases, the quality of the building did not allow for reconstruction. Such buildings are planned to be removed and the area is planned to be turned into green space or open space.

For new constructions, in accordance with the master plan, construction of new buildings is important. The new elements are planned to be built according to local traditional cultural style.

Business planning focuses on economic growth, benefits and sustainability of Shouxian Daquan Village, with tofu culture tourism as its unique competitiveness. The business plan is made with businesses along the lines of eating, living (accommodation), walking (transportation), sightseeing, entertainment (games and shows) and purchase (souvenir and local specialty –tofu).

For “Eating”, the tofu village is designed to offer various local foods, including different dishes of tofu. As Italian families often have their own family recipes, residents of the Tofu village have different family recipes for tofu dishes as well. Those dishes will be offered to visitors and eventually become a local specialty and unique attractiveness.

For “Living”, countryside hotels and resident home inns are available to visitors. They were designed to be representing the Shouxian culture and located conveniently near the attraction points.

For “Walking”, it goes along with “Sightseeing” because the infrastructure was designed friendly for tourists. Three major tourism routes are developed: 1) “Culture and Craftsmanship Route” where the tourists are offered to visit museums and exhibitions, learn about the history, culture and religion of the village; 2) “Tofu Culture Route” where the tourists can visit tofu showroom, tofu factory, tofu festival, engage in tofu related DIYs, learn about the history of tofu making; and 3) “Rural Culture Route” located in the highlands of the village. It is the route that allows people to unite with nature, enjoy picturesque sceneries and learn about the specificities of local gardening styles.

In one of the initial phases of the 4D branding model, Shouxian Daquan Village was defined as the place where people can connect with nature and enjoy rural landscape. In order to live up to that claim, Tsinghua City Branding Studio developed a detailed plan with regards to specific areas planted with local species of plants at the same time increasing the proportion of crop production, which will also be economically beneficial. The following are some of the categories included in the plan: agricultural plants, i.e. walnut trees, pear trees, soybeans, etc.; water plants, i.e. water lily, etc.; ornamental plants, i.e. peony, lagerstroemia, etc.

As for “Entertainment”, Tofu Village is positioned as a place where people come to relax and rest from a busy and overwhelming big city life. The recreational area is designed to

offer opportunities for watching Shouxian cultural shows and enjoying herbal medicine spas.

For “Purchase”, there are two main components: ethnic souvenirs and tofu local specialty. Business ventures for tofu local specialty as well as local cultural features are described in the previous part. However, when it comes to tourism, souvenir business becomes one of the essential parts which cannot be neglected. Therefore, several platform for trading souvenir products were developed: 1) Handicrafts shop selling souvenirs in the form of Liu An figures, key chains, magnets and images as well as souvenirs associated with tofu. 2) Paper cutting shop offering exclusive DIYs as well as selling reproductions China’s finest paper cut masterpieces illustrating stories and history scenes related to tofu 2) Ethnic jewelry store selling locally crafted jewelry 3) Embroidery shop offering authentic fabrics as well as traditional clothing pieces and elements of home décor.

Deliver

For “Deliver”, Tsinghua City Branding Studio designed different communication channels and plans. The team suggested to create a website, social media accounts and advertisements for the village to communicate itself with potential visitors and residents interactively. For instance, on Weibo, a social networking service, users may find pictures, videos and any ongoing events through the Shouxian's Weibo page; and it also allows people to ask or leave comments. The City Branding Studio also suggested to design cooperative communication plans with tourism websites where tourists often book their hotel and tickets. Use of mass media was also designed, and it aims producing documentary films about the region and tofu culture and other entertainment programs as well as inviting journalists to report on the topic of tourism using Shouxian Daquan Village as an example.

Limitations of Shouxian Study Case

The process of implementation of branding strategies and components of the 4D Model cannot be fully fulfilled in the following aspects for some reasons.

In the Discover phase, Tsinghua City Branding Studio was able to conduct questionnaires, workshops and interviews; however, sufficient market research could not be done due to the government leadership’s decision. Branding of Daquan Village as tourist destination requires inquisitive market research, which involves certain amount of time. However, since the Daquan Village case was a government project, the leadership prioritized visible outcome of the project in short period of a time above thorough research and detailed

planning. Therefore, market research was based on statistics from the tourism bureau supplied by the local government.

In the Define phase, the slogan and the description were strongly influenced by the government officials and leaderships. Therefore, the latter lacked creativity and attractiveness while focusing more on polite correctness, factualness and neutrality of the language.

In the Design phase, Tsinghua City Branding Studio aimed to establish subtle and detailed planning for contents of inner and outer spaces, which would alien the hardware – architectures and landscape – and software – cultural contents; exhibitions and festivals, etc. As mentioned above, however, visible outcome is more concentrated on than the software, thus the focus of the project was placed on the construction of the hardware of Daquan Village.

In the Deliver phase, establishing communication channels and communicating with the target audiences ahead of time is critical, but this is not seriously consider. Thus, the execution of an integrated communication strategies were delayed and compromised.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the working thoughts of the branding case of Daquan Village. In this project the local cultural heritage of the place was carefully explored and used as the foundation of the branding strategy designed under the framework of the 4D Branding Model. Having identified tofu as the major element of Shouxian cultural heritage, Tsinghua City Branding Studio Shouxian positioned the Shouxian Daquan Village as the birthplace of Chinese tofu, giving it new identity, new name (Shouxian Tofu Village) and new physical appearance through utilizing its location, natural resources and local culture. However, for some reasons, certain elements could not be fully implicated in this particular project. First, market research was not fully completed due to the limited time frame officially set for the project. Second, intangible aspects of the project, such as Tofu cultural festival, parades and exhibitions were not fully developed due to the change in priorities requested by the leadership. Finally, the designed communication strategy was not effective due to inconsistency in its application, which resulted from the strategy's modification by the local leadership.

Although Daquan Village is still under construction, hopefully, the thoughts of branding this small place can shed light on cultural place branding projects. In spite of being faced

by many obstacles, the 4D branding model is justifiably applicable in this case as it offers a systematic and comprehensive approach to branding Chinese villages through identifying local uniqueness, enhancing local cultural heritage, utilizing local natural resources, and building the place as its brand.

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Links between city brand identity and positioning: implications for the communication strategy

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Abstract

Purpose - The paper attempts to explain the relations between the identity of a city brand and its positioning, first and foremost regarding the city brand values and brand personality. It aims to discuss the relation between these two concepts and its implications for a brand communication strategy.

Approach – The Bull’s eye method to define brand identity was used to analyze the links between a brand identity structure and its positioning. The Poznań Metropolitan Area was used as an illustration of the method’s application.

Findings - Owing to mutual cohesion, in the next step the compliance of brand identity (primarily brand values and personality) and the positioning statement builds a frame for a brand communication strategy.

Practical implications - The paper discusses a brand identity model as a basis for defining identity of a city brand. Based on the method’s result, relevant brand positioning could be chosen together with a brand implementation strategy. An analysis of necessary links between city brand identity and positioning provides city managers with guidelines for city brand application, particularly with respect to its communication.

Originality/value – While broadly described in marketing literature, brand identity models and brand positioning are not recognized issues in city brand management. Meanwhile, their content and relations are of strategic importance as they set further activities related to city brand.

Key words: city brand identity, place brand positioning, Bull's eye method

Classification: Strategic communications: strategy and planning

Brands and cities

Over the last years, the debate on the application of marketing to places held in literature on the subject has shifted towards place branding (Kavaratzis, 2008). Place branding enables a place to build on its strengths and make a meaningful sense out of the complex, multi-dimensional characteristics of a place (Hankinson, 2004). Therefore, according to Kavaratzis (2005, p.334) place branding is the “approach to integrating, leading and directing the place management process”. From this managerial point of view, a place brand exists only if it is the result of a branding process which can be defined as designing, planning and communicating brand identity in order to build and manage a city image. Putting it simply, branding is the process of transition of the primary (existing, initial) city assets into a desired image.

According to Hankinson & Cowking (1993) "brand is a product or service distinguished by its positioning against competitors and by its personality containing a unique combination of functional features and symbolic values." Brand foundation that is brand identity built upon values and features differentiating a brand, represents the brand's strength and potential. On the other hand, brand positioning based on brand identity determines the way a brand communicates with its target groups. The aim of brand positioning helps to achieve the desired image which has also become the focus of marketing activity for cities. According to Maheshwari et al. (2011, p.201), “brand assists in developing an image of a place that is more appealing and exciting, thereby making it a critically important phenomenon”.

In contemporary economy, determined by globalization processes and a high level of competition in almost every area of human activity, key importance is attached to image and brand strength in organizational development. As a consequence, it is a brand that is in the centre of marketing decisions that allow building relationships with the environment, based on the brand's personality and brand values. It is of special importance in the context of the dynamic process of metropolization and assimilation of cities.

Special attention is now being paid to cities because they are driving forces of growth and have always been hubs of activity and changes. In 1925 only 25% of the world's population resided in cities; the number is estimated to amount to 75% in 2025 (Middleton 2011). On top of the economic benefits of concentration, cities offer their residents many social and emotional benefits including opportunities of sharing information, building up close social relations and getting involved in a number of activities which are in line with the inhabitants' interests (Insch 2011). O'Flaherty (2005, p. 12) claims that "cities can survive as they have for thousands of years only when their benefits compensate for the flaws". Opportunities offered by cities to individuals (employment, education, accommodation, transport) and to business (low costs, secured financial services, competent labour, closeness of the output and suppliers markets) underpin the perpetual process of urbanization throughout the 20th century (United Nations 2005). Bearing in mind that this trend may be imbalanced, cities have competed for human, financial and intellectual resources which may ensure cities' "longevity" (Insch 2011).

The relative similarity among cities is an altogether different issue. As Ooi (2011) postulates, cities change over time and, paradoxically, they become similar as they grow, especially when the city authorities learn from other cities how to attract tourists, investors etc. As a result, brand strategies and city images become similar. An analysis of brand strategies or cities' advertising claims indicates that oftentimes, emphasis is placed on similar values, e.g. innovations, design, creativity, a multi-cultural nature. This stems directly from the specificity of cities, especially the biggest ones which need to rest on similar foundations as the driving forces of development. Hence intangible benefits are gaining in importance as reflected in the place brand.

Place (city) brand identity

Of particular importance for the development of place branding (city branding included) have been theoretical considerations on corporate branding. They suggest that corporate branding is adequate for the creation of place brands (Kavaratzis 2004, Rainisto 2003, Hankinson 2007). According to Trueman et al. (2004), the literature on corporate identity may be appropriate as it offers a cultural dimension which reinforces corporate values. In

the light of this concept, the term “umbrella brand” is often used which refers to the brand applied to different product categories in order to create a common set of associations (Keller 2003). Moreover, corporate branding and place branding share several characteristics that further support the development of the latter. Firstly, both corporate branding and place branding cover interactions with many diverse groups of stakeholders (Girourd et al. 2001, 2004, Bickerton & Knox, 2003). Secondly, both of them play a primary role of adding value to numerous activities as a result of extending the scope of the brand (Keller 1998; Hankinson 2001). Thirdly, corporate branding and place branding are simultaneously focal points for many consumer segments (Kotler et al, 1999).

Similarly to corporate identity, place identity is defined as "the sum of its characteristic features and activities which differentiate it from other entities" (Klage, 1991). Place identity is described by Govers and Go (2009) as full set of unique characteristics and set of meanings that exist in a place and its culture at a given point of time, nevertheless realizing that this identity is subject to change and might include fragmented identities. According to Barke & Harrop (1994), place identity is what a place is actually like. More strategically, Kall (2001, p.25) suggests that "the purpose of identity is to define the meaning, intention and reason for the brand". In this way, all activities undertaken by a place's authorities or managers are aimed at regulating (changing, reinforcing or forging) stakeholders' perceptions about a place in the process of branding. To this end, place managers utilize a range of marketing instruments, communication included, that create and preserve place brand identity.

According to Aaker (1996), there are three notions related to brand identity (in general). The first one, brand essence, captures the brand values and vision in an ambivalent timeless identity statement. Aaker pictures it as an internal magnet that keeps the core identity element connected. Secondly, core identity that represents a brand's essence and embraces associations that are most likely to remain constant over time. The last one, extended brand identity, adds to completeness of a brand providing a consistent direction for the brand. Where core elements are timeless, extended identity contains elements that do not belong to the timeless foundation of brand identity.

In general, the biggest challenge in the branding process, not only in the city context, is to define the “heart” of brand identity and its starting point, i.e. brand essence. City brand essence is usually defined in one sentence or a short statement reflecting the idea behind the brand concept based on the distinguished assets, characteristics or values of a city. They are very closely related to sustainable competitive advantages (Govers & Go, 2009) that have to be based on individual components of each city's identity. As emphasized by Anholt (2002) and Gnoth (2002), competitive advantage should be based on the unique nature of a place's local culture or physical characteristics difficult to imitate by competitors, e.g. environmental characteristics (such as the climate, flora, fauna, landscape) and cultural heritage (physical characteristics of cities, local history, religion or other means of cultural expression such as art, architecture and design) (Govers & Go, 2009). According to Deffner & Metaxas (2005) place identity concerns those assets and features that historically provide a place with its character, to a greater or lesser degree. Therefore an analysis of city assets identifies the areas and limits of delineating brand identity.

Defining place brand identity

Different methods are applied to find the most appropriate brand essence and its structure. One of them is the Bull's Eye concept, a well developed method of defining brand identity that can be adopted to cities.

The starting point in defining specific elements is insight into the target group's needs, expectations and viewpoints. They affect identification of the brand identity structure (elements of this identity, relating them to, among other things, brand values, brand proposition and benefits). The Bull's Eye method of brand identity results in formulating consumer takeout – the desired way in which the target group should perceive the brand after brand identity application and communication.

The concept of the “Bull's eye” defines six key elements which establish brand identity. They include (see figure 1):

- a) values represented by the brand – defining reference areas important to the brand,
- b) brand personality – describing the brand in the context of psychological positioning,
- c) brand proposition – a generally defined brand offer for the target group,
- d) functional and emotional benefits,

- e) substantiation – as the basis for the benefits’ credibility,
- f) brand essence/core – a crucial, abridged definition of the brand differentiator which should underlie positioning.

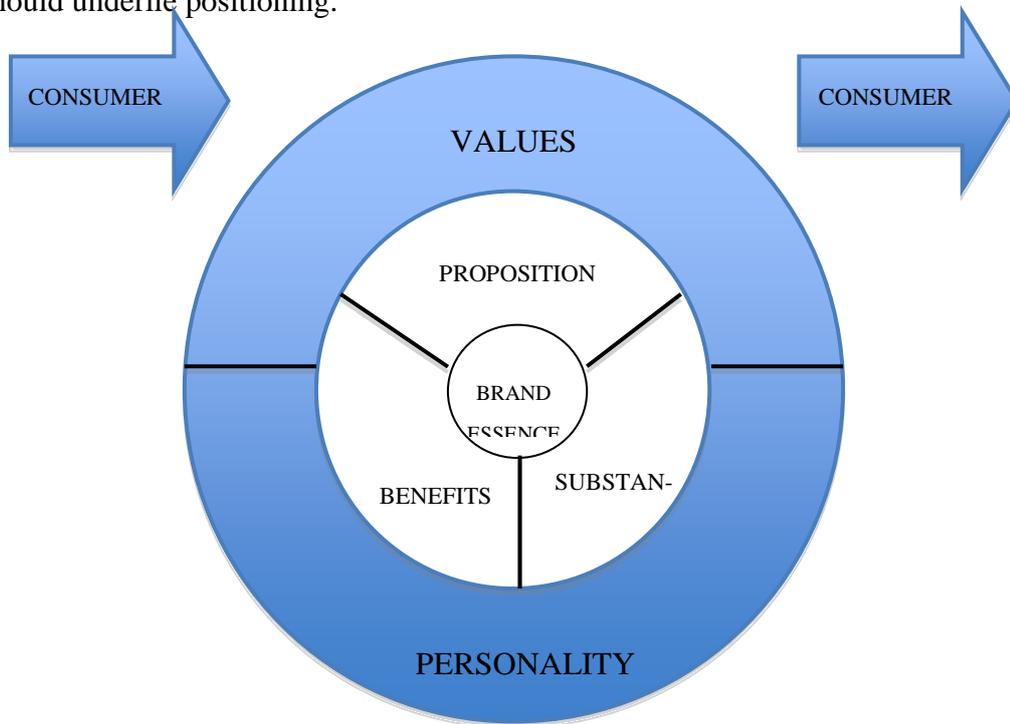


Figure 1. The Bull's Eye (The Appletiser Brand Book, company internal documents, 2007). Brand values determine two important strategic areas: brand reputation and a brand's capability of building relations with stakeholders (Chapman&Tulen, 2010). Values are an important element of brand identity because they determine long-term brand activity and condition brand cohesion. Oftentimes, values form a structure referred to as a value system which is a structured arrangement of opinions on the desired modes of brand activity in the market (especially promotional activities) (Rokeach, 1973). Values could be divided into key values and instrumental values (Schwartz&Bilsky, 1990). Key values are of fundamental nature and refer to the society in general and to self-realization. On the other hand, instrumental values indicate a brand's capability and refer to moral principles which a brand should follow (Rokeach&Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Key values are supplemented by instrumental values; it takes both groups of values to offer a cohesive brand concept. Brand values incorporated in this identity cannot contradict each other yet they should fulfill the criteria of cohesion and mutual support. Therefore, a correctly defined brand identity

should include key and instrumental values alike which determine opportunities for effective communication of brand entity.

Brand personality has been defined as a set of human characteristics associated with a brand, performing symbolic functions as well as functions offering brand audiences an opportunity to express themselves in their relations with the environment (Keller, 1993). A symbolic use of a brand is possible because the audiences interpret it in the context of characteristic and differentiating personality traits (Rook, 1985). The element of brand personality is commonly used in communication efforts, especially in advertising where anthropomorphism and personalization have been used along with other tools (Aaker 1997). Reference to brand personality features, consistently and coherently communicated, contributes to a stronger preference for a brand among consumers (especially those personality traits which are at the same time represented by the audience on the level of actual, desirable or ideal identity) (Malhorta 1998).

To a large extent, a brand's strength depends on its personality features. The more strongly a brand is embedded in one area, the bigger its potential to create an unambiguous and distinct image.

Another element of brand identity are functional and/or emotional benefits together with co-called Reason to Believe (RtB). The benefit element refers directly to the brand users' needs. The highlighted benefits should be of significance to the audience and, at the same time, differentiate the brand from its competitors. In other words, benefits are arguments why a specific brand should be selected by the audience, how it is superior, how unique and special its offer is that no other brand can provide. An approach to benefits with respect to brand identity allows for planning and pursuing activities which will build up and reinforce important areas of differentiation. Benefits require credibility i.e. a presentation of arguments which will make the audience believe in the promises made by a brand.

Brand proposition is a synthetic approach to the brand benefit (most frequently provided in a short sentence). In the case of a city brand, benefits identified for specific target groups should be gathered in one (shared) proposal. The proposal should be as extended as possible to facilitate brand development in various areas of its activity. This is of special

importance in reference to city brands where the scope of a brand's activity is very extended and diversified (a large number of target groups and a complex offer). An aggregated approach to brand propositions ensures a brand's cohesion in relation to diverse target groups.

On the other hand, while brand essence provides a synthetic approach to the brand, it is not and cannot be its advertising slogan. Brand identity, extremely useful as it is in the process of devising the communication strategy, is much more commonly applied. Brand identity and its essence should therefore be reflected not only in the communication but also on the level of those who implement the strategy (consistence of the employees' values and the brand values, compliance in the personality features), on the level of processes (procedures and an organization's mode of operation, the adopted standards), on the level of the product¹⁴ (compliance between the product portfolio concept creation and brand identity) (Chapman&Tulen, 2010). As the name indicates, brand essence is a synthetic reference (in maximum several words) to what is most important in the brand. It is worth remembering, however, that what is of such importance in a brand should at the same time differentiate the brand (be different from competitive offers) and of significance to the audience (appreciated by them).

In the process of developing brand identity, special emphasis should be placed on adequate tailoring of the brand proposal and essence to brand values and identity.

Bearing this in mind, application of the Bull's Eye method allows for a comprehensive definition of city brand identity that should be followed by a positioning statement.

Brand positioning

Another step completing the process is developing the positioning statement which complements brand identity by taking into account the competitive context. The defined brand values and brand identity should then be reflected in brand positioning. As Pike

¹⁴ In the case of a city marketing the concept of the so-called place mega-product emerges (a mega-product interpreted as a strictly related and structured form of tangible and intangible products available in a specific location for its various users. It includes both tangible elements (e.g. historic buildings, architecture, shopping and sports facilities, transport and accommodation infrastructure, cultural services as well as locally manufactured products – commercial products and services) and measurable ones (e.g. business skills, the supply market, human resources) as well as intangible ones (e.g. the place's ambience, nature, tradition, religion) and immeasurable ones (e.g. the locals' creativity, folk art) (Florek 2007).

argues (2004, p.16) “marketing strategy requires the effective positioning of brand identity to achieve the desired brand image in the market place”. The links between those two constructs - brand identity and brand positioning - are therefore key to the success of city branding and brand communication.

In general, positioning can be described as an activity related to creating a clear and unique image of a brand in the minds of the target audience (Ries & Trout 1981; Woodward 1996; Nilson 1998). Ries & Trout (1981) argue that positioning is “a battle for the consumer’s mind”. In their opinion, positioning is the way a company wants customers to perceive, think and feel about its brand versus competitive offers. From this perspective, brand positioning is highly subjective since it refers to the customer’s individual perceptions. Davis (2000a) takes notice of the strategic significance of brand positioning as the basis for further decisions on brand management. He emphasizes the role of brand positioning for establishing effective communication with customers. The strategic significance of brand positioning has also been presented by Kotler (1994) who included positioning in his STP concept (Segmenting, Targeting, Positioning). Keller (1998) emphasizes that achieving the proper position requires establishing the correct point of difference (unique to the brand) and point of parity association (connected with the category, not necessarily unique to the brand). Aaker, in turn (1996), perceives positioning in a very strong relation to brand identity. For Aaker, who focuses on tactical operations aimed at building strong brands, positioning is the basis for creating and implementing brand building programs. Finally, Temporal (2002) notes that positioning is vital to brand management because it takes the basic tangible aspects of the product and actually builds the intangibles in the form of an image in people’s minds.

The general agreement on the definition of the target group and competitors as the starting point in the process of brand positioning is certainly worth emphasizing. The analysis of both elements allows for a definition of a brand’s points of difference in a chosen product category. Therefore brand positioning consists of three basic elements: 1) the target group (its needs, preferences and the way it perceives the brand on the basis of its experience and attitude towards the brand), 2) the competitors (their competence, strengths and positions

in the market as well as their positions in the consumers' minds), 3) a brand's points of difference (defined on the basis of brand potential).

Typically, brand positioning assumes the form of a positioning statement formulated on the basis of brand identity. This is why positioning should include references to brand values and identity. Literature on the subject offers four fundamental elements of positioning (Tybout&Sternthal, 2005):

1. A brief description of the target group: in the case of city brands numerous and various groups of stakeholders.
2. Alignment of a brand and a category: in the case of city brands, this refers to defining areas of brand activity (e.g. the capital city category).
3. Brand benefits enjoyed by target groups: these benefits offer an argument in favour of selecting a city brand from among competitive brands.
4. Providing explanation why a specific brand is better than the alternatives.

Brand proposition together with brand essence and the positioning statement (i.e. the three elements put together) should contribute to uniqueness and a differentiating factor; these features provide for the above mentioned elements analyzed together which allows for affiliation with only one brand.

City brand identity and brand positioning – the links and relations

This convergence of brand identity and brand positioning reinforces brand communication on many levels. Firstly, the defined brand identity and positioning statement provides the basis for devising a cohesive marketing strategy. Secondly, it allows to communicate a brand's key values in a way understood by the target groups. On the other hand, the traits of brand identity make it possible to tailor the right style and tone of the message to the target groups. The style and tone include the language employed for the sake of communication or images to be employed (like a corporate identity system).

Especially statements used in brand positioning should directly relate to selected values and features of brand identity. A case in point is the Poznań Metropolis (or agglomeration)

in Poland with its nearly one million inhabitants. In defining the metropolis' identity, the Bull's Eye approach was used.

The basic values of the city's brand include: European quality, high qualifications and competencies, effective cooperation, experience, success, balanced life (work, family, leisure), a modern and future-oriented nature. The personality of the Poznań Metropolitan Area brand revolves around the following features: reliable, competent, well organized, creative, active.

Analyses of specific elements of brand identity resulted in defining the brand essence for the Poznań Metropolitan Area. The identity was defined as:

competence and ability in cohesive growth.

And next positioning statement as:

Owing to reliability, European quality, experience, competence and creativity, the Poznań Agglomeration knows how to skilfully combine the potential of a big city and the communes in an effective and cohesive growth toward a modern metropolis. The metropolitan character contributes to a higher standard of living of all inhabitants and possible creation of a robust image of a modern and dynamically growing successful area.

There are strict relations between brand positioning and brand values and personality. This is because specific values and traits of brand identity are reflected in specific elements of the positioning statement:

Owing to reliability, European quality, experience, competence and creativity,

reliable European quality experience competent creative

the Poznań Agglomeration knows how to skilfully combine the potential of a big city

well organized, high qualifications and competencies, skill of cooperation

and the communes in an effective and cohesive growth toward a modern metropolis.

modern and future oriented nature

The metropolitan character contributes to a higher standard of living of all inhabitants

life balance

and possible creation of a robust image of a ~~modern and dynamically growing successful~~ area.

modern and future oriented nature, active success

Owing to mutual cohesion, the compliance of the positioning statement and brand identity (primarily brand values and identity) reinforces and makes the city brand credible. Identity assigns the mode of positioning a brand while the positioning statement is a strategic addendum to brand identity and its amplification. Cohesive relations between these two elements contribute to a situation when brand communication by means of diversified means and tools (not only promotion-related) is more effective and approaches the desired mode of thinking about a brand (take outs in the Bull's eye method).

Summary

City brand identity is a set of features positively differentiating a brand, building up a brand's ideal image, most coveted from the point of view of the brand owners or managers. In other words, city brand identity reflects the desired mode of a city brand perception (reception) by its audience. City brand identity specifies a brand's fundamental elements which are subsequently translated in the positioning statement. Together they provide rules for a city brand's operations; they delineate the scope of a brand's activity and field of interaction with the audiences and other brands, identify the area of operations of all brand stakeholders (Chapman&Tulen, 2010). Consistent and cohesive brand building based on brand identity and related positioning results in creating a robust, standing out and stable city brand image.

The higher the level of cohesion the bigger its contribution to building brand identity (Tybout&Sternthal 1996). Concordance between city brand identity and positioning has

huge influence on the effectiveness of a city brand communication strategy. It is a basis for further work related to communicating key elements of brand identity, including the system of visual identification. On the other hand, from the strategic perspective, city brand identity and its positioning serve as verification tools of its communication strategy, set the directions for brand development and determine the choice of brand management strategies.

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The Industrial Zone Brand of Tianzifang: Three Stages of Social Naming

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Abstract

Tianzifang, the once ordinary alleyways of Taikang Road, is now a well-known renovation project in the inner city of Shanghai. Its evolution witnessed the birth of an urban space brand of world significance. The success can be attributed to three reasons. Firstly, the famous artist CHEN Yifei started its spatial transformation in the way of SOHO and the equally famous artist HUANG Yongyu renamed it after the first painter in Chinese history TIAN Zifang, transforming the ordinary Taikang Road into the holy Tianzifang. Secondly, the culture industry of CHEN Yifei not only attracted lots of artistic entrepreneurs, but also earned Tianzifang the reputation of the birthplace of China's creative industry. However, the creative industry needed naming by social scientists. Economist LI Wuwei defined it as a creative industrial zone, giving it an irreplaceable identity different from any other renovation projects. Thirdly, to renovate inner city through conserving old alleyways demanded reasons for preservation. Mr. RUAN Yisan, the world-known expert in historical architecture conservation, provided professional argument on the variety of historical architecture on Taikang Road, which further proved the unique symbolic significance and historical value of Tianzifang. Thus, the aforementioned three stages of naming accomplished the "ordination" and "social alchemy" in Pierre Bourdieu's words.

Located in the historical city center of Shanghai and featuring inward-reaching lanes and alleys as the fabrics of its space, Tianzifang commercial area is built on the basis of abandoned factories and historical Shikumen residential buildings, for mixed purposes of business and residence. The main business here includes arts and cultural industries, high-end restaurants and fashion consumption. An ordinary alleyway in Shanghai fifteen years ago, it has been converted into the most famous brand of cultural and creative industries in Shanghai, a landmark and business card of Shanghai. In 2000, Tianzifang was awarded the title of "Shanghai famous trademark" (for a region) by Shanghai Municipal Supervision Bureau of Quality and Technique. Four years later, in May 2004, it was selected as one of the first 18 Creative Industry Clusters by Shanghai Municipal Economic Commission, and later, one of the first group of Cultural Industry Model Bases by Shanghai Municipal Publicity Department. Over the years, Tianzifang has received a number of honorary titles granted by both national and local governments, and frequently won honors such as "The Best Creative Industry Park in China", one of "The Top Ten Fashion Landmarks in Shanghai", "The Most Influential Brand", among the others. Moreover, during the Shanghai World Expo in 2010, Tianzifang was selected as both municipal and district showcase to receive guests from all over the world, while in 2012, it was ranked as the most popular park of the Golden Tripod Award by the Yangtze Delta Alliance of Creative Industries.

Most of these honors listed above came after Tianzifang gained its fame, which could be attributed to many reasons. In my three essays published during the past four years, I have given my accounts on the success of Tianzifang from different perspectives, including the production of space, the competition over development concepts, collective entrepreneurship, and others.¹ In the sense of brand building, social naming is the key strategy that has enabled Tianzifang industrial space to achieve its tremendous influence.

This paper will examine the process of social naming from three stages: the naming of an art space by CHEN Yifei and HUANG Yongyu; the naming of an industrial space by LI Wuwei; and finally, the naming of a historical space by RUAN Yisan. The proposal of the three-staged social naming is originated from Bourdieu's theories of social naming and classification. However, while Bourdieu held a social critical view, this paper tries to take a neutral stand in criticism, or to put in a better way, it does not focus on social criticism in particular, but on seeing social naming as a methodology for theories of social reality construction and social cognition.

I. Bourdieu's Theories of Social Naming and Classification

Bourdieu's theory of social naming includes the following points. Firstly, the social world not only is what it is, but also is what its actors represent and construct, therefore, social world realism is bound to be social world representationalism at the same time. Secondly, Social representations "do not simply mirror social relations but help *constitute* them, then one can, within limits, transform the world by transforming its representation"². Thirdly, the social sciences deal with pre-named, pre-classified realities which bear proper nouns and common nouns, titles, signs and acronyms. The social sciences must take as their object of study the social operations of naming and the rites of institution through which they are accomplished. But on a deeper level, they must examine the part played by words in the construction of social reality and the contribution which the struggle over classifications, a dimension of all class struggles, makes to the constitution of classes – classes defined in terms of age, sex or social position, but also clans, tribes, ethnic groups or nations.³

How to understand Bourdieu's theories of social representation and social naming? I try to understand them from four levels. The first level is how to understand social reality. Unlike the self-sufficiency of natural reality (Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?), social reality is from the very beginning to be uttered and represented, otherwise there will be no identifiable reality as it cannot be understood or expressed by people. The reality, to people living in it, is a world full of meanings which certainly have their objective origins but must be uttered and defined by people per se. In short, to name the society equals to construct it and to change the naming will in certain sense change the society.

¹ YU Hai: *The Tianzifang Experiment: Transglobal – A Locally Dualistic Model for Urban Renewal*, in *Famous Towns of China (Zhong Guo Ming Cheng)*, 2009 Vol. 7; YU Hai: *Narrative of Historic Block Renovation in Power and Concept Dimensions - The Case of Tianzifang in Shanghai*, in *Nanjing Social Sciences (Nan Jing She Hui Ke Xue)*, 2011 Vol. 4; YU Hai, ZHONG Xiaohua, CHEN Xiangming: *Collective Entrepreneurship Based on Community Networks in Urban Renewal - The Case of Tianzifang in Shanghai*, in *Nanjing Social Sciences (Nan Jing She Hui Ke Xue)*, 2013 Vol. 8.

² Bourdieu and Wacquant: *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, p14, Polity Press, 1992.

³ Bourdieu: *Language and Symbolic Power*, p105, Harvard University Press, Polity Press, 1991.

The second level is related to the representation theory. All the named and classified social realities rely on words to be classified and named, but not every naming word plays a role in constructing the reality. In Bourdieu's view, only the official speech of the authorized spokesperson expressing himself in a solemn situation bears the authority of the institution.⁴ Hence, the task is to look at how language is expressed by whom and in what situation.

By this we move to the third level, i.e., to understand the social operations of naming and the rites of institution through which naming is accomplished. Rite means the authorization of institution, which gives authority to the language of the person or to a certain word. It is not the ultimate goal of naming to accomplish it, rather, it is to confirm that the naming of the character and order of the reality is accepted and followed by people attending the rite, or more accurately, by people engaging in the social practice.

The final level is about political science. According to Bourdieu, social naming draws our attention to the social roles of language, not only in the constitution of social reality, but also in class struggle, as classes are in fact divided by different names. This view on class is very different from that of Karl Marx. On one hand, it emphasizes the social classification and classified struggle of class distinction, and on the other hand, class distinction is not only an economic concept but also covers non-economic scopes. The concept I borrowed in this paper is not referred to the political science of class struggle in Bourdieu's perspective, however, since social naming actually involves arguments over legitimacy and different models, the political insight in this sense shows the inspiration from Bourdieu's work to this article.

II. The Three Stages of Naming for Tianzifang

i) From Taikang Road to Tianzifang: From Secular to Sacred

The first stage of building Tianzifang as an industrial space brand, or the first stage of social naming, started from the two masters of art, Mr. CHEN Yifei and Mr. HUANG Yongyu.

Before CHEN Yifei's arrival, there was nothing called Tianzifang but only Taikang Road. The initial transformation started from the cultural dream to transform Taikang Road by the local officials. It was in the middle of the Asian Financial Crisis, so the government-led real estate development through large-scale demolition and construction encountered obstacles. Thanks to the fact that Taikang Road is located at the edge of Luwan District, the superior government had no objection towards the plan of the district government to use inactive neighborhood factories for developing cultural industry, on the contrast, the proposal was warmly welcomed. Unfortunately, the developers only had dream but no ideas. Despite of all the efforts, the attempted cultural neighborhood didn't get popular as expected. It was not until CHEN Yifei's arrival that Taikang Road, an unknown, ordinary street, was finally turned into Tianzifang, a well-known space for the emerging cultural industry.

⁴ Bourdieu: *Language and Symbolic Power*, p107, Harvard University Press, Polity Press, 1991

Tianzifang was a product of globalization and was developed because artists with cosmopolitan vision and New York SOHO concept - represented by CHEN Yifei - discovered the aesthetic and historical values of the old lane-and-alley space in Taikang Road. When CHEN Yifei was invited to visit Taikang Road for the first time in 1998, he stopped at Lane 210 and stayed for a long time, acclaiming, "What a great place it is! I have never expected to find such a great place in Shanghai." At the dinner after the visit, Mr. Chen gave his suggestion on the development of Taikang Road, "it should become a place to cultivate future artists, just like the SOHO area in New York City, which used to be old factories but was transformed into a place for young art beginners to improve their drawing skills and later a world-famous art space. We should do something for China's future young artists, and one way is to ensure a sound development of this place." (Interview record 1) In January 2002, CHEN Yifei Studio moved to the entrance of Lane 210 Taikang Road, with a total space of over 500 square meters which is divided into five sections including oil painting and sculpture studio, club, ceramic studio and others. Since then, sculptor JIE Jianling, photographer Deke Erh and a number of other artists have all followed and settled down here. No one but artists who are familiar with the western SOHO concept can have such a vision to discover values from old factory buildings; no one but accomplished artists with a good knowledge of the world's latest design schools and styles can turn trash into treasure and transform the worthless, inactive factory buildings in local officials' eyes into a widely appreciated art space. Local residents regarded the old factory buildings as an abandoned and useless space. Thanks to the fact that none of the locals had a vision for SOHO, these factory buildings on Taikang Road that were advertised for lease received not a single attention. It was no coincidence that most of the early settlers at Tianzifang were famous artists with overseas living experiences. When modernism characterized with large-scale demolition and construction prevailed in China, SOHO concept aimed at protective reconstruction has grown in maturity in the West. Overseas experience together with professional insight made it possible for CHEN Yifei and other Chinese top artists to discover the possibility to renew the old neighborhood neglected by the whole nation amid the claims to pull everything down. They noticed the catch of these areas that local officials were unable to see nor bothered to care, and consequently created a most cosmopolitan community from a most local space.

CHEN Yifei's transformation of the Taikang Road space into an SOHO area or naming it SOHO is an functional event, while the naming by HUANG Yongyu, who renamed Taikang Road into *Tianzifang* (田子坊) after the first documented painter in Chinese history TIAN Zifang (田子方), is sheerly social or symbolic. From Taikang Road to Tianzifang, it was an extraordinarily significant experience of social naming, social classification and sanctification. Therefore, the naming of Tianzifang accomplished a process from "secular" to "sacred", successfully distinguishing itself from other urban renewal projects characterized with large-scale demolition and construction, including the ASE project 5

⁵ In 2003, the plot on which Tianzifang is located was approved to be rent to Taiwan ASE Group for entire business development. In 2007 Tianzifang Cultural Creative Park survived thanks to the multiple efforts from

which is located one block away. According to Bourdieu's theory, this naming did not only indicate a cultural naming, but also the production of symbolic capitals. Note that it was not HUANG Yongyu's job to give a naming or classification with state authority. A state naming is a kind of symbolic capital allocated by a governmental institution and plays the role of sanctification within the institution. Taking the National Teaching Achievement Award conferred by the Ministry of Education as an example, since the Chinese teaching institutions belong to the system, state naming equals to reputational capital and symbolic power. But the fame of the art market, creative industry and fashion culture, or cultural influence, cultural capital and symbolic capitals, etc., are usually named by socially well-recognized artists. In other words, social naming is more valuable and is much easier to be recognized by the society. As previously discussed, according to Bourdieu, social naming brings the authority of naming while constructing social reality. Therefore, HUANG's authority derived from the recognition of the artist group, or in other words, he was authorized by the artist group. Never neglect the naming by HUANG Yongyu. Such a social naming would not be acknowledged or tolerated by the opposing side, as to acknowledge the name of Tianzifang was to acknowledge the cultural and symbolic powers of the naming. Before 2008, all official files concerning Tianzifang used Taikang Road as the official name instead of Tianzifang, therefore, when debating whether to retain the Tianzifang project, leaders who were against the project rebuked Tianzifang for being fake and fictitious, which implied that there was no Tianzifang but only Taikang Road. In return, the leader of the Tianzifang development team retaliated that "if Tianzifang were fake, so is Xintiandi. There has only been Taipingqiao⁶ but no Xintiandi⁷ at all." The debate over the authenticity of the name is, in essence, a fight over symbolic power, cultural power, as well as economic power behind it. Xintiandi represents not only a development mode, but also a new and recognized urban cultural space and a new landmark of the city. What it has approved is not only the legitimacy of the developer's concept, but also the legitimacy of the government's schemes and policies of urban renewal. Besides a cultural success, Xintiandi is more a business and economic success. Before Tianzifang was legitimized, Luwan District took its utmost pride in Xintiandi. Hence, both sides threw themselves into the fight without any hesitation. Was it just for a name? Certainly not. But it must appear as a battle for names, because the social world is a world formed through naming. It is through the creation of a new name that people create what in their mind is a new social world and social space⁸.

ii) Naming of an Industrial Space: Cultural Creative Industry

While CHEN Yifei's cultural industry attracted many more art entrepreneurs, it also brought Tianzifang the honor as the birthplace of creative industry. However, this naming of a creative industry demanded to be invented by a social scientist. Hence, when the

various social forces. Only the shikumen neighborhood on the plot facing the main street was torn down and converted into business and office buildings, represented by the ASE Business Complex which was inaugurated in 2010.

⁶ The Xintiandi project was located in Taipingqiao Area in Shanghai, with the full name of "the reconstruction plan of Taipingqiao Area". Xintiandi was a new name for the entertainment, shopping and leisure area after renovation.

⁷ See interview with the leader of the Tianzifang development team, Mar. 12, 2011.

⁸ See Bourdieu: *Ce que parler veut dire: L'economie Des echanges Linguistiques* (Chinese translation), p82-83, The Commercial Press, 2005.

Chinese economist LI Wuwei defined Tianzifang as a creative industrial park, he endowed an irreplaceable identity to Tianzifang, one that is different from any other urban renewal project.

The concept of creative industry comes from the American scholar of urban studies Richard Florida and his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*. In the global age, some cities enjoy fast growth, while others are decaying. A good example is that power and wealth in Paris keep growing, but in contrast, Marseille has been declining. So here comes Florida's question: why some cities are thriving and booming, and others lacks vitality or growth? The key lies in the existence of a creative class. The distinguishing characteristic of the creative class is that its members engage in work whose function is to "create meaningful new forms." The super-creative core of this new class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the "thought leadership" of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion-makers. Members of this super-creative core produce new forms or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful – such as designing a product that can be widely made, sold and used; coming up with a theorem or strategy that can be applied in many cases; or composing music that can be performed again and again.⁹ What kind of cities can attract the creative class? The first group would be cities with high amenity that can provide a great variety of lifestyles, as they will attract musicians, painters, technical talents and other innovative people in pursuit of certain life style to live here and develop their career. Secondly, the diversity of the city itself is attractive in its nature. A diversified community that features different ethnic groups, ages, sexual orientations and non-mainstream expressions will release a signal that this is a place open to outsiders. Thirdly, originality is an important element to make a city high-quality, pleasant and enjoyable. Originality has its root in many aspects of the community, including historical architectures, aged neighborhood, musical atmosphere or other cultural traits. Contrast to the modernist view that believes the more modern and technological the city is, the more attractive it is in drawing innovative artists or art entrepreneurs, it is the kind of city and neighborhood with a rich history and cultural diversity that makes the best place for the birth of creative industry. In this regard, this is nothing to be surprised that Taikang Road got favored by CHEN Yifei and other artists.

As a matter of fact, the Tianzifang experiment never lacked the most trendy and cutting-edge concept or discourse in the world, as it has been following New York SOHO area as its example from the very beginning, claiming to "build Shanghai's SOHO at Tianzifang". Therefore, when Tianzifang was to be replaced by large-scale demolition and construction projects by superior officials and faced its survival crisis, the experimentalists tried to seek for legitimacy from concepts like creative industry that have recently become popular in the west. In 2004, in order to protect Tianzifang, the development team invited the renowned economist LI Wuwei to Tianzifang, who introduced the concept of creative industry to define this industry cluster of art workshops, design studios and art galleries. In

⁹ Richard Florida : *The Rise of the Creative Class*,(Basic Books, 2002) P68

LI's eyes, "the organic combination of cultural creative industry and urban historical area transformation can avoid the interruption of the urban context, protect architectures with historical and cultural values, and finally, by the interplay and fusion of history and future, tradition and modernity, east and west, classic and trend, enrich the cultural landscape of the city with a blend of history and modernity. This will not only tremendously accelerate the urban economic development, but also make the city more attractive, giving a taste of urban prosperity, cultural richness and modern vitality."

For several times, Tianzifang faced the threats of being demolished, but every time it managed to head off the danger eventually. Except for the persistence of the experimental team, forces of support from the academic elites should not be overlooked either. However, the struggle for power also has another political and societal side. Though supporting forces for demolition and construction of Tianzifang prevailed within the government, on the social side the voices against demolition and for Tianzifang predominated. These voices did not come from ordinary people, but from leading academic scholars like RUAN Yisan and others, and from party newspapers on both central and local levels including People's Daily, Jiefang Daily.¹⁰ The government could neither ignore the voices of the cultural and academic elites, nor neglect those of the mainstream media, which better represented the symbolic power of the institution. Since the government has no advantage in knowledge, concept or discourse, this struggle for power, according to Bourdieu, was somewhat equivalent to the conflict between public power represented by the government on one side, vs. cultural power represented by elites and public opinion power represented by the media on the other side. LI's work has not only rectified the Tianzifang experiment, but also marked an impact on Shanghai government's policy and blueprint of the industrial development with a brand new industry concept, by including "creative industry" into the government work report of the year. Today, LI Wuwei is regarded as "father of China's creative industry", who gained his reputation back to the Tianzifang case.

iii) The Discovery and Naming of a Historical Heritage Space: The Tianzifang Discourse
To renew the inner city space in a protective way, one must demonstrate the reasons for retaining the old alleys. RUAN Yisan, a world-renown expert in protecting historical architectures, provided professional arguments for the richness of the historical architectures in the old neighborhood of Taikang Road, thus supporting the view that Tianzifang bears unique symbolic importance and historical values.

Similarly, Xintiandi is also a successful old alley renewal project that features protective renovation. As described in the Shikumen (stone gate) Open House Museum in Xintiandi, "(here in Xintiandi,) the old find a place for nostalgia while the young spot fashion and trend. Foreigners regard it as genuine Chinese, while Chinese see foreign culture from it." In reality, this is more accurate for Tianzifang. RUAN Yisan, who emphasizes that urban renewal should aim to extend one's life rather than to reverse one's age, speaks very low

¹⁰ Between 2003 and 2005, famous architects, urban heritage preservation experts and economic sociologists all wrote articles to dwell on from perspective of heritage preservation, special aesthetics, creative industries and others in support of the Tianzifang project.

of Xintiandi mainly because of the lack of “households”. As the famous Chinese poem writes, “a little bridge, a flowing stream, and some households”, therefore, without “households”, even the best scenery would lose its poetic flavor. One cannot find the old Shanghai taste in Xintiandi, simply because there is neither urban dweller nor real life of the dwellers, thus no ordinary street life which is most common for shikumen neighborhoods. The old Shanghai locale of Xintiandi is consumerist and gentrified, and has nothing to do with the real local context. It’s a pseudo-Shanghai nostalgia. Prof. CHANG Qing from Tongji University criticized Xintiandi for retaining the spatial layout and exterior walls merely but entirely redesigning the rest, from roof truss, floor to interior space. Most international students taking English-taught courses in Shanghai prefer Tianzifang to Xintiandi, mainly as a result of the excessive commercialism in Xintiandi.

Xintiandi claims old Shanghai as its selling point, although it is not a piece of work presented by a Shanghainese person. Despite of its successful and legendary naming of old Shanghai, the “old Shanghai” of Xintiandi is artificially created on a historical site that had been emptied. It resembles shikumen in appearance, but lacks the sentiment and texture of the original shikumen. Therefore, it is not unjust for the Taiwanese visual artist TENG Kun Yan to call Xintiandi “a fake antique”.

On the other hand, to recognize the value of Tianzifang does not mean that it is a real antique. In RUAN Yisan’s view, the primary value for protecting historical alleys and lanes are the abundant types of Shanghainese residential houses in these areas, from the very rural-styled local dwellings, to the old shikumen lanes and alleys that prevailed in Shanghai, from new lanes and alleys with modern amenities, to western-styled villas. In short, it is a significantly valuable thing to preserve and renew the lanes and alleys of Taikang Road organically, even from the point of residence museology. A national expert in historical city preservation and restoration, RUAN Yisan’s endorsement for the values of the historical neighborhood of Taikang Road was in line with the social naming of Tianzifang by HUANG Yongyu and LI Wuwei, further reinforcing and deepening their work.

Most of the shop owners with entrepreneurship came just for the lane-and-alley houses. Some have a shikumen complex because of their childhood spent in these old houses, some with professional background of architecture and planning are attracted by the irregular architectural layout and abundant residential types in Tianzifang, while the majority just admire the local flavor of a mixture of traditional architectural style and street life atmosphere.

What attracts me greatly here in this place is this corner, and that corner. These two corners are semi-circle, which is very unusual for architectures in Shanghai, especially in shikumen buildings. Since most corners are orthogonal, these two semi-circle corners are very rare, particularly for the old alleys, new alleys and shikumen in Shanghai. Though Tianzifang is small, it accommodates a vast variety of architecture styles, including old factories, western style villas, single house, and others. This is the very best part of Tianzifang. It gives us a warm and comfortable feeling, which is the

most original thing of Shanghai. Therefore, Tianzifang's rise didn't happen by coincidence. (Interview of Esther's Bear)

Different from Xintiandi, Tianzifang was grown from a real lane-and-alley space. Despite of all its exoticism in the air, the sentiment and atmosphere is genuinely local Shanghainese. The warmth that you receive from these narrow and varied alleyways can hardly be found in any other commercial cities. Once you climb up the steep stairs, leaning against the rear window, drinking a glass of wine or a cup of coffee while overlooking the terrace of the shikumen building on the opposite side, very few can resist the softness and touch at the bottom of the heart, no matter whether you are a local or have once lived in a shikumen building. For people with a lane-and-alley life experience such as mid-aged Shanghainese people, the nostalgia they will encounter here can never be offered by Xintiandi, because Xintiandi only resembles old Shanghai in appearance but lacks the feeling and touch of old Shanghai, which cannot be made artificially. In contrast, Tianzifang has successfully created a cosmopolitan locale from a real place.

Of course, Tianzifang in an original Shanghai lane and alley neighborhood was not evolved from its original state naturally. Rather, as reiterated in this paper, it was a product of social naming after a fierce competition over the discourse. The real invention in the experimental team's story was to have constructed a "Tianzifang discourse" – actually, the team leader himself did not have the ability to construct such a discourse. As early as when Tianzifang was still in its infancy, ZHANG Jianjun who was in charge of the renewal project of Huaihai Road contributed a concept of "neighborhood economy" to the Tianzifang project, and later another one of "soft renewal" when striving for the government's support to change its plan and give up hard renewal plan (i.e., demolition and construction) of Tianzifang. A really impressive discourse and concept campaign kicked off when the team invited the famous artist CHEN Yifei. It took off after a group of architects, urban planners and economists were further invited to Tianzifang for fieldwork and case study, and finally, was ended by RUAN Yisan and LI Wuwei introducing and promoting Tianzifang to the public in academic language. RUAN Yisan recognized Tianzifang's renewal plan for its role in preserving old architectures and the historical block, and highly praised the artists for reinventing them and making Tianzifang a place "with rich local features, highlighting the fresh characters of the age and showcasing the genuine life of the Shanghainese people". RUAN Yisan knew well of Tianzifang's situation and had his reasons to worry. "As land interests, previous commitments and worldly biases will all hinder the emergence of SOHO in Shanghai, it's quite possible for Tianzifang to die on the vine as well."¹¹ RUAN used the title of "*Protecting SOHO in Shanghai*", which expressed the common wish of all the experts that like and recognize the concept of Tianzifang. This was a crucial step in the efforts to gain support from the society so as to protect Tianzifang. As the team leader wrote in a letter to me, "with suggestions from Academician ZHENG Shiling, Prof. RUAN Yisan and others, I realized the physical space of Tianzifang and the value of urban development mode; while with advices from LI Wuwei, CHEN Yifei and others, I realized the value of cultural industry in

¹¹ Ruan Yisan: *Protecting SOHO in Shanghai*, in *People's Daily* (East China version), May 26, 2004.

Tianzifang.” The art elites have created a legend of Tianzifang, while the discourse of academic elites have constructed a meaningful narrative for Tianzifang, a narrative of its legitimacy: the legitimacy of protecting historical blocks and the advanced nature of cultural industry development. This is exactly the significance of the three stages of social naming of the industrial space of Tianzifang.

Influence of Consumer Glocal Cultural Identity on Attractiveness of Cultural-Mixing Buildings in Metropolitan Cities

Guo Xiaoling

Abstract: An increasing number of metropolitan cities are building cultural streets marked with local traditional culture to deepen their cultural charm and to build their city brand image as well. At the same time, the globalization process is continuously bringing many culturally meaningful products, brands and building styles which are then embedded into local communities including the above cultural streets. It is worth thinking how to integrate the global and local cultures harmoniously. At the very first glance, it seems extremely easy if we consider about the Starbucks' coffee shops with Chinese tea-house façade. However, whether such cultural-mixing buildings can be accepted from the perspective of consumer psychology? This conceptual paper aims to explore the role of consumer glocal cultural identity in consumer evaluation of such buildings. Our analyses show that glocal identity consumers are more dominant than purely global or local identity consumers, regardless in developed or developing countries, but it seems too simplistic and optimistic if we assert that glocal cultural identity consumers will like the cultural mixing things despite of several supportive theories in the literature. With the resource perspective and situated cognition derived from the identity constructivism, this paper proposes that glocal identity consumers can be classified into "merging" type or "switching" type, depending on whether the global and local identities are treated as one new set of or two separate sets of resources. Based on such classification, it is further hypothesized that the "merging" glocal identity consumers should show the established identity-effect pattern as documented in the literature, whereas the "switching" glocal identity consumers are likely to present negative evaluations of cultural mixing buildings because no glocal identity could be situationally cued for them. As a result, the Starbucks' Chinese-style shops may be considered as a "perfect marriage" of Chinese and global cultures for "merging" type but "nondescript" for "switching" type. These tentative propositions help the designers of metropolitan cities across the world to better build the cultural streets without annoying the "switchers". For managers of global companies, they may also benefit from these findings through an in-depth understanding of dominate glocal

consumers, and thus be able to improve their segmentation strategy and to obtain more positive outcomes from their “glocalization” measures.

Key words: cultural mixing ; consumer glocal cultural identity; constructivism; resource; situated cognition

1. Introduction

Cities, metropolitan cities in particular, are very often where multi cultures contact and mix, which bring charm and brilliance to cities, as illustrated by the Chinese ancient verse “Ample reading makes one shine”. These cities also become most popular tourist destinations in the world, such as Paris, London, Singapore or New York. Cultures mixing either happens between the traditional and the modern along the time dimension (e.g., La Marais and Le Defense in Paris), or between the West and the East along the space dimension (the West and the East in Singapore). Today, cultural contacts and mixing are fostered by the process of globalization of today and are becoming faster, deeper and more influential. Whether willing or not, we are already living in a multicultural world.

Such a world, however, is partially the fruit of city designers. For example, in Beijing, China, we could find several “cultural streets” where people walk, talk, relax and appreciate multi cultures, such as “San Li Tun” and “Southern Gong and Drum Lane”. But these cultural streets are in fact very different, the former being more western-style whereas the latter being more traditional. The streets are normally made of roads, squares and buildings. We are mostly interested in understanding how could building with various styles be coordinated harmoniously. To be specific, how could the global culture and the local culture be well combined in order to improve the city attractiveness and to build the city brand as well. It appears an easy task if we see, at the first glance, the Starbuck’s coffee shops with Chinese tea-house façade in Jin Li Street, Chengdu, a big city in West China. However, it may be much more complex and challenging if we consider about the cultural meanings of such cultural mixing buildings. No doubt, Starbuck is one of the global cultural icons, same with Coca-Cola or Adidas. It is yet to explore consumers’ responses to such Starbuck’s coffee shops with Chinese “faces”, which probably result from the required “harmony”. Do they accept and like them psychologically?

No research has addressed this question from the consumer psychology perspective. It is of vital importance, though. The contemporary consumers are being continuously disseminated in global cultures in addition to their long-held local cultural marks; they have developed some kind of glocal cultural identity as a psychosocial outcome. Do they like cultural mixing buildings for sure, or they reject because they find them nondescript of either culture? This paper aims to depict consumers' reactions to cultural mixing buildings of global brands from the lens of consumer glocal cultural identity. First, it describes the predominance of glocal cultural identity consumers in comparison to purely global or local cultural identity consumers, followed by arguments about the uniqueness and complexity of this kind of particular identity. Later it presents several theories in support of the "liking" attitude and then makes use of new theoretical streams to illustrate the "rejecting" one. The paper ends with the discussion about the implications both for city designers as well as for global company managers, and the limitations that offer avenues for future research.

Theoretically, the current research will add new knowledge's to the body of literature about consumer cultural identity. Its practical implications should be two-fold. First, the city policy makers need to consider more deliberately about the possible psychological responses of consumers to the cultural mixing buildings in "cultural streets". Second, the global company managers should look at the cultural issues in a more precise way in applying their glocalization strategy.

2. Consumer Cultural Identity

2.1. Cultural identity of minority groups

Cultural identity is one type of social identity. In his seminal paper entitled as "Immigration, acculturation and adaptation", John W. Berry posited that four acculturation strategies are available for individuals in minority groups (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) on the basis of their relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity on one hand, and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups on the other hand.

**Ethnocultural group
heritage and culture**

		Accept	Reject
		Integration	Assimilation
Larger society or mainstream culture	Accept	Integration	Assimilation
	Reject	Separation	Marginalization

Figure 1: Acculturation Strategy of Minority Ethnocultural Groups (Berry, 1997)

From the point of view of non-dominant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined. Separation alternative is defined when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others. When there is an interest in both maintaining one’s heritage culture while in daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in heritage cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others, people choose then marginalization strategy (Berry, 1997, 2005). It is clear that these strategic alternatives are both psychological and behavioral.

It is to be noted that the acculturation does not imply that the culture of minority groups will be dampened or even disappear. In fact, the analysis about the structure of above classification by Berry (2008a) provides empirical evidences that “integration” and “separation” are dominant strategies adopted by immigrants. Further, “integration” segment are most adaptive to the environment. However, integration can only be “freely” chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity; a mutual accommodation should be considered as a prerequisite of integration. In some societies where two cultures are incompatible, especially when there is a perceived lack of security or overt threats to an individual’s, or a group’s cultural identity, integration is hard to attain (Berry, 2008b). And integration can be called multiculturalism when diversity is a widely-accepted feature of the society as a whole (Berry, 2005, 2008a, 2008b).

Despite of recurrent critiques of above classification framework for lack of empirical evidences (e.g., Schwartz and Zamboanga , 2008) , it remains the most influential theory in

various contexts where two or more cultures contact, going far beyond the original concern with acculturation of immigrants in the mainstream (U.S.) culture and their adaptation ability. Cultural identity has been emerging under one of such contexts, i.e., the globalization. Indeed, the acculturation issue is itself embedded into the process of globalization, or, the cultural contact derived from the globalization is the starting point of the acculturation (Berry, 2008a, p.332). Therefore, globalization and acculturation were discussed side by side; the acculturation begins when groups of different cultural backgrounds and their individual members engage each other, whereas the globalization is non- group-specific broader process (Berry, 2008a).

Below we develop further the consumer global cultural identity.

2.2 Consumer global cultural identity

Extending the work of Berry (1997) and incorporating globalization literature, Alden, Steenkamp and Batra (2006) introduced the concept of global consumption orientation to describe the attitudinal responses of consumers within certain local cultures to the global diffusion on consumption choices. Four similar strategies were proposed: (1) assimilation/homogenization/convergence, thus global strategy; (2), separation/polarization, thus local strategy; (3) hybridization/creolization/glocalization, meaning the interpenetration of the global and the local, thus glocal strategy; and (4) lack of interest/marginalization, meaning people feel alienated. Figure 2 shows such classification.

		Global culture	
		Accept	Reject
Local culture	Accept	Global	Local
	Reject	Global	Alienated

Figure 2: Local consumers' responses to global diffusion on consumption choice (Alden et al., 2006)

On the other hand, following the social identity theory, Arnett (2002) has focused on the psychological consequences of globalization, the impact on self-concept in particular. Individuals may have multiple social identities. For example, an individual can be Chinese, Han, Pekingese, researcher, member of a badminton club. In contrast to personal identity, social identities are contextualized; they include the traits, characteristics and goals linked to a social role or social group that the person was, is, or may become a member of (Oyserman,

2009). Consider about the social context of globalization. Arnett (2002) argued that most people worldwide now develop a bicultural identity that combines their local identity with an identity linked to the global culture; they identify themselves as global citizens, living in a global village, caring global events, behaving in accord with most people around the world, preferring global brands and global lifestyles, feeling linked to the whole world even thinking of people on the opposite end of the globe as just neighbors (Zhang and Khare, 2009; Steenkamp et de Jong, 2010; Alden et al. 2006; Strizhakova and Coulter, 2013; Der-Karabetian and Ruiz 1997). Identity is considered as one of the intense motives that drive consumers toward certain behaviors. For example, the literature documents a preference for global products versus local products when the global identity of consumers is activated, either chronically or situationally (Zhang and Khare, 2009). Whether the global and local identities are dependent or independent? The recent literature suggests an independent, at least partially independent relationship between them (Reed et al. 2012). As such, individuals can develop a similar matrix as discussed above based on their global or/and local culture identity (identities), as illustrated in Figure 3.

		Global cultural identity	
		High	Low
Local cultural identity	High	Glocal	Local
	Low	Global	Alienated

Figure 3. Consumer Global and Local Cultural Identities

Global consumption orientation and global identity can be very well integrated into more inclusive global orientation despite of their different theory streams (Guo, 2013). Global orientation reflects a new psychological trait of consumers who tend to view the world as a whole, to perceive themselves as global citizens and to present global consumption orientation in various domains like food, entertainment, clothes, furniture and even lifestyle. In the current paper, we define the global cultural identity in terms of such global orientation characterized by the acceptance of global culture, global citizen identity and global consumption orientation.

Then, is the global cultural identity dominant in the identity consequences of globalization? It appears quite plausible but not true. Both theoretical and empirical studies have demonstrated that individuals will not give up their local identity to embrace the global culture (Berry, 1998; Arnett, 2002; Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). In other words, purely

global identity consumers are probably only the majority in the society, and those who integrate global and local identities, i.e., who with glocal identity are predominant. This thesis has also been well revealed through several studies in the past two years. Table 1 summarizes the relevant results.

Table 1: Frequencies of consumer cultural identity

County, source	Global	Glocal	Local	Alienated	Study, sample size
Austria Riefler, 2012	11.6%	39.7%	25.2%	23.5%	Study 1, n=429
	10.0%	45.0%	18.8%	26.3%	Study 2, n=150
	1.3%	50.0%	20.0%	28.7%	Study 2*, n=150
Russia Strizhakova et al., 2012		41%	33%	26%	Study 1, n=250 (students)
		50%	28%	22%	Study 2, n=308 (students)
Brazil Strizhakova et al., 2012		31%	34%	34%	Study 2, n=186 (students)
BRIC** Strizhakova and Coulter, 2013	11.4%	52.9%	19.2%	16.5%	Global lifestyle as dependent variable, n=1247
	16.5%	60.9%	5.9%	16.3%	Global brand attitude as dependent variable, n=1247
Developed*** Strizhakova and Coulter, 2013	5.9%	28.0%	41.4%	24.6%	Global lifestyle as dependent variable, n=625
	4.6%	38.4%	42.9%	38.4%	Global brand attitude as dependent variable, n=625

*Attitude toward global products as dependent variable; the above line presents the results with the global consumption orientation as dependent variable in the same study.

**Brazil, Russia, India, China.

***U.S. and Austria

**** Non-student samples if not specified.

Obviously, most consumers can be labeled as glocal (ranging from about 30% to as high as 60%), followed by local or alienated (20%-40%), and global consumers are surprisingly the minority (10% or much lower); this is true regardless of the developed or developing origin of consumers investigated. With 7997 immigrant youth from 26 different cultural backgrounds and lived in 13 countries, Berry et al.(2006) have also revealed four clusters with similar pattern of distribution: an integration profile (36.4 %), a separation profile (22.5 %), an assimilation profile (18.7%), and a marginalization profile (22.4 %). Once again, the integration is the most dominant group whereas the assimilation (absorbed by one larger

culture at the price of abandoning one's own culture) is the least. To be concrete, the integration profile adolescents were high on both ethnic and national identities; they self-reported high proficiency in both languages, and frequent contacts with peers from both their own group and the national group; they were psychologically comfortable with both cultures. Moreover, some anthropological research about the globalization has shown that the globalization did not bring the cultural, but fostered the cultural diversity instead. It is the global and local that co-shape the contemporary society homogenization (Robertson 1995; Wilk 1995). These results from related fields provide further evidence that the glocal cultural identity constitutes the most efficient and effective cultural coping strategy in terms of cultural identity under the whole picture of globalization

Of course, these data are more illustrative than definitive, given they are not exhaustive. However, they suffice to make us pay more attention to this particular segment, i.e., the glocal identity segment. Compared to purely global or local identity segments, it is both conceptually more convincing and empirically more frequent. An individual should never forget his/her cultural roots, i.e., local identity; meanwhile, he/she should not be immune from the incoming global culture. Therefore, it is more desirable to integrate the global and local; thus the glocal identity dominates. However, research about glocal identity is disappointingly scant in the literature, probably due to the uniqueness and complexity linked to this particular segment.

First, the glocal cultural identity is unique because it incorporates two independent identities. Prior understanding of glocal identity, both in consumption orientation and social identity perspectives has viewed it as a natural extension of the more simple and clear global or local identity. And the global and local identities have been often conceptualized as perfectly negatively associated one with the other; they lie in two extreme poles of the same continuum while the glocal is located in-between (Alden et al., 2006; Zhang and Khare, 2009). Specifically, Alden et al. (2006) tested and verified this conceptualization with both Korean sample (n=370) and U.S. sample (n=247). It is, however, not unquestioned. More recent theoretical and empirical studies have proposed the independence of global and local identities (Reed et al., 2012; Steenkamp and de Jong, 2012; Strizhakova et al., 2012). That is, global and local identities can be both high, or both low, or one high and one low. In fact, the acculturation literature has already documented the debates about the uni- or bi- dimensional nature of accepting mainstream culture and maintaining ethnocultural heritage. Ryder (2000) found that they are independent, and have different influences on personality, self-concept

and interpersonal adjustment. Applied to the issue of global identity and local identity, since acceptance of two or more cultures can be independent and not a trade-off, global and local identities can be considered as independent, too, because they mainly reflect the acceptance of global and local cultures. As a result, the glocal cultural identity should not be considered as another type of global or local identity; same nature but different degree. And research findings about global and local identities should be blatantly applied to glocal identity. To illustrate, since global identity consumers prefer global products (Zhang and Khare, 2009), whether we can make such inference as glocal identity consumers evaluate more positively the cultural mixing products or buildings? The answer might be unclear.

Second, the glocal cultural identity is complex because there may exist different types of combination of global and local identities. On the basis of above analysis of independence, it is further proposed that the integration of two cultural identities may take different forms. Refer to the biculturalism in cultural psychology and acculturation. Berry (2008b) has proposed two types of sub-strategies under the umbrella of integration as below.

(1) Merging (hybrid). Merging means the same individual becomes a cultural hybrid because of the merging of two cultures within the same entity. With regard to glocal identity, merging glocal identity consumers absorb and merge two identities into one new identity, i.e., glocal identity. This new identity is neither the extension nor transformation of global or local identity; it mirrors an in-depth integration of two cultures (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005). However, this type of integration may be still relatively tactic. That is, in the process of building glocal identity, consumers may take certain part or all of global identity- and local identity-related knowledge, beliefs, goals and motives, and produce the product of glocal identity. Probably being able to be measured or primed in the similar way as the global or local identity, this merging type of glocal identity tends to be defined as an individual trait. To be simple, some people may be high in global identity, some high in local identity, some high in glocal identity, and others without motive to be identified with either culture. This type is labeled as merging glocal cultural identity hereafter.

(2) Switching (alternation). Switching means one individual accepts both cultures but is not a cultural hybrid. In contrast, he/she possesses a new tool, i.e., a cultural switch. Either the global or local button will be turned on, depending on the context. For example, a Chinese professor turns on the global identity when discussing with a U.S. professor whereas turns on the local identity when working with a local consulting company. Obviously, this type of integration differs a lot from the previous one because it is dynamic and context-

specific in nature. Actually, two sets of cognitive resources are stored separately but are available for flexible retrieval. This type is referred to as switching glocal cultural identity hereafter.

With such classification in mind, it is further predicted that merging and switching glocal cultural identity may entail different consumer reactions to cultural mixing products or buildings such as Häagen-Dazs moon cakes or Starbuck's coffee shops with Chinese tea-house façade. They exemplify the integration between Chinese traditional cultures (Mid-autumn Festival, tea) and global cultures (ice cream, coffee). More discussions in detail follow.

3. Consumer Glocal Cultural Identity and Cultural Mixing Buildings

3.1 Merging glocal cultural identity and cultural mixing buildings

This paper posits that merging glocal cultural identity consumers like cultural mixing buildings. As stated above, a new hybrid identity is shaped on the basis of global and local identities. Naturally such identity entails more positive evaluations of cultural mixing buildings (brands, products, etc.), which are identity-congruent. Several related theories in the field of social psychology may provide supports for such hypothesis.

3.1.1 Identity verification

Identity must be salient (thus accessible) in order to function. And once an identity has become salient, consumers will actively monitor the extent to which they have stayed true to the identity, or in other words, individuals strive to be seen by others in the way they see themselves (Swann, 1983). Individuals seek the consistency and stability linked to the identity and take actions to defend their identity. Concretely, individuals are likely to create the environment, to accept the signs and symbols, to form the attitude for the purpose of self-definition and self-verification. Based on this theory, merging glocal identity consumers will prefer the products and buildings mixing the global and local cultures because they are consistent with their self-concept.

3.1.2 Heuristic cue

In information processing, heuristic cue take the place of systematic processing when individual have not so important cognitive tasks (Chaiken and Maheswaran, 1994). One example of heuristic cues is price. When consumers are unable or not motivated to evaluate the product attributes and the quality, they rely on the price as a cue to infer the quality and

make the decision. In addition, the country-of-origin information may also serve as heuristic cue when product information is ambiguous regardless of the consumer expertise (Maheswaran, 1994). Regarding the cultural mixing buildings, they may present a somewhat tough cognitive task, and consumers may turn to their identity to help them make the judgment and decision, and correspondingly, evaluate such buildings better because they are congruent with their identity cue.

3.1.3 Congruence

Congruence theory suggests that the storage and retrieval of information are influenced by the perceived relevance or similarity. Higher relevance or similarity induces easier association and retrieval. Thus, the perceived fit is positively associated with the attitude. The fit effect is present in multiple fields such as brand extension, brand alliance, sponsor and cause, consumer and ads. For example, Rifon et al. (2004) demonstrated that greater fit between a company and a cause can promote positive evaluations of the sponsoring company, the motive attribution, the company credibility, etc. Based on this reasoning, glocal identity consumers prefer cultural mixing buildings because there is a high perceived fit between his/her identity and the buildings.

The above theories are more complementary than competing because of the similar underlying mechanism, i.e., individuals are motivated to pull toward the identity-congruent evaluations and actions, or identity-based motivation, although the activation and corresponding cognition and action tendencies are dependent on specific contexts (Oyserman, 2009).

However, these theories may not be applicable to “switching” glocal identity consumers. As stated previously, such consumers, though also labeled as “glocal” in consistency with the existing literature, are in fact not combining or merging two identities. They just obtain the capability of switching freely from one identity to the other. To be specific, for these consumers, global *or* local identity may be activated, but not the glocal *per se*. And since no glocal identity can be activated, it does not make sense to discuss whether such can serve as a heuristic cue, whether there is a fit between it and the physical building, or whether it is useful for self-verification. As such, what theories can allow us to explain or predict their attitude toward cultural-mixing offerings? This paper proposes the identity constructionism and situated cognition theories as solution. In-depth discussion follows.

3.2 “Switching ” glocal cultural identity and cultural mixing buildings

3.2.1 Identity constructionism and resource perspective

Identities have been viewed as a trait for a long time. In particular, in the context of relationship between the individual and the society, the traditional views of sociology and social-anthropology used identity to refer to groups, statuses, roles and a description of individuals, as well as the content or the defining criteria of category, i.e., the structural-functionalism of societies. In contrast, the constructionist view of identity attends more to the interactional contacts and experiences an individual has with his/her environment. Concretely, the identity is constructed, not decided by some criteria *a priori*. In the process of identity construction, individuals obtain resources which help them shape their subjectivities and experiences (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998).

This constructionist view of identity goes along well with the constructionist view of culture (Hong, 2009). Cultural constructionism focuses on the process of pieces of cultural knowledge evolving continuously till they are able to guide individuals for the construction of meaning from the stimuli. And such knowledge should be highly accessible for its operation. More vividly, Bruner (1990) and Swidler (1986) considered the culture as a set of knowledge, a “toolbox” or “tool kit” of discrete, specific constructs that differs from the dominant view that cultural knowledge exists as an integrated, domain-general construct (Hong et al. 2000). Through activation via language or pictures, cultural identity can be “primed” situationally and cultural psychology is evolving from a trait, integrate view drawn from the personality psychology toward a dynamic constructionist track (Hong et al., 2000). In fact, the constructionist view is taking place in multiple social sciences including anthropology, psychology, sociology, social psychology, and cultural psychology.

Turn back to glocal cultural identity. It is culture-relevant, thus cultural constructionism is applicable to it; on the other hand, it is also identity-relevant, suggesting the appropriateness of identity constructionism in its analysis. The cultural identity should be constructed and dynamic, not a trait or fixed. Why consumers have developed global or glocal cultural identity? The main reasons just lie in the media globalization, the multiplication of cross-national travel, etc. (Holt et al. 2004). Such factors have fostered the formation of global or glocal identities. Such a process is both a process of identity construction and an identity construction as well, and the key is the obtained and accumulated resource or knowledge.

3.2.2 Situated cognition theory

The cognition or thinking of individuals are not abstract and should not be context-free. It is not fixed, either. People can think freely to adapt to the immediate environment. The situated cognition theory believes that the cognition is constructed and developed in the contexts which are complex and unpredictable. Both social factors (e.g., whether peers are present or not) and non-social factors (the task and physical experiences) may intervene. But such influences may be even unconscious (Smith and Semin, 2004; Oyserman, 2009). Meanwhile, the cognition should have pragmatic goals, i.e., thinking is for doing, for adaptive action (Fiske, 1992). With regards to identity, multiple questions may arise with the context, for example, which type of identity is activated, what are the associated meanings of the activated identity, and what are the induced actions? In other words, identity-based motivation is context-dependent, not decided (Oyserman, 2009). It is same with cultural identity. Identity-congruent evaluations and behaviors are expected only if the cultural identity is activated. Even so, the concrete cognition, goals and behaviors may differ according to the contextual situations.

Indeed, situated cognition theory also attends to the constructionist nature of cognition. It denies the independent existence of cognition. Thus, the constructionism constitutes the same underlying theory in support of the view that identity can be considered as resource or knowledge, and is context-dependent. This paper suggests that such theoretical body may serve as a better basis for us to explain why “switching” glocal identity cultural consumers may reject the cultural mixing buildings against the well-documented identity effect.

3.3 Glocal cultural identity consumers’ evaluation of cultural mixing buildings

With the resource perspective and situated cognition theory, it is predicted that “merging” and “switching” glocal identity consumers tend to react either positively (for merging segment) or negatively (for switching segment) to the cultural mixing buildings.

In the case of merging type, consumers have internalized two identities and consider them as one new, integrate set of resource. Therefore, no difficulties or obstacles exist for them to evaluate positively the cultural mixing buildings. This set of resource and associated knowledge has been constructed in the process of global culture coming outside and local culture being maintained. Two cultures are well intertwined and merged and a hybrid new identity comes into being. When faced with cultural mixing stimuli, they can mobilize their glocal identity as a resource with ease for their cognition, judgment and evaluation. All the previously mentioned theories are supportive for their positive attitude toward these identity-

congruent stimuli. And the cultural mixing buildings may be well appreciated as a “perfect marriage” between the global and local cultures.

On the contrary, the switching glocal identity consumers consider the global and local identities as two separate sets of resource and use one of them according to the concrete context. Such consumers may be very reluctant to psychologically accept a cultural mixing product or building. Although they possess the resource and knowledge of both identities, but there is no overlapping between two identities. These consumers are expected to be resourceful than the merging type, because “merging” may induce some kind of compromise and thus resource depletion. Therefore, switching segment may be more adaptive to and more flexible in the multicultural environment. However, when they see some cultural mixing buildings, they may find them nondescript of either culture, “neither Chinese nor Western”, and thus reject them. In fact, they can’t mobilize either the global identity resource or the local identity resource to cope with such bizarre stimuli. No cognition or judgment can be made based on their identity. As a result, negative evaluations appear.

4. Conclusions

Cultural identity constitutes one of the fundamental motivations driving consumers to respond to the increasing offerings (products, brands, buildings, etc.) in the marketplace which integrating global and local cultures. Both theoretical and empirical studies show abundant evidences that glocal cultural identity consumers are dominant in the society. Can we assert, then, glocal identity consumers will inevitably prefer cultural mixing offerings? Will the efforts of building city brand through the cultural mixing buildings be effective? This paper proposes that a more precise examination about glocal identity must be conducted in order to have a clear answer to these important questions.

The key lies in the “merging” and “switching” segments within the glocal identity consumer. On the basis of understanding the uniqueness and complexity of glocal identity in comparison to purely global or local identity, this paper has tried to utilize the resource perspective and situated cognition theory with the underlying constructionism to investigate consumer responses to cultural mixing offerings. The main proposition is: “merging” glocal identity consumers evaluate such offering positively whereas the “switching” segment evaluate negatively. Therefore, any blatant cultural mixing measures may be hurting, such as Häagen-Dazs moon cake with Chinese traditional stuffing, or modern buildings with a

traditional-style roof. One more reasonable method is to present multicultural offerings without blending different cultural elements in a stiff way. Cultural mixing buildings are of special concern because of their high public visibility and high exit cost. City decision-makers need to think more deliberately about the culture identity of consumers and to avoid blots upon the landscape as much as possible. Cultural mixing is a unstoppable trend; however, its expression needs careful study of consumer psychology in order to obtain the ideal status of “each culture has its unique charm worthwhile to be admired by each other; different cultures can co-exist peacefully and then unity of the world can be realized” expressed by Mr. Xiaotong Fei, the most distinguished and respected socialist in China.

The current study remains explorative. Maybe more questions arise than being answered. For example, how to find empirical evidences for the proposed classification of glocal cultural identity consumers into “merging” and “switching” segments? How to measure or prime them? Will they differ in terms of responses to cultural mixing offerings? Whether consumer psychological characteristics (e.g., thinking style, need for cognitive closure, conservatism, etc.), product category (hedonist vs. utilitarian), as well as situational factors (balance or non-balanced identity, the environment surrounding the cultural mixing buildings) will moderate such effects? These are avenues for future research.

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Research on marketing strategy of City brand from investors' perspective

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Abstract: Basing on the analysis on the selection process of invested cities as well as its impact factors, and combining relevant literature on city brand and city marketing' attraction and improvement on the investment, the strategic process of city brand marketing from investors' perspective is developed, which includes organization building, environment analysis, selection of target cities, configuration of city brand, and adjustment of marketing strategies. The paper's result will help improve the capability of Chinese cities' recruiting investment and guide the healthy development of that.

Keywords: investor, city brand, city marketing

All the cities, regions and countries in the world are facing the challenge of global economy culture development today (Kavaratzis , 2005) . With the deep development of globalization, the city environment of economy, politics and technology is changing and competition becomes more intense. Cities are not only fighting for external resources (e.g. investment, tourist, and talented people) with competitors but also facing the competitor grapping local resources (e.g. Harvey, 1989 ; Hall and Hubbard , 1998 ; Van Winden and van den Berg , 2004) . The competitions for natural resources, enterprises' relocation, foreign investment, tourism and other aspects are increasingly prominent in the current world. (Kotler et al. , 1999) 。

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Tax policy or other preferential policy can't be long when labor, investment and enterprises become more mobile because there are always better policies offered by other cities. A feasible marketing approach must be developed for cities. Cities must adopt the strategic marketing planning tool, and build brand, manage brands conscientiously (Kotler & Gertner, 2002) in order to increase the city's competitive advantage and attraction on investor thoroughly.

1. Literature review

1.1 The selection process of invested cities and impact factors

If a city wants to attract more investors to the city. She must first understand how investors select the cities and what the impact factors on the selection are, and adjust the city products to meet investors' requirement according to their needs. (Holcomb, 1994).

Rainisto (2003) studied a case study, this is, whether to choose European cities to investment and pointed out that selection cities of investors is a combination process of total set, awareness set, consideration set, choice set, final choice set. First, investors will put all the European cities into the range of alternative cities and build the total set of investment alternative cities. The total set of alternative cities include all the cities in European region, even the cities that investors have never heard about or not known are put into the set. In the second step, investors will screen all the alternative cities according to the information they have obtained. Those unfamiliar cities will be deleted and keep these familiar cities to form the awareness set. Investors know the fundamental features and situation about all the alternative cities in the awareness set more or less. Step 3, investors will delete those cities that are not meet investors' requirement according to their own development needs and the remaining cities form the consideration set. The cities in the consideration set occupy certain attraction to investors in some respects. Step 4, investors will reevaluate the cities in the consideration set. Those cities who have certain attraction but are weaker in comparison with other cities, or the cities who have disadvantages in some respects will be deleted, and the most competitive cities will be kept to form choice set of investment alternative cities. After the four rounds filtering, the number of cities in the choice set is limited, it might be two or three which will be compared and selection comprehensively by investors. The final stage is the investor's decision making, in which investor's selection on investment cities is to close to the end and also reach the most critical time, so investors are always very cautious. Not limited to the

information provided by the cities but field studies to the cities will be conducted. Based on multiple field studies, comparison and demonstration, an investment city will be selected which is most attractive to investors, meets investors' needs better and suits investor's development.

Found from the investor's selection process, if a city wants to be the potential investment target, she must firstly let investors know the city, understand the city and then the city will enter the total set as well as the familiar set of investment alternative cities; the city also must build city brand through city marketing and then increase city reputation and influence power. Similarly, to be a city in the consideration set, selection set and selected as the final investment target, cities must know what factors are valued by investors and what requirements on investment target cities, and also should provide detailed city information according to investors' needs, then create good investment environment comprehensively.

Seen from the current research, researchers make more studies on these factors when investors select investment target cities.

For example, Kotler et al (1993) mentioned that the following ten aspects should be considered when business select investment target cities: (1) labour market; (2) consumer market and supply market (3) network, facilities and infrastructure (4) transportation (5) education and training opportunity (6) living quality (7) business atmosphere (8) available facilities for research and development (9) available capital (10) tax and other regulation

W. Ulaga et al (2002) found from cross case studies of different size companies: (1) during the process of selecting investment target cities, the decision making process is standardized for large companies but optimal or decided only by the boss himself or herself for small companies; (2) labor cost (e.g. wage rates and labour law, etc), infrastructure(e.g. logistics center as a neighbor for a frozen food company) , fiscal policy and market condition(for example, consumer market) are critical factors for whether a city can enter the selection set. (3) based on the ten factors proposed by Kotler et al(1993), they found that the critical factors are different for the companies with various sizes as well as types, as shown in Table 1. (4) information delivered through place marketing plays crucial roles when companies are making the decision on investment target cities. In addition, authority and adviser are also important during decision making process. (5) companies hope that there are open, unobstructed, reliable communication channels between companies and the city; hope that cities can provide detail and consistent information during the selection process as well after selecting the target cities.

Table 1 case companies and critical decision variables

Decision variables	United Biscuits	Amoco	Behr	Evers Special	Ha 'agen Dazs
Local labor markets	High	Low	High	Low	Medium
Access to customer and supplier markets	High	High	High	High	High
Availability of development sites, facilities, and infrastructure	High	High	Medium	Low	Medium
Transportation	High	High	High	High	High
Educatin and training opportunity	Low	Low	Medium	Low	Medium
Quality of life	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Business climate	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Access to R & D facility	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low
Capital available	Medium	Low	Medium	Low	High
Tax and Regulations	Medium	Low	Medium	Low	High

Notes: United Biscuits is a company who produce food in Britain, with \$44 hundred millions of total capital and 7.6 \$44 hundred millions investment in oversea subsidiariies. Amocco is chemical company in the USA with \$270 hundred millions of total capitals and \$4 hundred millions investments in foreign subsidiaries. Behr is a company who produce air condition facilities in Germany with \$9.5 hundred millions of company capital. Evers Special is Holland food manufacturer with \$8 hundred millions of total captical and \$0.5 hundred millions of captical investment in foreign subsidiaries. Ha 'agen Dazs is food company whose main products are icecreams with \$120 hundred of millions total capital and \$3 hundred millions of capital investment in foreign subsidiaries.

Data source:W. Ulaga et al. , Plant location and place marketing: understanding the process from the business customer's perspective , Industrial Marketing Management, 31 (2002) :393–401

In addition, scholars (e.g. Birch D. , 1984 ; Kotler P et al , 2003 ; Brush TH et al , 1999, etc.) also mentioned in theirs studies that the important factors vary during the process of selection.

1.2 city markting improves investment attractions

City marketing becomes more popular during the past more than 10 years, and the role of city marketing's improving regional competitive advantage and attraction to investment has received commitment from scholars(e.g.Ashworth and Voogd , 1990 ; Ward , 1998 ; Urban , 2002 ; Fretter , 1993 ; Bailey , 1989, ect) . City marketing is not a new topic as many marketing theories. In the early 1950s, city marketing had been the most important measure to attract immigrants to the West in the USA. In the early of 20 century, focused advertising was used to attract tourists to the beaches in Britain and France(Arnold & Kuusisto , 2000 ; Gold & Ward , 1994).

The main approach of early city marketing is city promotion . For attracting investment, it means promotion of city investment, this is, investment environment is told to potential investors by using various advertisements and promotions and persuade them to invest in this city (Alvin G. Wint , 1992) .

Although early researches (e.g. Aharoni, Y. , 1966 ; Watzke, G.E. , 198, etc) indicate that promotion of investment is an effective tool for governments to attract investments. But there are some drawbacks in the simple investment promotions for the today's competitive environment with the growing globalization and cities competition. For example, Kindra et al (1998) concluded that investment promotion activities have not been a determinant or influential factor in FDI generation after examining the criteria for FDI in Asian countries. Instead, the ASEAN region has attracted the attention and interest of investors, based on its enhanced international standing as a profitable and internationally competitive region. Head et al (1999) thought that promotions or similar advertisements have impacts on the selection of investors'target cities only when new investors do not have abundant region information. But in today's information development, the above possibility is nearly zero.

T.Metaxas (2010) thought that the regional promotion activities that only emphasize advertisements, slogans and public activities are not possible a planned strategic process. Most of the current promotions activities for investments are not disorganized, speculative and invalid. Due to the high promotion cost, many rational city managers begin to rethink whether investment promotions are effective or not.

Based on the research and analysis on problems of investment promotion activities, scholars (e.g.Zerrillo and Thomas , 2007 ; Metaxas, 2009, etc) proposed that it is necessary to apply overall marketing strategy to attract investment. Marketing is a whole process that

should be embodied in all functions of the organization. The key concept of marketing is understand consumer demand(Gummesson , 1999: 8 ; Rainisto , 2000b).

Therefore, cities must segment investors and find the right segments during city marketing process (Bowen, 1998 ; Litvin, 2000 ; Yuksel and Yuksel, 2002 ; Metaxas, 2005 ; Kaufman and Upchurch, 2006) , form differentiation and positioning in the target segments in the right manner (Kotler et al. , 1999: ix ; Nasar , 1998 ; Krantz & Sch äzl , 1997 ; Kotler & Gertner , 2002) , and communicate its special features and competitive advantages by multiple methods (Weitz and Sandy, 1995 ; Mallen, 1996 ; Frazier, 1999 ; W. Ulaga et al,2002 ; Deffner and Metaxas, 2006) . The final product of city marketing is to configure city brand identity (T.Metaxas,2010) which realize the integration and effective implementation of city marketing.

1.3 City brand improves the attractions to investments

Nallathiga R.(2011) [7]thought that cities must finish the following two jobs: (1) brand building, organization and network construction;(2)develop supporting environment (including investment and living environments).The regions that occupy strong brand are easily to attract investment and achieve the increasing of investment (Florida, 2002 ; Kotler and Gertner, 2002) .

City branding is the experience and evaluation of customers on cities, as well as the overall impression and ideas brought to the city customers by the city (Sheng-yu Hao , Chang-hong Bai , 2008) . According to the concept, city brand building is a process of internal and external improvement in which it is not only to ensure the correct brand positioning, brand communication slogan and communication by multiple channels but also it is necessary to integrate various soft and hard environments in the city focused on the brand in order to make all the city customers feel the city brand positioning communicated to the outside. Therefore, the most critical for attracting investment in this sense is to create city brand. (Head et al , 1999 ; Christiaans , 2002 ; Jacobsen , 2009) .

Domestic and foreign scholars give different view on how to configure city brands, for example Endzina (2004) developed the framework of city brand building. First, design the common vision of the city, build a work group, conduct internal and external research on the city, form core concept of city brand , present the concept by identity, pass the tests, and

finally make implementation plan, then implement and evaluate. Based on Keller (2001), Brenda and John (2005) presented 10 features of building and maintaining a strong brand. De Chernatony and Riley (1998)'s dual-whirlpool models gave the dual-whirlpool framework of city brand building. Yunak, et al (2008) presented a model of four-stage city brand management: How we are now, how our choice is, what our expectation is and what we should do. Based on the internal brand driven mechanism of city brand formation and cognition of relevant stakeholders, Zhangdan and Zhangrui (2007) gave a model of city brand configuration process and methods. Julia Winfield-Pfefferkorn (2005) emphasized that brand building process should satisfy all the city stakeholders who should be seen a combination, and considered that the values of city brand are embodied two aspects: city customers and city stakeholders. Virgo and De Chernatony (2006) thought that one difficulty of the city branding is the control of customer experience of city brands and city tourism experience.

In addition, some scholars summarize the stakeholder factors that impacts on the strategic implementation of city brand, including cooperation between private area and governments during city brand strategic process (Pant, 2005; Yan-ping Liu, 2005), city leadership, capital support, accept and commitment of various stakeholders on the city brand (Kerr and Johnson, 2005), and understanding and commitment from local people on the city brand (Gilmore, 2002; Harrison, 2002).

Previous literatures gave some approached to how to configure the branding and identity of investment target. For example, when cities want make themselves as investment target brands, the past, the identities of past, current and future are all important (Ramakrishna Nallathiga, 2011); to own resources that meet foreign investment (Maskell and Malmberg, 1999); cities possess various factors to attract investors and it is critical for the city to find the right factors and present these factors to the investors (Ramakrishna Nallathiga, 2011). The governments not only should emphasize how to attract investors but also build a reasonable operation environment (Dicken et al, 1994; Cheshire and Gordon, 1995); governments should understand the needs of potential investors, and develop a dedicated policy to meet them (Loewendahl, 2001); these factors including the stability of policies of investment target, overall economic development, market size, population, geographic location, etc. will influence the selection of foreign investment

(Tosics, 2004) ; the relationship between privates and government should be built to improve regional development competitive power and the role of regional government (Syrett, 1994 ; Preimus, 2002) ; cities should build multiple channels to communicate the cities (Ramakrishna Nallathiga , 2011) .

1.4 Summary

Found from the selection process of investment targets and impact factors: (1) the city's reputation is the first step that decides whether the city can attract investors because only after potential investors know you and choose you possibly later;(2) different types of potential investors and the investors in different stage concern different city products, so it is necessary to segment target market completely and supply relevant information according to their needs;(3) with the increase of potential investors needs,it is difficult to make a success in the competition for the cities to satisfy investors simply from certain aspects but cities must satisfy potential investors' needs from all the aspects of soft and hard environment and improve their competitive advantage by increasing overall strength.

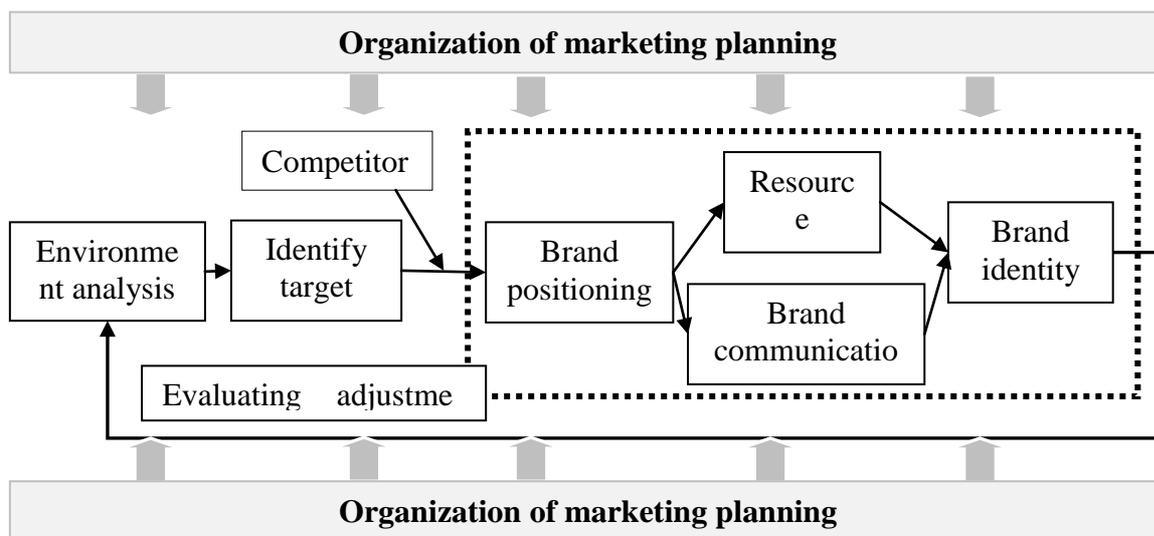
Found from the relationship between city marketing and attraction to investment, city marketing is an effective tool to attract city investment. But simple investment promotion can't suit current competition environment and cities must conduct an overall business recruitment marketing strategy to attract investment effectively.

Found from the relationship between city brand and attraction to investment: city branding realizes the integration of city marketing and effective implementation, increase city's reputation and competitive power to attract investors better. Brand building of investment targets must focus on targeting investors, understand the needs of targeting investors and position the brand correctly according to target investors' needs; according to the needs of target investors and their stages where they are, the city should delivery the brand positioning and city advantage concerned by targeting investors to them by multiple marketing approaches in order to attract targeting investors to come to city for city experience and investigation; the city should integrate cities' internal resources focused on brand positioning and let targeting investors feel the brand positioning in the city and meet investors' needs comprehensively.

2. Strategic process of city brand marketing from investors' perspective

Previous research shows that cities need understand investor’s requirement, implement overall city marketing from investors’ perspectives, and attract investment by modeling the distinctive city brand if the cities want to increase the attraction to investors. Across the current business recruitment in China, most of cities have ignored the demand differentiation between different investors and transmit the advantage thought by the cities to the potential investors. These cities do not care about whether the investors accept the advantage or not. Due to the lack of correct judgments and strategic planning of the targeting investors, many business recruitment activities can’t really attract investor’s interest. Therefore, it is difficult for the cities enter the group of targeting investment cities and finally the business recruitment fails.

To prevent the various problems caused by this blind business recruitment and also to improve the cities’s capability of business recruitment, cities must make city brand strategic planning from the angle of investors, as shown in figure 1.



Picture 1 strategic process of city brand marketing from the angle of investors

First, cities should build a dedicated organization that in charge of planning, implementing, managing and controlling city brand marketing strategy.

The organization of city marketing planning refers to the institute that is in charge of marketing planning and implementation for a city. (Rainisto , 2003) . Successful city marketing is closely linked with organization capability and leadership; the management and coordination of the planning organization will decide the success or failure of city marketing practice (Rainisto , 2003 ; Kotler et al. , 2002 ; Berg et al. , 1990 ; Mu-Yong Lee , 2003) . The professional team of business recruitment is critical for the success (W. Ulaga

et al. , 2002) .Therefore, cities should not only build a professional organization of city marketing but also ensure that the organization occupies relevant capability of organization and management.

Second, the analysis on domestic and foreign environment, major competitors, the city's development and potential investors should be conducted. Then opportunities should be found, threats should be avoided, and investment strategic objective should be identified.

A critical point of marketing is to analyze the environment constantly, finding the opportunities and threats, and conduct strategic adjustment according to environment change. As the growing city competition, the domestic and foreign environment faced by the city are changing continuously, cities' customers are also changing for their own development or according to the environment change. The products and brands that meet customer demand yesterday may not satisfy customers today. Therefore, cities should conduct environment analysis continuously, evaluate their brand and make the right strategic adjustment.

Step 3, based on investment strategic objective, combining regional competitive advantage around and resources advantages of the city, business recruitment objective should be identified as well the target market.

The target customers of the city are those companies, individual or organization who are attracted to the city for investment and operate in the city continuously. These investors will make different decisions during the selection process of investment target because of different industries, business sizes, selection process, and even individual emotion. Therefore, it is necessary to segment different types of investors and filter the right target customers for the city.

Report of World investment also pointed out that successful investment recruitment needs suitable judgments and selections of specific types of investors. There are various benefits from the above work: (1) foreign direct investment can be brought into the country or the region's overall objective (e.g. department, industries, or regions given priority. (2) Place advantage offered by the region may occupy stronger attraction to certain investors, and market selection is to identify the most potential investment target market. (3) it helps the design and adjustment of business recruitment measures for the specific investment group;(4) it helps make efficient use of investment recruitment budget to achieve the objective.

The selection of the right market segmentation variable is the prerequisite for correct choice of target markets. Due to the specialty of city investment, in addition to investment size, industry type, influence power, ect., city manager will consider whether the investment

projects of potential investors' accord with the city's economic development strategy, the city's future economic development, etc; whether those investment projects help increase the city's consistent development and city competitive advantage when they choose segmentation variable. After the comprehensive consideration of environment, its advantage, customer demand, and other factors, the most suitable target market is selected finally which satisfy three aspects simultaneously: the target market attracts to the city, the city occupies advantage in the target market, and city's advantage can develop consistently.

Step 4, clarify city brand positioning, integrate cities' internal resources, conduct comprehensive brand communication through multiple channels, and finally build the special brand identify with attraction and advantage in the eyes of target market.

The key to create successful brand is to identify the city brand value, this is, to find the essence of the city. In other words, it is necessary to position the city brand correctly and clearly in order to distinguish this city from other city brand in terms of brand individuality and unique features. The value of a brand is its positioning in the market and irreplaceable individuality. The reason why the famous brands stay for hundreds of years is that it follows the rules of unique positioning and keeping differentiations from rivals. The competition of any products or services can't be separated from their unique market positioning, including city brand.

City brand positioning is a systemic engineering, which needs scientific approaches. There are two common city positioning tools in domestic and foreign research: triangle positioning and diamond positioning models. Although the forms of the models are different but we found that the two models considers four same factors: customer expectation, competitors, its advantages, and future development trend. Cities should make a comprehensive analysis on the four factors and then identify city brand positioning. Among them, customer expectation is the most important because brand positioning is the commitment made for targeting customers segment. Only the positioning accepted by the target segment is the most competitive.

The selection process of investment target cities tells us that if cities want to attract target investors, the first things cities should do are to let target investors know the city and understand the city, then the city can enter the overall set of potential cities, familiar sets, consideration set; otherwise, it is impossible to attract potential investors. But due to the specialty of city product, potential investors can to the city only by various city marketing activities, medias, and good word-of-mouth of other customers, etc. (see eg Holloway and

Hubbard, 2001 ; Baloglu, Mehmet Mangaloglu , 1999 ; Crang, 1998) and identify the value of the cities brought by the corporation (Chun-ling Yu , 2006) .

Comprehensive city brand communication can help potential investors know the city, understand the city and make the city enter to the total set, familiar set and consideration set. But to enter the selection and decision set and further attract to the investors finally, cities should integrate internal resources, improve soft and hard environment and satisfy potential investors. Before the potential investors make the final decision, field investigation must be conducted to the city. Therefore, whether to provide brand positioning and commitment in brand communication will decide the result.

The city brand positioning, information delivered by city brand communication, the real experience and feelings of potential investors in the city form the city brand identity in the eyes of investors. This identity will finally decide whether the potential investors choose the city as investment target.

In the end, city manager must keep in mind that city brand marketing is not efficacious forever but an endless and circular process, they should always pay attention to the change of markets, competition and international environments, and make suitable strategic adjustment.

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Urban values over the decades: Historiography of a French regional capital's territorial ideologies through its communication policy

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Abstract: This paper is a longitudinal study of the city image for a French regional capital. The study of public communication policies (PPCs), conducted over several years, is an opportunity to identify the contents of discourses as they are conveyed, and highlight the prevailing ideologies in a particular territory at a given time. So, the ideologies around “Urban projects”, “Cultural development”, “Creative city”... are deployed according to trends in society and not according to the territory identity. Results relate to the performative utterances of the speech about image, the incremental change in disseminated values and highlight the strategic aims of the city image like Rennes, a medium-sized city in the world: internationality and metropolity. This paper is scientifically innovative in that it is based on the temporal dimension of the CI, which is most of the times studied at one moment in time, whereas this is a historiography (three decades 1984-2012).

Keywords: *Image of the city - urban values - local communication - territorial - ideologies - Rennes – Performatives – Historiography*

The values held by local communities' discourse through the promotion of their territories have to do with the activity of the *Communication publique*, recently redubbed *Communication territoriale*. Research on the organization of a city often aims to highlight local features (sets of regulations, arrangements, growth coalitions...) to present the city as a local company (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 1997) or then again to signal its dysfunctions. Our priority here is to understand the evolution of a French regional capital's image, namely Rennes, as it has evolved along with a string of ideologies, then connect that evolution to the resulting values and suggest that Rennes is turning into a metropolis. Such transformation of its image over three decades (1984-2013) has occurred through action stories (Ricoeur, 1991) by elected officials, which are true spatialized political acts studied as legendary discourses

whose functions relate all at once to mythology, identity or family (Lussault, 2007). This emplotment, recently renamed *storytelling* (Salmon, 2007), is not unique to Rennes; yet, it is through storytelling that Rennes' public values are given spatialized. It is a narrative that puts across an image of the city (CI) but also builds up a meaning that legitimates public policy in the making (urban project, development strategies as regards tourism, the economy, housing layout and promotion campaigns...).

First, the local development issues of a city like Rennes make it possible to grasp what is expected from producing public metropolitan organizations' official image – and in comparison with other major French cities as well. Second, local communication accompanies this urban transformation and disseminates values we decipher, so as to capture the purposes of making a CI. The third part describes the missing values and those supported in Rennes' narrative, while the last part highlights strategic values, as an open conclusion. The various French authors who stand at the bedrock of this text are so many opportunities to mention CI researchers who are little known in the international scientific arena.

1- WHAT IS AT STAKE ABOUT A REGIONAL CAPITAL' S IMAGE THROUGH ITS TERRITORIAL COMMUNICATION

Throughout the twentieth century, Rennes was a provincial town which in no way differed from other cities of similar sizes. Since the 1980s, it has enjoyed academic growth and the development of technological activities that support the powerful momentum of its urban area and contribute to the renewing its image. The INSEE¹⁶ talks about a suction and pressure pump for the region (Even, 2003) that boosts Brittany and connects it to the rest of France via the gate of Rennes. This is a regional capital that has enjoyed the status of a *métropole d'équilibre*¹⁷ and portends a privileged territory for development over the next decades. The share of upper metropolitan employment is relatively high, especially since the creation, in 1983, of Rennes' Atalante Science Park, focusing mainly on ICT and it may ambition an international position through business incubators for a great part specialized in design (DATAR, 2004). Rennes is affected by *competitiveness clusters*, but is not marginalized, though it cannot boast the full range of facilities specific to major cities: its airport traffic is rather low, it lacks an International Convention center (scheduled in 2016), which prevents it

¹⁶ Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques

¹⁷ *Métropoles d'équilibre* are cities in France that enjoyed financing by the State in the 1960, to foster the kind of metropolitan development able to reduce the macrocephaly (excessive predominance) of Paris. Rennes belongs to the second round of financing (1970).

from holding any large gathering; the metropolis has deficiencies that rank it in the group of *regional centers with limited international exposure*, which needs to develop metropolitan level tertiary functions for greater European integration (DATAR, 2003), provided these do not depart from its profile as an *advanced services city*, since it belongs to this group, along with 37 other French cities (DATAR, 2012).

Therefore, one of the challenges facing Rennes is to affirm its status as a regional capital by deploying the amenities of a European metropolis. The contexts of competitiveness and, recently, attractiveness, as well as of sustainable development (Hernandez, 2012) have included the management of Rennes' public actors within the group of cities that vie for meeting international standards. The goal is to qualify for metropolitan standard as defined by ranking agencies to assess what a comprehensive city is, which, actually, only sites such as New York, Tokyo or London can currently meet. Rennes' planning is seeking to build metropolitan facilities (Givord and Guy, 2004) that are being deployed over a long time; so, the expected role of image policies is to fill the gaps weighing down many regional urban centers.

1.1 City Image (CI) as public policy

The CI is an elusive research object, as its modes of emission and reception are varied and difficult to quantify. As an information process, the CI is being studied by researchers who are interested in it, each in a unique way, without a generic form of apprehension being accepted by all. However, the CI consists in a plurality of values that structure a discourse full of great ideas for generating the ontological definition of a city. These values describe the public space, community life, public development policies and various fields that confer them a public dimension. They are also territorial in that they outline what an urban cluster is.

After implementing four communication models that have emerged successively over three centuries (Miege, 2003), the importance granted to local community emphasis is being outlined in the way it can present itself, communicate and, more specifically, promote itself in the public arena. The first model had to do with the political press (beginning in the 18th century); the second concerned the commercial mass media (emerging in the late 19th century); and the third is all about audiovisual mass media, particularly television, in the

second half of the 20th century. The TV media is less prevalent today than in the 1980s, with the rise of the fourth model that brings together Public relations (relations publiques généralisées). This model meets stakeholders' propensity to communicate more intensively, resorting to the available communication techniques (devices and networks), which local authorities, cities more particularly, have the knack of using through the promotion that developed at the turn of the third and the fourth model. The 1980s were an opportunity to use the massive tools available in those days (TV ads for larger cities, but also billboards, brochures, advertising catchphrases). B. Miege's four models emerged successively but the dominant model has never replaced the earlier ones: it rather completed and reorganized them, resulting in a proliferation of communication messages in society, today combining journalists and communicators and creating a Public relations system where each organization, if it is to have any existence, is bound to communicate in the public arena (Miege, 2003). Local institutions are not immune to this operation, which has become a standard for organizations of all kinds. Current discourses are more involved in positive values whose critical dimension is hardly visible since communicators have significant dedicated resources. Faced with communicators' practical skills, the balance between positive and objective content has not been achieved. So, today in France, various local bodies (local authorities but also on greater scales, such as SCOT¹⁸, inter-municipal structures, *Pays Voynet*, metropolitan centers... - Houllier-Guibert, 2009) put forward a kind of promotional discourse based on extremely positive values.

Among the various research on the CI, G. Benko suggests splitting (1999) the ways to disseminate discourses on the city into five types: 1) artistic / aesthetic images that are produced by literature, photography, films, paintings; 2) media images, claimed as having the greatest impact to shape a city's overall image, especially because the mass media supply a circular dissemination of information (Bourdieu, 1996, p.22): they keep looking at and copying each other, which results in some events benefiting from a truly amplifying 'sounding board'; and 3) the scientific image, which has become democratized in the form of studies and reports, and which is able to influence decision-makers in shaping an official picture. Indeed, besides journalists and communicators, researchers can take a critical stance, including political scientists or managers, urban planners and sociologists – who are expected to have the most objective views; 4) the image spontaneously arising from practicing a space,

¹⁸ Schéma de COhérence Territoriale / Territorial coherence scheme

i.e. actually jumping at you when strolling around, which rather means the vision of a portion of a living that people experience, contributing to the construction of a global understanding of the city, through an *urban experience* (experience urbaine - Ledrut, 1973); and 5) finally, the political image worked out by elected officials in a particular territory to highlight policymakers' actions and provide positive impetus .

Through these vectors, the values put forward differ, depending on the purpose and support of the message. By focusing on one of the main objectives of the CI, namely its prestige and outreach, three types of image generation can have an impact beyond local level (Houllier-Guibert, 2009) and thereby increase the territory's outreach. These three channels have very different ways of working, which makes it possible to isolate them and may confer them great content variety. As they are not linked to each other, they sometimes pertain to an, at times, hardly converging spectrum of values. The first channel is the most elusive, both in the emission and reception of the message: word of mouth makes up the *urban discourse* (Cauquelin, 1979) that passes on vague values, popular prejudices and received presuppositions. Though that vector cannot be precisely measured, we know it does exist and often spreads stereotyped images, those *images that stick in our minds*, as W. Lippmann (1922) put it. The second is the use of mass media, either controlled by communicators through advertising, or uncontrolled through journalists, who are free to transcribe facts as they please. In both cases, the way the mass media evaluate an image is fragmented¹⁹, it cannot do justice to the whole. The third vector is easier to grasp: the study of public communication policies (PPCs), conducted over several years, is an opportunity to identify the contents of discourses as they are conveyed, and highlight which ideologies prevail in a particular territory at a given time. This paper is scientifically innovative in that it is based on the temporal dimension of the CI, which is most of the times studied at one moment in time, whereas this is a historiography.

1.2 Public communication policies as a mode of grasping the city of Rennes' values

This vector, the most easily understood by a researcher, has been studied as part of a PhD thesis, offering the completeness of contents and containers analysis, since PPCs are often

¹⁹ Several supports may be studied, but over a short time, several readerships may be dealt with but on a few supports only, several reports made, but about only one media... whatever the method that is used, the impage of a territory as disseminated by the mass medias can only be measured very partially, too partially indeed.

drawn up by departments that often keep track of them. That is why, in terms of methodology, interviews²⁰ have been conducted with the heads of departments in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s who each participated in the production of the official image of the city in those days, as well as with elected officials who have supported image campaigns. This discursive body, combined with readings from studies conducted by private practices and with archives consulted in different departments, is meant to reconstruct Rennes' shifting portrait²¹ and lead to the progressive elaboration of its image as desired by local communication actors.

The various values sent out by PPCs are not so easily understood, for two reasons. On one hand, each respondent does not always provide statements that concur with other stakeholders', resulting in an unclear general discourse, whose main ideas must be identified so as to tell what is actually communicated apart from what is fantasy or reconstructed in hindsight. In addition, though interviews involve people, a clear hierarchy – around a public object that is nobody's institutional property such as the CI – does not exist. When a community lacks competence to produce an *Image of the territory*, it leads to *ad hoc* situations, in which departments and politicians in charge of it vary over time and according to individual profiles. At sector level (Communication, Economic, Cultural, Tourism and dedicated departments...) as much as at institutional level (central municipality, inter-municipality, tourist office, techno-park...), the appropriation of the territory's image issue has over the years had a strong impact on the image content and therefore on the values officially passed on (Houllier-Guibert, 2012).

Communication practices can be thought of as public policy, to the extent that they are coordinated by a political authority to achieve particular objectives for a given population in a given territory (Meny and Thoenig, 1989) and become the more or less institutionalized answer to a problem observed in a territory (Cardy, 1993). As immaterial or symbolic public policy, PPCs gather public actions that are deliberately mediated positively. Such territorial communication is not limited to advertising, but is part of “an attempt to improve the city's policy, in a period of economic crisis and decline of traditional urban values [...], a narrative, a political mythology (Sfez, 1990) that disseminates itself and is supposed to foster better cohesion in society around these intangible urban values and municipal actions” (Lussault,

²⁰ Semi-directed and undirected interviews conducted between 2004 and 2007, then between 2010 and 2012.

²¹ Sources are the various communication campaigns in the 1980s, 90s et 2000s, analyzed comprehensively, and the discourses found in the territorial press.

1993, p.349). These PPCs are constitutive of the CI because it is the urban space that is put forward, with its strengths, assets and its existing or embellished resources.

Therefore, the point is indeed to study the territorial ideologies that impart an image to the city and not specifically to one of these components, even though some amenities play an all-encompassing part, like a flagship event (the Sziget festival in Budapest, a 500-mile car-race in Indianapolis...) or a major urban project (Abandoibarra in Bilbao, Imperial War Museum in Manchester...). That component can undoubtedly be integrated into the CI as a reflection of the political discourse, which, for many people is the mayor's. Indeed, a territory, elaborated as collective identities' source of affirmation and production, is supported by elected representatives who make it exist both as a support to identity and as the groundwork of their legitimacy, since political representation involves a reference-group defined on the basis of a particular territory (Le Bart, 1999). Hence, the mayor is an important transmitter of local public values, but PPCs are indeed the aspects that are most studied, and the mayor's narrative comes as an additional form that confirms the results found earlier.

2- THE FOUNDATIONS OF A CITY'S VALUES

C. Tiano is interested in the economic (production and trade), social (social groups, median income) and practical values of the city (comfort, user-friendliness), the latter being particularly studied through looking at cities' ranking. These values are used to set a price on the city, in a supply and demand relationship, through the attractiveness arguments they configure, which are quantitative. Taking into account the symbolic and emotional dimensions of values, the geographer observes for example that social or ethnic class is a great determinant of the value that can be attributed to a city. However, "it would be simplistic to think that quantifiable values were mainly mobilized by professionals of the city, while the emotional value of a territory was most important for its users and inhabitants. Indeed, most often, these two types of values combine to motivate citizens' residential choices as much as urban professionals' strategies" (Tiano, 2010). In Rennes' case, the city's official image was produced with a view to making it desirable, to underpin its status as a metropolis by giving it an international dimension. We are of course not dealing with an increase or a loss of value, since property value is irrelevant here. What is given priority, through the evolution of territorial ideologies over three decades is the qualitative part of the

values, presented in chronological order. Unlike quantifiable values, the effects of ideological trends in society (Western ones in this case, and from the largest cities of the world, besides) emerge as forms of social innovation that show an evolution of the CI.

“Every place is pregnant with multiple meanings, on account of its coordinates, its limits, its values and, finally, of the symbolic and / or functional properties assigned to it” (Bailly, 1995, p.377). The content of values is yet to be determined. Those communicated by the Rennes Public Policy are ideologies that arise as a social production that no longer takes a partisan political dimension into account, but rather is part of a local dimension (Arnaud et al., 2006). Political scientists assume that a standardization of local policies has occurred, where “everyone is said to do almost the same things everywhere, sooner or later, more or less aptly, depending on available resources” (Arnaud et al., 2006, p.6). Policymakers’ professionalization brings about professional values, fast and numerous exchanges between regions, which facilitate the homogeneity of discursive positioning and erase the distinction between politicians and the decline of political alternatives. The management of services dedicated to image issues allegedly takes precedence over the political functioning of public action.

2.1 The result, according to which departments manage the brand-image

In a city like Rennes, during the 2000s, it is quite obvious that communication has been split between inter-municipal communication, meant to improve economic development and attractiveness on one hand, and on the other communal communication, which sustains for its part citizens’ well-being via proximity and social cohesion. But, where identity is concerned, both Rennes’ Communication Departments share the work, which raises the question of which one is the official communicator of the city’s values through the images it puts forward. This interaction between two acting local departments and levels makes it even more interesting to infuse narratives around a few particular ideologies, because each department is then allowed to keep playing on its turf without being bothered by the other. On the contrary, the outreach of the territory requires pooling means and engaging in a dialogue among departments. In short, the values that are disseminated focus around proximity, cultural and urban projects narratives, three vectors that foster greater clarity on institutional responsibilities, or the possibility of sharing them: for example, in the eyes of the

inter-municipalities communications department, proximity means targeting municipalities that belong to the inter-municipal territory, and local councils especially, while for the central-city department, proximity involves targeting Rennes users.

Since 2010, one sole direction of communication has existed, with a new director hired after pooling resources, as had been promised by several big city mayors at the 2008 municipal elections. However, another electoral boundaries readjustment took place and again raised the matter of how Rennes' official image was to be managed, along with which values were to be disseminated. In 2010, a new inter-municipalities level department was created, entitled *Direction générale de la prospective et du développement durable* (General Directorate for prospective and sustainable development), which conducts all economic assignments. Just as "Attractiveness" or "Proximity", the phrase "sustainable development" was included in the names of many local (municipal) departments, leading to identifying the values displayed by the local public administration, and these are to be the strategic objectives it will try to achieve. That new repartition of competences gave rise to the creation of a new marketing product that is shaped by both departments, thus becoming part of the city's positioning as a creative one, by means of economic leverage: the *Novosphère*, a territorial marketing instrument promoting various forms of innovation.

2.2 The fashion effect of values that match the times

Territorial ideologies benefit from being sufficiently vague to bring together multiple actors, who should find very few stumbling blocks in each other's way, and have therefore next to no cause for moving away from the group's focus around a territorial project, as they will have ample breathing spaces between their ring-fenced beliefs, thus sheltering them from challenging each other and hence from partisan clashes" (Hernandez, 2012). C. Tiano focused specifically on major urban projects in three French cities (2010). She believes values related to trends and fashion in society are false strategic choices that should not steal the light from a large urban project's specific values, as it itself is endowed with symbolic content for the CI and particularly as regards schemes with high economic potential, located in neighborhoods close to the city center and sometimes on the beachfront. She claims the "Urban Mix, Centrality, Governance and sustainable Development" are mere phony showcase values. C. Tiano identifies other values such as "Departing from and breaking

with”, which structure the action and image of the “*Euralille*” operation²². This core value of the urban project is broken down into four areas: architectural aesthetics, economic orientation, political choice and scale. With the Neptune project in Dunkirk²³, she finds Methodological values in urban planning are at work, while the values of the Euro-Mediterranean²⁴ process are missing and, by default, focus on the concepts of Metropolis and Sustainability. In the case of Marseilles, where rehabilitation is not based on any value specific to the urban, geographical, economic or even political contexts, values are rather weak, though the Euro-Mediterranean theme could have been an incitement to highlight multicultural links or social contrasts. Aside from real estate speculation, no structuring discourse supports the activation of the Marseille urban project, and a decline can be felt, as suggested by the 1990s slogan propounding *Euroméditerranée as a metropolitan booster*. Conflicts among stakeholders in this project, including lack of consideration on the mayor’s part, have allegedly contributed to such shortcomings in favor of the consensual and generic nature of contemporary urban values, embodied here around the concept of Metropolis.

Through these examples, several forms of territorial ideologies might be found, each spreading more or less specific (“departing from” in Lille) or generic (the metropolis in Marseille) values. Public action management is said to affect the content of values (what kind of service and what institution?; a mere political exploitation of fads or genuinely deep value?). In the case of Rennes, we must deal with the so-called generic values, for two reasons. On one hand, generic values are real territorial ideologies “marked by their ambiguity and syncretism as well as the lability of their prescriptive content” (Hernandez, 2012). The values that are put forward are of a sort that facilitates public decision making; so, it is interesting to understand to what extent they contribute to public management in the form of a kind of governance that unites regions via mobilizing endeavors. On the other hand, the proposed repartition suggested by C. Tiano is based on an interpretation of the degree of reality conferred to different values. She says it herself: sustainable development is advertised as a soft value in Marseilles’ case, while it is claimed to be relevant in the case of Dunkirk’s urban project. Values are therefore not inherently empty shells but she thinks greater involvement on the part of actors would make it possible to turn portmanteau words like Metropolis, Centrality, Cultural Development and so on into higher values. Lille is also

²² Located in Lille, the regional capital of Northern France

²³ A French harbor in Northern France

²⁴ A regional capital in Southern France

concerned by the Metropolis value, and in a powerful way, which M. Rosenberg's (2000) thesis has amply documented. Therefore, the split between soft values and hard ones does not hold water.

Consequently, the values communicated by Rennes are a mixture on one hand of the fads that cities adhere to because they wish to jump on the bandwagon of innovative trends and, on the other hand, of service-based logics of local government according to their involvement in the production and management of the city's official image. For example, in the way power is shared among the internal actors who organize Rennes, little store is set by tourism, so that little or no values are sent out in that field either.

3- RESULTS: WHAT VALUES RUN THROUGH RENNES' IMAGE?

By focusing on the narratives public policymakers have control over, four communication channels are used by French cities (Mons, 1989); they have not changed much, barring the evolution of ICT: the production of images and pictures or iconographic media, putting together still and moving images in materialized form²⁵; the production and conceptual positioning (meaning of promotional discourses²⁶ and importance of the concept of a campaign synthesizing the city project); events or the communication space (the city's media operations through local events using the public space and staged to communicate a positive image); reticular communication (introduction of mediation mechanisms to involve inhabitants, to ensure citizens themselves spread the cities' positive values, inside and outside their place of residence).

Rennes' communication operations rely on all four vectors. In the 1990s, they focused on events and reticular communication, from the production of a marketing position that has proved successful by 1991, as it is a clear concept. Since 2007, as part of an urban marketing process that was completed in 2012, this form of mature reflection has been conducted again, while in parallel, iconographic and media production has undergone several phases, including renewed interest since 2004. In practice, all these dissemination methods intermingle so tightly that this justifies the complexity of constructing a plural discourse from which values

²⁵ Posters, brochures, promotional leaflets, lay-outs for the municipal press, films, Web pages and logo, the production of images takes place on a great number of supports and makes the backdrop of any modern urban representation strategy.

²⁶ Publicized texts, publicity editorials, Mayor's discourse.

can emerge. Different values prevail from one period to the next (over a year, 5 years, a decade), which shows that some are reaffirmed and others refuted in turn over time. It results in a series of images whose contents have been changing between 1984 – when the science park was promoted (the first action significantly supported in Rennes) – and 2012, when the branding process and economic positioning were completed. Over these three decades, narratives have little departed from each other but rather incremented one with the other, or then again values superimposed and combined each other, or at least did not cancel one another, thus avoiding any form of abrupt turnaround.

Figure 1: Evolution of Rennes’ values as put across by the local communication department

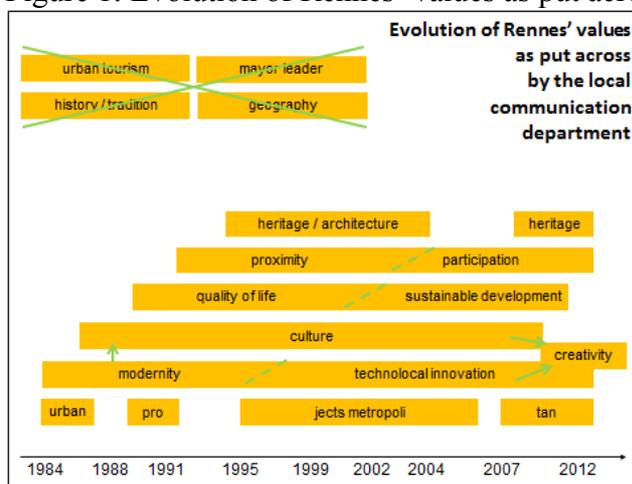


Figure 1 presents the different observed ideologies, scalable according to the emergent semantics, and which cities try and respond to, as so many fads. So, what could be called Modernity in the 1980s, in the form of the high-tech many cities were so keen to acquire, has since been redubbed *Technological Innovation* – a new quest, as much cultural and economic as even social or ecological, which currently tends to Creativity (Florida, 2002). In the early 1990s, the proximity ideology became the foundation of the Rennes territorial communication messages, leaving little room for Metropolitan outreach, which has resurfaced only since 2004. More generally, the values deployed in the Rennes advertisements – and relayed by the political narrative (and vice versa) – put forward territorial development as the city’s goal, against a backdrop of sustainability and solidarity. Culture is the other strong platform (Houllier-Guibert, 2010); it brings about a great variety of public actions, depicting Rennes as an innovative city.

In the first section, some values found in many CIs do not concern the Rennes CI, and in the second section, the Rennes values are presented.

3.1 Values not much emphasized by Rennes: history, heritage and geography

The range of potentials offered by the ideologies cities might develop requires careful choices, necessarily leaving lots of room for imagination. By studying the city of Tours²⁷, whose image he decomposes into three ideologies, M. Lussault considers these are three pillars that are found in many French cities: a historical structure, a preexisting geographic and heritage dimension and the part played by politics²⁸. Interestingly, the structure of Tours' image is the antithesis of Rennes', whose values are rooted in innovation and modernity.

The historical narrative is either a reference to the antiquity of the city, its heritage, the city's soul or identity, i.e. the textual corpus dealing with the city' history or a specific time in history. M. Lussault pointed out that Tours' official historical image proves to be a mere succession of rather crudely defined phases, separated by periods that are little identified, or even ignored. Most of Tours' historical substance is obscured because its scientific value is lost, since too little scope has been given to it in the construction and operation of urban imagination. The resources and tools available to local communication cannot enable receivers to set up an encyclopedic text on the city; therefore, only the few episodes selected by communicators readily make common sense. In Rennes, the historical dimension is a minor part of its image, especially due to a lack of cooperation between the tourist office and the Communication department. The Parliament of Brittany, a flagship of urban tourism, resolutely promoted by tourism stakeholders, is not used to profit Rennes' overall image. It is therefore confined to tourism, without ramifications with other narratives. Only tourists are concerned with the city's historical discourse. Between 2005 and 2009, analyzing their advertising shows how commonplace campaigns targeted to tourists were, in contrast with the daring promotion of the overall image, quite *avant-garde* as far as it was concerned. Targets are very different. On one hand, the nuclear family is put forward and on the other it

²⁷ A big French city to the South of Paris, formerly a regional capital

²⁸ The figure of policymakers confuses the boundaries between politics and territory; so we will not evoke the political dimension of public values, and focus instead on the territorial dimension. Tours is a city that has seen the image of the mayor, Jean Royer, intermingling with the city's evolution, or so says Lussault, but in Rennes, the first elected official is not staged, whether it is in Edmond Hervé's case, whose personality distanced him from the media during his three decades in power, or in Daniel Delaveau's, the mayor since 2008, who has no national media outreach.

is rather the young modern city-dweller (the creative, talented student and artist). More broadly, the reason why so few traces of Rennes' history are to be found is that highlighting Brittany has been avoided, though Rennes is the region's capital. Interviews confirmed that the communication strategy in favor of a rapprochement between the images of Brittany and Rennes have deliberately been avoided, for fear of locking the city in an area of only four departments and three million inhabitants. This is said to go against the objective of enhancing the city's European outreach to continental level.

The heritage geographic narrative, starting from the site, the environment and its characteristics, stressing the quality of urban space or location, is applied to Tours' urban policies. For example, the original urban site highlights the Loire River on account of all the cities it flows through. The narratives studied by M. Lussault create intimacy between the river and Tours (1993, pp.143 -146). The climate of the region combines with the environment and milieu, in the broadest sense of these terms. In Tours, landscapes are brought to light (the sweet and quiet life in Touraine). Finally, the well-built city (balance, quality), and its situation as a crossroads and centrality are recurring geographisms (Rosemberg, 2000). Even today, these territorial ideologies are exploited, like in Angers for example, which in 2007, when designing its campaign for the launch of its tramway, based the narrative on the historical and geographical dimensions of the city (Bailleul and Houllier-Guibert 2008). Rennes fails to use this combination of history and geography and its natural attributes are not underlined. Its heritage assets are little put forward in Rennes' discourses, and the way councilors speak betray they even indirectly reject them: the quest for an innovative, *avant garde*, modern, cutting-edge and youthful image, generally moving forward, prevents the deployment of historical accounts in Rennes, which has never been able to grow, especially because the city has not experienced events related to the national ideology as did Rouen, Orleans, Reims and Bordeaux.

This failure to ground its positioning in its historical and geographic heritage differentiates Rennes from other French medium-sized cities that base their images on their history, thanks to their remarkable architectural heritage: Tours, Angers, Blois, Chartres, among others. Rennes cannot boast a castle and its cathedral lacks visibility, thus underrating its historical dimension. The lexicon of Rennes' promotion denies its urban history, and avoids the subject of the roots of its identity. More broadly, its promotion clearly steers away from highlighting

the Brittany region. Its maritime dimension, its open spaces, agriculture and the natural force that make up Brittany's values and contributed to fashion its brand image in 2011, are not much part of the Rennes discourse, bent as it is on producing an image of urbanity it deems lacking, both owing to Rennes' small size and to the powerful image of the region it is the capital of. The foundations of Tours' image are therefore not relevant to Rennes, which has a different profile²⁹.

3.2 The values that prevailed over three decades (1984-2012)

Four themes, which are generally chronological, were identified as part of the Rennes image: Economy/ technopolis; Culture/ events; Proximity and Urban Projects (Houllier-Guibert, 2011, pp.26-27). When a value is becoming fashionable, it does not replace the previous one, which continues to exist more or less predominantly. A fifth has emerged over the past five years around the knowledge economy and creativity, a new trend originating in big cities around the world and now covering several areas: for example³⁰, the *Pays de la Loire* region has deployed its brand, *Ouest numérique* (Digital West); Angers created *Angers Loire Valley*, which suggests Silicon Valley's technologies; Saint- Nazaire communicates over its brand "Audacity"; therefore, the recent Rennes concept, *Novosphère* enjoys no immediate differentiation in marketing positioning. Rennes' first strong position, established in 1984, was also based on economic development through its Technopole. Rennes has been focusing on the knowledge economy and its image as a creative city since 2009, and has closed the loop of values, three decades later.

Figure 2: The production of Rennes' image over three decades: in pursuit of dominant values

²⁹ It is worth specifying that the opposition between these two CI models do not make for good comparison, in so far as the periods respectively under study do not coincide.

³⁰ Saint-Nazaire is a harbor in Western France and Angers the former capital of the center-West of France, both located in the Pays-de-la-Loire region.

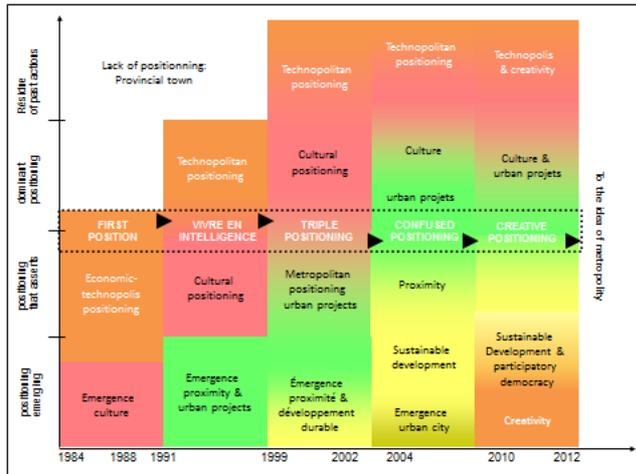
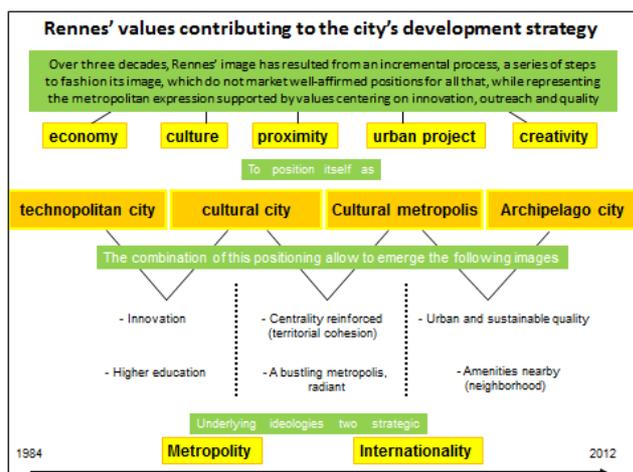


Figure 2 shows the timeline during which the production of each official image goes through a cycle leading from emergence to residue, with a peak phase that identifies the time when such and such territorial ideology dominates the production of meanings. Actually, these phases are less obvious than the figure suggests. The succession of decisions is characterized by incrementalism, as these are made by trial and error, running in circles, hence the entanglement of different ideologies. Institutional decision-makers always start from somewhere, taking into account the previous steps, instead of starting from a clean slate. Their reasoning process takes into account the status quo, and changes are made only in short steps. Change is deemed harmful and should be avoided, rather than deliberately directed towards a well-defined and relatively stable goal; therefore, changes are marginal and careful not to overturn the table. The decision process is a general movement that tends to deviate from the status quo in small steps, by trial and error, and the evolution of the CI follows that trend. The resulting Rennes image gives the impression of centering on a technology park, then becoming a quest for metropolitan status, including first a cultural dimension, then a sustainable one, which has more recently become creative. Rather than succeeding each other, values seem to be superimposed, interwoven more or less vehemently at different times.

Figure 3: Rennes' values contributing to the city's development strategy



Over three decades, Rennes' image has resulted from an incremental process, a series of steps to fashion its image, which do not market well-affirmed positions for all that, while representing the metropolitan expression supported by values centering on innovation, outreach and quality. Over the years, Rennes has put across the image of *a city focusing on its technology park* (1980's), then moving towards an *archipelago-city* (2000's) after identifying itself as a cultural metropolis (90's) and now as a *creative city* (2010's), similar in this respect to numerous other Western cities. The 1980's saw the era of targeting business leaders to affirm a technopolitan positioning, using messages with an economic content, also appealing to the local population through the mass media. The cultural dimension was then developed, as the most powerful and lasting communication value, supported by the Rennes communication department, as early on as 1986 and until today. Such positioning has never been set aside even if it was at times more powerful than at others. It has the advantage of targeting tourists in addition to the local population, through festivals – which make up the bulk of event in Rennes.

The climax of Rennes' media coverage in 1991 was a TV campaign promoting the slogan *In Rennes, live in good intelligence*. That signature was polysemic enough to accompany the evolution of the city, and communication policies got their act together this time. The key word in the slogan, *Intelligence*, was to be interpreted in both senses of “intellectual activity” and “mutual understanding”. Living together in harmony (social cohesion) and in a city where intelligence prevails everywhere (innovation, a technology park and a university). In second place, themes related to intelligence are mobilized to build the communication campaign: social advancement through knowledge and culture, learning, independence and

freedom; the values of duration and historicity over media immediacy; cultural values compared to merely training to suit the labor market... all are presented as capable of numerous variations and as continuously upgradable. Then the Rennes PPC experienced a shift in its extra-territorial promotion in the 1990s, due to sluggish national and local contexts³¹. Then, throughout the 1990s, territorial communication focused on proximity and mediation with the local population. Consultation drives were launched as well, as early forms of urban participatory democracy. The advantage of the proximity ideology is that it gathers several trends in public policy (Houllier-Guibert, 2009) but it remained an illusion covering up the shortcomings of local policies in addressing social crises (Lefebvre, 2004 Koebel, 2006). The Rennes slogan keeps its place in all manners of discourses, but only as a motto underlying all communication operations. It became an institutional signature that is also found in political speeches; then in the late 2000's it subsided, though even today it persists on the logo of the urban community and makes its presence felt in some texts relative to metropolitan strategies. It is there indeed, but without special emphasis, but has not vanished for all that. Finally, with the revival of extraterritorial promotion, the influence of new territorial values in society, namely participatory democracy and environmental concerns (the archipelago city), in line with Rennes' first positioning aiming at being cultural and innovative, conferred the CI an overall consistency over 30 years.

A. Mons considers that the use of traditional amenities and modern facilities is in no way a negative mixture to shape a city's image (1991). Quite the contrary: it can be used to express the city's plurality. The paradox shown by A. Mons about the Tradition / Modernity diptych occurs through another diptych, an equally ambivalent one: metropolization face to proximity. Indeed, in parallel, a concept was gradually established by an elected representative in the 90's, sending out an urban image – disseminated by as few departments only, including Rennes' planning agency – namely the archipelago city. This positioning shaped the metropolization concept because it was presented as a necessary step towards achieving the archipelago city. Based on the ideologies of proximity and sustainability, these narratives around the idea of an archipelago impart to it a human dimension the local public had long wanted, and is one of the major objectives of French major cities' political projects. Expanding its reflection, all these diffuse and confused values are so many assets to the CI. Contrary to some image theories that emphasize clear positioning, which is developed by

³¹ Unemployment, the social atmosphere, the contaminated blood scandal that involved the Health Minister, the mayor of Rennes, all conspire to keeping a low profile where public outreach policies are concerned.

marketers to promote a product, a city can do without such clarity. Indeed, a city that wants to achieve metropolis status is bound to suggest abundance and divergence between rich and poor neighborhoods, order and disorder, the suburbs and centrality... As the concentration of various activities (economic, social, cultural...) and of individuals, the city is diverse, open and accessible (Bourdin, 2005). The desired diversity allows resorting to different advertising messages that can be produced by several transmitters without close links, resulting in an image proffering various ideologies. However, we have identified two lines of convergence, which are powerful strategic objectives of Rennes' territorial communication.

METROPOLITY AND INTERNATIONALITY AS STRATEGIC VALUES

Studying the production of CI is interesting to identify the different ideologies that underpin discourse on urbanity. Emplotment identifies all the values that, since the beginning of the 21st century, have been communicated and have converged towards giving rise to the new way of thinking about public policy: the logic of territorial attractiveness. Image policies send out political values that are territorial in order to seduce, attract or retain various flows. "Cities are less interested in redistribution policies than in creating wealth, defined as the influx of investments, companies and skilled workforces. They thus take part in an inter-cities competition that uses image and branding as the very instruments of such competition" (Ilmonen, 2007). Getting a high degree of sympathy and generating wider *territorial desirability* would contribute to what FNAU³² called territorial happiness: "It is something that makes people feel like visiting the city or even settling down in it because they like the taste of it. We know it does exist, but measuring it is another matter" (FNAU, 2005). Again, like the image, like values, measuring it comes up against what many researchers are trying to grasp.

In this context, the two fundamental objectives of PPCs are firstly the pursuit of well-being, through the development of a sense of belonging and highlighting the quality of life and, on the other hand, increased economic and tourist attractiveness. These qualitative and quantitative objectives explain why the CI is difficult to understand. Figure 3 tends towards two overarching goals supported by all the values mentioned over the past three decades. Both objectives make up the strategic axis for manufacturing Rennes' official image, that is,

³² Fédération nationale des agences d'urbanisme (National Federation of urban development agencies)

they reflect the guidelines set by regional development, which, however, may not necessarily be achieved.

Urban values accompany the metropolization of Rennes, which becomes a cultural metropolis before striving for becoming an archipelago-city. The evolution of its official image various contents is correlated with metropolization as a geographical phenomenon, but also as an institutional one, with “*Rennes, the metropolis*” as the name chosen to identify inter-municipalities. Rennes’ metropolitan dimension is expressed via a local communication whose discourse is based on a lexical field suggesting modernity, centrality, intellect, and sustainability... Image producers are well aware it is easier to focus on the development of territories to distinguish political communication from institutional communication, and are encouraged to accompany the transformation of Rennes, whose strategy is to be seen as a European metropolis. Its image foundations, such as innovation, cultural vibrancy and quality of life – like so many other cities’ – result in its Metropolis, which is the symbolic expression of Rennes’ metropolization, a powerful phenomenon in this city, as in many other European ones. Such Metropolis, associated with many cities’ pursuit of internationality, sets an objective that meets the competitiveness of territories in the late twentieth century and shows that Rennes fits the times. Metropolis may be seen as the convergence of different values disseminated to express Rennes’ image. Whatever the chosen values, they all have a metropolitan dimension. Metropolis suggests urban nightlife, large scale monuments as much as the outreach obtained thanks to convention center, the cosmopolitanism of a popular neighborhood, international fairs and exhibitions, an impressive planning reflecting a prominent place in history... all in support of the ideology of internationality.

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Number of inhabitants in 2010 in French cities	Municipality population	Urban area population
Rennes	210 000	670 000
Lille	230 000	1 150 000
Dunkerque	92 000	265 000
Marseille	850 000	1 720 000
Tours	135 000	475 000

Angers	150 000	400 000
Saint-Nazaire	67 000	210 000

Elements of the City Branding Process to Support Global City Status

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Abstract

Purpose - For cities that have fallen in international rankings or simply do not rank, improving their image and status becomes a priority. This paper aims to identify the key elements of the place branding process and how they work together to support a city's global status.

Design/methodology/approach - A multiple methods approach is adopted, combining a content analysis of literature on global cities and international city rankings, and a comparative case study of the city branding strategies of Sydney and Brisbane, Australia.

Findings - Four key themes, or elements, that support the long-term process of gaining global status through a city's branding process were identified: 1) the structure of brand governance, 2) renewal and rejuvenation of urban infrastructure, 3) leveraging events and festivals, and 4) collaborative brand evaluation.

Research limitations/implications - City brand managers should aim to create a brand governance structure that enables the participation of a city's diverse stakeholders. This in turn would enable collaborative brand evaluation, encourage a shared vision for the city's brand identity and investment in urban infrastructure and unite stakeholders in their efforts to attract major events. Additional case studies of cities in different countries would validate the findings and enhance understanding of the elements that are prerequisite for building a city's global status.

Originality/value - By examining four core components of the place branding process, this study illuminates the key elements; the underlying structures, resources and initiatives that are pivotal in a city's branding process to improve or even transform their global status.

Keywords: Place, Marketing, City Branding, Global City, Sydney, Brisbane

Introduction

For many cities, the application of marketing strategies and techniques has been fuelled by the need to compete for mobile resources (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2007). Similar to an individual's drive to increase their status amongst their peers, cities too seek to raise their profile and improve their standing. For example, by 2050, Beijing aims to be as influential as global cities like London, New York and Tokyo, are today (Jingyin, 2012). Over time, some global cities, such as Liverpool and Alexandria, have fallen from rank due to the shifts in economic and political power and influence. For cities that have fallen in the rankings or simply do not rank, improving their image and status becomes a priority to maintain the welfare of their stakeholders. The question that arises is: what steps can cities take to enhance or even transform their image to support their global city status?

Cities that are perceived as successful locales of globalisation share many positive and negative associations (e.g. cosmopolitan, connected, polarising, wired, congested, and polluted) and may have contradictory images. To understand the structure of city images, scholars have proposed a number of schemes to classify them according to their strength, richness and openness to modification. Avraham and Ketter (2008) reviewed the types of images characterising cities and suggest that they should be positive, attractive, multidimensional (rich) and open. A rich image made up of multiple associations is desirable to reflect a city's complexity and is most likely to be held by residents and people who have visited or spent some time in the city. Open images are preferable to closed ones since they allow the addition of new characteristics that diversify the city's 'core' image. Many cities are still battling to change closed, stereotyped images, despite real changes that have taken place in the city. Belfast, for example, embarked on a branding campaign to 'sharpen up' its image and enhance its international standing, following the power-sharing agreement in Northern Ireland and to compete for tourists, investors, shoppers and companies (Anon, 2007).

As the practice of place marketing has become more widespread, academic interest in the ways marketing concepts and tools can be applied to places of different scale has grown. However, unlike traditional products, a city, as a brand, faces complexity in meeting multiple stakeholders' needs (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Cities are subject to the wax and wane of political interests and rise and fall of elected representatives. Despite these challenges, there is accumulating evidence of the possibilities of the place branding process to influence a city's brand image. This paper, therefore, aims to identify how elements of the place branding

process work together to support a city's global status. To elucidate the elements underlying this process, a comparative case study of two cities - Sydney and Brisbane - is presented.

The remainder of this paper is divided into four sections. A review of pertinent literature is presented. This is followed by the methodology adopted for the study. Next, the cases are described and the analysis of the findings is provided. Finally, the conclusions are presented, including the implications and suggestions for future research.

Global City Status

Rivalry among cities for talented workers, investment capital and the spin-off effects of hosting major events is intense due to the need to rejuvenate post-industrial economies. Thus, many cities face the challenge of creating urban spaces that are conducive to attracting foreign investment and positive media attention. Cities that are seen as successful in the world economic system are assigned 'global city' status. Academic interest in the subject of 'world cities', a term popularised by Hall (1966), is reflected in numerous disciplinary perspectives on global cities, also named international city, mega-city and weltstadt, among others (Boschken, 2008).

As Goerzen et al. (2013) identify, the study of global cities can be divided into two schools of thought – the demographic and the functional traditions. The former approach represents scholars focusing on the human and ecological dimensions of urban environments, the position of cities in national urban systems and the impacts of high urban density. The later approach represents urban studies researchers focusing on the city and its interconnections and functions in the world economy. Assimilating the theoretical developments in the functionalist school, Goerzen et al. (2013) identified three key attributes of global cities: 1) a high degree of interconnectedness to local and global markets; 2) a cosmopolitan environment; and 3) high levels of advanced producer services. These defining features have been labelled command and control characteristics (Sassen, 2001, 2012) since they shape the flows of intellectual, human, financial and cultural capital around the world and within regions (Beaverstock et al., 2000).

Several schemes have been developed to classify cities according to the strength of their connectedness in the world economy: the GaWC study, the Global Cities Index, the Global Power City Index, the Wealth Report, the Global City Competitiveness Index, and the Global Destination Cities Index. The Global Cities Index, for example, uses 25 metrics across five dimensions to assess cities' global status. The GaWC studies evaluate cities according to

their connectivity through the office networks of advanced producer service firms. The first study, assessed 315 cities and the networks of 100 firms in accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and law (Beaverstock et al., 1999). Subsequent studies use a ranking system that sort cities into three categories: "Alpha" world cities (4 sub-categories), "Beta" world cities (3 sub-categories), "Gamma" world cities (3 sub-categories). Cities that have achieved a "High sufficiency" or "Sufficiency" rating (GaWC, 2013) are also included. While there are limitations on the reliability and validity of the data, trends can be observed that may influence key decision makers, just as much as the pride of city authorities and residents. Thus, cities should be motivated to enhance their standing.

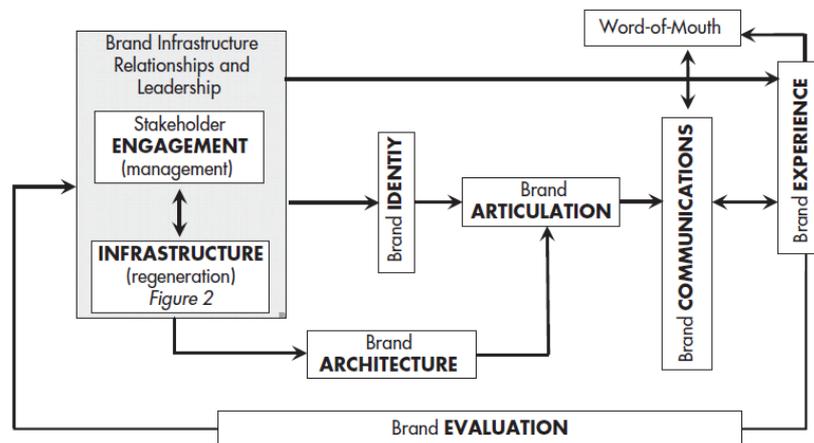
The world city perspective focuses on so-called 'hard' factors (e.g. location, economic stability, productivity, networks and communications infrastructure). 'Soft' factors, conversely, represent the subjective characteristics of a place (e.g. quality of life, image, culture and management style) and do not receive the same emphasis. Each type of factor influences the other, as a city's bid for strategic resources is linked to its perceived status. Thus, cities must enhance their soft factors to attract and retain the resources to gain status and influence decision makers (Wolfsfeld, 1991). el-Khishin (2003) SWOT analysis of Cairo and synopses of three successful global cities identified strategic vision, good urban governance and the need for marketing a city's assets as factors required to reach global city status. Further research is needed to identify the key elements of the branding process that are critical to enhance and maintain a city's brand image to gain global attention and status.

The Place (City) Branding Process

There have been numerous attempts to develop a theory of place branding (see Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013)), but researchers are yet to agree on how to best conceptualise place branding as a complex, dynamic process. There is, however, agreement on what place branding is not. Consensus exists that it is more than simply designing new logos, catchy slogans and launching marketing campaigns (Kavaratzis, 2004). In a review of place branding management models Hanna and Rowley (2011) explain that most are relatively new, lack a holistic approach and have not been widely adopted. Synthesising previous research, the authors propose a multi-level, conceptual model of strategic place brand management which integrates several components: 1) brand evaluation, 2) stakeholder engagement (management), 3) infrastructure (regeneration), 4) brand identity, 5) brand architecture, 6)

brand articulation, 7) marketing communications, 8) brand experience, and 9) word of mouth. For configuration of model components, see Figure 1.

Figure 1: Hanna and Rowley (2011) Strategic Place Brand Management Model



Key assumptions of the model are the complex and pivotal role of stakeholders, the importance of the physical environment in creating the brand experience and the notion that a place brand is as much about image as experience. The role of brand infrastructure relationships and leadership is highlighted in the process. Developing a brand identity and facilitating infrastructure depends on leadership in enabling the cooperation of stakeholders through partnerships and networks (Hanna and Rowley, 2011). Brand evaluation is positioned both as an initial step and an on-going activity; it is a feedback loop in the branding process. This mechanism is vital to the evolution of the brand and should incorporate a range of measures to ensure the brand experience meets stakeholder expectations.

Stakeholder engagement (management), embraces the need for stakeholders to act as partners in the branding process. To achieve effective partnerships, coordination is necessary, along with stakeholder participation in brand creation and on-going activities to deliver the brand experience. Stakeholders must first perceive the brand as credible and authentic to invest their resources in infrastructure regeneration and other supporting initiatives. Previous research has also emphasised the desirability of specific types of participatory structures – public-private partnerships, community networks and citizen participation - in building positive stakeholder relations (Hankinson, 2004, Kavaratzis, 2004).

Infrastructure (regeneration) is another core component of the model. This encompasses the functional (i.e. built environment, urban design, architecture, landscape) and experiential (i.e. intangible culture, entertainment, services) attributes of the place's fixed environment, and the need for their accessibility, sufficiency and rejuvenation. At the heart of the branding process, is brand identity, which is co-produced through stakeholder interactions, symbols and rituals (Cai, 2002, Hanna and Rowley, 2011). Brand identity development should consider the relative strengths and weaknesses embodied in a place's tangible and intangible attributes and maintain a unique set of associations reflecting the essence of the brand. Hanna and Rowley (2011) explain that brand infrastructure relationships influence brand identity through the creation and refinement of functional and experiential attributes shaped by stakeholders. Brand articulation (expression of verbal and visual identity) and communication are the vehicles through which the brand identity is communicated to audiences and influences their brand image and experience. In addition, brand communication and experience can trigger word-of-mouth communication for the brand's benefit or detriment (Hanna and Rowley, 2011).

This model offers a framework to investigate the role of specific components and the impact of contextual influences on the city branding process. Empirical evidence is required to support its conceptualisation and understanding of how the components function to enhance a city's brand. In particular, research is needed to examine its application to support a city's global status, and clarify the role of the model's core components: infrastructure relationships and leadership (incorporating stakeholder engagement [management] and infrastructure [regeneration]), brand identity and brand evaluation.

Research Methods

A multiple methods approach was adopted for the empirical research. These include a content analysis of literature on global cities, analysis of international city rankings and indices, and a comparative case study of Sydney and Brisbane. Evidence for the case studies was obtained from secondary sources including newspaper reports, media releases, journal articles, book chapters, annual reports, policy documents and websites. Key events in the construction of the two city brands were identified and supporting evidence to illustrate and substantiate the interpretation of important facts is provided. Both cities are appropriate for examination due

to their different levels of success in achieving global city status and the different resources and initiatives that each has employed to gain and maintain their ranking.

Sydney: Australia's Global City

Sydney is the envy of many cities with its rapid progression to alpha city status in 2004 and to the top of the Anholt city brand index in 2008 for a second consecutive year (GfK Custom Research, 2011). As Australia's trade, investment and tourism gateway, it hosts more than half the visitors to the country every year. The inner city is the most densely populated place in Australia and in 2013 it was named the third most expensive city to live in the world (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2013). Perhaps an outcome of its success, the city had become complacent with its brand as revealed in a series of reports commissioned by the New South Wales (NSW) Government in 2007. In fact, Sydney had not re-evaluated its brand identity or international visibility since hosting the 2000 Olympics (Lee, 2009).

In 2008, the Brand Sydney Steering Committee was formed, led by John O'Neill, a prominent Sydney businessman and author of the scathing reports. A public-private partnership governance structure that established joint ownership of a robust, research validated brand model for the city was created under Mr O'Neill's leadership. This structure ensured the project was jointly funded by 13 stakeholder groups including the Federal, State and local Governments and the private sector (Lee, 2009). Research commissioned by participants was pooled and analysed to identify common themes. Next, custom research in the city's key national and international target markets and industry sectors was conducted to verify the initial themes. Implementation of the brand model was also structured to guarantee it did not become 'owned' by any one stakeholder. A company – The Greater Sydney Partnership Pty Ltd – was officially launched on 30 April 2010 and included representatives from the private sector, the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, the Committee for Sydney and the Tourism and Transport Forum, State and local Government appointed directors and an independent Chairperson. Initial funding for implementation was secured from the NSW Government and the City of Sydney (Parmenter, 2011).

'Vibrant Magnetism' – the chosen brand identity – comprised four drivers or positioning options for stakeholders: 1. 'Can do' attitude - 'Work hard, live large', 2. Uninhibited outlook, 3. Progressiveness, 4. Natural attraction. Sydney-based agency, Moon, managed the creative work, designing a distinctive look and feel for the brand and a

‘powerful toolkit’ for brand partners. Alongside the revised brand identity, Sydney’s urban infrastructure was upgraded to ensure its world competitiveness. Major projects included the \$6 billion CBD waterfront development – a world-leading green multi-functional space. A new five star hotel was built near the existing Star City hotel and ‘Central Park’, a \$2 billion commercial, residential and retail precinct was planned for construction in the heart of Sydney. Existing urban assets were also given a makeover – the Museum of Contemporary Art, Rozelle Bay and Campbell’s Cove.

Investment was also made in ‘Cultural Incubators’, following the advice of Miles Young, CEO of the Ogilvy Group. This took the shape of an annual program of distinctive events and festivals. The program is highlighted by Vivid Sydney, a festival of lights, music and ideas, and Crave Sydney, an international food festival, staged at various locations around the city. Each element of Sydney’s strategy is driven by the need to avoid complacency, not rely on a few iconic landmarks and attractions and to attract new sporting events and cultural festivals (Parmenter, 2011).

Hosting major events such as the 2000 Olympics, 2003 Rugby World Cup, and World Youth Day 2008 have served as a platform to unite a large, fragmented city and stakeholders. Maintaining an annual program of festivals has also unified the city’s stakeholders, since it lacks centralised urban governance. Furthermore, the process of securing large scale events and projects aligns the local Government with State and Federal Governments to secure approval and funding to renew its brand infrastructure and deliver its brand communications.

Brisbane: Australia’s New World City?

Historical Overview

Despite its secondary status among Australia’s cities, Brisbane has benefited from having a single City Council responsible for delivering services to and promoting the interests of all its citizens. Whereas Sydney and Melbourne, to this day, were divided into a plethora of small municipalities, Brisbane was proclaimed a city in 1903 and grew through the amalgamation of over 20 smaller municipalities and shires in 1925. By the 1950s, Brisbane had developed a ‘big country town’ image which the city has battled to shake. Over the next thirty years, the city experienced a period of urban change and inner city development as its population grew through interstate migration, its tram network was closed and many historic landmark buildings were demolished. To accommodate the growth and facilitate major sporting and

cultural events, several major public work projects were completed, the scale of which were unprecedented in the city's history. The pro-development State Government of the 1970s and 1980s supported aggressive urban development and growth of regional tourism, often at the cost of the city's heritage and natural environment.

The 1980s and 1990s represented an important phase in Brisbane's continued urban development, linked to changes at the State level, along with the realisation that it was competing against Sydney and Melbourne for investment and skilled migrants. Successfully hosting two major events – Commonwealth Games (1982) and World Expo (1988) – gave Brisbane the opportunity to raise its profile, modernise its infrastructure and diversify its image. Importantly, it instilled residents with a sense of pride about their home, and is seen as the coming of age for the city. As well as bringing significant numbers of tourists to the city, media attention, direct and spinoff income, the event laid the foundations of an 'international city'. Specifically, it was a catalyst in cultivating the city's cosmopolitanism by changing state laws to allow outdoor dining and encouraging residents to eat later in the evening.

Brisbane continued to develop as the administrative and service centre for a primarily agricultural and mining economy. In particular, from 1981-1991, the Brisbane-South East Queensland (SEQ) region's absolute growth of jobs in the public administration and defence sectors, community services and recreational, personal and other services sectors, surpassed Sydney and Melbourne. However, unlike its southern rivals, it failed to achieve the same level of growth in producer services (finance, property and business services), with a relatively small financial service sector and a correspondingly small number of corporate headquarters located in the city region (Stimson and Taylor, 1999). By the mid-1990s, the city had gained the popular nickname 'Bris Vegas', reflecting the growing live music scene, the opening of a Casino in the city's heart, proliferation of poker machines in bars and clubs and perceived lack of sophistication akin to Las Vegas (Tilston, 1996).

From the 1990s onwards, Brisbane's population growth exceeded the national average at a rate of around 2.2% per year. This growth was associated with lower average house prices, and a more desirable climate and lifestyle compared to Sydney and Melbourne. The city's achievements were partly reflected in the GaWC rankings. Brisbane gained γ world city status in 2004, up from its position in 2000 as a δ_2 city. By 2008, the city reached $\gamma+$ city status and began to distance itself from its 'sleepy town' image. Furthermore, Brisbane became known as Australia's 'boom town' with a number of major commercial and residential projects within a 10km radius of the city. Demand for inner city dwellings was

increasing due to continuing population growth, reinforced by the council's urban densification strategy. Commercial space in the city was the most expensive in Australia and third in the Asia-Pacific (Anon, 2008). A newly appointed CEO of Brisbane Marketing, the marketing authority for the Greater Brisbane Region, embarked on a planning and consultation process to fundamentally reposition the city.

Repositioning Brisbane

Following a year of consultation with 600 business and industry stakeholders and the work of two market research companies and a major advertising firm, Brisbane's 'Australia's New World City' branding strategy was launched in May 2009. At a reported cost of over \$1 million, with \$2.7 million budgeted over the following three years, the major aim of the campaign was to reposition Brisbane in the minds of external audiences as a creative and innovative city. CEO of Brisbane Marketing, John Aitken, said the objective of the campaign was to sell Brisbane internationally to 'like-minded cities'; building alliances with innovative cities. He elaborated that the campaign also aimed to differentiate Brisbane from Sydney and Melbourne as a 'clean, green and sustainable city'. Alongside this core initiative, Brisbane Marketing developed campaigns to boost international student numbers, attract investment, major events, conventions, exports and international and domestic tourists. A website was created as an online portal for the city. Awareness of the new brand position was raised through a domestic marketing campaign in November 2009.

Public opinion about the brand was divided. Critics doubted its credibility. Others viewed the statement as ambitious and the opportunity to redefine the city's image. Several comments posted on a local news website revealed that residents were not content with the rebranding. One comment read: 'God it feels great to live in an overgrown country town with a smattering of PR and advertising execs trying to tell us otherwise'(Feeney, 2009).

To support the burgeoning event and convention industry, through the construction of new four and five star hotels, the Brisbane City Council (BCC) introduced a moratorium on infrastructure charges. The city's Exhibition Showground received a facelift with a \$2.9 billion redevelopment project, including the Royal International Convention Centre. Nearby, the inner-city suburb of Fortitude Valley entered phase of commercial development described as a 'one-in-a-hundred-year rejuvenation'(Carrington-Sigma, 2011). With a clear focus on economic development, Mayor Graham Quirk became the face of Brisbane, promoting it as a business hub in the Asia-Pacific. Together with state premier Campbell Newman, the pair

visited rival state NSW, urging businesses to invest in Brisbane. This visit in August 2012 reinforced a domestic marketing campaign launched in February, featuring ads in major city newspapers to attract professionals and investment from interstate (Moore, 2012). The following month, the Mayor led a nine day mission to Taipei, Kaohsiung, Kobe, Daejeon and Hong Kong (Vogler, 2012).

As the city prepares to host the G20 summit in November 2014, Brisbane Marketing is attempting to capitalise on the event by targeting Asian investors, students and conference organisers. The latest campaign is part of a three year plan to lure investors from Hong Kong and China. As part of the \$700,000 integrated marketing campaign, billboards feature US president Obama as well as Asian executives carrying the slogan "Australia's New World City" and the "Choose Brisbane" tagline. Commenting on the \$2.9 billion 2013/14 council budget, of which \$32 million was focused on specific economic development initiatives, Lord Mayor Quirk stated that projects were focused on enhancing Brisbane's long-term economic future by maximising the "unique window of opportunity" and continuity to position Brisbane as a new world city (Brisbane Marketing, 2013).

To cultivate the city's cultural vibrancy, the BCC has secured guardianship of the South Bank precinct and Roma St Parklands and has the rights to manage the Asia-Pacific Screen Awards. Despite these achievements, the city is still to offer sufficient proof to support its brand repositioning. Just five major Australian companies are headquartered in Brisbane. There is also emerging doubt about the sustained growth of luxury hotel accommodation due to the softening of the resources and construction sectors.

Discussion of Findings

Comparing the branding processes of Sydney and Brisbane reveals four key themes, or elements, that support their global city status. These are: 1) the structure of brand governance, 2) renewal and rejuvenation of urban infrastructure, 3) leveraging events and festivals, and 4) collaborative brand evaluation. Firstly, the different types of brand governance structures affected the nature of stakeholder participation in each city. Sydney's public-private partnership structure ensured joint ownership and direct custody of the brand as well as encouraging the participation of a wide range of stakeholders from the outset. This enabled the pooling of resources and investment from various sources for branding initiatives. This structure was underpinned by leadership of an expert facilitator who was able to inspire the involvement of varied interests in the city, as partners in brand creation and delivery. In

contrast, Brisbane's centralised administrative structure led to limited, controlled interaction among stakeholders who were not partners in the process. The lack of engagement with stakeholders fueled resentment from those who did not support the brand's new identity and viewed the brand's communication efforts as ineffective PR.

Secondly, both cases demonstrate the importance of updating and reinvesting in urban infrastructure to sustain a city's vibrancy and appeal, as well as supporting economic development. Brisbane's urban development and revitalisation was driven partly by interstate migration, but also the expansion of tourism through events and conferences. Sydney's continued urban renewal appears more diversified and sustainable, driving by commercial, residential and cultural interests, as well as complementing its existing urban assets. These investments complement Sydney's iconic landmarks and attractions to enhance its existing international reputation as a leading global city.

Thirdly, both cities have benefited from attracting and staging major events, which have been catalysts for infrastructure development and instilling a sense of pride among residents. Sydney leveraged the process of attracting events and festivals to secure funding from multiple sources and to reinforce its joint ownership brand governance structure, unifying the city's stakeholders. An annual calendar of festivals and cultural events has strengthened Sydney's brand image as a cultural hub and has sustained its position as Australia's major tourist destination. Brisbane has continually struggled with this challenge due to a lack of attractions, events and a reputation as a culturally unsophisticated city.

Fourthly, the need for collaborative brand evaluation, including comprehensive market research when redefining a city's brand identity was demonstrated through case study analysis. Both cities undertook lengthy and resource intensive research and consultation to define their brand position. Brisbane's new brand identity was driven by economic objectives and took a literal approach to redefining itself as a global city; a fundamental change in its brand identity. However, the city did not possess the resources or infrastructure to support its aspirational repositioning. In contrast, Sydney's brand evaluation was collaborative in nature, pooling the resources of multiple stakeholders. The revised brand identity was more subtle and more closely reflected its existing image, personality and economic and cultural profile. In this way, the importance of context - existing economic, cultural and reputational assets - was critical. Brisbane, in its attempt to rival Sydney as Australia's global city, had not restructured its economic base, or sufficiently altered its brand identity to support this process, and consequently, its brand repositioning lacked credibility.

Conclusions

This study represents a first step towards understanding how a city's branding process can support its global city status. Specifically, the key events in the brand repositioning of two Australian cities were described to examine the context and functions of the core components of this dynamic process. Examining the role of these four components demonstrated the importance of specific **structures, resources and initiatives; elements that are pivotal in a city's** branding process to improve or even transform their global city status. Future research should examine other parts of the model and their interactions to extend our understanding. The chosen research methods relied on secondary data to construct the case studies. Future research could incorporate a variety of sources of information, including indicators of brand performance, along with interviews with stakeholders to triangulate the findings. Specifically, additional research should confirm the relevance and validity of the four elements identified. The geographical scope of the research was also limited to two Australian cities and could be extended to cover cities in different countries to enhance knowledge of the role of contextual factors in the long-term processes of city branding and urban development.

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Determinants of place brand positioning – Poznan Metropolis case study

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ABSTRACT

The essence of positioning, namely assuming a desired position in the audience's awareness by owning a specific set of associations. The recent understanding is that brand positioning is one of key concepts conditioning a brand's competitive market position. Because brand positioning refers to all its external activities and, at the same time, it determines behavior within an organization it might be useful strategic tool in place brand management.

The paper attempts to explain determinants of place brand positioning considering its fundamental pillars: competitive context including place brand category, needs and expectations of target groups and basic benefits as a key differentiator.

The paper aims to discuss sources of credibility and relevance in place brand positioning on Poznan Metropolis case study. An analysis of the case study has allowed to follow the positioning process step by step and to identify the factors determining each stage of the process: an analysis, definition of the positioning, implementation and monitoring. It has been assumed that the specific stages are mutually dependent which involves dependence of specific determinants. A change to the determining factors at one stage may therefore imply a change to other factors of the process. The conducted analyses have resulted in practical clues and recommendations related to the process of place brand positioning. The article's original nature and value consists in a holistic approach to the process of place brand positioning and indicating factors determining the process.

Key words: place brand positioning, place brand management

INTRODUCTION

As a result of globalization, the world is perceived as a single market where brands compete for the audience's attention. This holds equally true for countries, regions and cities which attempt to stimulate the inhabitants' and companies' involvement, intend to attract tourists, investors or students. For this purpose, they come up with various cultural, sports, business or scientific events in order to build place image and reputation owing to media coverage (Anholt, 2009, Florek 2012). However, it is not possible to purposefully build up a desirable brand image without creating its identity or positioning the brand. This is of special importance to administrative units which may face management discontinuity attributed to the cycles of political elections. A definition of place brand identity and positioning ensures the efforts' cohesion. It is some sort of a guide verifying a location's activity areas and resulting in a cohesive brand image.

In the face of the above mentioned circumstances, focus placed on adequate place positioning in the minds of the audience in order to gain or maintain competitive advantage may be a significant source of a place's resources. In general, positioning can be described as an activity connected with creating a clear and unique image of a brand in the minds of a target audience (Ries and Trout 1981; Woodward 1996; Nilson 1998). Ries and Trout (1981) argue that positioning is "a battle for the consumer's mind". In their opinion, positioning is the way a company wants customers to perceive, think and feel about its brand versus competitive entries. According to such a perspective brand positioning is highly subjective since it refers to the customer's individual perceptions. Davis (2000) perceives the notion of brand positioning in a similar way; in his opinion positioning is the place in consumers' minds that a brand wants to own. It has to be externally driven and relevant, it has to be differentiated from the competition and, most importantly, it has to be valued. Davis takes notice of the strategic significance of brand positioning as the basis for further decisions on brand management. He emphasizes the role of brand positioning for establishing effective communication with customers. The strategic significance of brand positioning has also been presented by Kotler (1994) who places positioning in his STP concept (Segmenting, Targeting, Positioning). Hence, positioning just like segmentation or the choice of the target group becomes the key foundation for defining a strategy for a brand. On the other hand, on top of the strategic significance of positioning for brand management, Kapferer (1992) pinpoints that positioning is a process of emphasizing the brand's distinctive and motivating attributes in the light of competition. Keller (1998) emphasizes that arriving at the proper

position requires establishing the correct point of difference (unique to the brand) and point of parity association (connected with the category, not necessarily unique to the brand). For Aaker (1996), who focuses on tactical operations aimed at building strong brands, positioning is the basis for creating and implementing brand building programs. Finally, Temporal (2002) notes that positioning is vital to brand management because it takes the basic tangible aspects of the product and actually builds the intangibles in the form of an image in people's minds. The effect of the positioning process is defining the positioning statement which is a synthetic notion of the basic elements (Calkins 2005).

CHARACTERISTICS OF PLACES IN THE CONTEXT OF POSITIONING.

The superior goal of marketing, including place marketing, is to create value for various target groups while satisfaction of target groups is an overriding value. Achievement of a specific level of satisfaction depends on the awareness of the target groups' needs and an ability to satisfy them by means of marketing instruments. In the realm of preparation or gleaning information, marketing plays an important role in surveying the needs and preferences of the target groups as well as analysing the resources and the marketing environment. Changes in this environment may impact the related strategic decisions. Therefore, places compete for the attention and trust of investors, tourists, students, skilled employees, media interest or the locals' attachment. If we assume that competition can be defined as products' perceived substitution nature from the consumer's evaluation point of view, then all places compete with each other in various areas and at different levels of intensity (Dlonicar and Grabler 2004). Undoubtedly, the rivalry aspect is one of the main reasons why place marketing has been so popular and has developed on such a scale.

On top of that, the quest for more effective and efficient modes of managing places in a tumultuous environment, in particular the growing mobility of individuals, ideas, capital and goods, has determined the reasons for implementing a marketing approach to places' growth. The tumultuous nature of the environment, the large number of target groups coupled with diversified areas of places' activities may be an important premise for applying the concept of positioning place brands.

At the same time, the model of exercising power in market economies is changing with increasingly more frequently emphasized importance of co-governance taking into consideration the needs of various groups of stakeholders. It is referred to as a model of local partner authority – a negotiation model encompassing management on the basis of multi-

lateral agreements between entities operating in an administrative unit (Zeman-Miszewska 2000). This model requires social support in the management process at the stage of planning and implementing alike. This is why local authorities consult their activities with entities which may be affected in the process. Social approval and support also affect the efficiency of the implementation. A need for cooperation and collaboration in managing a place may serve as an important reason for implementing the concept of brand positioning.

Another feature characteristic of a place is the complexity of the product. Due to its sophisticated structure, it is referred to in literature on the subject as a mega product defined as a combination of tangible and intangible elements which form the basis for a place's operations (Markowski 2002). The tangible elements include, among other things, infrastructure resources, natural resources, architectural objects etc. The intangible components are rooted in a place's history, culture and tradition, art, language, ambience etc. It is the combination of tangible and intangible elements that results in a cohesive place mega product. The specific elements of the megaproduct are selectively perceived and analysed by various groups of stakeholders depending on their needs and expectations of a place (Florek 2007). At the same time, many entities are involved in a place's shape and growth, namely the local authorities, non-governmental organizations, chambers of commerce, tourist agencies, entrepreneurs and the locals themselves. Managing such a complicated place product necessitates broad and in-depth knowledge from various areas of activity and encompassing the needs of diversified target groups. For this reason, application of the positioning concept seems indispensable in the case of places.

In complex places like provinces, counties or agglomerations, a mega product consists also of products with a smaller territorial range, e.g. commune or city-related. In this sense, an agglomeration is a specific combination of products and images of elementary territory units making up for a larger whole, separated geographically or administratively with specific implications for marketing efforts. This may be referred to as a positive phenomenon of place synergy resulting from the complementary nature of specific products of places and their mutual activities aimed at creating value added. Cooperation makes it possible to develop the megaproduct which would not be possible without collaboration. However, the undesirable effects of mutual dependencies are worth highlighting. For example, investment in one commune of an agglomeration may adversely affect another commune's natural environment. Undoubtedly, from the point of view of marketing opportunities, managing a complex unit is more complicated because it involves a larger number of conditionings.

The large number of a place's target groups and stakeholders implies diversified communicated needs and expectations. Oftentimes, these needs are mutually exclusive. Investors' needs will relate primarily to favourable investment conditions and infrastructure underpinning a company's growth. On the other hand, the locals' needs will relate to enhancing the standard of living. Tourists want to have free access to historic objects of architecture, culture and art; locals want to freely move about in their place of residence. The related dichotomy may also relate to one target group, e.g. the locals want to live in a dynamically growing agglomeration but at the same time they do not want to get stuck in traffic jams. They would like to work in renown companies but refuse to have investments in the vicinity of their houses. The large number and complexity of target groups and their needs highlights the role of a cohesive positioning concept which is of great importance in the process of place management. The concept will determine the perception of a place brand in the audience's awareness.

DETERMINANTS OF PLACE BRAND POSITIONING BASED ON THE POZNAN METROPOLIS CASE STUDY.

Brand positioning determinants in managing places will be discussed on the example of the Poznan Metropolis. The Poznan Metropolis has been selected as a case study because it was the first one in Poland to launch a project of devising and implementing a comprehensive growth strategy in cooperation with four local universities: the Poznań University, the Poznań University of Technology, the University of Economics and the Poznań University of Life Sciences. The project's goal **was to identify** the Poznań agglomeration's major potential and growth-related problems as well as to devise a shared and coherent, medium-term growth strategy for all the entities involved. The project combines a theoretical aspect (development of methodology of research into agglomerations), a cognitive aspect (a diagnosis of an agglomeration's operations) and an application aspect (devising a growth strategy for the Poznań agglomeration). The project results from an agreement between self-government units constituting the Poznan Metropolis and the biggest local universities offering research potential in the realm of life sciences, economics, social, technical and spatial sciences. One of the economic aspects was developing a concept of place positioning. As part of the project, lectures were held in order to identify the agglomeration's most important developmental problems and conditionings and a debate on the directions of the agglomeration's development, especially coherence and competitiveness

in various areas of the metropolis' operations. As a result, a positioning statement was coined which forms the basis for commencing a process aimed at positioning the Poznan Metropolis in the target groups' awareness.

The fundamental determinants of positioning are rooted in the structure of the positioning statement. A skilfully drafted positioning statement is a source of inspiration and motivation for an organization to grow. Despite the diversified schemes, four key elements can be identified, indispensable to properly draft the positioning statement. Literature on the subject identifies four major elements of the positioning statement: the target group (1), the frame of reference (2), the point of difference (3), the reason to believe (4) (Tybout and Sternthal 2005).

Identification of a place brand's target groups is extremely difficult; it also necessitates skills and experience. The magnitude of stakeholders (residents – native and immigrants, investors – local and global, tourists – internal, external and foreign, public opinion – leaders and broadly defined society) calls for individual research aimed at defining the stakeholders' needs and expectations of a place. The contemporary marketing approach necessitates in-depth insight not only into the needs and expectations but also the system of values determining the target groups' attitudes and behaviour. In the context of a place brand, four major positioning strategies may be adopted depending on the approach to the target group (Florek and Janiszewska, 2011), namely concentrated, exclusive, interrelated and uniform positioning. The target groups' needs and expectations diagnosed on the basis of research and numerous analyses conducted as part of the Poznan Metropolis case study project allowed for applying a concentrated positioning strategy. Concentrated positioning is the most simple and easy one since it focuses on one, most important target. This approach usually results from already shaped preferences of so-called 'natural' target group as a consequence of a place's existing features. If the place's attribute is clear and distinct, it is easier to define its target and what is more, the brand's point of difference, crucial in the positioning process. The unquestionable advantage of this approach is that concentration on one target enables precisely answering its needs and expectations. In the analysed case study, the process of brand positioning focused on the target group of the locals. It was assumed that for the project to be successful, building up the identity of the new metropolis' inhabitants would be a top priority. As a result of social and economic changes following the decline of centrally managed economy and Poland's system transformation, the fall of the Berlin Wall and accession to the European Union, the city of Poznan (located 270 km east of Berlin) has been

growing dynamically and extending its scope of influence to become a metropolis. Therefore cohesive efforts aimed at building up brand identity and brand positioning is key to marketing management of a place. In this context, focusing on the target group of the inhabitants seems justified and offers a good starting point to the future brand repositioning taking into account subsequent target groups of key importance to the Poznan Metropolis like investors or tourists.

Adoption of the right strategic positioning option with reference to the target group allows to define another element of the positioning statement, namely a frame of reference. A frame of reference refers mostly to the brand category and defines the chief goals of the target group. This is why a frame of reference is a natural result of identifying and defining target groups. In the case of place brands, goals are most frequently defined in an emotional area related to brand experience. Defining a category in the context of a place brand is determined not only by geographic, administrative and functional factors accompanying an administrative unit, but also by relationship between them. In the analysed case study Poznan Metropolis adopted full identity strategy (Janiszewska 2012). An assumption is made that the images of Poznan city brand and the metropolis are coherent. In the audience's minds, both units are perceived with reference to the same features and values. The metropolis brand draws on formerly developed values and personality of the dynamically growing city brand. The city image is transferred to the metropolis image. In this context, the city brand is primary to the metropolis even if in the hierarchical arrangement of territorial units it is ranked lower. The full identity strategy brings about the synergy of mutual influence of places in cases when a metropolis consists of a single robust urban centre. This is the situation of the Poznan Metropolis which consists of a strong urban centre (Poznan) and 21 municipalities surrounding Poznan. This is the reason why the values and the identity of the Poznan city brand served as a basis for positioning the metropolis, enriched with cooperation values indispensable to operations of complex administrative units and supplemented with values related to harmony and life balance resulting from the municipalities surrounding Poznan. Therefore, in the case of the Poznan Metropolis brand, the important factors determining brand positioning include brand city image and identity plus the municipalities' potential.

Frame of reference allows to indicate a brand's closest competitors who may have the ability to satisfy the same needs and achieve the same goals for the stakeholders. By indicating a scope of competition, a frame of reference allows to identify the brand's point of

difference. Identification of the competitors and a detailed analysis of their activity indicate areas of differentiation possible to use. Definition of the point of difference should simply explain how a brand is better than other, alternative brands. Just like a frame of reference, a point of difference may be expressed at various levels of abstraction. Some brands focus on specific, particular functional features which differentiate a brand from other. Other brands refer to more abstract emotional benefits emphasizing how well and how unique the audience will feel by experiencing a place brand. Unlike a frame of reference, a point of difference is an element of the positioning statement which may be subjected to changes resulting from external factors like the place brand's geopolitical situation and that of competitive brands as well as social changes. Therefore a point of difference requires regular measurements which verify the level of its significance or up-to-date status.

A point of difference necessitates a reason to believe. Benefits provided by a brand to the audience are a fundamental source of building up brand credibility. These benefits may be of functional or emotional nature. If a brand provides both benefits simultaneously, perception thereof in the target group will be more complete and more comprehensive. Preferably, the functional and emotional benefits complement each other. The functional benefits of a place brand come from unique resources of an administrative unit. For this reason, functional benefits as a reason to believe can be applied to a limited extent. Many places have very similar functional parameters. In this context, emotional benefits gain in importance as an important source of building up relations and bonds with a place brand's stakeholders. Emotional benefits frequently refer to self-presentation and relations with others and are connected to the need of self-expression. In the case of the Poznan Metropolis, the brand benefits were identified by combining functional benefits stemming from the place's location and its economic nature as well as emotional benefits resulting from the locals' nature: extreme pragmatism, good organization and goal-orientation. The ultimate shape of the positioning was affected by the locals' skills and competence; their involvement may come in handy in the process of building up the Poznan Metropolis brand.

At the same time experts emphasize that benefits which form positioning should be credible, significant to the audience, differentiating from the competitors and allowing for the organization's growth. This growth, however, should contribute to the brand's increased competitiveness.

The condition of significance in brand positioning necessitates detailed analyses and research into the target groups' behaviour and motifs. This is specifically complicated in the

case of a place brand. It requires knowledge and experience as different groups of stakeholders represent different attitudes and expectations of a brand. Therefore, specific elements of positioning may be perceived by the target groups at various levels of importance.

Brand credibility is another key feature of positioning. Brand credibility is based on the brand's consistency in keeping the promises it makes. When a brand's actual potential and capabilities are not supported, the audience is inevitably disappointed and the brand loses its credibility. Lack of credibility is also reflected in the audience's involvement in the brand which may be of key importance to place brands. Fulfilment of this condition of positioning calls for an in-depth audit of the brand's assets and indicating ways of using these assets, changing them and developing. An unbiased analysis of brand assets should be supplemented and verified with research into how the target group perceives these assets. This should be accompanied by a hierarchy of assets with respect to significance and credibility which will allow an organization to focus on areas of biggest potential of key importance to the target group.

Fulfilment of the condition of credibility and significance in the case of the Poznan Metropolis brand was achieved as a result of research into the target group's (the inhabitants') needs and preference and identification of benefits on the basis of the potential of a place following numerous analyses of natural, economic, social, technical and spatial aspects.

However, differentiation is a determinant of positioning most frequently referred to by practitioners and theoreticians. Positioning should differentiate the brand from other alternative brands. In this context, brand positioning may be perceived as a process aimed at creating differences between place brands. At the same time, the condition of significance and credibility is key to defining the differentiation area. A brand cannot differentiate itself unless both these conditions are fulfilled; the brand may then be perceived as different from the competition and as such superior.

Well-defined, standing out positioning which fulfils the conditions of significance and credibility are sources of inspiration and stimulation in an organization. However excess brand extension resulting from chaotic growth may lead to loss of brand coherence and playing down the brand's value in the audience's eyes. This approach necessitates regular analyses of the audience's needs and expectations and, on the other hand, monitoring and controlling brand activity in the context of compliance with its positioning. Undoubtedly, a brand should develop as well as foresee and take into consideration changes to the environment. Desisting from such activity may lead to changing a brand's position in the

context of competition and, as a result, to eroding the entire brand positioning. As a determinant of growth, positioning should be the focus of interest of people managing an administrative unit. A majority of such units in well developed countries have had and implemented growth strategies in various areas of activity. In this context, positioning could be a useful tool indicating cohesive directions of place development revolving around a single idea. Such an activity would allow for more transparent and unambiguous perception of a place.

However, for a brand to be successful it does not suffice to properly identify its positioning. Well defined albeit unskilfully communicated positioning on different levels of brand activity will not bring about the desired effect. As long as the target group does not perceive or identify in brand activities its major assumptions or ideas (which are the basis of brand-differentiating associations) the brand is not really positioned in the audience's minds. Robust brands enjoy differentiating positioning which is consistently implemented in brand strategies aimed at target groups. These brand strategies include the right selection of activities aligned with elements of positioning. Therefore, two factors combined determine a brand's robustness: differentiating positioning and skilful implementation of positioning through a well-tailored strategy (Ellwood 2009). The strategic importance of positioning can be discussed only in the context of implementation thereof. Positioning implementation results in a specific brand image, compliant with brand identity and differentiating the brand from its competitors.

When there is a strong relation between positioning and the process of its implementation, the proactive aspect of managing a brand's market position in the target group's minds gains in importance (Sutherland 2011). If we do not manage brand positioning our competitors may take over control of it. Therefore positioning is dynamic and changeable. Once established, it requires regular review and updates mirroring the changes in the environment. Change determinants may result from the activity of competitors' brands or social processes affecting target groups. Hence positioning necessitates regular proactive efforts aimed at creating and maintaining the desired brand image. In this context, the prerequisite for proactivity are an organization's skills in predicting future changes in the environment accompanied by an ability to initiate the right activities. This calls for caution and in-depth research in order to identify important change trends.

The process of implementing the positioning of the Poznan Metropolis brand has been regularly monitored. The research pertains primarily to the brand perception in the target

group and its compliance with the intended position in the audience's awareness. An important aspect of the research is taking into consideration the competitive aspect and monitoring the competitive brands' positions. On top of that, a verification form of the Poznan Metropolis' activity has been developed to evaluate the planned efforts targeted at the inhabitants against compliance with the brand identity and positioning.

CONCLUSIONS

Positioning should be viewed and analysed in a process-related approach. Each stage of the process depends on various factors determining its success. Having said that, the specific stages are mutually dependent and therefore the process needs to be viewed holistically.

The analysis stage necessitates inclusion of an analysis of the place brand resources, functional (related to the geographic location, nature and architecture attractions) as well as emotional (pertaining to a place's culture, history and ambience as well as symbolic aspects). A place brand is determined by identification of the target group whose needs and expectations as well as recognized values are the starting point in looking for credible and significant brand benefits. An analysis of the resources and target groups should be carried out in the context of competition and be aimed at defining opportunities for brand differentiation. This is because competition is one of the key determinants of positioning. Areas of association with competitive brands and their positions in the audience's awareness determine the opportunities and limitations of positioning. A frame of reference and a frame of differentiation are sources of correct identification of the competitors. It is worth remembering that in the context of a place brand, it is also important to take into consideration mutual relations between the administrative units which build up a brand.

The stage of defining brand positioning determines the credibility and significance to the target group as well as the extent of differentiation from the competitors. In long-terms, these factors are the basis of a brand's future growth and extension (e.g. new target groups) and define the scope of the brand's possible repositioning.

Communication means, techniques and methods determine the stage of positioning implementation. The determinants can be further divided into two fundamental groups: internal (in charge of stimulating and reinforcing involvement of place brand employees and cooperating organizations co-creating the brand) and external (in charge of creating a brand image in compliance with positioning in the marketing environment).

The monitoring stage determines selection of the right research methods and techniques verifying the brand image's compliance with the strategic assumptions adopted in the positioning. The results of monitoring are a valuable source of feedback and may be applied at each stage of the process.

A proactive approach in the process of positioning allows to identify changes taking place in the marketing environment and fosters the process of initiating the desired activities underpinning a place brand.

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A corporate organization in marketing and city branding : housing development administration of Turkey (Toki)

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ABSTRACT

Cities are primarily physical places but at the same time social, cultural, political and ideological places which compose with the influence of many different environmental element and are always subject to change. That is why in our modern-day society, cities have a great importance in economical, social and cultural sense aside from being a living area. In terms of sustainable development it is highly important to build brand cities, market them and increase the development levels of these cities that can compete at an international level. The aim of this study is to promote “Housing Development Administration of Turkey” (TOKİ) which plays a crucial role in creating brand cities and promoting them. With this respect the foundation of TOKİ, vision and mission, house production, marketing activities and realized projects will be analyzed.

Key words: Brand, city, marketing, corporate structure, Turkey

1. INTRODUCTION

Most of the the factors which are influential in forming brand cities are dynamic and show continues changes which have an impact on physical structure of the cities and that is why it is often stated that cities are always subject to changes and transformations. While these changes and transformations sometimes have a positive effect on living standards, on the other hand sometimes may cause to economical, social, physical & environmental downfall and breakdown. Urban renewal which is a dynamic phenomenon, shows continuousness for a certain period of time. But in literature urban renewal was considered as an answer for economical, social, physical & environmental corruption in a certain amount of time in urban areas.

The urban renewal projects are practices in order to create more livable places by rearranging the present condition of the cities. There are many definitions in urban renewal literature. These definitions have differences in terms of objectives, strategy and methods. According to Lichfield (1992) urban renewal is a consensus on results of which will be obtained in realization of renewal and appears due to the needs to understand urban renewal corruption better. According to Donnison (1993) urban renewal is a new method and route which was put forward to analyse the concentrated problems in corrupted urban areas coordinately. Roberts (2000) describes urban renewal as providing a continuous reformation of economical, physical, social and environmental conditions with a comprehensive and integrated vision and act. Hence urban renewal is the entire act and strategy in order to improve the economical, social, physical and environmental conditions with a comprehensive and integrated approach which is a modern living place for urban areas. Urban renewal is more related to planning and management of existing urban areas rather than planning and developing new ones.

One of the main targets of Urban renewal projects is to create new living areas of which have high brand value since cities have an increasing importance as an economical actor. In our modern day where competition is between regions and cities rather than countries, it is highly important for countries to feature their cities by using marketing strategies in terms of increasing their competitive force. Branding a product or increasing its brand value and thus marketing it better will increase the income of the product. Concordantly in cities whose brand value have risen, life quality, welfare level, social and economic development will also increase with the physical and human capital increase.

Urban marketing is designing a location according to meet needs of the target market. Only when the residents and businesses are satisfied with the location they are living in and when the expectations of visitors and investors are covered then the marketing of residence reaches to success. Here the mentioned target market is described as the clients of the residents. These clients are companies producing services and goods, registered and regional offices, foreign investment and export markets, tourism markets and new dwellers. (Kotler and oth. 2002:183). In this sense marketing of residence is not a new term in practice. Likewise other marketing ideas, the roots come from United States of America. In 1850's residential selling promotions were used as an effective tool to attract new dwellers to the wild west. In the

beginning of 1900's, an intensive advertising was made in order to attract tourists to British and French coastal region. (Gold&Ward 1994).

The urbanization and urban renewal in Turkey differs greatly from especially western countries. These differences originate from the economical and political conditions of Turkey along with historical, social and cultural conditions. As in many other countries, the role of the aforementioned dynamics is great in forming the transformation process and residential structures of cities in Turkey. Particularly the differences of development levels among countries conduce to important differences in urbanization policies. Therefore TOKİ has been established as a corporate entity by several legal regulations with the idea of developing urban renewal responses suitable to Turkey's economical, political, cultural and environmental dynamics and to provide this idea with public support.

2. THE ESTABLISHMENT PROCESS OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION OF TURKEY (TOKI)

For the purpose of solving the problems of the housing deficit arising from the rapid population growth and the domestic migration from the rural areas to cities, and of the rapid urbanization in Turkey, the Head of the Housing Development and State Partnership Administration was founded in 1984, and the autonomous Housing Development Fund was constituted with Housing Development Law numbered 2985. The function of the Housing Development Administration of Turkey has been determined in the direction of enabling the rapidly increasing housing demand to be met in a planned way by encouraging the dwelling production sector in Turkey. The Housing Development Law numbered 2985 has provided an opportunity for the Housing Development Administration of Turkey to behave autonomously and flexibly. In 1990, it was organized by means of the Statutory Decrees numbered 412 and 414 as two separate administrations as the Head of the Housing Development Administration of Turkey and the head of the State Partnership Administration.

The Housing Development Fund was also completely abolished with the Law dated 20.06.2011 and numbered 4684. Legislating away the Fund has reduced the sources of the Mass Housing Administration, and has made it dependent on the allowances allocated from the budget. The revenues of the Mass Housing Administration comprise of the sales and rental revenues the real properties, the credit back payments, the interest yields and the budget allowances. In the framework of the legal regulations realized in 2003, TOKI has

been authorized to operate in the projects of the urban transformation. For this purpose, within the scope of the Regulation of the Method Usage of the Sources of Mass Housing Administration, TOKI has also added the “funding for the purpose of transforming and rehabilitating the squatter settlement zone” to the areas where the sources of the administration will be used. By means of the urban transformation projects it has put into practice, TOKI has created new living spaces with high brand value. Thanks to the services such as sheltering, education, health, etc. presented to the people living in the newly created living spaces, the standard of living and the level of welfare of those people living in the cities at issue has been increased.

3. THE MISSION, VISION AND STRATEGY OF MASS HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

Turkey –after China - is ranked as the second in the world in the construction sector. One of the most important reasons of this success is the projects developed by TOKI in the sector. Especially the mass housing projects realized in the recent years draw attention as an important move in terms of both the sector and creating the brand cities. Besides merely dwelling production, TOKI also builds contemporary living spaces. TOKI has undertaken the leadership of the move for the development in terms of economic, legal and social aspects (Çeçen, 2012).

The mission of TOKI is to create brand cities by producing alternative models possessing the social and technical features required by the modern urban living in the areas integrated with the natural and the cultural values and principally to give support to the low-income people without a dwelling to become the owner of a residence.

The strategy of TOKI is to develop different payment plans with long terms in accordance with the ability of the citizens to make a payment as a requirement of the mission of housing for the people who do not have sufficient pecuniary resources in order to possess a residence. The long term strategy of TOKI is to complete the public housing, the necessary service units and the substructures directed towards the low and middle income groups, and present these to the community service. In addition to these, a strategy has been adopted by means of the alternative projects developed in the city centers so as to protect and develop the social, cultural and economic riches of the cities, to adapt them to the modern times, to create brand cities by making them places to live and work comfortably and invest profitably, or to

increase the brand value of the cities; to realize the restoration of the buildings of historical importance, or to rebuild them, and present technical and social substructure services to the rural areas.

The vision of TOKI is to undertake a leader and supportive role in making everybody to have a sufficient and livable residence in both rural and urban areas. It is realize the dwelling production within the framework of a specific model with alternative applications for the purpose of fulfilling the urgent need of housing of the country. At the same time, it disciplines the housing market by taking the issues such as quality, soundness and cost into consideration, and thus, targets to prevent the speculative formations.

The vision of TOKI can be summarized in the following way;

- Constituting a model for qualified and low cost dwelling production,
- Preventing the speculative real estate ventures,
- Developing the mass housing projects in the areas out of the activity areas of the private sector,
- Creating an opportunity for the low and middle income group to buy a house through their own means,
- Cooperating with the municipalities on the urban transformation projects,
- Developing mass housing projects directed towards rural areas in order to reduce the rate of the migration to cities,
- Creating sources of finance for the mass housing projects with the private sector companies via “the profit sharing model”.

4. ACTIVITES OF THE MASS HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The activities made by TOKI are realized in six basic issues. These issues are;

- Housing programs,
- Social reinforcement,
- Applications directed towards the public,
- Land development,
- The activities of research and development,
- The activities of credit extension.

4.1. Housing Programs

The Social Featured Dwelling Production, Residences for the Low Income Group and the Poor

As a result of the fact that the housing problem experienced in Turkey continues increasingly, the 58th Government of the Republic of Turkey has taken action with the Urgent Action Plan, and accelerated the implementations of the mass housing and urban transformation as from January 2003. Throughout the four years following this, the organizational structure of TOKI was improved and its powers were expanded by means of legal regulations. The land portfolio of TOKI was enlarged, and it was aimed for the Administration to be able to develop projects by using its own sources. By making TOKI an autonomous administration directly subject to the prime Ministry, flexibility has been enabled in the mechanisms of application and decision making. TOKI maintains its activities throughout the country with the primary goals of disciplining the housing market by providing the dwelling production within the framework of a specific pattern by means of innovatory applications, of preventing the speculative formations by paying attention to the issues such as quality, soundness and inexpensiveness, and helping the population of the country to be dispersed throughout the geography of the country in a balanced way.

The long term strategy of TOKI is to complete the public housing directed towards the low and middle income group and also the substructures of the required service units. TOKI, which applies the research methods in order to determine the areas for which the housing need waits for the most urgent solution, has developed a long-term action plan for the mass housing investments throughout the country. It is more concentrated on the big cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Diyarbakır and Adana, especially the Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia Regions which receive migration from the rural areas of the country.

At the point reached today, service is rendered with an understanding containing all the elements of the modern urbanization and it is aimed that contribution is given to the concept of the social state becoming strengthened, the obstacles in front of the production wheels being reduced, a concept of a state that serves to the poor citizens and approaches them with justice and understanding being generated, and the confidence of the citizens respectful to the laws in the government being reinforced.

Satellite Town Practices

According to the data of the State Planning Organization and the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), it is determined that Turkey has an urgent housing demand of about 3 million including renewal, transformation and qualified construction production.

The aim of TOKI is to produce the part of this urgent housing demand which is between five percent and ten percent. Acting in the light of the striking numbers in terms of the housing deficit, TOKI has starting carrying out an assertive program in terms of producing 500 thousand new dwellings until the end of 2011, and subsequent to the studies it maintained throughout the country, it has focused on producing more dwellings in the urban areas receiving migration in the near future. Since January 2008, TOKI has increased its applications directed towards the low income and middle income groups who struggle against the high cost of living in the big cities. The density of high population in the big cities increasingly makes the construction activities within the current borders of the cities more and more unfeasible.

Under these circumstances, TOKI has made a decision of building a series of “satellite town” in the big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Diyarbakır. TOKI provides solutions that will not damage the historic texture and identity of our cities with the satellite town applications it has realized with a visionary approach.

TOKI, which sees the satellite city applications as an opportunity to build environment focused and sustainable settlements, has taken a big step in this field, too, with its project of 60.000 houses in Istanbul Kayabaşı. In the Project providing energy efficiency with the applications such as using the condensing boilers, solar collectors, photovoltaic batteries, garden irrigation with the system of storing the rainwater, calorimeter in the entrance of the apartment flats, it is planned that the green space quota per capita is 36 square meters.

Urban Renewal Projects

TOKI has been authorized with certain legal arrangements in 2003 to carry out urban renewal projects. Within the scope of regulations on utilisation of TOKI's resources, TOKI has also included “funding for slum clearance and renewal “among the areas for which management sources will be utilized. In cooperation with local administrations, TOKI has followed a comprehensive policy toward planning residential areas and modern urbanization since 2003. With this framework, urban renewal projects have been launched.

In the last seven years, TOKI has been proceeding resource transfer for projects on improving living conditions of habitants in slum areas. The underlying reason of this attempt is a wish to improve living conditions in cities exposed to rapid urbanization and its adverse effects. With a modern planning approach, a new comprehensive development process has been launched and all current resources have been transferred to urban planning and projects to renew unplanned housing below standard.

Cities have failed to meet rapidly increasing housing needs in normal growth rate, which has caused illegal and unhealthy housing for years. Beside this illegal housing, current house stock having completed its economic life is a serious problem for cities especially in seismic-zone. Houses constructed with poor and inadequate materials, engineering and building techniques in unfavourable areas threaten both habitants and fabric in cities.

The biggest obstacle to the solution of this problem is that Social Housing Policy toward low-income group has been only recently put into practice. TOKI not only transforms slum and shanty settlement areas, but also tries to prevent formation of new slum areas with the houses it produced for narrow-income groups.

Disaster Housing

TOKI pioneers the efforts of the government to plan, construct and renew houses, substructure and public utilities in regions damaged by natural disasters. The activities of the administration in the field of disaster management and restructuring started with Erzincan Earthquake in 1992. Having shown a successful work on the Erzincan Earthquake Reconstruction Project, TOKI received the United Nation's Scroll of HONOR in 1994. 13 years later after the earthquake, The World Bank revealed in a report that TOKI had a significant and positive effect on people's life. Having the same sense of responsibility, TOKI, in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement keeps providing technical aid for the regions damaged by natural disaster. The Administration takes over lands without a price from the Treasury and provides loan for the construction of houses, offices and cooperatives. Besides in lands where houses are to be resistant to natural disasters such as earthquake, TOKI makes projects and works done in line with its high standards. In case of a disaster, TOKI always lends a helping hand to those in need. After the earthquake disaster happened in Bingol in Southeastern Anatolia in May 1, 2003, TOKI realized

19 projects cost 110 million TL in total. In this context, 2.857 housing units, a primary and high school, a police station, a mosque, a multipurpose hall for municipality and a waste water refinery were constructed.

Agricultural Village Projects

In response to the lack of opportunity in rural areas, nearly 18% of Turkey's population has migrated to urban areas since 1980. The crisis created by this movement of population is at the core of TOKİ's work in urban areas. Aiming to put an end to such a surge, TOKİ provides villages with every attractive aspect of infrastructure and social facilities found in the urban centers without leading to any kind of disturbance that may upset the cultural fabric of the village. (TOKI.GOV.TR, 09.09.2013)

Objectives of the Agricultural Village Projects performed by TOKİ are as follows:

- Improving livelihoods of people who lives in villages and rural areas,
- Organizing local people for work,
- Producing, processing, developing, storing, preserving agricultural products which can, be imported or exported and marketing them by possible companies or cooperatives,
- Forming a peasant profile who are able to increase production and productivity,
- Government's guiding idle and inefficiently used lands and resources in rural areas and operationalizing them within the bounds of public possibilities,
- Improving social life in rural areas,
- Extending and renovating local architecture and
- Preventing rural-to-urban migration by planning healthy and habitable housing projects in villages and rural areas.

Migrant Dwellings

When necessary, TOKİ also provides housing for immigrants that take refuge in Turkey for political reasons. With the decision of the Higher Planning Council in 1990, the Coordinatorship of Migrant Dwellings were established to provide housing for 300.000 Turkish descendants from Bulgaria who took refuge in our country. Since August 13, 2004, Mass Housing Administration has been assigned to perform this task.

In order to respond urgent housing need of the families,it has been decided to construct immigrant dwellings in 23 settlement areas of 17 provinces in Turkey.Within this scope,TOKI has taken project coordination of 23.495 housing units. In line with this plan, a 376,7 million \$ loan from Council of Europe Development Bank and a 10 million \$ loan from Islamic Development Bank were taken out for construction and infrastructure.Besides IDB gave a 5 million \$ loan for public service buildings as a gift.TOKI also provided the refugees with six water treatment facilities, six wastewater collector lines, six schools, seven healthcare centers and six mosques. In addition, TOKI also provided land to 3,975 immigrants to Turkey via 27 cooperatives.

Fund Raising and Revenue Sharing

TOKI has developed a comprehensive approach to housing and urbanization problems in Turkey by constructing low cost housing for narrow and middle income groups.

Revenue Sharing Projects in exchange for a land have great importance for TOKI in the sense of funding Social Housing Projects. TOKI developed this model to close the gap between its short-term investment expenses and its long-term receivables.

This model is based on housing production on TOKI owned lands in collaboration with the private sector and on sharing the sales income with the private partner. In this model,the shareholder is responsible for the cost of development process and meets all the investment costs,which frees TOKI out of funding needs.

The Revenue Sharing Projects are still being run in big cities like Ankara and Istanbul.Having collected most of the payments,TOKI has already benefited from this projects and been utilizing most of the revenue for Social Housing Projects.

4.2 Social Facilities

TOKI `s “Social Facility Implementations” offer people to live in modern settlements with complete infrastructure and transportation and with adequate commercial, cultural, educational, social and health facilities such as parks, gardens,landscaping, sport,entertainment and resting centers. In this context, TOKI builds schools, kindergartens, primary health care centers, commercial centers, mosques and cultural facilities.

Mass housing projects allow construction of many houses in a short time with technical infrastructure and social facilities in metropolitan cities where building stock falls into abeyance and population constantly increases.

TOKİ pays attention to build the necessary infrastructures and social facilities at high standards and approaches the projects with integrated planning and management logic in order to provide a healthy social life for people dwelling in the new living space it created.

Landscaping and Afforestation

TOKİ has prepared standards for the landscaping of its projects. The existence of reachable, comfortable and adequate landscape for each dweller creates a satisfaction and increases the quality of life in TOKİ projects. Each Project has parks decorated with walking trails, sitting units, gazebos and pergoles moreover at least one outdoor mini football field or mini basketball/Volleyball/Tennis court are added. One playground is build for each hundred house projects and one playground added up to hundred seventy-five . If there are three or more playgrounds in the Project, one is arranged for disabled .Handicap ramps of %6 / %8 are defiantly built in the project fields. Furthermore waste collection places are planned in detail in each Project. By choosing infertile land for housing projects, TOKİ provides afforestation of the region and by landscaping plants, millions of sapling.

4.3. Public Entity Implementations

TOKİ constructs buildings for many different public body within the frame of Protocols signed. Besides constructing schools, Health Institutions within the scope of housing Project, TOKİ undertakes to build multi purpose social facilities such as nursery and dormitories, sport complexes, education and health institutions wherever requires within the protocols with ministeries and other public entities. The Administration transfers the completed facilities nonremunerative to the relevant institutions.

The Institutions constructed by TOKİ within the scope of public entity projects are Hospitals and health centers, Schools, Dormitories and Hostels, sport complexes, nursery, unhandicaped life centres, senior centers , military facilities and guard posts.

4.4 Land production Activities

Bill 5273 with ammedment 1164 transferred the tasks and liabilities of Urban Land Office to TOKI. With this power, TOKI has now the oppurtunity to be the only authority that manages the land production works and housing, industry, education, health and tourism investments throughout the country which has accelerated the works aimed at reducing housing costs by cheap land production, facilitating home buying for narrow-income groups and evaluating idle public land for the national economy.

4.5 Research and Development Activities

Paralel to its services regarding mass housing throughout the country , TOKI has given utmost importance to research and development activities in order to develop new ideas and projects, design, improve the processes and increase its quality. In this concept TOKI has undertaken several joint research projects with academicians/universities and national and international private and institutional research companies. In addition, to review its studies with all of the players in the sector, TOKI organizes meetings attended by participants who are selected based on the scope of the subject.

4.6. Credit Extending Services

TOKI has been performing an important duty in creating a fund for developing infrastructure, housing and social projects as well as implementation of its own projects. The loans granted within this respect are namely; “housing loan” for housing cooperatives, “loans for municipal services projects” to support projects of municipalities, “earthquake recovery loan” for disaster areas and “restrotion loan” for the protection and rehabilitation of the historical structures.

Table 1: Projects of TOKI (2011)

Projects	Number
Social Housing (low & middle income)	195.000
Subsidized Low-income Units	139.000
Squatter Transformation Projects	60.000
Disaster Housing Units	18.000

Agricultural Village Projects	4.000
Schools	686 (20.000 classrooms)
Gymnasiums	715
Dormitories and Guest Houses	67 (for 16.876 person)
Hospitals	138
Local Healthcare Centers	88
Public Service Buildings	93
Trees Planted	3,7 million
Shrub Landscaping	5,6 million
Mosques	319
Tenders Placed	3.000
Libraries	38
Trade Centers	407
Land Landscaped	17 million m2
Unhandicapped Life Centers	21
Money Invested Overall	35 million TL
Housing Units Sold	382.000
Credits Extended for Cooperative Housing	940.000

5. RESULT

Building brand cities has begun to be an important phenomenon in terms of providing a better lifestyle and increasing welfare level of the society. Indications such as education, health and the length of lifespan which is the most important of all can only be amendable by brand cities.

Turkey which is in developing countries category, is a pioneer in construction sector in the world after China. Thanks to TOKI `s mass housing projects ,an important progress in urbanization has seen in recent years.

Within the framework of legal amendments ,TOKİ was authorised to conduct urban renewal projects in 2003. TOKİ has two significant mission.First one is to build brand cities by creating alternative models in areas which are integrated with natural and cultural values and have social and technical qualifications that modern urban life implies.And the second one is to support primarily the low-income peoplewho does not possess a house.

TOKİ not only pioneered in construction of houses for low-income and poor, but at the same time applied social housing production to vast majority of the cities in Turkey. TOKİ also intermediated to create brand cities with urban renewal projects in metropolitan cities. For this purpose, 600.000 housing units were built at the end of 2012. Besides housing,TOKİ provides social facilities, public oriented applications, land production, research and development activities and loan supply, which has made a significant contribution to socio-economical development of the country. As a result, Today TOKİ stands a worlwide known entity with its pioneer projects and corporate structure.

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Expatriate centers: the key drivers of talent attraction and retention in

European cities

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Purpose

The purpose of this research is to review the profile, the structure and the range of services offered by expatriate centers of four European cities: Amsterdam, Brno, Hamburg and Vienna, highlighting their main features and describing their best practices. Second, it will assess the function of the expatriate centers in the context of city marketing and branding strategies.

Methodology

The paper is based on a qualitative review of four European expatriate centers. The sample was defined by using secondary research and web analysis in order to identify the most relevant examples of expatriate centers in terms of their service offer, the scope of their activities as well as their status within the City. Expatriate centers of Amsterdam, Brno, Hamburg and Vienna were included in the research sample. Data collection was done through personal interviews with top managers of each center, based on an open-ended questionnaire (pre-tested with Vienna center's managers). Finally, content analysis of expatriate centers' web pages and communication materials completed the review.

Findings

Four European expat centers covered by the survey play an important role in enhancing the city image as an attractive place to live and work among the highly skilled migrant community. Due to their status as providers of relevant administrative, business and social services, as well as facilitators of information and networking activities, they become a high value connection between the local city government and the highly skilled migrants.

Originality / value

Talent attraction and retention is one of the key purposes of place marketing and branding strategies developed by local governments in the context of economic globalization and a knowledge economy.

The in-depth analysis of four European expat centers shows that Expat centers play an extremely meaningful role in engaging highly skilled migrants in the best city experience and thus contributing to their positive perception and first-hand knowledge of the location.

Key words: highly skilled migrants, expat center, talent attraction and retention, city marketing and city branding.

Introduction: talent as a catalyst of urban competitiveness and growth

Talent attraction and retention is one of the main purposes of place marketing and branding strategies developed by local governments in the context of economic globalization and a knowledge based economy. It is the key challenge for urban competitiveness and innovation policies, especially for European cities affected by industrial delocalization and ageing population. The competitive advantage of cities is closely related to their capacity of attracting and retaining highly skilled and talented people or the “creative class” (Florida, 2002, 2008, 2010; Zenker, 2009; Zenker&Beckmann, 2013).

As highlights Braun (2008), human capital has become a key asset of the knowledge economy. The concentration of talent, innovation and creativity has a powerful “*snowball effect*” (Florida, 2008) on the economic growth and evolution of a city and a region. The geographic proximity of the most skilled and of the top creative talent is a key factor of the “*clustering force*” that significantly accelerates the cutting-edge innovation and prosperity of a location (Florida, 2008).

OECD research (2008) underlines a strong contribution of highly skilled migrants to patent applications, creation of technology firms, as well as a trend towards a more intensive international co-authorship of academic articles. The historical openness of the United States to talented and ambitious immigrants was of critical relevance to the economic success of the country in the last century (Florida, 2013). Research developed by the OECD illustrates a significant contribution to science and high-tech entrepreneurship of the US-based highly skilled migrants and researchers of European and Asian origin. Immigrants from China and India headed the 25% of Silicon Valley companies in 1988, collectively generating 52.300 jobs and USD 17 billion in sales. On the other hand, between 1985 and 1999, the 32% of US Nobel-prize winners in Chemistry were foreign scientists based in the US (OECD, 2002, p.4).

As observed by the OECD (2009), the international student policy has become an effective tool for high level skill attraction by Local Authorities, as students are regarded as a talent pool with strong future potential. Yusuf & Nabeshima (2005) emphasise the role of world-class Universities as global nodes of learning in continually enlarging and renewing the pool of skills by attracting local and foreign students and in contributing to the circulation of talent.

Profile and mobility of highly skilled

The definition of highly skilled is commonly associated with the tertiary level of education, the specific wage level and the managerial or professional job profile, although no agreed international definition exists and the three indicators can overlap (OECD, 2002, 2009; Iredale, 2001). Scientists, students, highly skilled employees, artists and creative industry members, medical staff, IT experts and entrepreneurs are used to be considered as a key highly skilled target of significant relevance to local economies (OECD, 2009). Florida (2002) suggests a work function of creating meaningful new forms and adding economic value through creativity as distinguishing characteristics of creative class members. The creative class consists of a “*super-creative core*”, with full engagement in the creative process, and “*creative professionals*” working in knowledge-intensive industries (Florida, 2002).

The mobility of highly skilled is a process directly related to the globalization of capital, information and knowledge flows that circulate within the global urban network (Sassen, 2001; Beaverstock, 2005, Iredale, 2001). As a consequence of the economic globalization, a hyper mobile talent of cross-border knowledge and culture circulates globally in search of the best professional opportunities and personal fulfillment.

The United Kingdom and Germany are the countries with the highest number of skilled expatriates, while Luxembourg, Norway and the Slovak Republic have the fewest in absolute terms (OECD, 2008, p.12).

According to the OECD research (2002, 2008), economic incentives together with a higher quality research infrastructure and proximity to distinguished scientists are among the main factors conditioning the mobility of the highly skilled. On the other hand, the growth and spread of multinational companies, the climate for innovation, facilities for business start-ups and self-employment are also of important influence on the talent mobility.

Highly skilled: a key target of urban branding and marketing strategies

Brand image of a place is a powerful tool for leveraging urban distinctiveness, competitiveness and general awareness. Places need to be relevant and attractive if they want to exercise some strategic power in a complex and highly competitive world market. Anholt (2010), Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) claim that an urban image is created through public opinion and mental perceptions of its different targets. Anholt (2010) states that the urban perception by an external target is being formed through a long time experience and depends on the scale of personal involvement or closeness to the place. The identity of the place determines how this place behaves, its behaviour influences how the place is perceived. External image is rooted on place identity and behaviour. The stronger and more consistent are both the place identity and behaviour, the more clear and relevant is the place image for its external targets (Anholt, 2010).

For Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) the management of a city brand is closely related to influencing mental maps of relevant targets in order to create a more favourable attitude to the place. The significant role of the city residents in the place branding process has been identified by Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013) emphasising their ambassador profile in the tertiary urban brand communication. The word-of-mouth generated by urban residents and their opinions are *“naturally considered informal, authentic and insider sources of information about the place”* (Braun, Kavaratzis, Zenker, 2013).

Considering the extremely valuable contribution of the highly skilled and talented people to the urban growth as well as their potential profile as relevant urban brand ambassadors, the segment of highly skilled and talented demands particular attention from the Local Authorities.

Expatriate centers: an effective connection and involvement of the highly skilled in the urban brand experience

Cities develop a wide range of initiatives focused on talent attraction, from specific tax incentives to education, health and housing facilities. The experience of expat centers established by public or private institutions in four European cities is a relevant example of this kind of talent attraction initiatives.

Expat center could be defined as an organization set up by public or private initiative or, in some cases, by a mix of them, in order to provide support, information and assistance to a highly skilled local migrant community.

The profile of expat centers ranges from social networks and private clubs, created by the expats themselves or by the internationally minded local enthusiasts, to the official public initiatives, supported by local authorities. Depending on the center's profile, the range of services offered covers from relevant news and general information on the local expat community to contacts with key service suppliers and official administrative procedures of registration and permits issuing. The ultimate purpose of all kinds of expat centers, regardless of their public or private status and scope of services offered, consists in facilitating migrants' prompt integration into their new labour and social environment and connecting them with other expats and local community.

The following section highlights the main features of each of the centers included in the research sample. A comparative analysis of the most relevant services and functions of the centers is presented at the end of this section.

AMSTERDAM EXPAT CENTER

The Amsterdam expat center was established in 2008 as a joint initiative of the Immigration and Naturalisation Services by the Ministry of Security and Justice of the Netherlands along with the cities of Amsterdam, Amstelveen, Haarlemmermeer and Almere. The main purpose of the center is to provide a "one-stop-shop" services for international companies located in

the area and their highly skilled migrant employees in order to significantly reduce the administrative burden related to their initial registration and working permits procedures.

The center features a precise definition of its target of highly skilled and knowledge migrants according to the specific income criteria for two age segments (younger and older than 30 year old). On the other hand, specific income criteria are established for highly educated migrants and blue card holders (highly skilled non-EU citizens).

The center employs 30 experts who provide migrants with information and consulting as well as specific administrative procedures.

Range of services

Amsterdam expat center offers a simplified procedure of issuing residence and work permits for highly skilled migrants and registering them with their local municipality.

Since 2011, the expat center officially cooperates with the Dutch Tax Administration regarding the 30% ruling or tax advantage for highly skilled migrants working in the Netherlands.

On the other hand, all general information related to different administrative procedures e.g. healthcare, accommodation, education, taxes, parking, as well as a network of trusted service suppliers for the expat community are provided by the expat center.

The expat center's web site provides all relevant information on topics and procedures for highly skilled migrants.

Funding

The annual budget of the Amsterdam expat center is of 1.5 million euros. The financing of the center is mixed, in which public and private sources of financing coexist. Private funds come from the annual membership fees of companies participating in the Partnership Programme of the expat center.

Sponsorship scheme

50 service providing companies operating in the expat market are members of the expat center's Partnership Programme. The range of their services includes all relevant sectors such as banking, insurance, childcare, healthcare, employment, relocation, language and legal services, among others.

Companies interested in becoming expat center's partners should meet certain performance criteria and agree to the membership terms and conditions established by the expat center.

Core values

Guaranteed service quality and dedicated personal and friendly assistance are the core values of the Amsterdam expat center whose main purpose is to make life easier for highly skilled migrants to the city.

Main achievements

Since 2008 the Amsterdam expat center has become a trusted partner for more than 850 international companies located in the area of Amsterdam, Amstelveen, Haarlemmermeer and Almere, and more than 10.000 individual expats. The average annual increase in individual expats and companies attended has been of more than 10% since its opening.

As stated on the center's web site, in a recent survey, international companies ranked the services provided by the center at 8.7 out of 10. In the previous survey, their rank was 5 out of 10, the fact of a significant improvement in service quality.

BRNO EXPAT CENTER

The expat center of Brno was established in 2010 by the NGO Brnopolis and the City of Brno Strategic Office, whose purpose consists of enhancing the international profile of the city. The center belongs to the NGO and is supported partially by the City of Brno, the South Moravian Region and some private sponsors. The main goal of the center is to facilitate the

integration of highly skilled expats living and working in Brno in the local community, providing them with all relevant information on required administrative procedures and opportunities for informal networking.

The center, on the other hand, provides the City Hall with relevant information on the migrants community in the city through reports, statistics and overviews produced by the center's experts. The centre has two employees and five external consultants from Brno.

Range of services

The center provides foreign people living in Brno with information and consultation services on administrative and legal procedures, offers assistance and translation services in meetings with authorities and service providers, organizes events on relevant subjects and networking activities.

The target of the center is made of foreign employees, management staff and HR divisions of multinational companies, located in Brno, as well as researchers, expats' family members and foreign students.

All information, advising services and assistance to events are cost-free subject to the personal registration through the web.

During 2011 and 2012 the center attended 604 inquiries by email, personal visits, phone calls, skype and through consultations in company.

Newsletters, info-sheets, web, emails, Facebook, LinkedIn and Twitter are the main communication tools of the center with expat community.

Funding

Brno expat center is funded on a mixed public-private scheme. Less than 60% of the budget is funded by the City Hall, less than 10% by the South Moravian Region and the rest, approximately one third of the budget, by private sector. The proportion is slowly changing, as more private companies are becoming sponsors. The total annual budget of the center is around 40.000 euros.

Sponsorship scheme

The center has developed a two-level partnership scheme. Large companies employing expats such as Infosys, Pixmania, GTS, RedHat are Main Partners of the centre, with a fee of 2.000 euros each six month. Main partners are offered a range of specific services for their expat employees including the priority handling of immigration matters, assistance in meetings with local authorities, welcome seminars and regular personal consultation at the company's premises, as well as a complete individual employee support after relocation.

The other level of partners is made of Referral Members, a service providing companies. These companies pay an annual fee of 400 euros in exchange for their introduction to the expat community through seminars on related subjects and visibility on the web and Facebook.

Core values

The main value of the Brno expat center is a friendly, fast and reliable service. It is flexible and efficient in finding fitting solutions for all kinds of life situations and making connection between foreigners and local creative class (eg. TEDx).

Main achievements

Gaining trust from the city officials, getting financial support form private and public institutions as well as becoming a number one contact center for foreigners living in the city.

As stated by Jan Kopkas, the Brno expat center manager: *“it is about creating a friendly multinational environment helping with integration of foreigners on all levels. It is not strictly business oriented on managers, we most of all enjoy cultural meetings, social events, networking.”*

HAMBURG WELCOME CENTER

Hamburg Welcome Center was established in 2007 as a public service of the Hamburg Government and is located at the Central district of Hamburg at the premises of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce. The main purpose of the center is to provide the newcomers to the city (80.000 pax a year approx.) with relevant information about Hamburg, to offer them consulting services and to provide foreign qualified executives and students with some immigration and registration procedures. 13 people are employed at the centre.

The head of the Foreign Affaires Department of the Central district is the Head of the Hamburg Welcome Center. The center depends on the political strategy on foreigners of the Hamburg Government. The current approach is focused on attracting not only highly qualified employees, but also less qualified and refugees. The center has a direct collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affaires on subjects related to the migration legal procedures and with the Ministry of Labour Affaires regarding Hamburg shortage of qualified employees, such as engineers.

Funding

The budget allocated to the centre is confidential.

The centre is jointly funded by four Hamburg Ministries and seven Governments of Hamburg Districts. The annual rental costs of the centre are of 110.000 euros. Expenditures on publishing, events and information materials are of 100.000 euros a year.

Range of services

The center provides Information on all relevant topics for newcomers such as accommodation, employment, education, healthcare, childcare and leisure in Hamburg. It also offers contacts with relevant referred partners, providers of specific professional services for newcomers. Information and contact services are cost-free. For European Union residents the center issues domicile registration service. For non-European Union residents, residence permits are issued by the center. Administrative procedures are charged an official public fee.

The center organises on a regular basis events and networking activities for foreign and local citizens as well as visits around Hamburg. In order to use the services offered by the center and get information on its activities, newcomers must sign up as members. Web, email, phone and infoflyers are the main communication tools of the center.

Sponsorship scheme

Being established as a full public service, private sponsors are not admitted in order to avoid conflicts of private-public interests and lobbying by private sector.

Core values

The center offers a unique combination of information and immigration related services, the “one-stop-shop” scheme delivered by a friendly and dedicated staff. The aim of the center is to make all newcomers feel at home in Hamburg.

Main achievements

The center issues annually 6.000 residence permits and 4.000 registrations approximately, holds 25.000 information contacts and has registered an annual average of 200.000 hits on the web site.

VIENNA EXPAT CENTER

The international expat centre of Vienna was established in 2009 by the City Government of Vienna and the Vienna Business Agency as part of its policy of promoting Vienna as business location and of promoting its local businesses. The main purpose of the Vienna expat center consists of providing advising and consulting services on the “one-stop-shop” principals for highly skilled migrants and their families in Vienna. The main target of the expat center services are international employees in top positions, such as managers, entrepreneurs, researchers, scientists and diplomats as well as HR divisions of multinational companies with expats employees. It also provides specialised consulting services for

entrepreneurs with migration background (MINGO program); female entrepreneurs as well as information on financing, funding, legal procedures and networking for international investors and businesses to be established in Vienna.

Range of services

Five experts work on a full-time basis at the expat centre, providing information and consultation services on all relevant subjects for the expat community. The most commonly discussed topics, according to the center's managers, are migration law, work and residency permits, job search, founding business partners, housing issues and family related questions. The top two are migration law & legal questions and a job search.

All information and advising services are cost-free. Furthermore, welcome events, seminars on relevant subjects and social networking activities are organised by the expat center for the expat community and internationally-minded locals. The center provides expat communities with space and support for their own events and meetings. Since 2010, the center has attended 2.500 clients in consulting individual sessions and 5.500 guests at events such as lectures, seminars and networking initiatives.

Newsletters, web page, emails and expat guide are the main communication tools of the centre for the expat community.

Funding

Vienna expat center is funded on a mixed public-private scheme. It belongs to the City, but its activities are sponsored by local companies. The annual budget of the center is confidential.

Sponsorship scheme

The center has developed a partnership scheme for leading multinational companies in order to get them involved in its activities and events. Allianz, Deloitte and Bank Austria are three premium sponsors of the centre at the beginning of 2013. Smaller companies are offered

specific packages and options of contribution to the center's activities according to their capabilities. All sponsors get visibility and relevance among the expat community. As an example of sponsorship, Deloitte holds quarterly a tax lunch at which professional tax advisers provide expats with information on relevant Austrian tax and social security issues in English.

Core values

All people working at the centre previously had their own expat experience abroad and speak foreign languages. According to the center's managers, their aim is to give a positive touch to some negative meaning of migration. They believe that, although there could be some difficulties and bureaucratic problems, the migration is also about integration and connection to the local community and should be a positive experience.

The center receives a great number of thankful and grateful mails with positive feed-back from its clients regarding the consulting and advisory they were provided with and the care they were taken, all free of charge and without any commercial interest.

Main achievements

Among its main achievements, the center's managers believe as the most relevant the one of becoming a part of the USP of Vienna and influencing its perception as a business location city, an attractive place to work and live not only for business oriented and decision making people, but also for their families. Building a bridge between expats and local community describes best the center's purpose.

The official key performance indicators of the centre regard the number of companies and investment brought to Vienna, as well as the number of new jobs created.

On the other hand, the center is consolidating its reputation as a must to go place in Vienna regarding all issues of the expat community. In the Internet expat forums and discussions

online the center is mentioned as the most relevant source of information and advice for the expat community.

Comparative analysis of four European expat centers

	Amsterdam	Brno	Vienna	Hamburg
Status	public service, jointly created in 2008 by the Immigration and Naturalisation Services of the Ministry of Security and Justice of the Netherlands along with the cities of Amsterdam, Amstelveen, Haarlemmermeer and Almere.	public service, jointly created in 2010 by NGO Brnopolis and the City Strategic Office.	public service, established in 2009 by Vienna Government and Vienna Business Agency.	public service, established in 2007 by Hamburg Government.
Target	>highly skilled and knowledge migrants (defined accordingly to established income criteria); >HR divisions of multinational companies.	>highly skilled migrants; >HR divisions of multinational companies.	>highly skilled migrants; >HR divisions of multinational companies.	>highly skilled migrants; >all other foreign and national migrants.
Funding	public-private	public-private	public-private	public
Range of services	> information > advising & consulting > cultural and networking events; + > issuing residence and work permits; > providing municipal registration; > managing 30% truling (tax advantage for highly skilled migrants)	>information >advising & consulting >welcome seminars >events >networking activities	>information >advising & consulting > welcome seminars > events >networking activities	>information >advising & consulting >welcome seminars >events >networking activities + > registration for EU residents; > issuing of residence permits for non EU residents.
Sponsorship scheme	partnership programme for service providing companies based on established criteria and annual fee financing.	two-level partnership scheme: main partners and referral members	two-level partnership scheme: premium sponsors and service providers	none
Core values	one-stop-shop scheme; guaranteed service quality, dedicated personal and friendly service	friendly, fast and reliable service	friendly and personalised service	one-stop-shop service delivered by a friendly and dedicated staff
Main achievements	trusted partner of more than 850 international companies and more than 10.000 individual expats since 2008.	being a number one contact centre for foreigners living in the city.	>being a part of the USP of Vienna and influencing its perception as a business location city; >reputation as a must	being a service of great relevance for the annual average of 80.000 newcomers to the city

			to go place in Vienna regarding all issues of the expat community	
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After reviewing four European expat centers from the perspective of their profile, range of services and scope of activities targeted at highly skilled migrants, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. All centers surveyed share a strong public profile, endorsed by the City Government, the City Business Agency or the City Strategic Office. All of them receive public fundings, but for only one of them this is a unique source of financing. Three other centres have developed a mixed public-private scheme of financing through Sponsorship Agreements. In addition, one of the centres has recently started charging expats service fees as another source of financing.

2. The main target of the expat centres are highly skilled migrants, although only in the case of Amsterdam there are some precise income criteria established for this profile. Employees of large companies and entrepreneurs, as well as their families are the most common users of the services offered by the expat centers. On the other hand, all centers have a direct connection with the HR divisions of large companies, employers of highly skilled migrants, providing them with relevant information on administrative procedures and services for their employees.

3. The service offer by the expat centers ranges from information and consulting on all aspects relevant to the foreign newcomers, business networking and social events to the official administrative services. Both in Amsterdam and Hamburg, expat centers work in a close cooperation with Immigration and Labour Authorities providing services of registration and issuing of work and residence permits for the expat community and tax ruling application only in Amsterdam. Among the four centers, Amsterdam provides the most complete and

innovative range of services to the highly skilled expat community. All four centers are committed to offering a high quality, personalised and friendly assistance to the expats in order to help them with a one-stop-shop service scheme to deal with all initial administrative burden and to making nice and enjoyable their life and work experience in a new city.

4. Three of four surveyed expat centers (Amsterdam, Vienna and Brno) have developed a close cooperation with private companies providers of services relevant to the expat community from banking and legal consulting to healthcare, education, relocation and housing. The basis for collaboration between the expat centers and private companies is established through Sponsorship Agreements. In exchange for a monthly fee companies gain access to the expat community in order to present their services, organise seminars and workshops on specific topics or participate in network activities and social events.

5. Highly skilled migrants are a high value target for city branding and marketing strategies because of their role as potential brand ambassadors of the place among their personal and professional networks, on one hand, and as relevant contributors to the economic growth and innovation of the place, on the other hand. On account of the “double value” contribution of the highly skilled migrants to the place, they should be specifically addressed in marketing and branding strategies developed by cities looking to enhance their competitive advantage and innovation leadership within the global urban market. The in-depth analysis of four European expart centers shows that Expat centers play an extremely meaningful role in engaging highly skilled migrants in the best city experience and thus contributing to their positive first-hand knowledge of the location. Expat centers profile and status within the expat community, as well as their broad range of tailor-made services for the expats make them a relevant strategic tool for the city branding and marketing activities focused on attraction and retention of highly-skilled migrants.

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Wuyi New District: The Brand of Eco-City and Its Humanistic Orientation

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Abstract

Wuyi New District (武夷新区) is an example of a Chinese county's new urbanization. The plan for Wuyi New District's city brand should be "based on people's needs," an aim which is to be accomplished through establishing a creative city and centering the urban residents' everyday life. Wuyi Culture can be reconfigured into modernity in the vision of a creative city. The way of the reconfiguration is to switch the views from treating the culture as "a resource" to "the urban residents' lifestyle." Based on this change, creative talents can be assembled, and the industry of ecologic tourism can be innovated and upgraded. Cultural industry is the essence and a concrete way of establishing Wuyi New District's city brand, represented by the brand of special tourism and practising the circulating mutual functions with the creative city. Wuyi New District's economic structural adjustment should incline to the modern service industry, which is represented by cultural industry. Therefore, it can be an exemplified eco-city of "Beautiful China."

Key Words: Creative City; Cultural Industry; Wuyi New District; City Brand

Introduction

According to the report of 18th CPC National Congress, it orders that "urbanization's speed should be accelerated," which is taken as "the aim of establishing an intermediately developed society from all aspects." Due to this, not only does cities' development influence the aim of China's economic structure's adjustment and the national problems, but also do the cities, or more importantly, become an important context of people's everyday life under the circumstance of urbanization being the necessity of China's development contemporarily.

Comparing to the coastal regions of Fujian Province, the mountainous areas in the north have not been fully developed. As the region's geographical central area, how can Wuyi New District establish its city brand with distinguishing features and using the advantages of the world's cultural and natural heritages? In July 2010, Fujian government promulgated "The Plan of Wuyi New District's Development," emphasizing establishing its city brand. In June 2012, the government promulgated "The Plan for Wuyi New District's General Development (2010-2030)" (shortened as "The Plan"), claiming that "Wuyi New District should be constructed to be the central city at the boundaries of Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangxi provinces, a place of beautiful sceneries, green environment, developed economy and cooperation of urban and rural areas." The eco-construction goals of "high and new technology and green environment" have already come to a common view. However, in order to achieve the balances between environmental protection and exploitation, humanity and economy, and to accomplish the dynamic balance of the cities and their communities (they are considered social ecology) in the local residents' lives, the value orientations of Wuyi New District's city brand should be discussed out of "The Plan."

1. Establishing the "People Oriented" Living System of Modern Cities

The core of new urbanization is "taking people as the foremost."(Jin, 2013)It confirms the noumenal significance of humans (not objects) and their daily life. In modern cities, people's everyday life is characterized by obvious and distinguishing intersubjectivity. Those features manifest themselves as occurrences and developments of interpersonal relations: "City is a place of meeting others-- who are different from oneself, no matter how short this meeting is, it can change us, teach us to understand ourselves, and make us into 'humans'."(Gindroz, 2002)The philosophical meaning of modern cities generally directs a city brand's establishment. As for the contemporary Chinese modern cities, establishing a city brand not only has to re-calculate the existed urbanization's results in the material level, which is mainly exhibited by the urban real estate and its re-investment to the infrastructure construction, it also has to meet the citizens' developing living requirements based on the

physical growth of previous urbanization's results. The former is the urban material's foundation, while the latter is gradually becoming the urban essence. In other words, the crucial difference between the new Chinese urbanization and the old is not the materialistic construction, but common people's urban life.

This difference is not only great, but more importantly, fundamental. It is hard for the objective plan of a city brand entering the level of "daily life"; mostly, the plan stops at the external domain of urbanization. Although those activities closely relate to the "daily urban life," they cannot be the core of people meeting others and becoming humans. As for Wuyi New District's plan, it is easy for it to take the city as so-called "Garden City."(Ma, 2005) The criticism to "Garden City" theory was the turning point of the American Urban Planning Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Before that, "The idea of sorting out certain cultural or public functions and decontaminating their relationship with the workaday city dovetailed nicely with the Garden City teachings"(Jacobs, 1961); this functionism's "idea behind the centers was not questioned."(Jacobs, 1961) However, the establishment of "people oriented" city brand not only relies on the environment and functional division, but depends more on people's daily life and interpersonal relationship's foundation--public trust based on common people's everyday life:

It grows out of people stopping by at the bar for a beer, getting advice from the grocer and giving advice to the newsstand man, comparing opinions with other customers at the bakery and nodding hello to the two boys drinking pop on the stoop, eying the girls while waiting to be called for dinner, admonishing the children, hearing about a job from the hardware man and borrowing a dollar from the druggist, admiring the new babies and sympathizing over the way a coat faded.
(Jacobs, 1961)

Those different interpersonal relationships compose the public life and the trust's foundation. This is the essence of modern cities; and based on this, establishing an eco-city should aim at the social security and people's happiness. The general plan of Wuyi New District influences 332,900 people; the civic center's population will be 660,000 in 2030. This plan of population does not support the regular size of big cities. Wuyi New District will keep a small population in a long time in the future-- this can also be proved from "The Plan," saying that the average constructive land per person in the city center is 135 square meters. With the progress of the population's accumulation and rearranging urban and rural areas, citizens' and tourists' daily life will become the core the district's eco-city brand. Moreover, according to the demands of "the integration of urban and rural areas," Wuyi New District rearranges the former rural areas into the new district; the rearrangement of the two villages into the plan of city center changes the residents' original "rural life" into "urban life."

"Taking people as the foremost" means taking people's daily life and culture (people's way of living) as the first importance. Beyond physical lives, the city brand should be guided by higher cultural life (people's spiritual activities), and it also should refigure physical life via cultural life in order to fill up the city with energy, emotion and creative spirits.(Bell, 1976) Although "The Plan" schematizes most objective aspects of Wuyi New District, it fails to plan three aspects: the inner mechanization of urban life, its cultural essence and the city brand's developing direction. They are still waiting for the guidance of the cultural tradition formed by the city's history, and the examination carried out by contemporary economic transition's practice.

2. Taking Creative City as the City Brand's Way:

The Revival of Wuyi Culture and Its Reconfiguration into Modernity

According to "The Plan," Wuyi New District is "the accumulation of Min Yue Culture, a place which is famous for its culture and history," where was "the political, economic, and cultural center of the ancient Nation of Min Yue." Zhu Xi taught here for over 40 years, and

“made here become the cultural center of Southeastern China,” and “those academies became the most famous and influential ones contemporarily, and there were over 200 students who learned directly from Zhu Xi.” Therefore, it is proper to combine Han dynasty’s Min Yue Culture and Southern Song dynasty’s Neo-Confucianism together and define the combination as “Wuyi Culture.” The citation above from “The Plan” not only outlines the historical background of Wuyi New District as a new city to be exploited, it also tells the city’s cultural elements which are full of creativity. For elements, one point should be clarified that this phenomenon has related to the switch of social emphasis in late Han dynasty and Southern Song dynasty, but it does not represent the Wuyi Culture’s nature. After entering modern society, Mount Wuyi missed two chances brought by technology revolution because of being limited by the rise of industrial economy, which is close related to the geographical situations.

However, with the development of information technology and globalization, the transportational obstacles are overcome in virtual space; technology-intensive industries gradually compress the profitable space of the traditional industrial and productive behaviors; knowledge, culture and creativity become the new economic growth resources. This background makes it possible for Wuyi New District becoming “the accumulation of cultures,” and it is closely related to the “Creative Economy,” which becomes more and more popular now. (Florida, 2012) “In the period of creative economy, a city’s core competitiveness is no longer absolutely decided by natural sources, land, cheap labors, geographical locations or transportational center, but by the creativity and creative abilities of the local talents and communities; there are multiple measurements considering both the creative talents and the pattern of urban life.”(Ye, 2010) That means the constructional and developing cores of a city’s brand are the “talents”(Florida, 2005) and the communities which are composed by interpersonal relationships and their public lives in the period of creative economy(Florida, 2012). Through the understanding and tolerance of different cultures and lifestyles, which can be considered a typical open mind in touristic cities, and

this “open mind” becomes the creative class and provides the city’s creative milieu. It fulfills a city with energy and characterizes its urban life by creative aesthetics.

Reinterpreting the modernity’s value of “Wuyi Culture” can bestow this tradition new meaning and make it become the basis of Wuyi New District’s eco-city brand. For a long time, Wuyi area takes its history as a touristic **resource** (but not a kind of **lifestyle**). The area reconstructs its places of interest by commercial methods to attract tourists and develop its touristic economy. Although it is reasonable, Wuyi Culture becomes “relics” and loses its relation to the local residents. Moreover, it is hard for this action to work on the tourists except “sight-seeing.” The modern features and commercial value of “Wuyi Culture” should be classified into “service industry” but not “creative industry,” into “service economy” but not “experience economy.” Thus, making “humans” and their everyday life are only limited to the low “service level” but not high “creative level.”(Florida, 2012) If we define this modern feature of history and culture as “treating culture as a resource,” there is another possibility of reconfiguring Wuyi Culture’s city brand into modernity, which is “treating culture as urban residents’ lifestyle.” Imagine the creative atmosphere of Southern Song dynasty in Wuyi area: only Zhu Xi’s hundreds of students in Hanquan, Hui’an, Kaoting and Wuyi Academies can be considered the “creative class” for the city’s development, let alone the large number of elites cultivated in other academic institutes in this region. To those social elites, the Neo-Confucianism was not only the materials objecting for sightseeing, but also the cultural atmosphere they were immersed in everyday. They taught students, sculpted woods to print books, wrote prose and poetry; those activities can be considered a cultural life full of energy and creativity. “Wuyi Culture,” represented by Neo-Confucianism, generally equals to the “daily life” of this create community. If “Wuyi Culture,” which “treats culture as the local residents’ lifestyle,” rises through the reconfiguration of modernity, and re-accumulates talents by higher education, incubating the talents, attracting environments, reducing taxation, Wuyi New District will be on the way to construct its city brand, which combines creativity and ecology, for it echoes the period of “Creative Economy.”

There are creative elements in the history and culture of Wuyi New District. Therefore, taking “creative city” as its macroscopic way of constructing new urbanization is not implanting of a new industrial form and culture, but reviving traditional cultural atmosphere and concepts. “The theme of cultural revival is ‘national revival’”(Rao, 2013). From this perspective, reviving Chinese culture cannot be accomplished without reviving regional cultures. Wuyi Culture’s switch from treating culture as a resource to a lifestyle represents the traditional service industry’s transition and promotion to cultural creative industry and fits into the modern world philosophy’s and aesthetics’s “daily life switch.” Thus, this switch puts “taking people as the foremost” into the head place of a city’s development and its brand’s establishment.

3. Culture Industry, a Brand’s Practising Way:

Green Hinterland’s Industrial Upgradation and Social Interaction

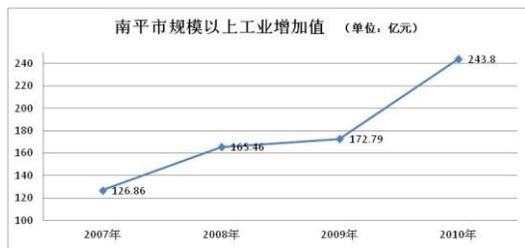
The major landforms of Wuyi New District are rolling hills and valley basins. Due to this reality, this region relies on agriculture to develop regional economy in the past. In the 21st century, the local government posed the watchword of “Highlighting Industry, Superseding Industry” to develop its industry; it imported many “productive projects,” such as papermaking, aluminium industry, alkaline battery production and those industries greatly promoted the local economy. Taking the economic earning’s summation of the cities and towns located in Wuyi New District as an example:

Chart 1 : The Situations of Wuyishan, Jianyang, Shaowu and Guangze Four Cities and Town’s Above-scale Industrial Companies’ Production and Profits (Unit: Ten Thousand RMB)

Year	Companies	Gross Industrial Production (Current	Total Assets	Prime Operating Revenue	The Average Annual Income of Employees (per person)

		Year's Prices)			
2004	184	598864	663334	611197	29185
2008	403	1928173	1408115	1826761	56313

The chart above shows that from 2004 to 2008, the total output values and the main business incomes of those companies located in Wuyi New District were both doubled; especially after 2010, the developing speed of added values of the above-scale enterprises in north Fujian Province



superseded 41% (see the chart on the left). Those items showed the effective results of the watchword. Also in 2010, the local government posed the developing model of “5+3,” which means emphasizing the development of the traditional industries of machinery manufacturing, textiles and clothing, food processing, forest products processing, metallurgy and building materials, as well as the three new industries of tourism, biotechnology and creativity.

Good industrial basis provides Wuyi New District’s city brand a firm foundation. However, this foundation also weakens the advantages of the city brand, which is taken as an eco-city, to a large extent. Comparing to the development of material industry, service industry owns the advantages of both economic development and environmental protection. From the 21st century’s beginning, the speed of service industry in north Fujian Province develops fast: the over income increased from 2.496 billion RMB in 2006 to 22.344 billion RMB in 2012, which nearly increased ten times. Other cultural industry’s situations are illustrated below:

Chart II: The Financial Indicators of Other Service Industries in North Fujian Province

(Unit: 10 thousand RMB)

Year	Impersonal Entity	Original Value of Fixes Assets	Called Up Capital	Operating Revenue	The Average Annual Income of Employees (per person)
2004	1298	359167	182834	98781	15862
2008	1698	831250	551505	333702	21160

Even though the operating revenue and employees' number in the service industry, including cultural industry, are much less than those of the above-scale industrial companies, the service industry's developing speed is faster: from 2004 to 2008, the operating revenue of the companies in other service industries increased by 237.8%, while this increasing rate of the above-scale industrial companies is 198.9%. Therefore, Wuyi New District's urban construction and county economic development still have great space to exploit in modern service industry(represented by cultural industry, creative economy and experience economy). These three new-brought-in industries stay and develop in Wuyi New District, changing the ecologic advantages of the green hinterland into positive investment, pleasant living environment, talents' incubation and brand's constructive resources. However, these industrial economic advantages should combine with the establishment of creative city brand, which emphasizes people's first importance, and highlights cultural creativity and people's urban life as the essence of the city's development. Those advantages should standardize the statements above in order to practise cultural economy's switch to living circumstances.

Taking tourism as an example. Wuyi New District "plans" Duba, Sangu, Xiandian and Kaoting for tourism and builds Chongyang Stream Leisure Zone. It highlights "vacationing for preserving longevity," and establishes the city brand as "eco-green valley, tourism center, great place for preserving longevity, new city full of creativity." Although emphasizing

“preserving longevity” avoids the disadvantages of “taking culture as a resource,” highlights the “experience economy” and extends the tourists’ stay which can promote other industries’ development, it is hard for the products of “preserving longevity tourism” to emphasize creativity and not easy for them to compete with other touristic regions nearby. More importantly, characterizing “longevity preservation” as the city brand will also weaken the broadcast of the Neo-Confucianism Culture, which makes Wuyi culture famous for its thoughts and academies. Also, the introduction of the new products for “preserving longevity” into the protection zone will influence the local hermitic, humanistic and natural environment. In the history, Mount Wuyi was an important hermitic place, a place has no less influence to those hermits, retired officials and literatus than Mount Zhongnan, which, by broadcasting its hermitic tradition, has got effective result in tourism. Hermitic culture is a living atmosphere; the talents’ accumulation formed by it can configure urban communities’ daily life(Xu, 2010)and function importantly to protect the urban ecological environment. The construction of modern cities, especially the development of tourism, balances the exploitation and protection, and, if it is necessary, also needs to show the courage of “rejecting exploitation.”

Wuyi New District should establish its city brand through creative exploitation. For example, (1) it can combine with exhibition economy and promote the exhibitions’ functions of accumulating the talents and funds, immersing the city into some kind of aesthetic atmosphere of “festivals” and to improve the local residents’ cultural consciousness and energy(Bakhtin, 1984); (2) it can combine with public arts, fully utilize public spaces to create arts and make the city full of imagination; (3) it can combine with “quasi-cultural industry,” enlarge reproduction through tourism getting manufacturing moving, and substantiate Wuyi Culture (Lin, 2013); (4) it can combine with academic research, consider to reconstruct the center of block printing, take Zhu Xi’s thoughts, the books printed in Jianyang, tea science and the New District’s economic development as academic topics, establishing a institution for writers and artists living in the city, making the particular individuals contribute to the public and practise the talents’ accumulation.

Developing cultural industry is the economic adjustment's and developing methods' switch of "withdrawing resources from secondary industry and investing them to tertiary industry" (退二进三). It also relates to the urban life. The accumulation of creative talents (creative class) can form the city's style and spirit, and its externality of "knowledge spillovers" can also interact with the local residents and communities, and finally establish the positive circulation of the city's development instead of only establishing the city brand. On the one hand, this aim needs the cultivation and incubation of the creative talents. On the other hand, to achieve this aim needs the talents' accumulation through the city's culture and its creative exploitation. Although it is reasonable to develop "longevity preserving" industry, as for the touristic cultural resources, they need to emphasize both "creative exploitation" and "natural protection": the former can continually produce creative projects and form industrial chain and cluster; the latter is helpful to utilize the hermitic culture and the typical feature of Wuyi region's "biological gene pool," attract more cultural and technological talents and highlight the regional economy led by ecology in order to give continuity to the establishment of Wuyi New District's city brand and make it outstanding from the surrounding cities.

Conclusion

The Humanistic Aspect of Establishing of Wuyi New District's City Brand

Based on agriculture being the main economic development and the ecological environment being pleasant, the main direction of establishing of Wuyi New District's eco-city brand is to gradually withdraw the industry and manufacturing from the economic mainstream in order to save more space for modern service industry, especially for the creative upgradation of touristic and leisure industry. From this perspective, its "humanistic aspect" is the choice of "taking culture as a lifestyle" which opposes the industry. Henri Lefebvre points out that, although industrialization and urbanization stayed in the same historical phase, (Wu, 2007) "industrialization and urbanization are not homogenesis, but the double processes of contradictions. At the beginning, industrialization takes destroying

urbanization as its prerequisite, which is an increasing and economic process; while urbanization is a developing process of life. Therefore, it is impossible for industrialization to replace urbanization.”(Wu, 2007) This is the contradiction which needs to be reconciled between the city brand of Wuyi New District, which is economically undeveloped but well preserves its natural environment, and the local economic development.

Sticking to the idea of “taking people as the foremost” and highlighting humanistic aspect are the two major points of a creative city and cultural industry. The relationships among “taking people as the foremost,” creative city and cultural industry are the mutually beneficial relationships of circular interaction. “Taking people as the foremost” means taking people’s life (culture) as the first importance, requiring encouragement of creativity, producing abundant urban life in order to offer some certain space for different kinds of advanced creative talents to accumulate and benefit the urban communities from knowledge spillovers. To achieve this goal, a creative city needs to provide physical foundation for these activities. While if the creative city needs to develop continually, it should own sufficient cultural industry to support its development, which is possible for the creative talents’ education, work and communication. Also, it is promotive to construct a creative city by accumulating creative talents, who compose an important community of urban life and formed by the creative city and cultural industry.

The 18th CPC National Congress posed a new concept of “Beautiful China,” which has a close relation to ecological civilization and orders the civilization to “integrate to economic, political, cultural and social constructions’ every aspect and whole processes.” This order is promulgated to increase common people’s happiness. Wuyi New District’s city brand has already showed the result of its ecological civilization’s construction. As a small urban group with a thick atmosphere of rural life, the indicators of the happiness of Wuyi New District’s residents might be higher than the big cities. Even though the economic development of Wuyi New District is not among the top ones of China’s county cities, its combination of ecological civilization and cultural industry and taking the creative city of “taking people as the foremost” as the direction may exemplify it as “Beautiful China’s” county city. Therefore,

it is practical for Wuyi New District's city brand to reconfigure its local culture surrounding "people" (urban residents), combine its historical tradition and modern creativity and make the industrial economic development serve the urban life.

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Co-creating place brand portfolios to support inclusive growth

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Abstract

Purpose: To explore the value of a place-leadership perspective in engaging key stakeholders for the inclusive development of a coherent brand portfolio in which second and third tier cities can create a synergistic relationship with the dominant urban centres.

Methodology/approach: A review of recent place leadership literature in relation to the evidence of established attempts to develop or reconstruct place brands which acknowledge regional and historical contexts.

Findings: The concepts and practices identified as place leadership can contribute to the successful alignment of place branding with the institutional entrepreneurship required for inclusive growth.

Research Limitations/implications: Case studies and field work are needed to determine how far concepts derived from European and North American contexts can be applied in other locations including the rapidly developing regions of East Asia and China in particular.

Social Implications: Better engagement and representation of grass-roots initiatives will add depth and value to place branding and achieve the distinctiveness necessary for second and third tier cities to locate themselves within a national brand portfolio.

Originality/value: The emerging field of place leadership gives additional insight into the successful application of concepts from the more developed area of place branding to policies adopted by or recommended to locations aspiring to greater economic prominence.

Introduction

The objective of inclusive growth described in China's current five-year plan can be supported by innovative social branding . However, the policy objective of balanced and inclusive growth implies a need for the coherent portfolio of brands linking the national and first-tier city level to the lower tier cities where 70% of China's wealthiest citizens are located. the development of an integrated brand portfolio is necessary to avoid fruitless competition between locations and to develop complementary and synergistic offers to potential investors together with a shared sense of identity and purpose for local inhabitants and other stakeholders.

Dobbs et al (2011) show that the largest 600 global cities already contain 1.5 billion people, and are projected to accommodate 25% of the global population by 2025. They are therefore a key driver of the global economy. Asian megacities have populations larger than many smaller nation states and their reputational resources are equivalent to those of many nations. However, second and third tier cities and less central regions are joining the competition to attract domestic and international inward investment. A UK government-commissioned report has identified some 270 Chinese cities with a population of more than 1 million people as sites of potential inward investment, (China Britain Business Council, 2008). The report identified a shortlist of 35 considered to be sufficiently well-developed in terms of infrastructure and institutions to warrant immediate attention. There is a danger that lack of differentiation between the offers from different locations, coupled with intensifying internal competition could lead to sub optimal competition. In order to avoid this possibility, individual locations need to identify and maintain their unique characteristics while delivering the level of services and infrastructures expected in an international context, and to fit their offer within a coherently structured national or regional brand portfolio.

This paper examines the components of an effective and inclusive policy for the integration of city brands into a wider brand portfolio.

National and regional contexts of city brands

In a federal system of governance it is possible for sub-optimisation of industry and investment policy to emerge from the contradictory claims of adjoining territories. It has been argued that the United States consists of 50 foreign direct investment policies, one for each state, in the smaller economy of Australia it is still possible for inter-state competition to advantage the investor over the recipient community. The United Kingdom has seen decades of debate over devolution of decision-making and regional governance but the recent dismantling of regional development agencies in favour of unfunded local enterprise partnerships (LEPs) brings with it similar dangers of dysfunctional local competition.

In Japan prefectural governments have been by-passed by the more successful city regions in direct negotiations over public resources and investment with the national government (Purnendra, 2000). China's provincial system has been described as a de-facto form of federalism (Zeng, 2006) and the success of leading cities and regions under this policy has led to adjustments under the current and preceding 5-year plans which are intended to redress the issue of uneven development.

Aspiring locations wishing to compete alongside established cities need first to develop a routine portfolio of standard facilities including infrastructure, accommodation and communication. However, while such facilities are a necessary precondition to the attraction of inward investment and expansion of economic activity, they are not sufficient and by themselves may even diminish the distinctive features of a specific location. The concept of mass customisation from manufacturing (Pine, 1993; Lampel and Mintzberg, 1996) offers the prospect of some differentiation, without sacrificing the economies and scale of the established routines expected by incomers and visitors. However, even when historic resources, such as waterfront areas and historic buildings are prioritised as part of the portfolio of urban renewal, without effective stakeholder engagement there can be a flattening of distinctive features and commodification of local culture which compromises the authenticity of these efforts (Vermeulen, 2002; Kavaratzis, 2012).

The portfolio of branding tools

Place branding, at national, regional and city levels, has become a recognised component of development policy (Anholt, 2010, Govers and Go, 2004, 2009) Successive attempts to gain national and international prominence for regions lagging behind the mainstream economy have seen a range of initiatives based around high profile events. In addition to the massive global sporting events of the summer Olympics and the soccer World Cup, or the high value, high technology spectacle of Formula 1 racing, events smaller in scale and budget have developed around the need to kick-start regeneration in urban areas. Cities compete for a number of more modest events which are passed between locations. During the 1980s the United Kingdom government imported a German model of garden festivals developed to aid post war reconstruction. The objective was the revival of a number of declining industrial cities through a change of image. In the city of Glasgow this was relatively successful, but in the city of Liverpool there was more minimal impact on the local economy with, for example, little local labour employed on many of the contracts. Subsequently, in 2008, a Capital of Culture event produced a broader and more sustainable impact for that city. This European Union initiative had been cloned in to a domestic event within the U.K. meanwhile twin cities now share the main title for a year each. Other cities have developed regular annual international festivals, Edinburgh annually since 1947, Manchester established a biennial event in 2007 and in 2013 Leeds celebrated the golden jubilee of its International Piano Festival.

Initially the Liverpool'08 event was based on a world culture theme with little connection to specific local history and culture. However, when the events were re-oriented to reflect specific features and resources of the host city local support and engagement grew. Nevertheless, the subsequent economic success was largely property-driven and many of the supporting organisations in the creative sectors were dependent on the availability of low rental facilities close to the city centre. Paradoxically, this base was threatened by the success of the bid.

Florida's (2002) insight into the role of creative sector within conurbations and its value in attracting a qualified and diverse workforce has itself led to a commodification of these sectors by administrations anxious to improve the attraction of their location. Nevertheless, Markusen and King (2003) demonstrate the validity of the social and economic dividend of artistic activities. However, if such assets are to be leveraged into a new or revitalised brand legacy then the sporting spectacles and cultural festivals deployed in order to raise a city's profile must address both external and internal audiences. The image and narrative developed by public authorities and partnerships must be meaningful to inhabitants. Where a sanitised or partial perspective is offered there can be contestation over the narrative (Little 2008). If adverse events undermine the narrative, proactive maintenance and adjustment is needed. In both circumstances active and genuine engagement with local stakeholders is essential. The rapid diffusion of social media and their deployment by all stakeholders allows this discourse to play out in real time and creates a new space in which the different components of a brand portfolio can be developed and tested (Little; 2012).

Go and Trunfio (2012) set out an approach to the co-creation of city brands combining an 'inside-in' and 'outside-in' analytical perspectives to sustain a coherent and inclusive branding process. The outside-in perspective is comparative in nature, evident in top-down governance, both a reality and pre-condition, due to the overarching and necessary interdependence between tourism imagination and the media. In contrast, the inside-in perspective considers the need for stakeholder engagement in the creation of a competitive country brand identity. This identity lies within the overlap between three knowledge domains and policy development which have so far developed largely independently from one another:

- the positioning of the country's attractiveness, a task often entrusted to the tourism destination organization, if any,
- the social, technological and economic development carried out by the respective authorities

- governance intended as a mechanism to bring about an integrative approach between ‘inside-in’ and ‘outside-in’ analytical perspectives.

The outside-in perspective often results in an increasing reliance on successful competition for large scale events or high profile physical developments while the inside-in perspective can build on existing activities and processes. However, the inside-in perspective is reliant on effective engagement with relevant stakeholders and this in turn requires an appropriate form of facilitation and leadership.

A role for ‘place leadership’ in city branding

MacNeill and Steiner (2011) argue that simple formulations of “new economic geography”, “knowledge-based economy” and “innovation” place an emphasis on network and clusters which require careful management and a distributed approach to leadership in order to create a strong institutional base. They illustrate their argument with an examination of the – roles and stages in the re-structuring of industry clusters in the Austrian region of Styria/Steiermark leading to increased specialism and higher added value in established sectors. Such ‘smart specialisation’ has become an objective of many locations seeking to revive or develop a local economy. However the effective operation of the ‘triple helix’ of university-industry-government interaction described by Leydesdorff (2000) requires the place and path dependent sensibilities described by MacNeill and Steiner

Drawing on the formulation of ‘new institutionalism’ set out by March and Olsen (1984, 2005). Sotarauta and Pulkkinen (2011) argue that to achieve smart specialisation, the institutions within a geographical area must engage in a form of institutional entrepreneurship to create and support the relationships necessary to achieve synergy.

Trickett and Lee (2011) set out their view on how leadership of place should be seen as an iterative process, requiring a spatial literacy beyond contrived boundaries which appreciates both the spatial context and community capacity to create a resilient and sustainable region. They argue that the contrast between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* - kinship and local

association and metropolitan or national identity - was not a matter of evolution, as described by Tönnies (1957) but represented the effects of scale and place. In the United Kingdom Local Economic Partnerships (LEPs) represent an attempt to allow local associations to develop in a 'bottom up' fashion, replacing the previous 'top down' Regional Development Agencies, but without the resource base of the earlier arrangement.

Space and place still matter in a globalised world. Even the most advanced economies and globalised value chains require specific locations for their components. They argue that this distinction also reflects differential experiences of different spatial scales and of different elements of emerging "knowledge based economies" which make different demands on the networks of capital and labour. The re-scaling of both living and working spaces in developed economies during the last 100 years has led to cities regions which no longer fit easily into the new networks of production. While some argue that development should be left entirely to market forces which will ultimately render these locations irrelevant and unpopulated (Leunig and Swaffield, 2008) other see continuing value in the history and resources of older urban agglomerations. However, Trickett and Lee argue that to develop policies which re-connect with the altered economic landscape, regional leaders and policy makers must take account of the historical path dependencies which created these places, and the potential for unintended effects from any intervention. They also point out, through a case-study of the English south Midland area that existing administrative boundaries may restrict the ability to develop new sub-regional synergies.

Collinge and Gibney (2011) look at a substantial trans-national attempt to create a new cross-border region based on old associations. They see the need to accommodate spontaneous governance and an appreciation of the role of "follower dominance" in projects such as the creation of a cross-border region underpinned by the Øresund crossing between Sweden and Denmark. In many respects this is a reconnection of two areas once under a single national jurisdiction. However since the separation of the components in the sixteenth century, Malmö and Skåne have existed as a peripheral region of Sweden, while neighbouring Sjælland has

enjoyed close links to the national capital of Denmark. Such associations were invoked early in the development of the concept of a cross-border Øresund region as a consequence of the planning of a fixed link and this lengthy process. Berg and Löfgren (2000) describe the results of research into this process which itself emerged from the confluence of interest among the several academic stakeholders,. They also provide an appendix listing all of the stakeholder organisations involved in this process.

Delamaide (1995) takes a broad overview of the re-connection of similarly sundered relationships following the end of the Cold War and the re-emergence of Baltic and Danubian super-regions. These potentials have been reflected in EU regional policy, however, the detailed management of the development of specific spatial identities within these re-aligned super-regional contexts requires careful management. Collinge and Gibney argue that the relatively informal influence of the Øresund Science Region (ØSR) allowed “spontaneous governance” to emerge and complement the “purposive governance” of the direct policy interventions of the formally constituted regional and national governments. They argue that the contribution of this and other network associations reflects their lack of formal powers and their ability to provide a space for collaboration between disparate actors.

The emergence of thematic focus for the existing and emergent specialised clusters during the first decade of the completed crossing is mapped across five sectors of the Skåne economy by Henning et al (2010). Collinge and Gibney argue that such development represents a follower-dominant form of leadership rather than a leader dominant one. This follower-dominance provides space for the inclusion of a wider range of stakeholders in place governance and delivers the prospect for an inclusive approach to the development of city branding and identity. In the emerging Øresund Region the sectors are able to develop complementary brand identities within a wider identity.

Conclusion

To support the aim of inclusive growth and to engage fully with a range of relevant internal audiences, co-creation and stakeholder engagement must be applied to each component of the brand portfolio and at each level of governance. This implies multiple stakeholder engagement to develop a networked authenticity supported by co developed narratives. An iterative form of ‘place leadership’ may offer the means of achieving the balance between ‘inside-in’ and outside-in’ perspectives proposed by Go and Trunfio (2012). Iteration between leader dominance and follower dominance can create genuine synergy between stakeholders through the alignment of branding with institutional relationships. Cai (2013) argues that the triple helix identified by Leydesdorff (2000) has been derived from experience in developed economies and requires adjustment for application in other contexts. The pace and scale of regional development in East Asia offers opportunities to build on European and North American experience , not least in China where the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong SAR offers a comparison with the Øresund while containing fifteen times the population of the Scandinavian region.

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Urban atmospheres: dead or alive? The problems of managing brandscapes

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Abstract

Over the last years the question of city atmospheres as a part of the branding and marketing seems to be everywhere – discussed as a marketing strategy, part of an eventscape, a crucial element in place-marketing or a key feature in the production of brandscapes. An attractive city simply must also contain settings with attractive atmospheres or ambiance.

This paper discusses what we can learn from this rapid expansion. What happens when the elusive phenomenon of atmospheres becomes part of planning and performance in new and old cities? Atmospheres are difficult to pre-fabricate, to sustain or control. Drawing on an ongoing research project on the making and un-making of urban atmospheres I will discuss different approaches to the study of the sensory landscape of moods and atmospheres. What can we learn from comparing different urban settings? My material takes its starting point in the Scandinavian experience and opens up for a comparative discussion.

Introduction

Branding cities can be a dangerous occupation. This is especially striking when you look at brandbuilders who use elusive elements like urban atmosphere or sense-scapes in order to create an attractive city image or setting. There is a whole cook book literature out there about how to use such ingredients in city branding, recipes for success, suggestions for copying or cloning classic winners like Venice, Manhattan or Paris.

Adding atmosphere or other sensual dimensions to a city brand can turn into a quick fix. Who doesn't like a wonderful atmosphere: energy, creativity, vitality, multi-sensory impressions? In branding messages or place-marketing there are often promises of such things, but they might be difficult to honour. This problem is striking in China, with the constant development of new cities and expanding urban areas. Never before in history has there been a production of new cityscapes at this rate or scale. The Chinese strategies for developing new cities or urban neighbourhoods "with an attractive urban atmosphere" often follow international recipes, whether it is a question of a rapid production of "a city in a box", or imitating traditional Chinese townscapes, as for example in Beijing or emulating Manhattan creative neighbourhoods. Fabrizio Panozzo (forthcoming) has looked at such an attempt in his study of the city of Shenzhen in Southern China, where the idea has been to transform a rundown part of the city into 'a creative city', inspired by Western settings. His study illustrates the problems of trying to pre-package an elusive urban atmosphere.

Chinese urban developers and architects thus face the same problems as city developers elsewhere – be it London, Dubai or Copenhagen – but at a much grander scale and at a faster pace. What can we learn from successes and failures to pre-plan and manage city atmospheres? What happens when the result of an ambitious attempt to create a "city with an atmosphere" turns out to be rather dead than alive, boring rather than exciting?

Capturing an atmosphere

Let me start by looking at the travels of a concept like atmosphere. "Is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and 'felt the atmosphere'?" asks Teresa Brennan (2004:1) in the introduction to her book *The Transmission of Affect*. In recent years there has been a rising interest in the role of atmospheres in social life, not least in urban spaces. How are such collective moods produced, shared or dissolved? (See the discussion in Löfgren, forthcoming.)

Atmosphere is a term that drifted from physics into the description of emotional moods or situations – from the original meaning of a sphere of gas surrounding a body like a

planet, into a ‘prevailing psychological climate; pervading tone or mood like the atmosphere of the court’, as the Oxford English Dictionary puts it. Not surprisingly, it was a metaphorical usage that became common in the early romantic period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is often linked to the concept of mood, not only defined as a personal state of mind but also ‘applied to a crowd of people or other collective body’... (OED). It is interesting to note that the original physics of measuring and describing atmospheres also travelled into the description of emotional atmospheres. We still find meteorological terms like air pressure (a heavy or light-hearted atmosphere) or temperature (a chilly or a warm atmosphere). Other descriptions include words like powerful, stressful or peaceful. People use verbs to describe their reactions, such as being overwhelmed, touched, taken in or moved by a certain atmosphere. Atmospheres can be described as energy-reducing, as in an atmosphere of inertia, boredom, anxiety or stress, while other kinds of atmospheres are described as producing positive energy, using terms like euphoric and energising atmospheres, or just ‘good vibes’. Think, for example, of a statement such as ‘the energy that rises from the pavements of Manhattan’.

Atmosphere is often discussed by architects. Gernot Böhme is a German philosopher and architectural theorist who has spent years writing books on the study of atmosphere in built environments and private and public spaces, for example in the volume *Architektur und Atmosphäre* (2006). He defines atmosphere as the experience of co-presence and discusses the sensualities and aesthetics of everything from colours and textures to what he calls the “ecstasies of things”. His approach is shaped by an architectural tradition, searching for ways to understand how good atmospheres can be created in built environments, often with a focus on aesthetics and space. Reading Böhme raises many methodological questions about how to develop an ethnography of these themes. What do we mean when we say that an atmosphere is soaked in the walls, and can an atmosphere be stored?

The current fascination with urban atmosphere has its base in the development of “The Experience Economy” since the mid 1990s. The city was discussed in new terms of sensuous geographies and choreographies of movement, both in the world of planning,

management, marketing and academic research. A promotional text for Malmö, in Sweden from 2000 illustrates this:

Swarm in the shopping-districts of Malmö until your feet ache, dive among the market stalls of Mällevångstorget, inhale the aroma of food and spices from the whole world, stroll to the Art Museum, sink into the restaurant and check out the evening programme of the theatre across the street...

This is the experience economy's choreographing of multi-sensuality, changes of tempo, rhythm and scenes: swarm, rest, dive, inhale, stroll, sink into and check out. It is somewhat parallel to what Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska (2001) have described as the development "from gazing to grazing" among tourists; not only walking the city but tasting, inhaling and touching it in various ways.

In the search for creative and energizing urban settings a concept like atmosphere came to carry positive connotation. Atmosphere was defined as good, although an urban atmosphere can just as well be destructive, uninviting or deadening. The concept of positive atmospheres was soon linked to the concept of brandscapes. Anna Klingman argues in her book on brandscapes that this has meant that the focus of architecture has evolved from "what it has" and "what it does" to "what you feel" and "who you are" (Klingman 2007).

In the handbooks of The Experience Economy there are inventories, recipes and tools for identifying or organizing a great atmosphere. A striking element in this literature is the strong hands-on approach. Experiences may be fleeting or ephemeral phenomena, but the tool chests are full of hardware words from the construction trade: *building* a brand, *producing* an event, *crafting* an aura, *constructing* a flair of place or *staging* a mood . Such craftsmanship is often very detailed.

The focus on atmosphere also meant that questions of urban design came into the forefront, as the anthropologist Marie Stender (2013) has argued. She looks at the ways in which design thinking has invaded architecture and urban planning with concepts like emotional design, experience design, performance design, and service design:

...the practice of design no longer limits itself to the world of small things or even to the world of things. Today also immaterial issues, cultural processes and complex social problems are handled and conceived within the tools and vocabulary of design. It is not just architecture that is designed on given places; places are also designed in order to make them come alive. (Stender, forthcoming)

There is today, an increasing exchange of ideas between exterior and interior design traditions, fields that earlier were much more clearly separated. I was struck by that while listening to one of IKEA's star interior designers, who was describing the work process behind scenographing interiors for showrooms at IKEA in Berlin. He described a process in which all the senses are brought into play, combining fabrics, colours, textures, objects, from the smallest to the largest detail. The aim is to produce certain moods and in his tool chest there is a whole range of such "classic mood themes", with terms like *country cottage*, *modern classic*, *bohemian funky*. He and his teams are professionals in such mood setting exercises, turning out collages aimed to produce a certain atmosphere. He knows at what point you should go for producing a WOW-effect or when to be more low-key.

My point is that we may follow how the craft of interior design is taken out into the architectural world of the exterior design of new cityscapes. How do you develop classic urban themes like *Victorian London*, *Montmartre of the 1920s*, *Manhattan loft living* or *Garden Cities*? (See the discussion in Gottdiener 1997.) This kind of borrowing is easy to follow, for example, in handbooks like *Brand Lands*, *Hot Spots & Cool Spaces*, where the reader is taught how to produce 'a wow effect', 'an open sesame feature' or 'a golden touch' (Mikunda 2002:119 ff). In such inventories of the great experience some words are easily worn out, like fantastic, exciting and unique.

In the following I will take this process of designing urban atmosphere into some empirical arenas: two cases of innovative urban development within the Öresund region, the part of Southern Sweden and Greater Copenhagen area united by a bridge since 2000 and presented as a new transnational region. The two cases are *Västra hamnen* (The West harbor) in Malmö and *Ørestad* in Copenhagen. I have been following these two cityscapes from the

planning and building stage at the turn of the millennium 2000 and into their present phase of lived neighbourhoods. The historical perspective – even of just a decade – is important here if you want to understand the making and un-making of atmospheres.

Built-in-creativity?

The year is 2002. I am looking out of the office window facing the new city waterfront development in Malmö. To the right lie the remains of a jungle of shrubs and woodland, with strange straw huts and installations. They are artistic leftovers from the building Expo Bo01 that signalled the start of this development scheme. I am told that the African grass planted for the expo has led to a fantastic invasion of exotic spiders, still to be found climbing all over the office complex.

This architectural fair was held in 2001 as a kick-off for the new era that Malmö entered as part of the Öresund future. It was a classic example of a dying harbour area, with ruins from an old economy, an abandoned shipyard and a car factory that never got into gear giving way to an interesting and innovative architecture that aims to create an exciting cityscape. It's a mix of office buildings and apartment complexes that attracts new investments, ideas and inhabitants.

Right in front of me I can follow the construction the gigantic *Turning Torso*, a luxury apartment tower of 54 storeys designed by the Spanish sculptor and architect Santiago Calatrava. It was presented as the second highest apartment complex in Europe (190 metres) and now it stands as Malmö's new logo; a signal of the future, visible from afar.

I am in the FutureLab of a local company. It is an open officescape with panorama windows facing the sea and designed for creativity, flow and flexibility. There are no phones, no filing cabinets and no stacks of papers - only laptops and cellphones. An open kitchen arena makes up the centre of the landscape and provides a hub for social interaction. Here people are supposed to drift in and out and exchange ideas. The few enclosed spaces are fenced in by glass walls that provide full visibility. Small labels with names like "room

for decisions", "the sitting room" and "the temp room" are dotted around. The doors to the rest rooms are not made of glass, but they are decorated with words like: *creativity, innovation, imagination, future, commitment* and *inspiration!*

As I am taken on a tour of the office by one of the executives, we pass a desk cluttered with papers, piled high in the absence of shelves or filing cabinets. He apologises by saying that some of the staff have not yet adjusted to the idea of the paperless, mobile office concept.

This future studio mirrors a global concept of trying to design and choreograph creativity and innovation. In a way it is a materialised miniaturisation of the new Öresund brand right down to the most miniscule detail. The slogans on the lavatory door are printed in a style imitating hasty and improvised handwriting, while the coffee tables are designed to allow inspiring dialogues of a maximum of five standing participants. A ladder leads up to a podium with a comfortable chair; a space clearly designed for elevated thoughts. The atmosphere is one of built-in-creativity.

Built-in experiences?

On the other side of the Øresund bridge, a comparable kind of terrain, this time not a waterfront but an old artillery field on the outskirts of Copenhagen, is undergoing a similar transformation. Next to the bridge-head on the Danish side of the strait, the new town of Ørestad is slowly materialising. Some 20,000 inhabitants and 50,000 office workers are planned for, together with the new metro that connects directly to the centre of Copenhagen. Ørestad has been planned as the new Öresund centre of the future, with an IT-university, new headquarters for national TV and radio, office spaces for companies of the new economy, interesting housing complexes, etc.

It is Friday afternoon in 2004 and I am about to enter *Field's*, "the biggest mall in Scandinavia" that just has opened in the middle of Ørestad. Mud and construction work surrounds me. Field's is one of the first major projects to be completed in the area.. Inside I find the same restrained aesthetic and cool colour scheme as in many other parts of Ørestad;

a subdued mix of white, grey, beige, polished steel and a touch of black here and there. I glide along the polished floors, up the escalators and watch the glass lifts silently swishing up and down. This is an architecture based upon flow rather than friction. But Field's was not marketed as just another mall. It was to be an experience centre. As I take the lift up to the third floor - the home of "Field's Pleasure" - I remember an interview with the project leader of an experimental theatre group, *Hotel Pro Forma*.

The group had been given the opportunity to plan an "Art Hotel" as a part of the new eventscape in Ørestad. The journalist asks the project leader how they will make sure they do not end up within the same framework as Field's, the commercial event-centre next door. She answers:

This won't be an event-centre. This is art with a capital A, not a supermarket for just anything. Any post office aspires to be an event-centre these days! (*Weekendavisen* January 1, 2000)

She is, of course, referring to the general stampede into the experience economy. In the 1990s, handbooks with mottoes like "there is no business that's not show business" thrived, with their do-it-yourself recipes for enriching and sensualising consumer experiences in an attempt to design events and produce an atmosphere of the eventful. Or as Pine and Gilmore (1999) put it in their *The Experience Economy*: "get some more profit out of experiences, don't just be a commodity". But this is, of course, a dangerous trade, because "the great experience" is always something you have rather than something which is planned or arranged for you. "Field's Pleasure", however, turns out to be nothing but the usual food court of cafeterias and coffee shops, a gym for grown-ups and a play pen for kids. We could be anywhere in the world. (The art hotel never materialized.)

Leaving the shopping mall for a walk through Ørestad, I am reminded that this is a thoroughly planned and designed project, using the best Danish architects and aiming towards a pleasant and exciting urban environment with plenty of green spaces, canals, artworks, and a combination of housing, work and leisure. New public transport provides fast connections to Sweden, to the airport and the city centre. "Ørestad is close to

everything!” (This favourite slogan – used all over the world – is not unproblematic. Defining a place as close to other ones also implies that it is not a centre in itself – “there is no there there”.)

On a windy November afternoon the area seems less inviting. The open green spaces are deserted and the wind has torn down some of the billboards depicting the coming housing complexes. On the pavement I find huge fragments of brightly coloured architectural images of lovers strolling, happy cyclists, family picnics and children playing.

Nervousness among the planners increased as the project slowly develops.. What if this elegantly designed part of the city - developed for the perfect mix of high tech and high touch - turns out to be lifeless? What if there is no city life along the elegant canal walks? What if the plazas are deserted, all the big institutions turn inwards, and there’s no interesting mix of people and activities? The architect in charge puts it like this in a newspaper interview:

A kind of intensity and a combination of functions are needed to make up a city, like schools, a theatre, a church, fire station, cinema, small stores and hidden places where you can get a beer... Very few of the new European city developments have been able to capture that something indefinable necessary to make the city come alive. Recently we went on a study tour to Amsterdam, where a new development by the harbour has attracted a great deal of praise for its aesthetics. It was beautiful. Beautiful and boring. Really, there are more instances of failure than success in projects like ours. (Weiss 2001:1).

In the beginning many of those involved in the Ørestad project were afraid of the development turning into a beautifully designed, but lifeless cityscape. But how do you construct life, atmosphere and pulse? This topic was under constant discussion and brainstorming for "vitalizing elements" from barbecue areas to glass facades that will make it possible for flâneurs to see what is going on inside the buildings. All the while there is the dilemma of trying to achieve "built-in-vitality". When asked to define the urban qualities,

one of the interviewed architects came up with words like "density" and "richness"; key words of the experience economy.

On the cover of the Ørestad promotional newsletter from 2004, a man swishes past on a scooter with the slogan '*LIFE!*' printed across the image. It sounds very much like a nervous invocation. The Ørestad company in question organised a special task force of "life-givers", to try to inject some local energy into this modernist project. They organized neighbourhood groups and invented rituals like the annual illumination of the Christmas tree, the Easter egg hunt, the summer flea market. At the same time, the fear of unbridled popular culture contaminates the perfect taste of this thoroughly designed project. A mobile hot-dog stand suddenly looks like an eyesore (Steensgard 2004).

There is also an attempt to create some kind of heritage out of these windblown artillery fields. A cultural geographer comments on this task:

I have problems understanding it. It lacks a narrative. The media are uninterested or generally negative. Myself I see endless new buildings. There is no pre-history, no ideology. Ørestad needs to be conquered by some progressive, interesting people, who can interpret the place, give it an identity and make it trendy in the life style magazines, just like the lofts in New York. Gays are good for that! They made San Francisco the city of the gays... (Steensgard 2004).

She is echoing the thoughts of another geographer, Richard Florida, who has been touring the world with his message of the necessity of making space for the new creative class in urban settings. But both Ørestad and V ästra hamnen face the problem that the bohemian members of this creative class - artists, students and young entrepreneurs - have little chance of finding a place to live or workspace to rent in these new and expensive developments. The Richard Florida credo has been especially popular in Scandinavia. Even provincial towns dream of attracting this fantastic creative class.

A postmodern mountain village

Returning to Ørestad and V ästra Hamnen in 2013 it is possible to see what has happened to the hopes and worries. Let me start with Ørestad and the most striking housing project of the whole area: The award winning *8 House*, that was finished in 2010. 476 townhouses, apartments and penthouses integrated in one giant rolling building with the shape of the figure eight. It has grass roofs and a one kilometre long pathway going up along the facades to the top of the building. You can walk or even bike up to the top and enjoy the view of the surrounding vast green area of protected park land.

The building was designed by the internationally acclaimed Danish architecture firm BIG (Bjarke Ingels Group). The architect has on various occasions described the project as “a modern mountain village”. The architect Bjarke Ingels explained that in the design process he was inspired by a mountain village in Spain, where people had accommodated themselves to the mountain slope as well as they could: “The result was some very charming and strange spaces, where you suddenly had a big rock sticking out of the wall. They couldn’t get rid of that, so instead they just painted it white. We have tried to create some of that same feeling in the 8-house. A mountain village with paths, stairways and bridges, with more quirky spatialities of a smaller scale.”

The 8 House, however, faced the same problem as the other parts of the new Örestad. How do you create some kind of urban life in these windblown open fields? Marie Stender has been following the project and she notes that in order to ensure a vibrant atmosphere from the beginning, the building owner financed the running of a café that opened long before there were enough customers in the area, and a temporary gallery exhibiting 8 young artists from 8 European art academies. The real estate agent explained to her in an interview: “We had to do something to get people out there, and to show them that there can actually be city life in Ørestad”.

The developer also created a special intranet-system called 8-book in order to facilitate the residents’ communication. (In retrospect it turned out to be double-edged tool, as the intranet soon was used not only to organize social gatherings but also to mobilize residents against shoddy construction work and to discuss how to deal with the massive

groups of architectural tourists and other visitors, climbing the pathway, in order to explore the spectacular building (see Stender forthcoming).

In order to make the 8 House an attractive setting the developers took care to try to install a kind of artistic and creative cityness to the place, but also to facilitate “living the brand”. Marie Stender found that many of the new inhabitants started to talk about “their village” and a craftsman opened a workshop in the basement, calling it “the village smithy”. She talks about the processes by which architects and developers try to “design what seems undesigned”, to create a spirit of place. Residents move into a story and a brand as much as a building, but the prefabricated images are appropriated and moulded to fit peoples’ personal experiences and backgrounds, she argues. Living the brand can, however, take very different forms, as when one apartment owner got a leaking roof and had a bucket placed under it. “I guess, this is how it is to live in an old mountain village”, she sighed.

Fear of failure

During the early stages of development critics were quick to focus on the mistakes and failures of both of these cityscapes. Most of the housing projects in V ästra hamnen were seen as too elitist and expensive, and the opening of both the architectural fair and the new townscape coincided with the end of the euphoric years of the new economy, with a financial downturn. Many of the flats and houses turned out to be difficult to sell, and again the critics asked: where is the city life among all the beautiful canals, narrow lanes, maritime panoramas, interesting gardens and waterfront facilities?

One of the critics quoted the Italian author Italo Calvino's account of what it should be like to arrive in an unknown city, moor the boat in the harbour and start to search for the seaman's bars, the small local caf  s, the churches, the market place and the bazaars ... Where were all these necessary elements of an attractive cityscape?, the critic asked. Again, one can hear a distinct middle-class nostalgia for good old urban life. There are generic traditions of “golden ages” that continue to haunt architects and urban developers. (“If only we could recreate the atmosphere of...”)

Both settings struggle with heavy symbolic loading. The problem with creating an identity in a new urban development is, of course, that the teething troubles that characterise most construction sites may be taken as proof that the visions have failed. The critics are often too quick to ask where the new exciting cityness is to be found in this chaos of half-finished environments. One has to wait a few years to see what works or not.

This classic critical discourse is one that often hits new urban developments and leads to an eager search for signs of new urban life. When kids from an immigrant neighbourhood transformed the elegant wooden quays of Västra hamnen into their own urban beach, dived from the platforms and ate their picnics in front of the expensive penthouse apartments, the reaction was one of enthusiasm. Complaints of too much life and activity soon followed; weren't the kids taking over the area?

In retrospect *Västra Hamnen* developed from a failure to a growing success. It is a popular destination for visitors – as well as swimmers in the summer. The mix and density of different kinds of buildings has to a great extent created some of that “elusive cityness” craved for. The harbour front has turned into a kind of urban common, where different social groups and generations meet.

In Ørestad there was the same scouting for signs of urban life. When children from a poorer neighbourhood started to swim in the new canal system of Ørestad, the planners applauded the new and surprising signs of life! But as the ethnologists, Carlberg and Christensen (2005), have pointed out in their analysis of another new waterfront development in Copenhagen, *Sydhavnen*, the cult of bustling life often collides with the quest for privacy. For strolling visitors it could be unclear if the new walkways along the quays were private or not. Sometimes, architectural designs had been used that gave public spaces a private aura, thus discouraging visitors from exploring them.

Cityscapes in waiting

Both Ørestad and Västra Hamnen are brand new developments where the earlier building history is non-existent or not used in attempts to create urban life. There are other

developments where old structures become part of the development. This is a process often seen in the gentrification of traditional areas. Rundown slums or old abandoned industrial sites with low rents attract artists, students and different “creative subcultures”, and soon enough the creative atmosphere starts to attract new middle-class customers. Sharon Zukin’s analysis of Manhattan loft living (2010) is a classic example of this. Developers and real estate agents try to cash in on the local ambiance, but there is a delicate balancing act here. As gentrification increases as well as real estate prices, the old bohemian subcultures are squeezed out. The old atmosphere cannot be kept alive artificially.

How do developers handle this? One example is found in the old derelict industrial neighbourhood of *Refshale øen* in Copenhagen. Several decades ago the local ship building industry collapsed, leaving large areas of unused industrial buildings. No new development was possible until Copenhagen city organized a new traffic infrastructure – a project that still has to wait several decades. The group of Chinese investors that bought up the land, will thus have to wait, but in the meantime they facilitate the making of a special and attractive aura of the area, by allowing artists, designers and other young entrepreneurs cheap workshop and office space in the old, run-down buildings. Their aim is of course to create an atmosphere of creativity that slowly will make the area more attractive as actual development moves closer. They are also drawing on the urban cult that the ethnologist Robert Willim (2005) has termed “industrial cool”, the postmodernization of old industrial settings. Again, there is a balancing act, what happens if the new temporary occupants of *Refshale øen* become too entrenched? Will they be possible to evict as the building cranes and development plans arrive? Will the artistic aura and local magic the present inhabitants have created be possible to transfer to the new cityscape?

Similar examples and challenges of what has been called “SoHofication”, are found all over the world, using the Manhattan experience as a model. At the conference there were discussions of the development of a Shanghai SoHo and also the far less commercialized art district in Belgrad. The case of Beijing is also illuminating. I am thinking of the old 798 factory area in the neighbourhood *Dashanzi* , where old factory buildings have been turned

into art workshops, galleries and cafés. The industrial ruins are used as an aesthetic backdrop, rusty old pipelines and white washed factory halls, but the 798 art zone is slowly loosing its bohemian and experimental atmosphere. A process of “boutiquification” has set in, galleries turning into gift shops and artists moving elsewhere in search of work spaces. In many ways this slow transformation is a good example what happens when attempts are made to commodify a local atmosphere.

Conclusions

A city is not a vessel that can be filled with an attractive atmosphere. It is a lived experience and thus exposed to rhetoric overkill or burn-out. Over-branding may turn the power of *genius loci* into a copy-cat version - a *genius logo*, as Boris Brorman Jensen has put it. A common reaction is the demand for “more atmosphere” – as if atmosphere was a positive energy,

At the conference the question of urban atmosphere came up in many ways. It was discussed in reference to attempts to make cities gastronomically attractive, with food as an energizer, presenting a landscape of visual delights, smells and tastes. It was also discussed as a scarce commodity: “this city lacks atmosphere – it should be more vibrant”, but the demand for “more atmosphere” illustrates the tendency to view urban atmosphere as a positive energy, a good resource. It can of course just as well be by a negative one or “the wrong kind of atmosphere”.

The one and same city setting will be experienced very differently. With the technology of city branding, and the ideal of the experience city during the past few years, there have been attempts to combine ideas of urban hardware - institutions and infrastructure - with a dream of actually constructing urban atmosphere, the software of urban life and experience. But this kind of production cannot be carried out from above. In his classic work, *Soft City*, Jonathan Raban (1974) compares urban hardware, or the material fabric of the built environment, with the soft side, or the individualised interpretations of the city created in the mind and experience of each urbanite. As a person

starts using the city by moving into Västra hamnen or Ørestad, the setting will gradually turn into a soft experience which may also create shared experiences, routines, rhythms and perceptions. But a soft city cannot be prefabricated. An experiencescape can only be created by those who use a certain setting and these patterns of usage may often conflict to produce bad, good, trivial or indifferent experiences.

In his book *Invisible Cities* Italo Calvino has Marco Polo narrating all the strange cities he has encountered. Marco Polo describes how totally different the city of Despina appears to the seaman approaching from the sea and the cameleer coming in the other direction through the desert. In discussions of cityness or 'the experience city' there is seldom such a many-layered description but often a totalising or excluding perspective.

A striking element in Calvino's text is Marco Polo's use of the metaphor of twin cities; cities of dualities and polarities. Sofronia consists of two halves, of which one is provisional and always changing, while the other is constant. Moriana has a wrong and a right side, which can never be seen at the same time, Loriana is made up by the city of the living and the dead, but is also of the city of the unborn. Mazoria consists of the city of rats and the city of swallows. In all three cities you can catch a glimpse of that other side, that other version. It is very unsettling.

Similarly, the dreaming and scheming of cosmopolitan cityness always means a delicate balancing act. The perfectly designed city suddenly becomes the dead city, the creative city is turned into the boring city, and one morning the city of the future just looks tired.

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Linking city branding to social inclusiveness

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: City branding is linked to social inclusiveness in two ways. Firstly, we investigate city branding in two socially disadvantaged cities. Secondly, within each city we examine how low socioeconomic sub-groups connect to the city brand.

Design/methodology/approach: Satellite cities are chosen as the context for disadvantaged cities. Two Australian satellite cities are studied firstly in terms of highlighting the differential brand associations of satellite cities, and secondly, in terms of comparing four socio-economic sub-groups to identify the different ways that low socio-economic groups engage with the city brand.

Findings: The first finding is that satellite city brands differ from more robust city brands: more dependent on government support; less economic vitality; less social and cultural vitality; and more concern with safety issues. The different brand platform provides knowledge to deal with the challenges of satellite cities. The second finding is that the most disadvantaged socio-economic sub-group engages with the city brand differently to other sub-groups. The most disadvantaged sub-group is an amplified microcosm of the total disadvantaged city.

Originality/value: The paper is one of the few in the area of satellite cities, which is a natural context for examining stressed cities. Another contribution is better understanding of how

different socio-economic sub-groups engage with the city brand. We identify three Chinese satellite cities that could use our knowledge to reduce the stress of future growth challenges.

Key words: Social bonding; satellite cities; stress; city branding; China; Australia.

Part 1: Introduction

City branding has evolved considerably from the early city image work by Lynch (1960), which had a strong geographic emphasis, and from subsequent studies that had a strong city marketing or promotion emphasis. The past decade has witnessed a major escalation of branding-orientated studies that have made considerable progress (e.g. Trueman *et al.*, 2007; 2008).

Although some of our work is across all of the symposium themes, the most relevant theme seems to be Theme 4, *Innovative social branding and inclusiveness*. We have conducted a number of city branding studies of various Australian cities (Merrilees *et al.*, 2007; 2009; 2012; 2013). This work is pertinent for any city branding conference, but we will show how the work can be applied potentially to Chinese cities. The connection to Chinese cities is firstly through quantitative studies, which capture the voice of the resident in a way that does not seem to be very common among Chinese city brand studies. Secondly, some of our studies have captured the role of socio-economic divisions of the city population, which enable the social inclusiveness question to be studied in greater depth. Again this approach is relevant to disadvantaged areas within Chinese cities, especially cities that might exhibit stress through rapid growth and absorption of population. Thirdly, we have researched satellite cities, and subsequently, identified three examples of Chinese satellite cities that our work could be extended to.

As per the Symposium Theme Four discussion notes, increasingly, city brand studies are focused on connecting to the resident voice (Kavaratzis, 2004, 2012; Merrilees *et al.*, 2009; 2012; 2013). Some studies debate whether cities reach out sufficiently to the unmediated voices of their citizens (Paganoni, 2012).

The **second part** of the paper compares satellite cities, often adjacent to larger stronger cities that are more prosperous and recognised as a city, within an Australian context. It will demonstrate that the city brand positioning is shaped by different forces between these two types of cities.

The **third part** of the paper compares how socio-economic groups (classified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as ranging from disadvantaged, to low, to medium, and to high socio-economic status) differ in their brand image associations and how this influences their connection to the city brand.

The **fourth part** of the paper indicates potential Chinese cities that could benefit from the lessons from these Australian studies. In particular, there is a role for quantitative studies, which capture the voices of residents and if possible, go further and disaggregate those voices by socio-economic sub-group.

Part 2: Satellite Cities

The nature, role and viability of satellite cities are under-researched. Satellite cities are usually located near a major capital city, either National or Provincial. Satellite cities are often overshadowed by the neighbouring important city. Little is known about them based on academic research in a branding context. In many cases, a key role is to absorb population who cannot be fitted into the capital city. In this sense, the satellite city houses the excess population, but large flows of people travel regularly to the capital city as students or workers. Another role of satellite cities is to provide some of the industry necessary to sustain the capital city. As one of many examples of satellite cities, Burlington in Ontario, Canada could be considered a satellite city for the nearby, larger cities of Hamilton and Toronto.

Few studies have explicitly studied satellite cities, though five studies do span the world including India (Dahiya, 2003), Korea (Lee and Ahn, 2005), Mexico (Aguilar, 2008), Hong Kong (Hui and Lam, 2005), and Australia (Merrilees *et al.*, 2013). Three of these studies situate the satellite cities around the National capital and two of them around a State or Provincial capital (India and Australia).

It would be rash to generalise, but it is notable that all five city studies emphasise the challenges or negativity of satellite cities. Perhaps it is in this light that the most recent paper is entitled a facilitating framework for stressed satellite cities (Merrilees *et al.*, 2013). Typical problems of such satellite cities include: economic (lack of jobs), social (reduced quality of life) and infrastructure (lack of schools, services and planning). The term ‘bedroom city’ (or

dormitory city) is sometimes used in a negative way where there is a lack of internal locus of control, and rather, a simple outsourcing role of providing homes (bedrooms) for workers and students who utilise the neighbouring capital city. The negative characteristics are common enough to form a structural characteristic of many satellite cities, though we emphasise that not all satellite cities may have such characteristics.

A branding perspective is useful for clarifying the challenges facing satellite cities. Branding provides a means of seeing how the various elements “configure” and overlap and thus develop a holistic picture of how to interpret a satellite city. To this end, we summarise the findings of the most recently published satellite city paper, which was researched and written by the authors (Merrilees *et al.*, 2013).

Merrilees *et al.* (2013) study two Australian satellite cities, Logan and Ipswich, situated near two major cities, the Queensland State capital city Brisbane and the major tourist city, the Gold Coast. Using a statistical approach (multiple regression analysis), the authors contrast the brand associations reflective of satellite cities with those of more robust, self-sustaining cities. The brand associations are obtained as the beta coefficients in a multiple regression equation, with brand attitudes as the dependent variable and each city attribute such as transport becoming a potential brand association. The two satellite cities will be combined for the purpose of Part 2 and contrasted with a benchmark for self-sustaining city types.

Comparing the brand associations of satellite cities as a collective, with self-sustaining cities reveals an interesting profile that has much face value but has not hitherto been revealed. Business opportunities and vitality are relatively more important for self-sustaining cities – as expected given economic factors are expected to be a limitation of satellite cities. Social bonding is a major brand association for all city types, but it is slightly less important for satellite cities compared to self-sustaining cities. Shopping and cultural activities are similarly less important for satellite cities compared to self-sustaining cities. Given the characteristics of satellite cities, the three areas of social bonding, shopping and cultural activities were anticipated to be relatively less important in satellite cities,. Thus both economic and social factors are less influential in shaping the city brand in satellite cities compared to self-sustaining cities. Such a pattern of brand associations makes sense, but Merrilees *et al.* (2013) seem to be the first study to reveal such a pattern.

Given that economic and social factors under-perform as brand associations for satellite cities, one might ask, what factors over-perform in satellite cities? Perhaps, as

expected, such over-rating brand associations are somewhat negative in connotation. In particular, safety seems to rate as very high as a brand association, suggesting that satellite cities tend to have a greater obsession with crime and similar problems. Further, government services are more prominent as a brand association in satellite cities compared to self-sustaining cities, suggesting a greater need for the city to be propped up by external (government) support.

In conclusion, the above comparisons are based on a small selection of cities and so are subject to verification from future additional studies across the globe. The authors are happy to support such future research. Given this caveat, the results are striking. Satellite cities seem to have very different brand associations from self-sustaining cities. The two satellite cities studied have known greater economic and social problems, manifest in less per capita income, more unemployment and more social problems like crime. Simple image comparisons do not reveal major differences, but the brand association comparisons are marked. Satellite cities have brand associations that are weighted towards safety and government bailout support and are deficient on economic and social brand associations such as business vitality and shopping.

Part 3: The Role of Social Inclusiveness in City Branding

The role of social inclusiveness in cities and city branding is often assumed rather than researched. As the call for papers indicated, cities are often referred to as “commons”, which belong to everyone. All citizens have equal rights and are assumed to more or less benefit from city development. In reality, there can be disadvantaged sectors including slums and poor neighbourhoods. Issues of poverty and inequality are often examined from a national economic and social perspective. However, alternatively, cities afford a more useful and relevant way for examining such issues, as the city context is unique in each case with some idiosyncratic influences.

There seem to be few, if any, city branding studies that disaggregate city branding activities into more delineated SES (socio-economic status) groups, described below. Yet, this approach would seem to be the best way to answer the question of how socially inclusive a city brand is. In this sense, we are examining the actual participation of different socio-economic groups in actual city brand activities, rather than their participation in a planning process that seeks to change the city brand. Both approaches have their roles, but it should be

instructive to move into the apparently new realm of actual participation or engagement in the

current city brand.

Essentially, we are asking whether citizens from the lower socio-economic groups actively engage with the city brand, in the same way that citizens from higher socio-economic groups do. To initiate this research, we continue with discussing the two Australian examples of satellite cities (Logan and Ipswich) discussed in Part 2.

The sampling for the two cities pre-coded the socio-economic classification of each respondent. In fact, the sampling was stratified by selecting particular suburbs that corresponded to a specific SES group. The Australian Bureau of Statistics determines the socio-economic status (using economic and social data) of each suburb. Four codes are assigned ranging from SES 1, disadvantaged; SES 2 (low SES); SES 3 (medium SES); and SES 4 (high SES). Twelve suburbs were selected for each city - three suburbs from each SES code. This way we ensured that there would be a spread of responses across the four SES codes.

What we did next was to contrast the four SES groups against a large range of city brand variables. Before going into details we found something quite unexpected. It was not the two lowest SES groups that were excluded (not socially inclusive), but paradoxically the highest SES group. On reflection, however, the finding does make sense. We are examining two cities that in total are slightly deprived compared to the neighbouring cities of Brisbane and Gold Coast. The high income people in SES 4 did not live in the core of their home city, but rather on the fringe, closer to the major cities of Brisbane and Gold Coast. The high income suburbs are not strongly socially connected to the rest of the predominantly low income suburbs, and many SES4 residents still require a commute to the capital city.

Having made this point, we continue our analysis by comparing the two lowest SES suburbs with just the third SES group (SES 3), without only minor reference to SES 4. Comparing both SES 1 and 2 with SES 3 revealed very few differences in the perceptions of the residents. This was across about 30 measures of city image such as walking paths, outdoor recreation, leisure activities, shopping, markets, cultural events, community centres and public health care access. In a sense, we are measuring how the city image is perceived differently across the four socio-economic groups. The answer was that there are few differences in how each socioeconomic group perceives each city attribute such as public transport or shopping amenities. For example, on a seven-point Likert scale, the average score for perception of residents for nature across the four socioeconomic groups are 5.1, 5.3,

5.3 and 4.8 respectively. For social bonding the average scores are 4.9, 5.0, 4.8 and 4.3 respectively. For all attributes, the absolute differences in scores was very small and very few

were statistically significant from each other.

What does this mean? Most of the city brand attributes are essentially a non-marketing (non-exchange) or non-economic matter. They are simply the resident perceptions' of a particular city attribute being available or accessible. For example, a greenbelt is a stretch of green habitat around the city. If a resident rates the greenbelt as high, it does not necessarily mean that a particular resident makes use of that attribute. Thus the collective results mean that most suburbs across the full spectrum of socioeconomic groups had fairly similar perceptions of the city brand image. From the most disadvantaged SES group to the highest, there were major differences on key economic and social indicators, such as income, unemployment and things like crime levels. That is, even though the most disadvantaged group has less economic and social resources, they still seem to "experience" the same city brand image as higher socioeconomic groups. Social networks of friends and families are still valued and used, and residents have access to most community facilities including shopping centres, hospitals, roads and parks. No other study that we are aware of, seems to have reached this conclusion, so it is important for researchers to study other cities to see how generalizable such a conclusion is.

Although the image of the city brand in Logan does not seem to differ much across socioeconomic groups, we further tested whether the importance of particular attributes might differ. We examined this notion through the brand association model mentioned in Part 2 of this paper. Essentially we re-ran the multiple regression statistical model from Part 2 in a disaggregated form, that is, separately for each socioeconomic group. Our main interest was in terms of how the standardized beta coefficients differed across each of the four socioeconomic groups. As a caution, the sub-sample sizes are sometimes small, so the results are less reliable than for the total sample of residents.

For all groups in Logan, social bonds is the most critical determinant of city brand attitudes, that is, the most critical shaper of the city brand. Nonetheless, social bonds are especially critical for SES2 and SES3 (the low and mid-levels of SES). Social bonds were also important for the other two groups, but with less influence, especially the disadvantaged group (SES1). Nature was most important to SES3 and least important to SES1. It would seem that SES3 make use of parks and outdoor spaces to engage with the city, while SES1 residents are relatively more confined to the "concrete walls" (our expression) of the inner

city suburbs. Safety was very important to SES1 and SES4. Most of the crime is in the SES1 inner city zone, from which the higher income SES4 residents are remote but very conscious of. The SES2 and SES3 groups, in contrast, do not let safety issues shape their lives, maybe normalising the behaviour. All of the groups except SES1 appreciate the role of government services in propping up satellite cities like Logan. Finally, public transport is mainly relevant to SES1, who might have fewer cars and are more dependent on public transport for cross-city travel.

In conclusion for Logan, the disadvantaged SES group (SES1) relies strongly on social networks (though leveraged less than the other three groups), appreciates business vibrancy and relies on public transport, yet seems disconnected from nature and an awareness of the economic benefits of government services to a satellite city like Logan.

Applying the above disaggregation to the second Australian satellite city, Ipswich, gives broadly similar results, but the total sample is smaller with slightly different variables relevant and the SES4 group is very small and not usable. The most disadvantaged group SES1 places importance on social bonding but again this influence is the smallest of all of the SES groups. Again, as per Logan, public transport is relevant to this group alone. However, unlike the Logan sample, safety had limited influence as a brand association. Another major difference with the Logan sample is that cultural activities (markets and other recreation) are important for SES1 in Ipswich.

SES2, the low socioeconomic status group, infers an intermediate role for social bonding, more than SES1 and less than SES3. Job opportunities were of similar importance to Logan, as was nature. However, in contrast to Logan, safety emerged as a major concern. This new feature also applies to SES3. SES3 had the highest influence for social bonding. None of the SES groups were influenced by the role of government services as propping up satellite cities, which may reflect a lower role of the State Government in Ipswich, compared to Logan or simply a lower awareness of the role.

Part 4: Applying Analysis of Satellite Cities to China: Future Research Possibilities

Both Parts 2 and 3 can potentially be applied to selected Chinese cities. We indicate some suggestions for cities as follows.

Tianjin (天津)

Tianjin is located approximately 70 miles to the south of Beijing. The city is the third largest city in China, following Shanghai and Beijing. Tianjin was traditionally a trading port. Tianjin, abbreviated as Jin, means “a port for the emperor”. Since 1404 when Tianjin was formally built as a city, it now has a history of over 600 years. In the late 19th century and early 20th century Tianjin has developed as an industrial city.

Even though Tianjin is a highly ranked city, it has not seen as rapid economic growth

as that experienced by Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou since China announced its ‘open door’ policy in the 1980s. For example, Tianjin was not included in the National Development Strategy which Premier Li Peng announced in Pudong Shanghai in 1990. It is not until more recently in 2005 that the Tianjin Binhai New Area (a special economic development zone), now dubbed as “a shining pearl rising from the Bohai Bay”, has been considered by the central government as part of the National Development Strategy.

Hangzhou (杭州)

Hangzhou, approximately 120 miles from Shanghai, is a traditional Chinese city and a tourist attraction, as the saying goes “Paradise above, Suzhou and Hangzhou below”. Hangzhou is most famous for the beautiful West Lake and the fairy tales in the Chinese literature and the Chinese opera for several thousand years. Hangzhou is the capital city of the Zhejiang Province.

Traditionally, Hangzhou has not been an industrial city. However, since the open door policy, the economy of the city has been fuelled by the growth of Shanghai. The city of Hangzhou now belongs to the Yangzi River Delta Economic Zone, the largest economic zone in China. As for higher education, Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, established in 1897, was called by Joseph Needham (1990-1995) the “Oriental Cambridge”. The only national academy of art institution, the China Academy of Art is in Hangzhou.

Shenzhen (深圳)

Shenzhen is situated immediately north of Hong Kong, and approximately 100 miles from Guangzhou, the provincial city of Guangdong. In May 1980, Shenzhen was formally nominated as a “special economic zone”. The city has since experienced fast economic growth and has become China’s most successful Special Economic Zone. It currently holds sub-provincial administrative status, with powers slightly less than a province. There are

challenges to the city arising from rapid growth in both population and economy. The majority of the residents of Shenzhen are immigrants from the other Chinese cities and regions. As a result, Shenzhen has become a highly dynamic city with both stable and temporary residents.

Conclusion

Previous literature has examined social inclusiveness mainly from the perspective of participation in planning processes for changing the city brand. The current paper extends this

research in two ways. Firstly, we examine how disadvantaged socioeconomic groups engage with the city brand compared to other socioeconomic sub-groups. Rather than a planning process we are concerned with the day-to-day participation and engagement with the city brand in all of its dimensions. The findings of the paper do indicate a somewhat more constrained city brand engagement by the most disadvantaged socioeconomic group, including less social bonding.

Secondly, another point of difference with the current paper is to focus on disadvantaged cities, not simply disadvantaged sub-groups within a city. For this purpose, we choose satellite cities as an interesting context, using two Australian cities to examine key issues. Stressed satellite cities do have very different brand associations compared to self-sustaining, robust cities.

Finally, the paper foreshadows the possibility of applying the above lessons to three Chinese cities, Tianjin, Hangzhou and Shenzhen. Other cities could also be considered. Although there are differences in the challenges of the three nominated cities, it seems possible that each could benefit from using the framework and knowledge of the current paper and therefore potentially reduce the stress of future growth challenges.

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Heritage sites and legends as new vectors for modern place marketing; exploring perspectives from Europe and Asia

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the role of the historical & heritage sites and legends as new vectors for modern place marketing, comparing trends in Europe and Asia. By expanding the geographical scope to these two continents, whose history have been at times intertwined, this essay aims to open intercontinentally the stream of research on heritage, traditionally focused locally, and discussing dichotomies such as past versus present, real versus fictional places, historical legacy versus modern promotion. As socio-economic globalisation has expanded, institutional territories (cities, countries) are increasingly competing at both national and international levels. It is in this context, place promotion has emerged over the last few decades (Muñiz Martínez, 2012). Marketing / branding approaches should be conceived of within a broader process of strategic management and networked governance, and include culture as strategic factor.

Different types of heritage places can be identified, related to contemporary tourism consumption. Firstly historical sites of ancient splendor, becoming modern tourist icons for their current countries: in Asia, the *Angkor Wat* temples in Cambodia, or the *Great Wall* in China; in Europe the remains of the ancient Roman Empire with the *Colosseum* as landmark (nowadays Italy), or the *Acropolis* (Athens) in antique Greece, cradle of the Democracy and Western Philosophy, and where much of the modern European cultural identity began. Secondly, legends could also become tourist destinations, like the *Shangri-La* in Asia (China), or the *Santa Claus* in Europe (Finland). We also find connections between Europe and Asia through historical routes having religious & spiritual meanings, as the *Camino de Santiago* (Way of St. James, Spain) and the *Kumano Kodo* (Japan), the only two world's heritage routes by the UNESCO, currently advertised by the national tourism boards of Spain and Japan, looking for new positionings. On the other hand, the ancient *Silk Road* was the hub of trade and cultural exchanges between Asia and Europe for centuries; and nowadays some Central Asian nations are basing much of their modern tourism plans on the inheritance provided by this historical route.

This legacy from the past is valued in the present thanks to the emergence of new types of cultural and heritage tourism, during the second half of the twentieth century. New Bourgeoise people arose (Bourdieu, 1984) in post-industrial societies, in what has been termed *Postmodernism* (Urriely, 1997). In tourism, niche market segments emerged, in the search of new experiences and differentiated activities, exploring less conventional travelling, sometimes in

geographically distant and often in somehow exotic destinations.

Keywords: Cultural & heritage tourism; history, identity and place marketing; Asia and Europe.

1. Evolution of tourism towards new creative proposals through institutional networks

Tourism is evolving hand in hand with the evolution of modern societies and their conception of leisure and travel. In order to understand how cultural and heritage tourism emerged, we would probably have to go back to the spirit of the Enlightenment, when wealthy young British men undertook their so-called "grand tours" of Europe as part of their education; and it was in the Renaissance when humanist intellectuals and artists travelled to Italy in search of classical culture. Subsequently, with the Industrial Revolution, part of the population began to enjoy free time, and modern tourism emerged. Later still, the last corners of the Earth were explored –mountains, poles, deserts-, the planet mapped, and travel spread to other continents.

In more recent times, the solid hierarchical structures of the early twentieth century, which fostered overarching theories in the social sciences that tended to conceptualise societies as totalities (Uriely, 1997), gave way in the second half of the twentieth century to the emergence of *Postmodernism* and new ways of life in post-industrial societies. Thus, various sub-groups of the population came into existence, each of which demanded different types of tourism, in search of new experiences. In response to this demand, different products evolved, from mass tourism to increasingly segmented forms, often involving overlapping, hybrid forms, in which the classical approaches or mutually exclusive models gave way to more complex and cross-cutting proposals which offered "both and" rather than "either or" (Denzin, 91, Cohen, 79).

In this context, academic research on tourism has explored the dimensions of supply and demand. As regards demand, or the consumer perspective, known as the Pull factor, aspects such as increased salaries and levels of education among the middle classes and their quest to differentiate themselves through new experiences and kinds of travel (Bourdieu, 1984), have led to greater consumption of cultural and heritage tourism (McCannel, 1976). Groups of travellers have emerged, who are interested in exploring new places in order to witness and understand the historic legacy and heritage of past societies. The result of these global processes is that many destinations have formulated new proposals as regards supply -the Pull factor. In this regard, Richards (1996) found that there have been numerous studies in the field of cultural tourism in recent times, indicating the growing importance of cultural tourism in global and local markets.

Even so, Richards himself acknowledged later (2011) that there have been so many offers or proposals in the field of cultural tourism around the world, that demand has probably been exceeded. There is need thus to address these proposals and exchanges in a new light, from the perspective of creativity, which would imply a new step forward in the evolution of cultural tourism and would involve a shift from the use of cultural heritage as a mere basic resource, in the form of monuments or static assets, to a concept of creative industries, given new value by their differentiated attributes related to specific locations, in active interaction between dynamically conceived assets and intangibles. The adoption of creativity in urban management was noted by Landry (2000), who spoke of creative cities, and by Florida (2005), who pointed out the role played by attraction factors such as technology, talent and tolerance, in shaping creative class worldwide.

Certainly, tourism is evolving towards creativity and cross-cutting multi-thematic proposals in which many places are adding a modern dimension, including contemporary artistic activities and light entertainment, to the static resource of monuments and archaeological remains. Artistic heritage is no longer solely conceived of as the highest expression of the classical arts. Modern music (rock, pop, reggae, jazz, folk), dance and the dramatic arts are also incorporated, gastronomy and creative cuisine and other cultural industries. Thus, the international influence that Britain has exerted through rock-pop music, from the Beatles to numerous subsequent groups, is clearly evident in specific Visit Britain programmes in London, Liverpool, Manchester; the cultural influence that Japan has acquired nowadays through video games, Manga and Anime, pop music and graphic arts; or South Korea through its cuisine, pop music and soap operas. This process occurs both at national and local level, as various cities in the world possess an international profile and reputation which is marked by their historic heritage but which have nevertheless achieved

revitalisation through elements of modern culture. For example, the city of Kyoto, Japan's former capital, is home to many UNESCO world heritage temples, also hosting the modern Kyoto International Manga Museum, whilst the ancient city of Rome is now home to the *National Museum of the 21st Century Arts*, the Maxxi. Richards (2011) noted the importance of tango music and dance as a cultural attraction factor in the Argentinean capital city of Buenos Aires; and salsa music in the Colombian city of Cali. Aoyama (2009) has described how Flamenco music and dance contributes significantly to the attractiveness of historic Seville (Andalusia, southern Spain). Flamenco traditionally had limited and local audiences, but its authenticity has attracted international tourism (especially among the Japanese), leading to an expansion of tourist facilities

and improvements to the historic city centre. Thus, tourists represent co-creators of value in this process, since the demand for the art of flamenco, in a beautiful historic and cultural city, has entailed a reassessment of the cultural offering provided by those institutions in Seville involved in tourism: hotels, guides, restaurants, local government.

To implement this dynamic perspective, it will be necessary for different stakeholders and institutions to work together to co-create value. Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005) also proposed a collaborative approach to tourism, remarking on the need for cooperation between local governments, international organisations (UNESCO), various stakeholders, tourist groups and local communities in the management of heritage conservation; Luang Prabang in Laos being a case in point. In fact, modern marketing theory has expanded to include institutional networks, such as firms, territories (cities, regions, countries) and socio-cultural organisations, which collaborate in developing strategies to co-create value through interaction and continuous dialogue with consumers and stakeholders. These public-private partnerships, which sometimes co-brand corporate and territorial brands, form in order to improve their position in international markets. This conceptual advance represents a significant contribution to the development of tourism, and is consistent with the modern marketing theory that is emerging. This new approach of *Service-dominant Logic* (Vargo and Lusch, 2004, 2008) brings a new perspective to the theory of marketing, which is moving towards a more complex paradigm, going beyond a conventional economic analysis of industrial sectors.

These international trends give rise to the argument that globalisation homogenises and standardises approaches, since in response to the decline of many industrial activities in the West, numerous regions have developed cultural and heritage tourism. Chang *et al.* (1996), however, have

emphasised the importance of local heritage as a means of differentiation; thus, geography and place are crucial elements in the presentation of a destination's unique characteristics and cultural assets which differentiate it from the competition. There is a need to broaden the scope of tourism research and case studies to incorporate a more systematic comparison which would reveal trends between different places over time (Pearce, 1987). Responding to this need would involve daring to creatively explore different places and destinations that present cross-cutting characteristics, examining real and fictional places, different continents and historic sites which have been reassessed in the light of the new socio-economic values that have emerged from modern tourism.

2. Cultural heritage and place branding. In search of new travel experiences in places

which hold a certain symbolism in the countries where they are located.

The human legacy of the past acquires different interpretations in modern times. For Walsh (1992), and Fowler (1992), heritage is different from history, because conceptually it is conceived as a resource and as such, it is susceptible to economic exploitation through tourism. However, it requires marketing in order to become profitable. Whereas Wickham-Jones (1988) has warned of the dangers of excessive marketing of historic sites and of the commercial pressures exerted upon archaeological work, the custody of monuments and the promotion of historic heritage, Walsh (1992) has linked the commodification of the past to postmodernism and a growing need for differentiation in order to attain visibility in the current competitive consumer markets. On the other hand, excessive proliferation of modern proposals related to culture entails the risk that such offers become mere replicas, such as contemporary art museums (The Economist, 2000), theme parks (Jones and Robinett, 1998) and meaningless, superficial mass entertainment "pseudo-events" (Boorstin 1964), rather than more or less "authentic" expressions of culture (MacCannell, 1976).

Many places in the world can be framed within the various concepts of culture and heritage. Table 1 shows a global perspective of sites associated with culture in its various manifestations, whether the legacy of the past in the form of monuments left behind by civilisations and religions throughout the history of humankind, or different forms of human culture. These include places associated with the classical arts, such as music or theatre, with institutions expressing the spirit of the Enlightenment, such as universities or museums, with modern arts such as film, or with popular festivities which have achieved or generate international fame.

Some places become emblematic of the countries where they are located and become place brands, which not only represent well-known sites in their countries but also symbolise them internationally. Examples would include the pyramids and lost cities of the Mayans, which represent the change in the most popular tourist sites in Mexico from Acapulco or Puerto Vallarta on the Pacific Ocean coast to Cancun and the Yucatán Peninsula on the Caribbean, or Machu Picchu in Peru, which not only symbolises the Inca past but is also the most famous tourist site in Peru and, or the Khmer temples of Angkor Wat, undoubtedly the historic heritage icon of present day Cambodia. The site of the Inca civilisation, Machu Picchu, today it contributes to a certain spirit of nationalism in the historic city of Cuzco, which privileges Inca culture over the culture imported from Europe by the Spanish (Van den Berghe and Flores, 2000). This association with nationalist identity acquired by some sites has also been noted by Park (2009) in the case of Changdeok Palace in Seoul, South Korea.

Places associated with religion have acquired renewed significance for modern tourism, although the contradiction with their spiritual or sacred character implied by such economic use may distort their essence. Digance (2003) has singled out Ayer's Rock (Uluru) in Australia, and Mount Kailash in Tibet. There are a multitude of monuments and sites that could be included within ancient places renowned in the present, such as Stonehenge (Britain), the Mayan pyramids (Mexico) or Tikal (Guatemala), European cathedrals, Asian temples and pagodas -Bangkok, Ayutthaya- (Thailand), Borobudur (Indonesia), Mecca (Saudi Arabia), Jerusalem.

Table 1. PLACES around the WORLD with INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION according to CULTURAL, HISTORICAL or HERITAGE FEATURES

Cities with historical cultural profile	Small and medium cities of cultural profile	Prague –heritage, music, theatre- (Czech Republic); Edinburgh – heritage, academy, capital of Scotland- (Britain); Krakow –culture, catholic religion- (Poland); Kyoto –historical reference-
Events and landmarks based on cultural singular	Music	Music festivals: Bayreuth –R. Wagner- (Germany); Salzburg – W.A. Mozart- (Austria); Verona –G. Verdi- (Italy). Munich –opera festival- (Germany). New Orleans –Jazz, Gospel-

assets of international repute	Theatre	Avignon –summer festival- (France); Stratford-upon-Avon – festival in W. Shakespeare’s natal village - (England, Britain); Edinburgh – <i>Fringe</i> festival- (Scotland, Britain); classical theatre: Almagro, Mérida (Spain). Theatres of international reputation: Liceu, Barcelona (Spain); <i>alla Scala, Milan; La Fenice, Venice</i>
	Cinema	Film industry or festivals: Hollywood –Los Angeles- (USA); Cannes –Film Festival, Lions Festival of Creativity- (France); Berlin – <i>Berlinale</i> - (Germany), Venice – <i>Mostra</i> - (Italy); Bollywood –Hindi language film industry, Mumbai (formerly know as Bombay)- (India)
	University cities	Oxford, Cambridge –England-, St.Andrews –Scotland- (Britain); Heidelberg, Tübingen (Germany); Salamanca (Spain); Coimbra (Portugal)
	Major museums	Madrid –Museo del Prado, Centre of Art Reina Sofía, Thyssen-Bornemisza-, Bilbao –Guggenheim- (Spain); Paris –Louvre, Pompidou- (France); Saint Petesburg –Hermitage- (Russia); London –British Museum, National Gallery, Tate Britain, Tate Modern- (Britain); Berlin –Alte /Neue Nationalgalerie, Bode Museum, Altes/Neues Museum, Pergamo- (Germany); New York – Metropolitan, MOMA Museum of Modern Art, Guggenheim
	Parties and popular celebrations	Carnival: Rio de Janeiro, Salvador da Bah á (Brazil), Barranquilla (Colombia), New Orleans Mardi Grass (USA); Venice (Italy). Pamplona – <i>Sanfermines</i> - (Spain). Munich – <i>Oktoberfest</i> , beer party- (Germany); Siena – <i>Palio</i> , horse race (Italy);
Ancient historical and artistic heritage (historical centres, most of them named UNESCO World Cultural heritage)	<u>Great ancient civilizations:</u> Rome –roman civilization, Coliseum- (Italy); Florence – Renaissance- (Italy); Athens –Greek civilization, Acropolis- (Greece); Cairo –Egypt civilization, Pharaon’s ancient past, Piramids, Islamic present- (Egipt). <u>Islamic legacy:</u> Al-Andalus: Granada –Alhambra-, Córdoba –Mosque- (Spain); Isfahan –ancient Persia- (Iran); Fez, Marrakech – mosques, medina, markets- (Morocco), Damasco – Omeya Caliphate, continuously inhabited city for more time- (Siria); Shibam –historical skyscrapers built of adobe at the deserts (Yemen). Asia: Beijing –Forbidden City, Great Wall-, Xian – Silk Road, Terracotta warriors- (China); Angkor Wat –Khmer temples- (Cambodia); Bangkok, Ayutthaya – Kingdom of Siam- (Thailand); Jaipur (India); Katmandu (Nepal); Kyoto, Nara (Japan). <u>Medieval European towns:</u> Brugge (Belgium); York (England); Annecy,	

	<p><u>Ancient pre-hispanic civilizations in America</u>: Mayas: Chichén Itzá, Palenque (Mexico), Tikal (Guatemala); Machu Picchu –Incas- (Peru); Teotihuacán – Aztec- (Mexico); Taironas Lost City (Colombia); Lord of Sipan arch. site (Peru). <u>Convergence of ancient civilizations</u>: Jerusalem – Christian, Jewish, Arab a</p>	
Cities with a religious significance	<p>Jerusalem –multi-religious convergence: Christianity, Judaism, Islamism- (Israel, Palestine); Rome –Catholicism, Vatican- (Italy); Santiago de Compostela –Pilgrim Way of <i>Camino de Santiago</i>- (Spain), Mecca –holiest city of Islam-</p>	
<p>Cities and places evoking legendary past. Trade routes, Empires, Kingdoms; Legends, Myths</p>	<p>Ancient cities currently ruined</p>	<p>Babilon –Mesopotamia, <i>Babel</i> in the Bible- (modern Irak); Troy legendary epic evocation (now Turkey); Carthage – rival of ancient Rome, which destroyed it- (modern Tunisia); Sparta –</p>
	<p>Cities or towns much changed from the pas</p>	<p>Alexandria –founded by Alexander the Great- (now Egypt); Timbuktu/Tombouctou – historical trade routes through the Sahara dessert- (now Mali); Zanzibar Stone Town – former Island of Spices- (now Tanzania); Istambul – formerly <i>Constantinople</i>, capital of the</p>

Source: personal compilation.

There are also fictional places that have appeared in literature may be imaginary, but there is a sense of involvement may be awakened which can trigger a visit to these places. Such is the case of the Don Quixote route in Spain, or locations in England described in the books of Charles Dickens. Occasionally, some literary works have also been made into films, thus multiplying their audience and promotion opportunities. Cases in point include the Harry Potter series, with locations in Britain; or *the Lord of the Rings* trilogy, filmed in New Zealand. Conversely, there are places in the world of great natural beauty which have inspired literary works, such as Canaima (Venezuela) with its jungles, rivers, table-top Tepuis mountains and high waterfalls, on which Arthur Conan Doyle based his novel, *The Lost World*, and which in turn inspired the film Jurassic Park; or the book *Out of Africa*, by Danish writer Karen Blixen¹, which inspired the film directed by Sydney Pollack (figure 1).

¹ Isak Dinesen's pseudonym.

Figure 1.1

Historic heritage sites of lost civilisations, which are symbolic in their present day countries; recovered by archaeology, they have attained great fame and renown in modern tourism



Inca site of Machu Picchu, emblematic of tourism in Peru. Advertising insert in the written press



Scale replicas of the Mayan pyramids of Chichen Itza and Calakmul; Mexico pavilion at the 2012 FITUR tourism fair, Madrid, one of the most important fairs in the world, together with the Berlin ITB and the London World Travel Market

Figure 1.2

Symbolism of places of outstanding natural beauty.

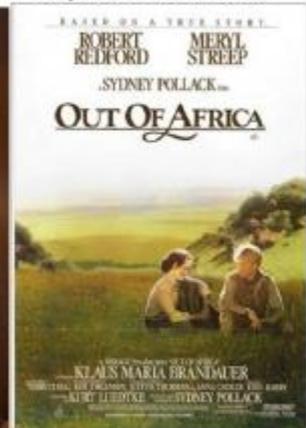
These are places that currently attract tourism and are emblematic of their respective countries



The landscapes of Canaima inspired the novel *The Lost World*, by Arthur Conan Doyle, and this book, in turn, formed the inspiration for the film *Jurassic Park*, directed by Steven Spielberg



Poster of Angel Falls, the highest waterfall in the world, in Canaima, Venezuela Pavilion, 2010 FITUR Tourism Fair, Madrid, Spain.



The award-winning film, *Out of Africa*, starring Robert Redford and Meryl Streep, was shot among the landscapes of Kenya, and helped popularise safari tourism to see African wildlife

Thus, there are many historic sites in the world whose management has present day importance; real or fictitious sites which share common characteristics and cross-cutting features, as shown in the following table.

Table 2.

PAST and PRESENT, REAL and FICTITIOUS SITES WORLDWIDE which have been CONVERTED into TOURIST DESTINATIONS or have the POTENTIAL for it

Widely renowned historic places which were destroyed and have not	Well-known historic places, generally inhabited throughout history to the	Sites of lost civilisations which, having been forgotten, have subsequently	Fictitious or literary sites originating in myths or legends which have become	Territories related to legends with some factual or historical basis, with plans or	Natural paradises that have become emblematic due to their scenic beauty or
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subsequently been recovered. Although vanished, they still evoke past glory.	present. Always the subject of admiration, they have received a new lease of life in modern times through tourism	been recovered by archaeology and endowed with new value through modern tourism	tangible through development as tourist products by public-private, national or regional organisations	potential for development as a tourism product	wildlife. Have inspired works of literature, art and cinema. Highly appreciated by the Western world in recent decades
Persepolis, Troy, Babylon, Carthage, Leptis Magna, Palmyra and the Lighthouse and the Library of Alexandria	Acropolis of Athens, Pyramids of Egypt, Coliseum of Rome, Forbidden City of Beijing, Great Wall of China, temples of Bangkok and Kivoto	Machu Picchu (Peru); Mayan pyramids and lost cities (Mexico, Belize, Guatemala); Angkor Wat (Cambodia); Pompeii, Herculaneum (Italy)	Santa Claus Park (Finland, Rovaniemi), Shangri-La (China, Yunnan), Arthurian Legend (Britain), The "El Quixote" Route (Spain)	Myth of Count Dracula (Vlad) (Romania), fictionalised by Bram Stoker and made into a movie, the legend of Eldorado (Colombia)	Serengeti, Masai Mara (Tanzania, Kenya), the <i>Lost World</i> (Canaima, Venezuela), <i>The Lord of the Rings</i> film trilogy (New Zealand)

Source: by the author.

These concepts can be explored in greater depth through an analysis of the characteristics of various places around the world (table 3), comparing their historical or fictitious nature (stemming from myths or legends), the present state of their historic monuments or remains of these and the civilisations which constructed them, the historical period of each site in terms of distance from the present, the natural environment in which they are located, their level of tourism development in the case that they are more or less consolidated tourism destinations or products, or conversely, their potential for this, and lastly, whether the sites or locations are perceived as emblematic of the present day countries in which they are located, in which case they may be considered iconic of past and present cultures, or to a certain extent, territorial brands.

Several of these territorial typologies possessed an important historical significance for their past societies, and have achieved renewed value in the present day because of modern tourism. Some places which have become tourist destinations sprang from subsequently fictionalised myths and legends of the past. They have also been popularised by literary fiction or film created by writers and artists of those characteristics. Machu Picchu was known to local people, but the Western world rediscovered the site in 1911 by the archaeologist Hiram Bingham, on an expedition funded by Yale University and National Geographic. After its heyday in the eighth century, the Mayan civilisation in the Yucatan peninsula and Central America collapsed, even before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores. Nowadays, the city of Tikal, and many of the lost Mayan sites are being recovered by archaeologists. This abandonment of historic sites by past societies which had lost their former glory, and subsequent rediscovery by Western

foreigners² also occurred in the case of the Khmer temples of Angkor Wat.

Most of these sites have become historical landmarks in their respective countries, marketing these assets to promote its culture globally, thus competing with similar places to bring tourism. Many people around the World are interested in visiting tourist destinations once rediscovered after centuries of neglect, achieving renewed value and being popularised in modern human cultures by people from distant geographical locations. In fact, as socio-economic globalisation has expanded, institutional territories (cities, regions, countries) are increasingly competing with one another at both national and international levels. It is in this context that the subject of place promotion has emerged over the last few decades. In the field of place promotion, there is a range of terms in use, reference sometimes being made to marketing, sometimes to branding (Muñiz Martínez, 2012). It is probable that marketing or branding is often understood

by public administrators as no more than a promotional campaign, applied in a given set of circumstances and limited to a time period of short duration. However, marketing and branding approaches should be conceived of within a broader process of strategic management or direction and networked governance, and include culture as strategic factor.

² The first documented visit of a Westerner to Angkor Wat (1857) was that of the French missionary, C. Emile Bouillevaux. In 1860, the French naturalist and explorer, H. Mouhot, travelled on an expedition for the Royal Geographical Society and the Zoological Society of London. Following his reports in 1866, the Scottish photographer J. Thomson took photographs which popularised the site.

Table 3. Historical heritage sites or natural landscapes in the world, which have become tourist destinations and are symbolic of the present day countries in which they are located

	Americas				Europe			Africa and the Middle East			East Asia		
	Lost Mayan cities	Machu Picchu -Incas-	The legend of Eldorado	Canaima and the Angel Falls	The Saint James' Way <i>Camino de Santiago</i>	Santa Claus or Father Christmas	Legend of Dracula	Lalibela	Serengeti, Masai Mara	Petra	Shangri-La	Angkor Wat	Kumano Kodo
Country where the site is currently located	Mexico, Guatemala, Belize	Peru	Colombia	Venezuela	Spain, ways coming from Europe	Finland, Lapland	Romania	Ethiopia	Tanzania, Kenya	Jordan	People's Republic of China	Cambodia	Japan
Phantasmal vs real place	Ancient civilisation in Mesoamerica, the remains of which were recovered by archaeologists	Ancient civilisation in South America. Its capital was the city of Cuzco	Legend of a place teeming with gold that the Spanish conquered S. America to find	Landscape that inspired the novel <i>The Lost World</i> , by Conan Doyle, and the film <i>Jurassic Park</i>	Christian pilgrimage route to the tomb of St. James	Character inspired by the Greek bishop Nicholas, who gave gifts to children	Historical myth of Count Vlad Tepes III, known as the Impaler	Holy city and centre of pilgrimage for Orthodox Christians	National Parks which are an African wildlife paradise	City in ancient Nabataean kingdom, abandoned after trade routes changed	Imaginary place based on the novel entitled <i>Lost Horizon</i> , by British author James Hilton	Major religious temple in the world, in the ancient Khmer empire	Spiritual pilgrimage route from Kyoto to Tanabe and Kumano
Monument relics + human culture	Pyramids in area inhabited by descendants of the Mayans	Lost city of the Inca people. Rediscovered by H. Bingham	Gold offering ceremonies of the pre-Columbian Muisca people	Canaima Park, inhabited by the indigenous Pemon people	Medieval European Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals	Northern Scandinavia is inhabited by the Sami people	Poenari Castle was the real Castle Dracula as featured in Stoker's novel	It features several churches of great beauty hewn into the rock	Indigenous Masai people inhabit these sites in harmony with environment	Archaeological remains are carved out of and sculpted in stone	Inspired by supposedly idyllic life in the Himalayan valleys	It flourished between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.	The route encompasses roads, temples and historic sites
Historical perspective	The Maya civilisation had already collapsed before the	The Inca Empire was conquered by the Spanish	The legend of El Dorado incited the Spanish search for	This beautiful nature became popular at the end of	The route originated as medieval pilgrimage. It is a	The legend spread through many countries and Coca-	Count Vlad was renowned for his cruelty in the	King Gebre conceived of Jerusalem after its conquest	By mid twentieth century, the German B. Grzimek	It was rediscovered for the West by Swiss explorer	The West idealises traditional life in natural landscapes	Decline and abandonment of the temples in the past,	From the past until the present day. It is classified

	arrival of the Spanish	Empire in the 16th century	gold	the twentieth century,	UNESCO World Heritage site	Cola popularised the colours	fifteenth century	by Muslims	preserved the Serengeti	J.L. Burckhardt		and subsequent rediscovery	as a UNESCO World Heritage site
Natural environment of the location	Jungle landscapes in the Yucatan Peninsula and Central America	Site located in a beautiful mountain area in the Andes (South America)	Centre of present day Colombia, location of the capital city of Bogota	Beautiful landscape with jungle, table-top mountains - <i>Tepuis</i> - and waterfalls	From Europe, the <i>Way</i> crosses the plains and woods of northern Spain	Northern Scandinavia, in forest landscape and places covered by winter snow	Bran Castle is located in Transylvania, and Vlad was Prince of Wallachia	In the Northern Highlands of Ethiopia, near the source of the Blue Nile	The natural landscape and its wildlife were saved from extermination by hunters	Middle Eastern desert, between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba	China promotes its provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan, and Tibet	The temples were buried under jungle growth until being re-discovered by Westerners	Route located in rich cultural heritage between forests, mountains, hot springs
Tourism destination	Historic sites that complement the offer of sun and sand in Cancun	Archaeological destination of the lost Inca city, the most famous site in Peru	The legend is cited in the Gold Museum (Bogota), but it is not yet a tourist product	Visits to Canaima are increasing. Venezuela promotes this attraction	It has become a popular destination in the quest for a new spirituality	The legend was exploited by the town of Rovaniemi, and is its great attraction	Since Bram Stoker's novel, Bran Castle has attracted tourism	It is a tourist attraction in Ethiopia, but its promotion could be enhanced	They constitute major tourism attractions in Tanzania and Kenya	It is the most visited destination in Jordan, and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site	China has created a great tourist destination based on this legend	Angkor Wat temples are the major tourist attraction in present day Cambodia	The <i>Yokoso Japan</i> campaign has promoted it as an active tourism destination
Degree of Place Branding	It symbolises Mexico and Guatemala's wealth of historic monuments	Iconic monument which symbolises Perú and S. America	Potential for development of a tourism resource based on this legend	Unique beautiful scenery area in Venezuela and South America	One of the new elements of cultural tourism in Spain	Other Scandinavian sites clamour for this Christmas tradition	The novel has inspired film versions. Drakul Park is projected	The Rock Church in Beta Giorgios is unique. UNESCO World Heritage	Serengeti and Masai Mara form part of the national identity	Scenes from the film <i>Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade</i>	Tourism product is different from the original idea fictionalised in the novel	It symbolises various elements of this country's cultural identity	It represents the essence of national spirituality in traditional Japan

4. Heritage sites and legends in place marketing; exploring perspectives from Europe and Asia.

4.1. Historic monuments which symbolise the splendour of past civilisations

There are monuments that symbolise the historical legacy of past civilisations, and contribute to representing the modern identity of present day places, which now tend to be used to market the cities and countries where they are located. In Europe, the Coliseum of Rome represents the greatness of the ancient Roman civilisation, whilst the Parthenon at the Acropolis of Athens the ancient Greece, birthplace of Western civilisation. Many sculptures and works from this past are displayed in great museums of countries which have been powerful in recent centuries, such as the British Museum (London); the Louvre Museum (Paris); the Altes, Neues and Pergamon museums (Berlin). In Asia, the Taj Mahal (Agra, India), the Royal Palace in Bangkok, the Forbidden City in Beijing, the Great Wall of China, represent past civilisations of these countries and constitute landmarks.

Figure 2.1 Monuments from the past, Asia

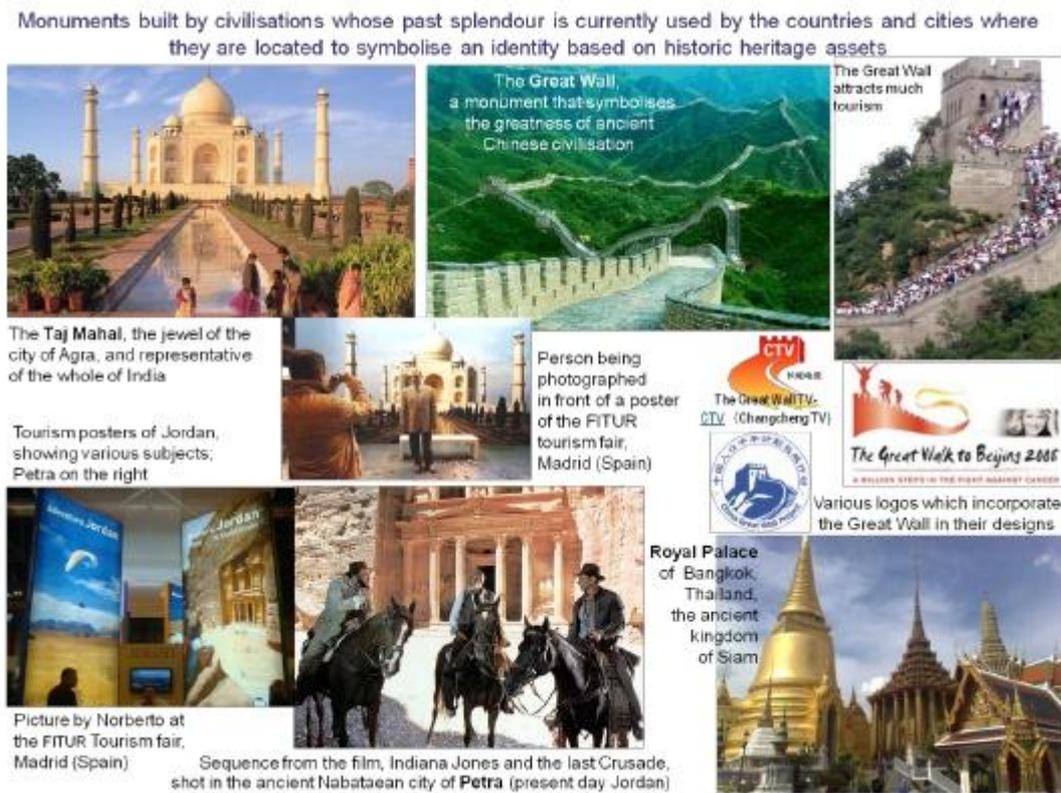


Figure 2.2 Monuments from the past, Europe



4.2. European and Asian cities with shared intercontinental historical ties, whose identity and marketing strategies are determined by this cultural profile

Some cities in Europe were historically associated with Asia, whilst some cities in Asia were linked with Europe. These are ties that go back to ancient trade routes, or invasions from the other continent. An historic heritage has endured which has left its mark on the identity of these cities. Thus, this cultural profile exerts an influence on present day marketing, whether they have been developed or have the potential for being so.

European cities with historic links to Asia

In Europe, Granada and Cordoba (Spain) were for centuries cities of Arab civilisation, following the invasion of the Iberian peninsula; this has left behind a cultural legacy. The fortress palace of the Alhambra it is a UNESCO World Heritage site, the most visited monument in Spain. The Cordoba Mosque bears witness to the deep spiritual meaning of medieval Islamic art; it was once the second largest mosque in the world, only inferior in size to the mosque at Mecca. In present day Italy, Venice still reflect its past glory, which was based on trade with Asia, and was responsible for introducing silk, paper, gunpowder, spices and culinary concepts such as pasta, into Europe. Due to its unique urban beauty and canals, Venice is extremely popular with tourists worldwide, for whom it represents the quintessential romantic city. However, the massive influx of tourists renders life difficult for its inhabitants, and there is a risk of Venice becoming a museum rather than a living city.

Figure 3.1 European cities with historic links to Asia

In Asia, the ancient Silk Road trade formed the backbone of European commerce. There were several sub-routes which connected Eastern cities such as Xian or Kashgar in China and Samarkand and Bukhara in present day Uzbekistan. The link between the southern part of these routes and the West

was Istanbul, the bridge between Europe and Asia, and the former capital of the Byzantine Eastern Roman Empire, in the days when the city was called Constantinople. Other routes crossed the Indian Ocean, when European countries with a colonial commercial tradition founded cities such as Karachi (now Pakistan), Goa (India), Malacca and George Town –Penang- (Malaysia), Singapore, Hong Kong (China), Jakarta, Surabaya and Makassar -Ujung Pandang- (Indonesia). This historical legacy has left its mark on their heritage profile, differentiating them from other cities.

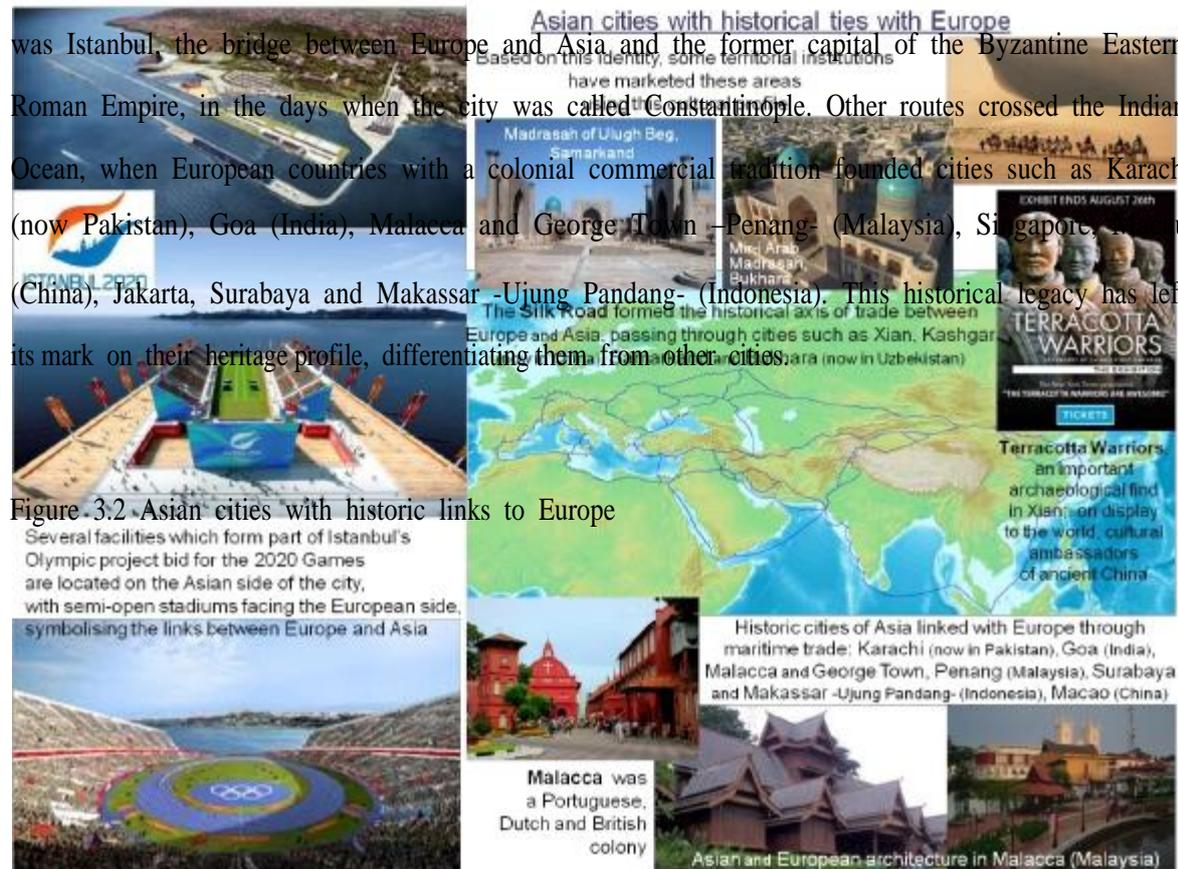


Figure 3.2 Asian cities with historic links to Europe

4.3. Past historic towns that contribute to the present day image of cities/countries where they are located

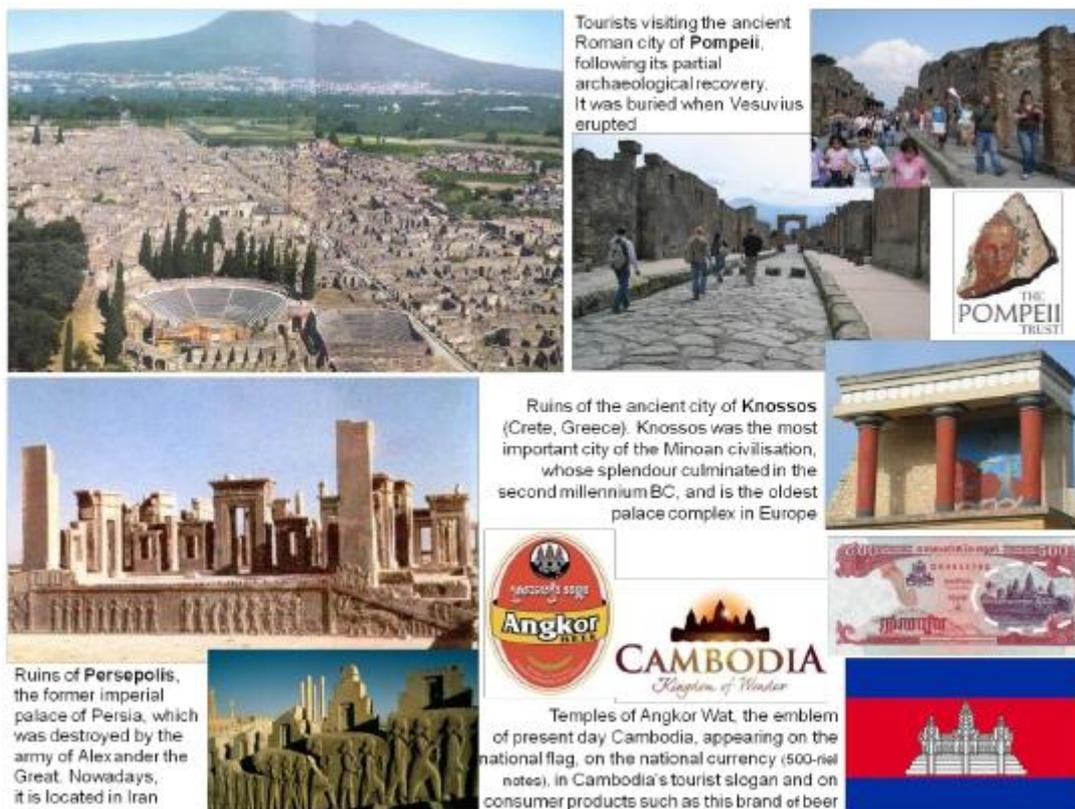
Throughout the history of humankind, there have been many cities which have disappeared or

have been destroyed. Some have been recovered in contemporary times by archaeology, because they form the legacy of past civilisations, whilst others, still in decline, are gradually being restored. They contribute to representing the identity and image of the cities and countries where they are located today, which market them on the basis of this historic heritage profile. In Europe, the ancient Roman cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum (near present day Naples, Italy) were buried when Vesuvius erupted; these days, they have been partially recovered by archaeology, and illustrate life at that time, attracting tourism. There are cities built by lost civilisations which collapsed in the past, such as Angkor and its temples in present

day Cambodia, a small country that identifies its heritage with the past splendour of Khmer culture. Ancient Mayan pyramids, which attract tourism in Mexico today, also represent Mexico's pre-Hispanic identity.

There are also sites which have not been recovered, such as Persepolis, the ancient imperial palace of the Persian civilisation, which was destroyed by the army of Alexander the Great. It might perhaps play a role in modern Iran. In recent years, much heritage has been destroyed: extreme dogmatism and uneducated intolerance caused large Buddhist sculptures in Bamyan to be demolished by the Taliban in present day Afghanistan. Meanwhile, there are sites that are associated with mysteries or myths from the past. For example, Stonehenge (England) is a megalithic monument from the Neolithic period. At present, besides attracting tourists, it also attracts people who go there at the summer solstice to conduct pagan celebrations of the arrival of summer, representing to some extent a return to past heritage, a tourism in search of new experiences. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the celebrations held at the Yucatan pyramids in Mexico today, at the Inca sites in Peru and at the Moai statues on Easter Island.

Figure 4 Archaeological remains from the past



4.4. Historic religious and spiritual pilgrimage routes, converted into tourist destinations for those seeking new travel experiences

There are many places in the world of spiritual and religious significance. Most are associated with historic monuments that can be visited and are therefore tangible places; however, there are also routes completed on foot, or in more recent times sometimes also by bike, which involve an intangible dimension due to the personal introspection of visitors, whose motivations may be religious or more or less spiritual, according to the beliefs and values of the person undertaking the route. The physical experience involves a level of personal sacrifice and deprivation which invites self-reflection. In addition, the physical exercise itself strikes a parallel with the experience of active tourism and eco-tourism.

Two routes have been declared World Heritage by the UNESCO: The Saint James' Way – *Camino de Santiago*- in Spain and the *Kumano Kodo* in Japan, and those responsible cooperate in joint international promotion. These routes originated in the past. The *Camino de Santiago* developed as a result of Christian pilgrimage to the alleged tomb of one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, Saint James; several routes from all over Europe converge in northern Spain and from there follow the route to Santiago de Compostela. Meanwhile, the *Kumano Kodo* dates back to the sixth century, reflecting Japanese Buddhist and Shinto tradition. The pilgrim routes pass through stunning mountain scenery with large trees and beautiful waterfalls which, according to the faith, were the abode of spirits and gods. It is considered an earthly paradise in which pilgrims seek to purify their souls.

Figure 5 Spiritual pilgrimage routes of the past, which are symbolic of the countries where they are located, and are nowadays promoted as tourist destinations by their national institutions

Spiritual pilgrimage routes of the past, which are symbolic of the countries where they are located, and are nowadays promoted as tourist destinations by their national institutions



These routes have achieved worldwide success and renown. The present day motivation for promoting the places through which they pass in Spain and Japan is to attract tourism. The national tourism organisations of these two countries, *TurEspana* and the *Yokoso Japan* campaign, conduct marketing with new thematic vectors of their countries' images. In the case of Spain, one of the world's top tourist destinations, in an attempt to diversify its specialisation in sand and sun; and for Japan, to publicise its cultural tradition, in contrast to its established reputation as a country with prestigious industrial and electronic brands.

4.5. Legends and myths which have been turned into contemporary tourism products

The wealth of humanity's social and cultural heritage has fostered numerous legends and myths, some of which are utilised to promote the territory where these legendary traditions emerged. Such is the case of the alleged sightings of a large, unknown amphibious animal in Lake Ness (Scottish Highlands, Britain). The controversy over its authenticity, together with other assets of

this British nation such as its heritage –including a number of castles- and reputation in the whiskey world, attracts tourism.

Sometimes, legends or myths about imaginary places are subsequently identified with real territories and become destinations, the result of institutional marketing strategies to promote tourism in countries or cities. These territorial institutions capitalise on myths which are not based on specific sites. Such is the case of Santa Claus, a legend partially based on real historical events, which has recently been used to promote the town of Rovaniemi (Finland) by building the Santa Claus Park, which attracts tourists from all over the world. Another case is that of the myth of Shangri-La, an imaginary place in the novel entitled *Lost Horizon*, by James Hilton, which narrates the supposedly idyllic life in Himalayan valleys, and which could be developed as part of a territorial marketing strategy in countries such as Nepal or Bhutan; but China has been promoting the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan, creating a tourism destination based on the legend.

Figure 6.1 Legends and myths from the past that have become tourism products in Europe

Legends and myths from the past that have become tourism products in Europe and Asia

Santa Claus is a figure with legendary, mythical, historical, and folkloric origins who, in Western culture, brings gifts to good children on Christmas Eve -December 24th. The modern Santa Claus was derived from the Dutch figure of Sinterklaas, which, in turn, was partially based on Saint Nicholas of Myra. He was a 4th-century Greek Christian bishop of Myra (now Demre) in Lycia, a province of the Byzantine Anatolia, now Turkey. Nicholas was famous for his generous gifts to the poor. During the Christianisation of Germanic Europe, this myth absorbed elements of the god Odin -Scandinavian Northern Europe-. (Source: Wikipedia)

Images of Santa Claus were further popularised by the Coca-Cola Company's Christmas advertising in the 1930s. The popularity of the image spawned urban legends that Santa Claus wears red and white because they were the colours used to promote this brand







The small town of Rovaniemi (Finland) has capitalised on this legend, building the Santa Claus Park, which attracts numerous tourists from all over the world

Nevertheless, this legend has become a tourist attraction, even promoted by British tourism institution. Near the village of Drumadrochit is The Official Loch Ness Monster Exhibition

The **Loch Ness Monster** is a legend based on a large unknown animal that nevertheless, it has become a tourist attraction is said to inhabit Lake Ness (Scotland, UK). Popular interest and belief in the animal's existence has varied since it was first brought to the world's attention in 1933. Evidence of its existence is anecdotal, with minimal and much-disputed photographic material and sonar readings (Wikipedia).

The "Surgeon's Photograph" (1934) photo of "head and neck". Dr. Wilson claimed he was looking at the lake when he saw the monster, so grabbed his camera and snapped 5 photos





Figure 6.2 Legends and myths from the past that have become tourism products in Asia



There are also legends based on the wildlife inhabiting every sub-region of the world. These are usually based on large animals, such as big cats, bears and wolves, whose power dwelt in the collective imagination of ancestral societies. Thus, the tiger is usually the emblematic animal in Asia, the lion in Africa. These big cats, along with other animals such as bears and eagles, have been admired and feared throughout history. They are usually represented in the coats-of-arms of countries, regions and cities in Asia and Europe. In Asia, the Tiger Girl legend is linked to the founding of Korea, and inspired one of the logos of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. The various sub-species of tiger are endangered, although India has sought to protect their habitat through a conservation plan -Project Tiger-. It is of great ethical importance to preserve these beautiful animals on our Planet; additionally, the possibility of watching these magnificent felines, in their natural wild environment, represents an economically profitable tourism asset which can be used to promote the territories they still live in—Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Russian Far East-

Conclusions and discussion

In these recent times, characterized by globalization, there has been increasing competition between the nearly 200 countries that there are in the world, not to mention regions and various kinds of cities, in aspects like attracting tourism, investments, driving up exports, enhancing influence or the external image, improving quality of life. Many places also seek to take advantage of their historic heritage to develop place marketing plans based on culture, in an attempt to differentiate themselves.

It is probably necessary to broaden the focus of research in tourism and place marketing, adopting a more comprehensive approach which will enable observation of trends around the world, extending to the continents on the planet, benchmarking various locations and destinations, studying cross-cutting characteristics between real and fictional places, including tangible and intangible assets. A more holistic perspective would be required, where the past is linked to the present through a creative dialogue and historic and heritage legacy is given new value through socio-economic strategies for place marketing & branding. The challenge for cities and countries is to find keys to the representation of their identity and to projecting their image that from the achievements of a cultural inspiration in the past will create fresh, modern points of attraction for younger audiences (Anholt, 2002). These should show the plural nature of present-day societies, and their new intellectual and spiritual qualities, open to novel cultural concepts such as pop music, sports, inventive and creative cookery inspired by genuine local items, and the like.

While we tend to restrict the value of historic heritage to the field of tourism, in view of the attraction for travellers of visiting historic sites, nowadays some places also embody modern social territorial identities. In fact, some contemporary cultures, longing or feeling nostalgic for a past that is considered more glorious than the present, identify with civilisations that disappeared or fell into decline. This is the case of parts of present day Peru as regards the Inca civilisation (particularly in the city of Cuzco), or southern Mexico or Guatemala as regards the Mayans, privileging a past identity over the current Hispanic or *mestizo* identities. In Asia, Cambodia too, identifies with the splendour of the past Khmer culture and the temples of Angkor; or modern Mongolia, where the

ancient time and conquests of Genghis Khan is still evoked. Thus, quite often the meaning of the value of some historic heritage sites is related to the identity of present day nations.

The management of historic heritage sites should be modernised, using approaches based on ethical principles, sustainable environmental balance and socially inclusive policies. Furthermore, marketing should be updated beyond the traditional firm- and customer-oriented approaches, moving towards the co-creation of value by different institutions collaborating in network and, in complex exchanges between various groups and institutions. In a world increasingly preoccupied with economic efficiency and the technical aspects of business competition, there is still room to create brands with profiles of cultural excellence. These, rather than stressing factors of opulence and power, emphasise a philosophy of creativity, humanism, tolerance and philanthropy, and of cultural and artistic awareness.

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City branding and governance in historical context: Sweden and

Stockholm since the 1930s

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Abstract

The object of this article is to present an overview of how city branding has been organised in Stockholm since the 1930s and on. For a long time Swedish cities as well as other municipalities were in principle not expected to compete with each other by for example city marketing. Anyhow, city branding, mainly directed towards the city inhabitants, started on a small scale in Stockholm in the 1930s. The organisational framework has undergone many changes over the years. It started as an alliance with many partners became later a foundation, and today the marketing is achieved by a number of municipal companies.

The negative attitudes towards city competition changed definitely with the de-industrialisation and the switch to post-industrialism around 1970. Since then, city branding has been a normal feature for all Swedish municipalities. The State has even promoted municipal competition. Both in the 1930s and in the 1970s city branding got new impetus and changed direction. This can be explained by a mix of factors including compression of space and time, economic crises, increased mobility and others as well.

The article is based on previous research and has its value in giving the historical context for the rise of current city branding.

Key words: city branding, city marketing, tourism, urban governance, city administration, Stockholm, de-industrialisation, post-industrialism, urban history

Introduction

The marketing and branding of cities on a broad scale, financed by taxes, is in Sweden a rather new phenomenon. Swedish local authorities were for many years not supposed to be engaged at all in city branding or in city marketing. Already the first communal ordinances, issued in 1862, stated that urban as well rural municipalities should only in a very general manner promote the local commercial and industrial life. They could for example invest in harbours, railway lines, and railway companies, and finance similar public projects which were to the benefit of the entire city, and not only gave advantages to a specific firm or branch. Subsidises and other economic support to private companies were not obliged. Cities should not compete with each other. Economic policy was to be accomplished by the State. Only the national authorities had the necessary overview and competence to take such decisions. A locally self-governed economic policy might interfere with the national goals formulated by the government. The prohibitions against local economic policies were regularly repeated every time the communal laws were revised and upgraded.

A quite new situation turned up around 1970 when Sweden like many other highly industrialised nations switched from industrialism to post-industrialism. Sweden started to de-industrialise in the 1960s, and in the 1970s branches such as banking and finance together with other producer services took over as the most dynamic ones. Tourism and cultural services as well belonged soon to the most expanding economic industries. These changed economic conditions also meant new attitudes towards city marketing and local economic policy. The government realised that they could not any longer help a city in crises by giving substantial support for the setting-up of a new large-scale factory. State support did not, however, totally disappear, but it got new forms on a lower scale. Cities and other municipalities were at the same time encouraged to solve their own problems by for example local economic policies and place marketing. It did not take long until local authorities all over Sweden responded to these new signals by for example organising a municipal administration for handling economic matters. Marketing and financial incentives, previously not allowed, became natural components of local strategies for attracting new business as

well as tourists and various events. Each municipality pursued its own policy and marketing in competition with other municipalities. Tax financed city branding was not any more seen as a problem.

The regulations against local economic policy including place branding were, however, not always put into practice. There are many examples of cities that tried to compete with other cities by offering favourable prices of land, tax exemptions, and discounts on municipal services as well as other economic advantages to attract new investors. Anyhow, the State did not do much to stop municipal sponsoring and marketing. On the contrary, the State itself encouraged sometimes city competition to get the best conditions for its public investments. At the turn of the century it was for example a strong competition between cities to get the new regiments decided by the parliament.

City branding on a restricted scale began in the 1930s. The city authorities of Stockholm has since the mid-1930s by various means been engaged in the marketing of the city. Initially, the city council decided to give financial support to a newly established marketing alliance for Stockholm and surrounding municipalities. The city was also represented in the board of the alliance. Later on, municipally owned companies and the municipal administration took over the responsibility for the marketing of Stockholm. A crucial decade was the 1970s, when the switch to post-industrialism became more obvious.

The main focus of this article is on the organisational framework for the marketing of Stockholm and how it has changed since the 1930s and up to today. A distinction is made between external and internal marketing. The latter one is primarily directed towards the city inhabitants, while external marketing tries to attract tourists, visitors, congresses, events, new companies and others as well.

External marketing

The first tourist organisation in Stockholm, Stockholms Turisttrafikförbund (STTF), was

established in 1935. It was an alliance with the city of Stockholm as one of many members. Travel agencies, hotels and restaurants and other businesses and institutions engaged in tourism were as well members. Thus, it was a mix of public and private interests. The main goal for this organisation was to promote tourism in the city of Stockholm and adjoining municipalities. It was initially mainly financed by annual subscriptions. Besides these member fees the city council of Stockholm decided every year on special grants for STTF. As the main sponsor the city of Stockholm was from the start represented in the board of the alliance.

Stockholm had in the 1930s a reputation of being a boring city. Therefore, STTF had an ambition to change this negative attitude towards Stockholm and give the city a more positive image. STTF produced a lot of tourist brochures, leaflets, and other kinds of information material. They also proposed arrangements of festivals and other events that should be attractive even for people outside Stockholm including foreigners. A water festival was for example discussed in the 1930s, but realised much later. Festivals with focus on sports were also prioritised. Furthermore, STTF noticed a shortage of hotel rooms and started therefore a hotel agency. Among other activities initiated by STTF we find education of tourist guides as well as language courses for staff at hotels and restaurants and for taxi drivers.

The grants from the city council amounted in the 1930s to about 20 per cent of STTF's budget. This percentage rose to 50 per cent in the 1950s and the 1970s and periodically more than that. Member fees meant less and less for the economy. New sponsors entered the scene. Most important were the Council of Stockholm County and Stockholm's Chamber of Commerce.

In the 1950s and 1960s there were many conflicts in the board of STTF. Representatives from the different industrial branches could not any longer cooperate in a fruitful way. The City of Stockholm wanted to have stricter control over tourism issues and not leave everything to the alliance. The Chamber of Commerce preferred as well more influence from the city authorities.

Already in the 1930s several proposals were made in the city council, that Stockholm should build its own tourist organisation within the framework of the city administration. The proposals were, however, not supported by a majority of the city council. STTF was supposed to be able to handle even Stockholm's special interests.

The internal conflicts of STTF continued in the 1970s. The city council and the county council requested that the private partners should take greater responsibility for the economy. The Chamber of Commerce asked for more seats in the board but was not prepared to pay more money. Finally, a new tourist organisation, Stockholm Information Service (SIS) was established in 1977, and STTF was closed down in 1980.

SIS was a foundation owned by the City of Stockholm and the County Council of Stockholm County. This was Sweden's first municipally owned tourist organisation for city and regional marketing. But Stockholm had already in 1973 established a special municipal department for the marketing of land and premises towards entrepreneurs. Still earlier, in the 1960s, the City and the Chamber of Commerce became owners of the Saint Erik Fair (later The Stockholm Fair).

The new tourist regime also meant a stronger focus than before on entrepreneurs, business people and conference visitors. They stayed longer, used hotels and other facilities to a higher degree and spent more money than tourists in general. Marketing was in the 1970s more and more seen as a possibility of generating new incomes to the city, and should not only produce information for tourists and visitors. SIS, and its subsidiary company Destination Stockholm (DSAB), did not normally organise conferences and events themselves. One exception was World Police and Fire Games in 1999, which ended in a substantial economic loss. Besides, DSAB failed to set up a new digitized booking system. As a consequence of the economic and administrative problems a major reorganisation took place.

The cooperation between the City of Stockholm and Stockholm County Council within the framework of SIS ceased. Instead, the city took alone full responsibility for the marketing. A new joint-stock company, by the name Visit Stockholm and owned by the city, was founded in 2001. The name was in 2002 changed to Stockholm Visitors Board (SVB). After a series of minor reorganisations SVB is since 2005 a corporation belonging to the municipal company group Stockholm Business Region (SBR). On its part, SBR is one of seventeen subsidiary companies to Stockholm Stadshus AB. The latter company shall promote activities that serve the city inhabitants. SVB's object is to develop the marketing of Stockholm and coordinate all the various agents in the tourism industry.

Thus, since the city alone at the beginning of the 21st century took over the responsibility for the marketing there have steadily been reorganisations. New companies have successively been set up, others have disappeared. But all changes have been performed inside company groups or corporations owned by the city. In cooperation with other municipalities Stockholm has besides promoted regional marketing. Stockholm Business Alliance was for example started in 2006. This project includes today no less than 50 municipalities in a wide geographical area stretching more than 200 kilometres north, west and south of Stockholm. The region uses the heavily criticised slogan *Stockholm - The Capital of Scandinavia*. All members, and not only Stockholm, may use that trademark. Anyhow it's often only associated with just Stockholm.

The development of the marketing of Stockholm can broadly be divided into the following three periods with varying ownership, partners and objects.

Period	Owner	Partners	Object
1935-1980	Alliance	The city of Stockholm and private firms	Inform tourists and other visitors; Consumer perspective
1970-2000	Foundation	The city of Stockholm and Stockholm County Council	More focus on entrepreneurs, congresses and events; Producer perspective; Tourism as a source of income

2001-	Companies	Municipally owned companies	Global marketing of Stockholm and the broader region towards entrepreneurs, tourists and other visitors
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Some statistics

Before 1978 we only have very sporadic data on the number of visitors in Stockholm as for the rest of Sweden. STTF estimated in its first yearly report from 1936 that Stockholm in June had 30 visitors per day. The number had increased to 50 in July and to 60 in August. On a monthly basis this means between 1,000 and 2,000 people. Thus, Stockholm should according to these estimates have had 4,000-5,000 visitors in the three summer months of 1936. The minutes from a board meeting in December 1952 states 272,000 visitors for that year which was 75,000 higher than in 1951. These figures indicate a substantial increase since the 1930s.

From 1978 we have yearly figures on the number of hotel nights spent in Stockholm County. This amount has increased from 2.7 million in 1978 to 8.7 in 2009. About 400,000 nights were added in 1994 due to an enlargement of the statistical material. Still, there has been an increase with about 5.5 million hotel nights over 30 years. Of course it is possible to visit Stockholm without staying at hotels, hostels and similar establishments. We have for example day visitors and people coming by cruise liners. Some bring their own cars and caravans and other stay by relatives or friends.

Most of the hotel visitors are Swedes. They represent 50-60 per cent of the total figure and the share has been rather stable since the late 1970s. The second largest category is Germans. Visitors from the other Nordic countries are also a relative large group, even if their share of the market has diminished over time. An increasing group during the last years, and especially in winter time, is tourists from Russia.

Anyhow, tourism has been a strongly expanding branch of business. It generates more and more incomes as well as employment opportunities. The number of persons employed at

hotels and restaurants in the city of Stockholm doubled for example between 1970 and 1990 from 10,000 to 20,000. The growth was stronger than for the labour market in general, and therefore the branch increased its share of Stockholm's total employment from 2.5 to 4 per cent. The expansion has continued. Hotels and restaurants in Stockholm employed 27,000 people in 2010 which represented 4.6 per cent of the labour market. The branch was of the same size as the manufacturing industry.

Internal marketing

Several actions were taken by the local authorities in the 1930s to promote the marketing of Stockholm. Besides the engagement in SSTF the city authorities also decided to set up several new sections in order to sell the city to the inhabitants. One of the new units was the handbook committee whose task was to support and publish books on the history of Stockholm. Another new bureau became responsible for the municipal information. Of special importance was to guide inhabitants who tried to get into touch with the city administration. People were in general not considered to have sufficient knowledge about how a modern municipality operated. Therefore, information to the inhabitants on the structure of the city administration was given high priority. It should be easy for everybody to find the relevant municipal agency, and to get advice and help. Information to the press and other mass media was in the 1930s and 1940s not as frequent as it became later on. But the newspapers followed regularly the meetings of the city council and reported in great detail on all decisions and debates.

In 1941 an advertising committee followed. Its main obligation was to urge the inhabitants to pay their taxes in due time. At that point in time each tax-payer had to personally visit the tax office three times per year for tax payments. The financial situation of Stockholm deteriorated during the economic crisis of the 1930s. At the same moment some big companies moved out from the city centre to suburban municipalities, and so did high income earners as well. The city authorities got also in the 1930s new duties from the State when the building of the welfare society started on a greater scale. The municipalities were given a strategic role in the Swedish welfare programme. In this new situation the city council

perceived it as important to inform the inhabitants on what resources were needed to fulfil the tasks, how taxes were used, and how important it was to pay taxes.

The system for tax collection was changed in 1947. Since then, the employers have been responsible for their employee's tax payments by reductions on salaries (pay as you earn or tax at source of income). The advertising committee's tax information campaigns continued for some while after the tax reform of 1947, but with less intensity. Instead more of the committee's resources were put into the magazine "Stockholm" which started in 1942 on the initiative of the advertising committee.

The magazine was distributed free to all households in Stockholm. It was a part of the municipal information and should among else inform on the services offered by the city authorities. Besides, it should contribute to create a local spirit and loyal citizens. The publication continued up to 1991.

Advertising, information and propaganda were the concepts mainly used in the 1930 and 1940s. A Propaganda Committee was for example established in 1936. It was one of several similar groups that were investigating Stockholm's economic development and the question of promoting local industries. About 60 Swedish cities gave already municipal support to the local economic and commercial life. However, Stockholm city council decided that the city should not support the local industry, and consequently no new organisation was set up. Stockholm, as the capital city, had to behave exemplarily, and not compete with other cities by for example offering entrepreneurs favourable land prices or give them other subsidises.

The idea that Stockholm had to serve as an ideal for other cities sustained up to the 1970s and came to a great extent to influence all marketing measures. It was often emphasised that marketing was only directed towards companies that already were established in Stockholm and had not the intention to attract new firms. Tourist information was in the same manner meant for tourists that had already arrived in the city, and the ambition was not to influence people in their choice of destination.

The internal marketing of Stockholm changed character in the 1950s and 1960s. Propaganda for tax payments was for example no longer necessary. Instead marketing was used to provide political legitimacy. The magazine “Stockholm” and other information materials as well often underlined that the urban authorities were efficient and competent producers of a wide range of municipal welfare services. Even the large-scale restructuring of the inner city in the 1950s and 1960s was defended and described as a progressive development of a modern welfare city. However, the magazine expressed a more sceptical attitude towards the demolition when the critique of the rebuilding became massive.

Most of the events proposed by the various municipal marketing divisions were also meant for the local audience. It was, thus, also a kind of internal marketing. Outsiders were of course welcome, but primarily the inhabitants of Stockholm should be amused and entertained. Examples of such events are the celebration of Stockholm’s 700 years in the early 1950s, and the 750 years jubilee in 2002. The popular water festivals in the 1990s belong as well to this category together with “Love Stockholm” in honour of Crown Princess Viktoria’s wedding in 2010.

Explanations

It was not only the local authorities of Stockholm that initiated promotion and place marketing in the 1930s. Similar actions were taken by many other Swedish cities at the same time. However, Stockholm seems to have been first in Sweden with tax advertising and a municipal magazine. Intensified place competition and new forms for marketing and branding was likewise a general trend in the 1970s. These two periods stand out as the most important breaking points.

In the theoretical literature compression of space and time has been emphasised as crucial for place promotion. Certainly compression is a continuous process but it may very well have been intensified in the 1930s as well as in the 1970s. It has also been said that economic and

demographic crises will lead to harder competition between places and consequently more of branding and marketing. The demographic and economic development of Sweden fits well into this approach, with the low growth rates of the 1930s and depopulation and deindustrialisation of Stockholm in the 1970s.

However, there is probably a mix of factors that may explain the development of place marketing. The advertising industry had for example a breakthrough in Sweden in the 1930s. The previous negative attitude toward promotions gradually faded away and advertising became more accepted. Many marketing ideas came from the U.S. and were adapted to Swedish circumstances. Private advertising agencies could for example, on their way to New York or other American cities, ask local authorities if they also should keep an eye at urban marketing.

Improved communications and increased mobility are other factors that in theories are assumed to give new impetus for place marketing and branding. Once again, both in the 1930s and the 1970s new incentives were taken. Mobile phones and the Internet represented for example a communication revolution in the late 20th century and have certainly promoted city marketing.

The relationship between the State and municipal authorities changed both in the 1930s and the 1970s, and that may have been another factor affecting place marketing. The municipalities got a decisive role in the building of the Swedish welfare society that started in the 1920 and 1930s. They became producers of welfare services under firm control by the State. The welfare programme reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, the municipalities have got greater freedom to organise their own affairs. The private sector became an ideal for municipal administration. It has for example been rather frequent with

privatisation of services previously only offered by the municipality. New Public Management, also inspired by private companies, was introduced to get a more efficient administration and keep taxes down. During these new circumstances place competition and city marketing was not any more seen as a problem and something that should be prohibited.

Periods of deep and long-lasting economic crises are supposed to disturb a city's position in the urban system and its identity. Therefore, a period of re-positioning normally follows and the city tries to build up a new identity. Place branding and marketing are necessary ingredients in this process of re-definition. This was not least observable during the deindustrialisation in the 1970s when former manufacturing cities had to establish a new logo.

To sum up, six aspects have here been emphasised as important factors that may help to explain and understand the rise of place marketing. They are: compression of space and time, severe economic crises, innovations in advertising, improved communications and increased mobility, a changed relationship between the state and the municipalities, and a re-positioning of cities due to a loss of local identity.

It must also be emphasised that cities may have quite different reasons for place promotion and marketing. In today's post-industrial economy major and expanding agglomerations, like Stockholm, are often competing on a global scale for big events, creative entrepreneurs and worldwide businesses. A majority of the Swedish cities are however shrinking, and for them marketing and branding is mainly a measure to survive.

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The Automobile and the Sustainable City

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Abstract

The car – once everybody's dream and a key status symbol - has been extensively questioned recently and the car industry is dealing with a global crisis. Urbanization, pollution problems, and scarce oil supplies raise concerns about the sustainability of an ever increasing number of cars. Young consumers show a declining interest in cars, in the Western world particularly, and the percentage of people with a driving licence is going down in Western world countries. The popular culture is moving away from cars and refer to other products in symbolizing affluent living. All these changes have led to a refocus regarding the role of the car in society. These changes, however, appear to be very different depending on market maturity, consumer cultures and local regulations. Moreover, another stream of research suggests that generational cohorts segmentation may be useful since cohort members share similar values: external events that occur in the outside environment and which are cataclysmic in nature have been found to create values within those coming of age roughly at the age of 17-23 years. There is little doubt that the attitude towards the car varies across generational cohorts, and this is likely to be strongly influenced by the role of the car in the society and social context individuals came of age in.

This research analyses differences in individuals' relations to the car in two crucial dimensions. First, between geographical areas: China, Sweden, Germany and the U.S., and metro, city and rural areas, respectively. Second, across generational cohorts.

Patterns of change that emerge and spread across geographical areas, and attitudes that come with the young generation, which will be increasingly powerful in the future, constitute the foundation of the analysis. Data from 4,600 surveys will be analysed from the perspective of

city development and how cities can manage the transition towards a future of changing values, high population density, and extensive transport needs but also a high demand for car-free zones and recreational areas, to increase their competitiveness.

Introduction

The car – once everybody’s dream and a key status symbol in most countries and cultures - has been extensively questioned in the last decades and in the last years particularly. Urbanization, traffic congestions, pollution problems, heavy reliance on scarce oil supplies, safety issues and lack of parking place, have provided challenges for politicians, urban planners, car makers, pedestrians, consumers and companies in their efforts to organize transport, logistics and a healthy living. There is little doubt that the car has been a key target in discussions on these matters. Authorities are forcing car makers to produce cars that are more environmentally friendly than in the past and the tax burden on car use gets heavier. In many countries the public opinion now gives increasing acceptance to heavy taxes on car ownership and use as opposed to a strong criticism against taxing the car ever since the car became a mass market product in the 1960s and 1970s. Consumer movements have made the consumer’s voice crucial in many decisions related to the car, which is just one significant stakeholder along with political policy-making, city planning, and the interest for safety and environmental issues shared by authorities, media, and the general public.

The popular culture is slowly moving away from cars and is increasingly making use of, and referring to, other products and industries in attempts to project and symbolize affluent living, a common theme in movies and television programmes that appeal to younger people particularly. Young consumers show a declining interest in cars and the percentage of people with a driving licence is going down in Western world countries.

At the same time as the future of the car seems to be wrapped in mystery, there are many reasons to have high hopes for its future. First of all, although urbanization across the world is likely to continue, many people – even in bigger cities – need a car to organize their lives, get to work, and see clients, family and friends. Second, an increasing part of world-wide economic activity is taking place in non-Western economies, with the BRIC countries providing sustainable strong economic growth, where the above mentioned problems

certainly are substantial, but the overall desire for, and acceptance of, cars is considerably higher than in Western countries, at least so far. Third, most car makers are taking the environmental issues seriously. The fuel efficiency of cars is getting better while safety improves, not least thanks to the integration of new technologies in cars. Many countries and cities are developing sustainable strategies for the traffic to make sure there will be a balance between public transport and car transport in the future. In addition, cars are increasingly developed to meet customers' desire for fuel-efficiency, safety and quality requirements – attractive design and an emotional appeal alone do not make sales anymore. It is therefore very interesting to analyse and discuss the role of the car in developing sustainable cities for the future.

The lack of a genuine interest for cars among young car buyers in many countries has forced some car makers to fundamentally rethink their design and marketing approaches to regain acceptance. Mercedes-Benz is running a fashion week in key markets, and by hiring celebrities and attractive locations the company attempts to regain a strong position in the popular culture. Citroën is introducing numerous new models in the colourful DS series, BMW launches innovative i3 (electric car) and i8 (hybrid sports car) models and all car makers are focusing on design to make sure their cars appeal to today's customers. That being said, many challenges remain, not least in terms of the design and policies of cities that focus on how a city that appeals to future generations while giving room for economic growth and social welfare may come about.

This article takes a closer look at a number of issues related to what car buyers in different geographical areas expect for the future and how cities can take advantage of what is going on in developing sustainable cities. Cities that contribute to making sure that the car remains a product with a strong functional role in society are likely to benefit from the insights on consumer behavioural changes introduced in our research. Open-minded city planners will raise tough questions and think about clever solutions.

Our research addresses differences in individuals' relations to the car in two geographical dimensions. First, between geographical areas: China, Sweden, Germany and the U.S., and metro, city and rural areas, respectively. Second, across generational cohorts.

Methods

For the purpose of understanding the emergence, growth and dominance of cars in cities, car cultures are investigated and interviews with managers in the car industry ranging from manufacturer CEO to small dealerships conducted. This means a top-down perspective rather than a grassroots perspective on how car companies think about the future and sustainability issues. Seminars in the role as academic consultant with car makers, importers, dealers, insurance companies, car finance and workshop chains etc. were conducted, something that furthered the understanding of the industry and gave important input to the construction of the survey.

Finally, data on car buyer preferences and behavior were collected in the U.S. (1,014 complete surveys collected), China (1,040), Germany (1,623) and Sweden (1,030). The survey was designed based on the above mentioned sources and the questionnaire discussed with practitioners in a seminar in June 2013 before the survey was sent to respondents.

A survey sample may not accurately portray the greater population for which it is meant to provide knowledge due to overrepresented or underrepresented demographics. Hence, responses have been weighted to make sure the results scale responses according to statistics of the population. The questionnaire was sent to three generational cohorts: 20 to 23 years of age (1,492 responses), 30 to 33 (1,461) and 50 plus (1,754), hence representing the 1990s cohort, which still doesn't have an established name, the Generation Y cohort and the Baby Boomer cohort that represents the hitherto strongest segment of car buyers in major markets. Age categories are hence representations of specific generational cohorts, based on cohorts marketing assumptions³.

³ This has been extensively researched over the years, e.g. by Meredith and Schewe, 1994; Ryder, 1985 [1959]; Mannheim, 1927; Cutler, 1977; Parment, 2011; Rentz et al., 1983; Rogler, 2002; Hill, 1970; Rogler and Cooney, 1984; Schewe et al (2013); Parment (2013) . Shared experiences during the highly

In addition, the results are categorized based on market area, hence dividing respondents into metro areas (areas with 800,000+ inhabitants; 1,545 respondents); city areas (80,000-800,000 inhabitants; 1,441 respondents); and rural areas (less than 80,000 inhabitants (1,692 respondents)). This categorization builds on earlier research that suggest significant differences among the three types of areas⁴. Survey results will be referred to as “The car buyer survey”. Data were collected in June and July, 2013.

Theoretical Assumptions

Challenges in Dealing with The Car and the Sustainable City

Here, a number of key challenges in dealing with the car and the sustainable city are introduced at a glance.

1. Urbanization

More than half the population in the world live in bigger cities and the percentage increases day by day. In bigger cities, people rely less on the car and more on public transport for getting to work, seeing relatives and friends, and leisure time activities. This, however, doesn't mean the car is not a necessary means of transport. But for many individuals public transport is more useful and the disadvantages of having a personal car in terms of costs and inconveniences are significantly higher than in city and rural areas⁵.

A strong trend in mature markets is that fewer individuals take a driver's license – there is no absolute need to and the social pressure on doing so is limited. Car ownership is more expensive – insurance premium, parking, service and inspections are all more expensive and

impressionable coming-of-age years – 17 to 23 years of age – embed values, or cohort effects. This stream of research suggests that these values remain relatively unchanged throughout life. ‘Defining moments’ during one's coming-of-age influence their values, preferences, attitudes, and buying behavior in ways that remain with them for their entire lifetime. This provides the foundation of a generational cohorts perspective.

⁴ E.g. Parment (2009)

⁵ For definitions of metro, city and rural areas – see the methods section.

car tolls are increasingly used. Lobbyists and organizations critical towards cars are often located in metro areas.

Urbanization is likely to contribute to reducing the image and emotional appeal of the car in general, hence, city planners may have a greater chance to build cities with restrictions on car use than is often argued. On the one hand, there are the car lobbyist, on the other there are sustainability considerations in developing cities that have a strong appeal to younger individuals and coming generations – focusing on the latter may create short-term criticism but be a necessary strategy for staying sustainable in the long run.

2. Understanding mobility and car culture in the future

Key to understand the future is to gain an ability to go beyond the current state of thinking and know more about future trends, what is going on in the market place and likely developments than competitors. Apple's founder Steve Jobs has been both praised for and accused of his management style – it has been widely argued that his management style was not always in line with the stated ambitions of creating a better world, c.f. the well-known episodes of chasing co-workers bare feet with a fire extinguisher. Nonetheless, it remains clear that Steve Jobs was very good at understanding customers, the marketplace and future opportunities – in most cases before anybody else did.

Integration with other modes of transport will increase. In recent years, car pools have gained strong foothold in many larger cities, but the integration with other modes of transport is very limited. Carpooling shares the financial and ownership logic of other modes of transport – although there may be a membership fee for the car pool, it's basically free to use the car pooling service to the extent one wants to, and it can, like rental cars which normally can be hired one way, be combined with other modes of transport. A travel opportunity for somebody living in Zürich is to go by train to Paris, rent a car in central Paris, leave it in Marseilles, fly back to Zürich Airport, and then drive a pool car home, or take a taxi.

The increased interest for new mobility solutions has a number of driving forces: improved technologies for sharing cars, less status in having a car, and increased costs for driving (e.g. increased tax burdens, car tolls), parking and taking care of a car in the city center – these are all indications of an emerging situation of less interest for cars, something that gives a

reactive dealer strong reasons to scale down the business. Proactive cities see the changes as a huge opportunity to make the city more sustainable.

3. Applying a modern view on competition

Consumers and citizens are increasingly aware, enlightened individuals who know how to take advantage of the opportunities that today's society give: they know when and how to shop around, compare deals and prices, and the opportunities and risks associated with different choices. And they evince flexible purchase pattern – it gets increasingly difficult to forecast purchase pattern based on the demographic profile of a buyer alone. Hence, there is no way a city could get competitive without applying a modern view on competition, i.e. to be open, transparent and prefer to face competition instead of protecting oneself from it.

In Michael Porter's bestseller *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors* (1980) a number of methods for *limiting* competition by building entry barriers to the market (advantages of scale, patents raw materials etc.) and by establishing a unique market position are suggested. The main outcome of the book is that companies that protect themselves from competition are successful. One decade later, Porter publishes *The Competitive Advantage of Nation* (1990), which provides a fundamentally different view on competition. The interplay between the company and its environment, including competitors, create clusters and demanding customers contribute towards strengthening competitiveness. The Swedish heavy trucks industry is used as an example. Subcontractors, infrastructure and support businesses have made the development of competitive heavy trucks possible. The situation with two equal players – Scania and Volvo – has resulted in tough negotiations, such as a bus company which invited a tender for eighty buses from Scania and Volvo where the bus manufacturers were forced to make a particularly strong effort to acquire the order..

There is no doubt the view on competition has changed over time, largely from keeping a position and protecting it from competition to an understanding of the benefits of co-

operating with companies within or without the industry in which the company is operating.

4. Attracting citizens

Overall, the importance of being attractive in relation to different stakeholders will become

increasingly important in the future as society overall is getting more transparent and ideas, place attractiveness, customer feedback, offers and other important input to strong brands will spread faster across consumers, industries and cultures.

The car industry has some generic disadvantages compared to other industries. First, workplace location is an important criterion for young individuals when looking for a job. 39 per cent state that workplace location is a very important ideal employer criterion (see figure 1.1)⁶, and car dealers like car NSCs (National Sales Companies) and car makers are often located in areas at a certain distance from city centers, where qualified workers increasingly want to live⁷. Second, flexibility is limited. Coworkers' attempts to combine work life with a family with children may be difficult to combine with increasing pressure on dealerships to have open late at night and during weekends. This is a very general problem in retailing –

openings hours tend to get longer overall. Third, the reputation of the car industry is certainly better than for some other industries, but it doesn't automatically add any image and a key criterion when young individuals present themselves for others is to say for whom they work – personal branding is increasingly becoming important. All in all, it is likely that the car industry will lose attractiveness also in relation to coworkers in larger cities.

There are several elements in building the brand of a place: buildings, culture, social activities, employers etc. Considering the attitudes of young coworkers, a key group in building a sustainable city, as manifested in figure 1.1., it appears crucial to focus the city

⁶ Schewe et al (2013)

⁷ Parment & Dyhre (2009)

planning processes on considering how young individuals and coming generations want to live their lives.

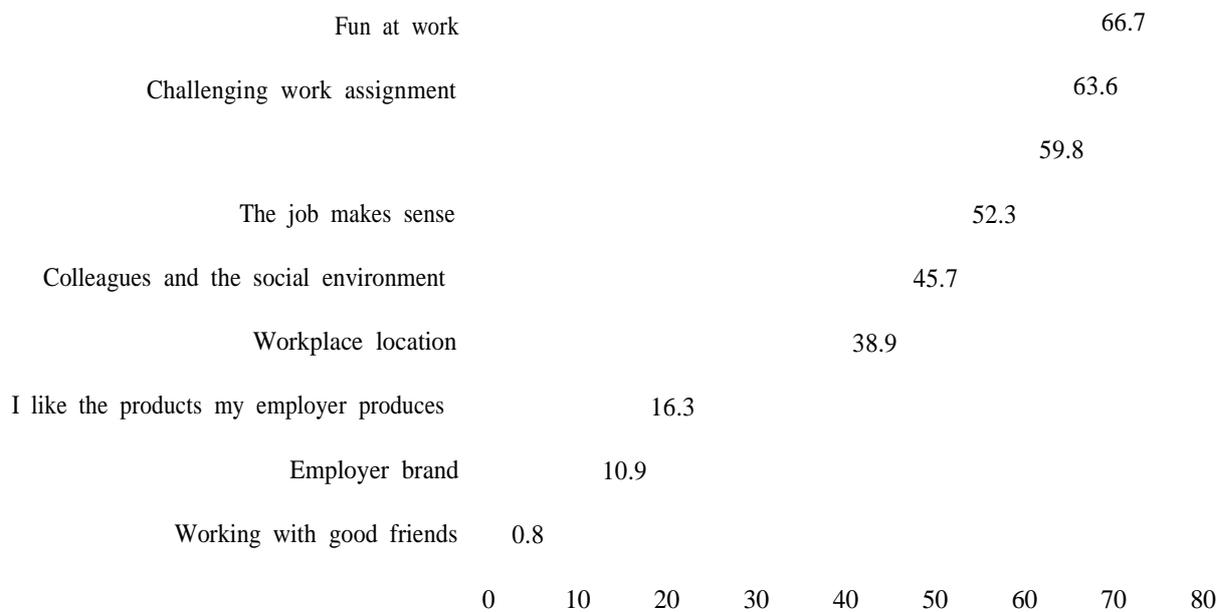


Figure 1.1. Very important in describing an ideal employer according to individuals born in the late 1980s. The sample consists of the US, New Zealand and Sweden⁸.

The Car as a Cultural Expression – A Global Phenomenon

A key characteristic of the car is its strong representation of different cultural phenomena. Along the road from being a symbol of distinction, typical of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, and some professions such as lawyers and doctors, to being a functional item and a work tool, many car cultural events and aspects have taken place. For the consumer, the car is associated with emotional and status values⁹, which makes the car a significant expression of culture and lifestyle. To understand the emotional and cultural component of car buyers' purchase considerations, it's important to understand car cultures, which are strongly influenced by cultures in different countries and regions which largely may be derived from

⁸ Schewe et al, 2013.

⁹ Merritt, 1998; Sandqvist, 1997

how people live and the attitudes they express. Here, one country stands out: the United States of America.

As with any cultural expression, it's tightly linked to the societal development in the world around. Hence, at the societal level, the car has strong cultural expressions and meanings and they do differ across countries and consumer groups, although there are also some general patterns. Car cultures are strongly influenced by cultures in different countries and regions which largely may be derived from how people live and the attitudes they express. Although there are still substantial differences within each country, without any doubt, one country stands out: the United States of America.

According to sociologist Heidegger, machinery 'unfolds a specific character of domination ... a specific kind of discipline and a unique kind of consciousness of conquest' over human beings¹⁰. During the emergence and growth of car cultures, particularly in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, modernistic society is manifested very clearly in the system of production, consumption, circulation, location and sociality engendered by the car.

The car has also contributed to globalization through flows not only of cars but also parts, financial transactions, knowledge and expertise, and management principles. Consider the extensive exchange of management, ideas and product development knowledge exchanged within a manufacturer group. Shortly after Daimler and Chrysler merged in 1998, the corporation founded a new subsidiary company, DaimlerChrysler Aviation, and ordered an Airbus A319 with 50 business class seats to ferry managers between the German city and the conglomerate's second headquarter in Detroit¹¹. As expensive it may sound providing every weekday flights between Stuttgart and Detroit, it underlines the global character of the car industry.

A key explanation to the growth of car culture is the increasing need for transport, the other key explanation is the car's profile as a luxury product in the first decades of the 20th century. The transport revolution, which started by railways, largely parallel with the industrialization

¹⁰ Zimmerman 1990

¹¹ Cf Flightglobal Aviation Connected, 1999, *DaimlerChrysler will link headquarters*, Jan 20th.

in many countries, entailed a fundamental shift in the need for transport for a variety of purposes, primarily work, goods transport and distribution, and later social interaction and movement. Industrialization created a massive increase in the need for transport, and transport was linked to movement that further increased the need for transportation.

Through the often explosive development of cars and roads in the 1950s and 1960s, it became increasingly convenient to live in suburbs¹². Interestingly, the cleverly named Chevrolet Suburban, the longest produced car under the same name in the car industry, has followed this development since its introduction in 1934, with a twelfth generation introduced in 2014. The end result of the emergence and development of the car and a supporting infrastructure, including roads, motels, gas stations etc. is visible now: increased distances between home and work brought about by industrialization and urban sprawl have led to traffic congestions and high costs of living in geographical areas that are seen as functionally and emotionally desirable, with short distances to attractive jobs.

Notably, governments at an early stage saw investments in roads as a progressive way of investing for the future, particularly effective during economic recessions since the implementation of the investments *per se* created jobs and economic activity. Such approaches are based on Keynesian political ideologies. In Europe, extensive freeway programs were initiated by governments in the 1950s and 1960s to create economic activity and jobs and make the car available to the masses. Similar arguments are now being used – and questioned – as many countries invest heavily in fast trains.

The Car – Fashion Item or Out of Fashion?

For many decades, starting in the 1930s and with a strong golden era in the 1950s and 1960s, the car had a central role in society as a means of transport, as a symbol of status and affluence, and as a symbol of personal freedom. That cars may cause problems is not a new

¹² Cf. Jackson (1985)

phenomenon. It has been extensively dealt with in modern history¹³, e.g. when the mayor of

Cali, Colombia, in 1914 decided to regulate the impact of cars since they already at this stage – only in the hands of rich people – caused a lot of problem: ”unfortunately, it is an evident fact that quite a few young men and persons of notoriety use the automobile at night to associate with women of ill repute, sometimes accompanied by minors, and they drive about town, especially in the rougher neighborhoods, singing lewd songs, drinking heavily, making a racket, and disturbing citizens, who cannot sleep, while these people are involved in all manner of racy behavior.”¹⁴

Changes in Societal Values and the Role of the Car

The car has always been strongly related to individualistic ideologies. While right-hand politicians have emphasized the freedom qualities in car use and the importance of the car for economic growth and business development, left-hand politicians have emphasized the functional qualities of the car, but also the environmental and social problems it causes: cars may even create social isolation in a society built around cars when socio-economic groups that can’t afford a car have limited opportunities to take part in different societal activities. Without a car, visiting a DIY store, travelling to Yosemite National Park or seeing friends in their summer houses may be very difficult.

A generational perspective on the car in a sustainable city

Every generational cohort is programmed from the moment of birth. The coming-of-age assumption holds that the entire early life cycle shapes a generation’s values and behavioural traits, but with a very strong influence during the years from 17 to 23¹⁵. This means that younger individuals born in the 1980s and 1990s, like earlier generations, are strongly influenced by the society they grew up in. But this society, which is continuously evolving, is in many respects different from the society that earlier generations grew up in. Although

¹³ See e.g. Lutz and Fernandez (2010).

¹⁴ Quoted in Giucci, 2012.

¹⁵ Parment (2011, 2013)

society differs substantially across nations and continents, there are some general patterns that describe the development from a global perspective, or at least from the perspective of

developed countries. Some of the changes are rather obvious, e.g. the emergence of the Internet and new tools to communicate and make friends: mobile phones and a multitude of television channels became available to just about everybody. This change laid the foundation of the emergence of social media, a key tool in setting up a marketing communications mix that appeals to young individuals in particular.

Strong influences from the popular culture have contributed to urbanization. Throughout the Western world, and available around the clock; sitcoms, e.g. Seinfeld and Frasier; talk shows with Johnny Carson, David Letterman and Jay Leno; and television programs that promoted a glamorous lifestyle, e.g. Sex and the City, emerged. The latter particularly appears to have a strong impact on the values of individuals that grew up during the 1990s. In interviews with the Generation Y cohort (individuals born in the 1980s) there are many references to Sex and the City, Beverly Hills and later Gossip Girl and the Hills, to name a few but significant television programs¹⁶. These influences have in common that they portray a glamorous lifestyle and a desire to live metropolitan life, an attitude that was broadcasted and made available to teenagers and young adults across the Western world, and soon also to other parts of the world. In the lifestyle portrayed there is little exposition of cars, and in addition, metro areas are portrayed as desired and glamorous while rural areas are portrayed as genuinely undesirable. The message to young individuals is clear: if you live in a rural area, move to a bigger place with more opportunities, more glamour, more tolerance and more choices.

Fewer young individuals take a driver's license

The car, once a rite of passage for American youth, is becoming less relevant to a growing number of young individuals, something that could have broad implications for the car industry – and many other industries with a strong stake in car transport, e.g. insurance, gasoline and shopping malls. In 1978, 50 per cent of 16 years old had a driver's license and

¹⁶ See Parment (2011) for a further investigation of the influence of the popular culture.

92 percent of 19 years old in the U.S. – now the shares are 31 and 77 per cent, respectively. nearly half of 16-year-olds and three-quarters of 17-year-olds in the U.S. had their driver's licenses¹⁷.

Even though population growth in the U.S. is among the highest in industrialized countries, thanks to immigration, at 0,90 per cent per year¹⁸, the number of miles driven annually on U.S. roads have begun to decrease starting in 2004¹⁹. The number of miles driven per American decreased by 6 percent from 2004 till 2011, and the development is driven by young people: from 2001 to 2009, the average number of miles per year among 16 to 34 year old drivers decreased by 23 percent – from 10,300 to 7,900 miles per capita.

Similar tendencies have been found in many other countries with the number of citizens with a driver's license going down, and driving rates falling²⁰. In addition, the number and percentage of households without a car decrease, something that might be related to urbanization, an economic downturn, fewer young people having a driving license or less dependence on the car.²¹ Regardless of the cause – fact remains that it gets increasingly difficult to create a strong car dependency among young people.

Several explanations to the downturn in mileage driven by young individuals are provided – a 2012 report suggests, among higher fuel prices, improvements in technology that support alternative transportation, and changes in Generation Y's values and preferences²². Solid data prove that while the car has suffered heavily among young people, other modes of transport have gained impact. Bike trips have increased by 24 per cent in the 16 to 34 year old cohort referred to above; walking became 16 per cent more frequent and public transport no less

¹⁷ U.S. Department of Transportation data.

¹⁸ CIA World Factbook, 2012. The UN suggest 0,96 and the World Bank (2009) 0,86 per cent.

¹⁹ Davis et al, 2012; Motavalli, 2013.

²⁰ Sivak and Schoettle, 2011.

²¹ Litman, 2012; Kuhnimhof et al, 2011,

²² Davis et al, 2012.

than 40 per cent more frequent.²³ Hence, the need for transport increased while cars lost impact in relative as well as absolute numbers.

Global shifts in consumption cultures and economic power

The current global development appears to move the industrial and economic power from the formerly dominating U.S. and Europe to China and the Middle East. Many U.S. and European companies have been acquired by owners from Russia, the Middle East and China. With the Asian and Middle East economies getting stronger, while the U.S. and several European countries are having severe financial problems, at least with regard to state budgets, trade (im)balances and budget deficits, the direction for the future seems to be clear.

However, with regard to consumption cultures, the Western world still has a very strong impact. This particularly holds for the popular culture, with an extensive flow of television programs from the Western world to emerging countries, but hardly any flow back. The same holds for fashion clothing and other lifestyle products. It has been proven that many Asian consumers admire premium products from Europe particularly²⁴.

The emergence of Branded Society

Auto brands have constituted a genuine part of the branded society as long as cars have existed – the car industry was even one of the first industries to use branding on a broad basis, something that underlines its strong position in the 20th century societal history. The yearly product upgrades were introduced already in the 1930s but more pronounced in the 1950s and gave car buyers incentives to change cars frequently.²⁵ This, promoted by strong state support for improving the infrastructure and other measures that would make room for fast car penetration, gave the car industry a strong role in the emerging consumption-oriented culture and popular music, took the lead in the increased consumption that was facilitated by strong economic growth.

²³ Davis et al, 2012.

²⁴ Batra et al, 2000; Park et al, 2008; Zhou & Hui, 2003

²⁵ See e.g. Scherer, 1996.

Later, the car has lost its unique position as a product that always gives a lot of status to its owner, a development that has been paralleled by the emergence and growth of branded society. Now, the car is one among an almost indefinite number of industries and products that are subjects to extensive branding and hence, its central role as a status symbol is questioned.

Before the 1970s and 1980s, many environments that individuals got in contact with on a daily basis were free from commercial messages: they were non-commercial zones. Gradually, these environments disappeared and became replaced by an ideology that gained solid ground during the 1980s particularly. The 1980s, the decade of Reaganomics and Thatcherism, showed an emergence of strong preferences for the small state and free markets²⁶, privatization²⁷ and individualism²⁸. The interest for brands took off on a broader basis, and not only were for-profit businesses running brand management programmes: also NGOs, cities, employers and societal institutions discovered the benefits of profiling the brand in an increasingly competitive environment and a market communication landscape with an ever increasing number of commercial messages. As a consequence, consumer companies such as car makers and car dealers had to compete in a broader system of actors that worked with their brands.

Generation Y grew up in the emerging branded society and see branding efforts of municipalities, public transport services, churches and, which has been emphasized more lately, individuals²⁹ as something natural, a development that parallels the increased focus on individualism at the cost of collectivistic values³⁰.

²⁶ cf. Bienkowski et al, 2006; Jenkins, 2006; Niskanen, 1988; Pratten, 1997; Skidelsky, 1988; Vinen, 2009; Wood, 1991

²⁷ cf. the literature on New Public Management, e.g. Ferlie, 1996; Hood, 1995

²⁸ Freeman & Bordia, 2001; Triandis, 1993, see also Schimmack et al, 2005

²⁹ Often referred to as Personal Branding, see e.g. Goldsmith et al, 2009; Purkiss & Royston-Lee, 2009; Spillane, 2000; Wilson & Blumenthal, 2008; Vickers et al, 2008

³⁰ See e.g. Parment, 2011.

The 'branded society' and an increased demand for promoting the brand experience throughout the entire customer purchase process is another thing that has gained more attention in the last one or two decades. This is reflected in an aestheticization of the car industry – largely similar to aestheticization of e.g. city centers. It is hence interesting to follow the development towards branded society and the transition of the car from having a natural role in society to being questioned. Interesting, though, is to explore whether

individuals in countries such as China, India and economies in South America and the Middle East that have grown at a fast pace, still see the car as a strong symbol of freedom, status and affluence.

Aestheticization

The car's role in society and how it has evolved over time is related to aesthetical issues and the interplay between the car and the space in which it is exposed. The entire range of opinions about the car – from being a gorgeous lifestyle item and a natural and integrated part of a happy life to being something that consistently gets stuck in traffic jams, creates enormous amounts of emission, cause death and destroys cities both from a practical and an aesthetical point of view – have strong connections to aesthetical aspects of society.

An increasing number of human activities are undergoing aestheticization³¹. The aestheticization of everyday life refers to the growing significance of aesthetic perception in processes of consumption. It points to the observations that increasingly more aspects of everyday activity are subject to the principles of aesthetics (the appreciation of beauty and art) and that even the most mundane forms of consumption can be expressive and playful. The emerging digital economies of the twenty-first century have exacerbated this shift, supporting Mike Featherstone's claim that the 'aestheticisation of everyday life' has arrived³². The resulting consumption is part of an emerging *experience economy*³³ where entertainment,

³¹ Löffgren and Willim, 2005.

³² cited in Flew 2002

³³ Cf. Rifkin 2000

information and communication technologies, and lifestyle products and services, combine to shape our identities in ways not seen in the modernist era³⁴.

Ever since corporate identity was introduced and developed in the beginning of the 20th century it has been a key factor in developing competitiveness. An early contribution to this field was the work of the German architect Peter Behrens, who created a consistent design for the AEG company as early as in 1908. The work applied to products and catalogues but also details as the design of fonts, cards and the annual report. At the time, more than a century

ago, one single person could create the entire design process, and Behrens is known as a key person in developing a consistent graphical profile: a Corporate Identity³⁵.

The idea of branding and aestheticization largely emerge from the corporate world. The concept 'industrial designer' was first used in the US in the 1920s³⁶. Trained decorators, set designers, graphic designers and advertising professionals started to propagate the necessity to style products in order to make them more attractive, demanded and modern³⁷. This largely contributed to making consumer appeal part of corporate decisions in designing new products. One example is General Motor's decision to change car specifications every year – model remakes became necessary to stay competitive. In 1928, Ford introduced the A-Ford that replaced the T-Ford, and from then on, industrial design became an important competitive factor in the car industry. After World War I it became increasingly important to make the corporate brand more distinct, visible and distinguishable³⁸. Complete corporate style programs for products, logotypes, advertising and packaging were implemented and became increasingly important³⁹. Much later, during the 1980s, companies began marketing their products through lifestyle, attitude and passion⁴⁰. Accordingly, products were bought for

³⁴ Cf. Southerton, 2012

³⁵ Kadatz, 1977

³⁶ Alkhlo, 2004

³⁷ Dobers & Strannegård, 2005.

³⁸ Dobers & Strannegård, 2005.

³⁹ Dobers & Strannegård, 2005, Kadatz, 1977.

⁴⁰ Adams, 2004

reasons of delivering lifestyle and self-realization and brands, representing aesthetic dimensions, were judged by buyers for their capacities as lifestyle carriers. In the 1990s, marketing and consumption became increasingly immaterial and *customers experiences* became a key to promoting the aestheticized environment in which purchase and consumption took place⁴¹.

Mike Featherstone has argued that Western societies are becoming increasingly aestheticized: companies' marketing efforts have led consumers to constantly search for new fashions, new styles, new sensations and new experiences.⁴² This is a key explanation to why consumption

has become increasingly fragmented, differentiated and trend conscious. Products and services accordingly single a particular lifestyle and style has become a project, where consumers' individuality, or ambitions in that respect, is displayed in an assembly of artifacts, practices, experiences and appearances. Some commentators argue that we live in a global image economy⁴³. As put by Mau: "Life doesn't simply happen to us, we produce it. That's what style is. It's producing life. Rather than accepting that life is something that we passively receive, accept, and endure, I believe that life is something we generate. We use our capacities. And that all boils down to style... fundamentally style is a decision about how we will live. Style is not superficial. It is a philosophical project of the deepest order."⁴⁴ Bourdeux's classical and well-known concept *cultural capital* may thus be reinterpreted: Holt argues that cultural capital is no longer associated with goods consumed, but that the accumulation and proliferation of cultural capital is becoming a matter of practice, i.e. eating at particular restaurants, staying at particular hotels or choosing particular means of transport. Cultural capital is thus a matter of practice, consumption and choice⁴⁵.

Consumer spheres such as the home, the body and the soul are now subject to individual design and have lifestyle implications. The number of magazines on gardening, lifestyle and

⁴¹ See e.g. Salzer-Mürling & Strannegård, 2004

⁴² Featherstone (1991)

⁴³ Mau, 2000; Schroeder, 2002.

⁴⁴ Mau, 2000, p. 27.

⁴⁵ Holt, 1997

interior design has exploded⁴⁶ and university programmes on design have grown rapidly. Politicians, supported by research and surveys on what constitute place attractiveness, emphasize design and other aesthetic factors as important factors⁴⁷. Aesthetic performances have long-lasting effects — as the Sydney Opera House, the Bank of China Tower in Hong Kong or the forthcoming Shanghai Tower.

Aesthetics, design and taste cannot be treated as something superficial: they are drivers of consumption and increasingly, consumers are taking them into consideration when making decisions on where and how to live their lives. Although there is a strong tendency among older consumers to argue that they are rational rather than emotional in making purchase

decisions, emotional factors increasingly have an impact on purchase decisions⁴⁸. *Corporate aestheticization* is a concept that signifies the systematic conception and deployment of aesthetically rich systems of signification in the pursuit of corporate advantage. Such systems can take an array of forms which can range from the design of organizational buildings such as corporate HQs to the ways in which individual employees are expected to look, dress, walk and sound⁴⁹. In Schmitt and Simonson's book from 1997, it is argued that companies such as Cathay Pacific, IBM and Starbucks all have improved their market positions in part through a strong effort on design, stylization and other aesthetically-oriented technologies⁵⁰. More recently it has been argued that employees are cultivated as aesthetically significant carriers of a corporate pathos⁵¹. Organizational branding and dress is part of this development and something that really took off in the 1990s.

⁴⁶ Parment, 2011.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ahlko, 2004.

⁴⁸ Parment, 2011, 2013.

⁴⁹ Hancock *Aesthetics and a-zation* Sage; Söderlund, Parment & Söderlund, 2010.

⁵⁰ Schimtt & Simonson (1997).

⁵¹ Parment & Söderlund (2010).

Car Buyer Attitudes and Behavior

Typically, car makers and their national sales companies run extensive programs to implement and control showroom design – but comparatively little effort is spent on making sure the attitudes in dealing with buyers keeps up with the showroom standards. In customer surveys, the software – i.e. attitudes, customer treatment, salesman knowledge etc. – is normally seen as more important than the hardware. Figure 1 shows data on how young car buyers, born in the 1980s, value different dimensions of car purchase – and obviously, attitudes are more important than facilities and showroom. This does, of course, not mean that the latter are anything but still important, but there is undoubtedly an imbalance in car manufacturers' control of the implementation of their branding programs: marketing channels: much effort is spent on making sure showrooms are in line with corporate identity – normally an enormous investment for dealers – while only few measures are taken to control attitudes. Mystery shopping is typically applied twice a year in an average-sized dealership to control whether customers are addressed and treated properly. On the other hand, dealers have a strong incentive to treat customers well, and there is no reason to believe they wouldn't strive for doing that.

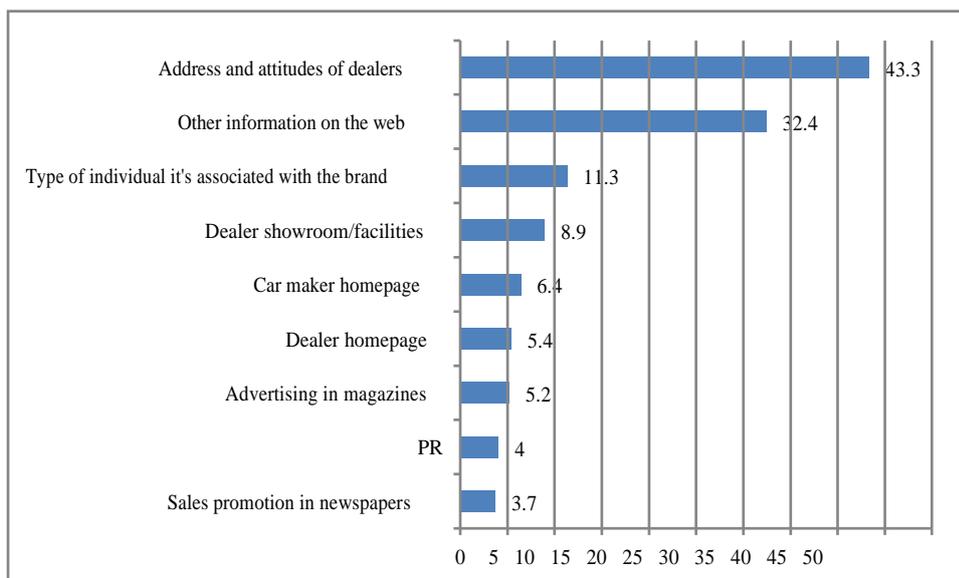


Figure 1. The software more important than the hardware – the attitude of the car dealer and its salespeople is the most highly valued factor in choosing auto brand⁵².

New Car Purchase – Buyer Criteria

This section introduces the results from the Car Buyer 2013 survey. Criteria that consumers express when buying a new car are discussed, starting with a generational cohorts perspective. Important to note, older individuals are likely to have more experiences when it comes to car purchase, so their preferences are more likely to be persistent over time. The 20 to 23 year old individuals are still in the formative phase and may change their opinions substantially.

The question raised was: If you were to go to a car dealer to buy a new car, how important would the following be?

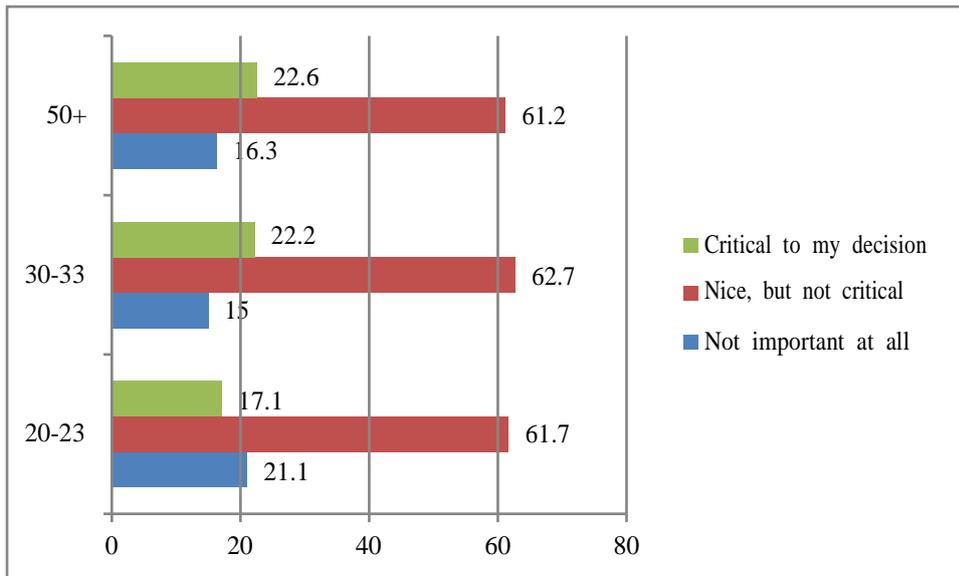


Figure 2. The dealer is located close from where I live. Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories.

Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

While store location in general is seen as very important, with significant advantages for companies that go for key locations – an important part of the positioning for e.g. Hennes & Mauritz and Zara – it appears to be less so when buying a car. Like for other durables, the

⁵² Survey 2009 presented for European automotive managers in Visby, June 2009.

purchase process is relatively lengthy and based on research, hence the location is not as crucial as for fast-moving consumer goods (products sold quickly and at low cost).

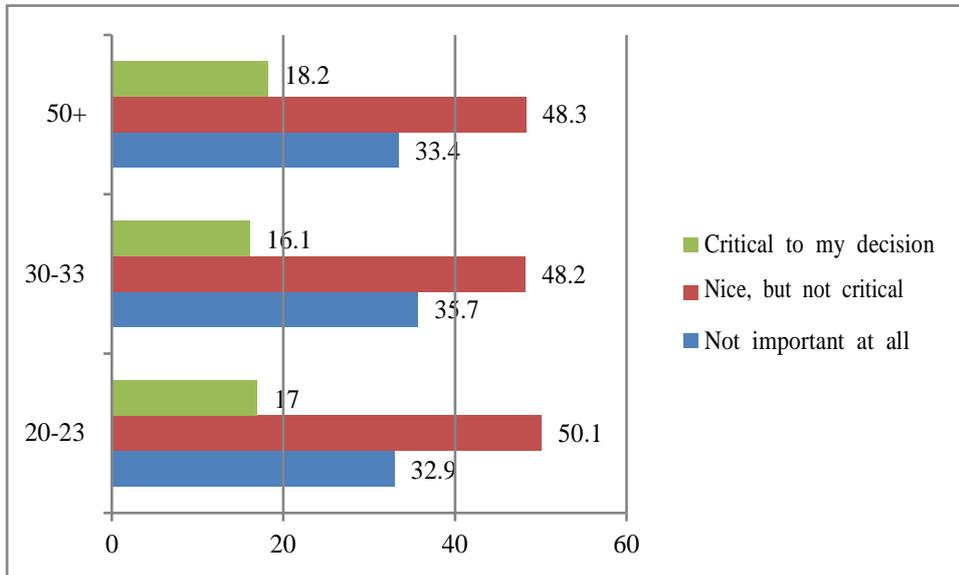


Figure 3. **The dealer is easily accessible without a car.** Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories.

Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

A practice that has been more common in the last few decades, long after car dealerships like gas stations and motels left city centers many decades ago, is offering new cars on key city locations, something that makes the car easier accessible for younger buyers in particular. Young people, often newly graduates, with qualified jobs and residence in a downtown location, may be difficult reach without a city location showroom – you need a car to buy a car. Maybe surprisingly, but consistent with the findings in the first question in this section on dealer location, young car buyers are not any more positive than older when it comes to the dealer accessibility.

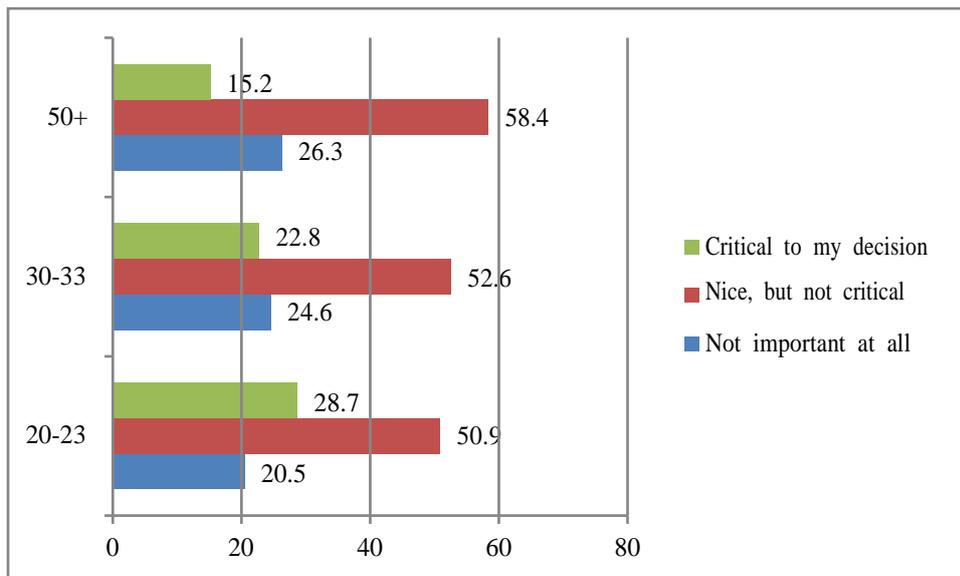


Figure 4. **Attractive showroom.** Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories. Source: The car buyer 2013

survey.

Consistent with the increased aesthetic orientation in the society that young individuals – born in the 1980s and 1990s – grew up in, the attractiveness of the showroom is more important for young buyers. But even more important, and also consistent with clear patterns in dealers’ experiences, is that the software appear to be seen as significantly more important than the hardware. That is, the shopping experience is significantly more important to young individuals. The same holds for the attitude and customer treatment a dealer offers when a potential buyers is seeing the dealer all generational cohorts find it critical but even more so with young individuals, who are used to good customer treatment, extensive service measures and many choices⁵³.

⁵³ Cf. Parment, 2011; Schewe et al, 2013.

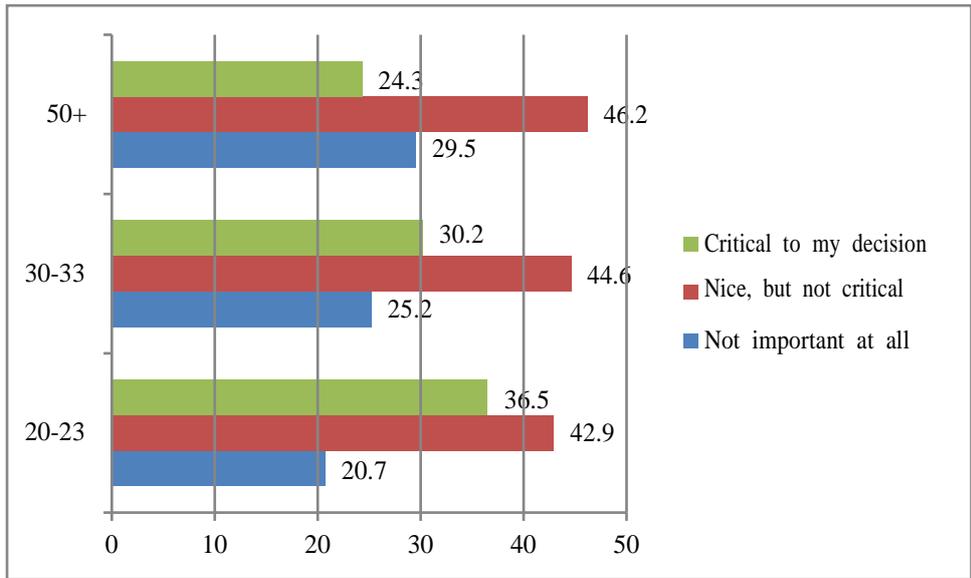


Figure 5. **Buying experience.** Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories. Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

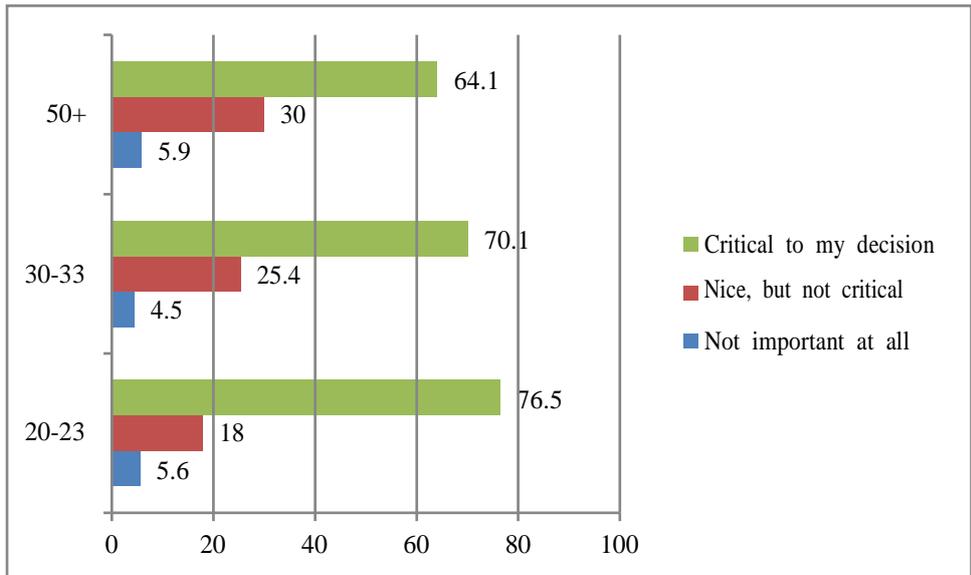


Figure 6. **A professional attitude and customer treatment.** Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories. Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

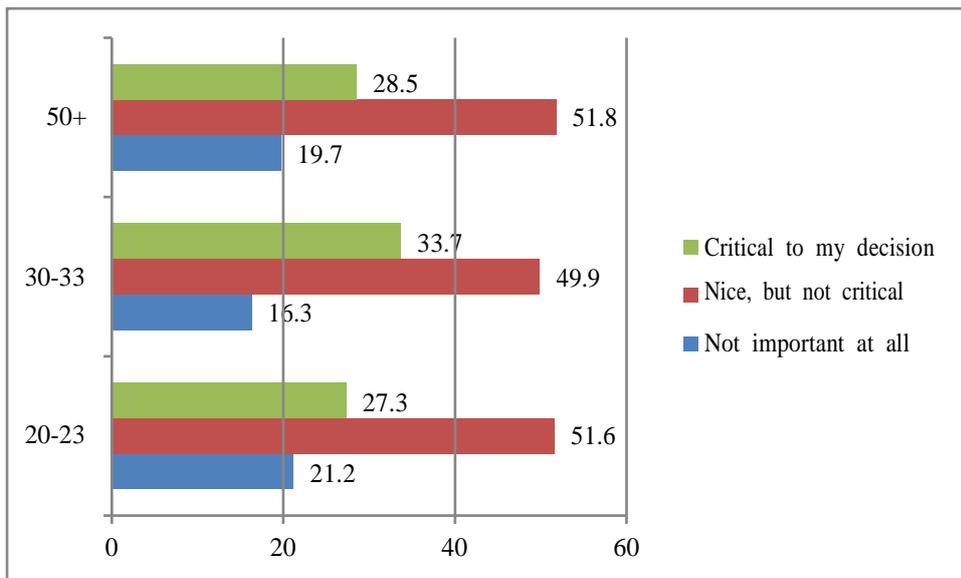
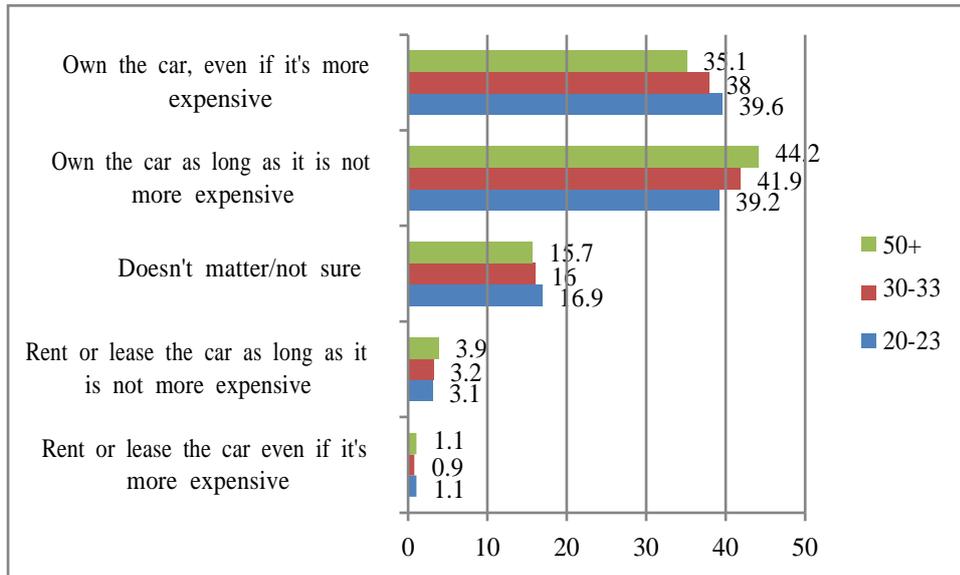


Figure 7. **Open nights and weekends.** Importance when seeing a car dealer to buy a new car based on age categories. Source: The car buyer

2013 survey.

A strong tendency over time in all types of service has been to provide longer opening hours – supermarkets, workshops, dentists, hair-dressers, pharmacies, bike stores and shopping malls all have extended their opening hours (restrictions apply in some countries). This happens also in countries with a strong tradition of closing stores on Sundays. Spanish departmental store chain El Corte Inglés has open until 22 or 22.30 and used to be closed on Sundays, but increasingly provide open stores all days for customers looking for the latest fashion and accessories, perfumery, cosmetics, watches, groceries, sports, home electronics, books, toys, souvenirs – or a travel agency, an insurance office and an optician.

The Car as Status Symbol



Figur 8. I would prefer to... Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

This question deals with a key question in marketing cars, now and in the future. General belief suggests that consumers prefer flexibility and not owning products to gaining the inflexibility that inevitably comes with owning a durable. Why own a motor boat, a summer house, a trailer or an apartment on the French Riviera – when you can rent one for a week and don't have to take responsibility for maintenance, insurance, finance etc.? The car does not, as it seems, fit with this general belief. Regardless of age, respondents show a strong preference for owning the car. While more than 40 per cent prefer to own the car, if it's not more expensive than renting it, only 3 to 4 per cent prefer renting to owning.

The results on this question suggest that the car has a very strong position as a personal item and also, to a high extent, as status symbol. Why else would the percentage of respondents willing to pay more to own the car than to rent it be almost 40 percent while only one per cent prefer to rent the car if the cost is higher – in other industries the latter appears to be a popular choice.

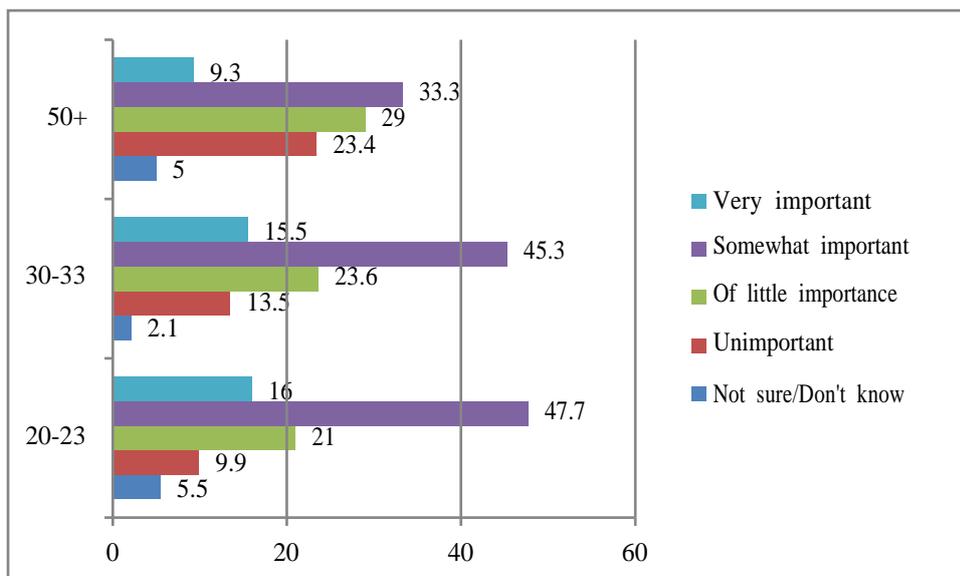


Figure 9. How important do you think the car is as a status symbol in society? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

The survey suggests the car to be a more important status symbol to young people than to older people – the younger individuals are, the stronger the role of the car as a status symbol. One thing that is very important here is to consider the wide range of status symbols among young individuals born in the 1980s and 1990s⁵⁴. A wide range of status symbols combined with a high level of status orientation, and strive for self-realization in life, make the car an important status symbol but in competition with many other status symbols. Important to note, the question might be interpreted by the respondents as the car being a very status symbol – more than it deserves.

⁵⁴ See Parment (2011).

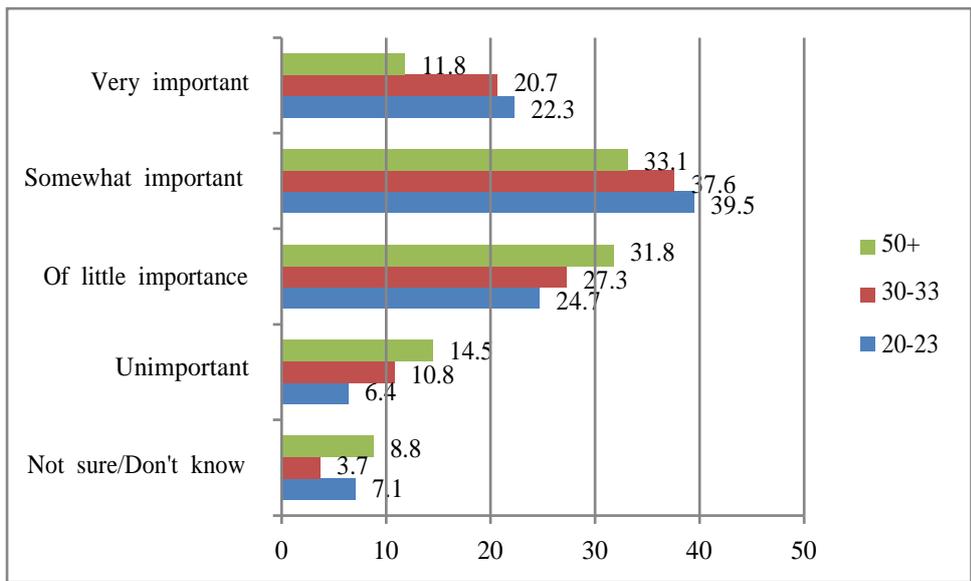


Figure 10. How important do you think the car will be as a status symbol in society in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

In accordance with the view on the car's role as status symbol today, older respondents have less confidence in the car's role as status symbol in the future. All generational cohorts share the belief in the car being a strong status symbol in the future.

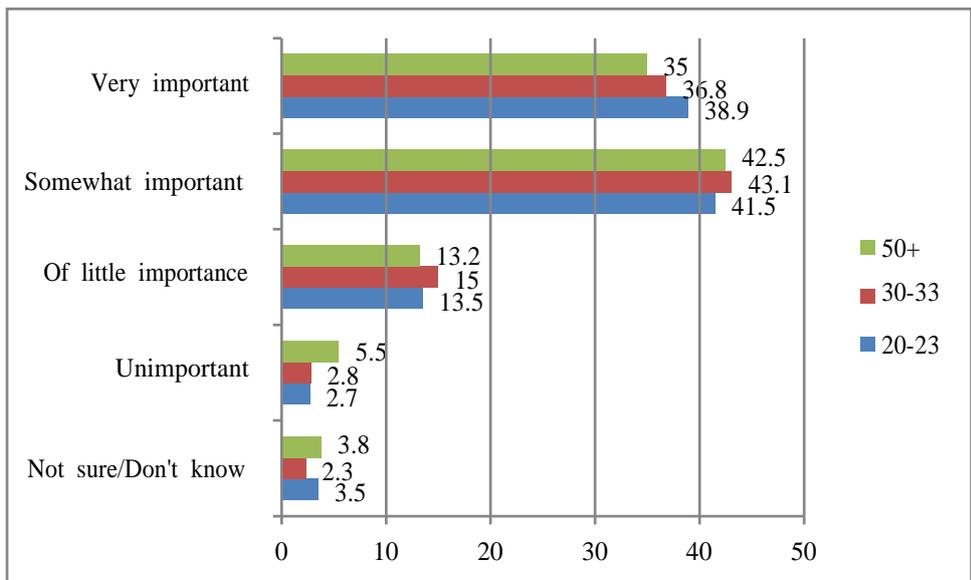


Figure 11. How important do you think the car will be as a means of transport in the future?

Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

There is a relatively strong belief in the car's role as an important means of transport in the future across the generational cohorts. This is good news for car companies and a strong argument against proponents of a society with less emphasis in the car for transportation purposes.

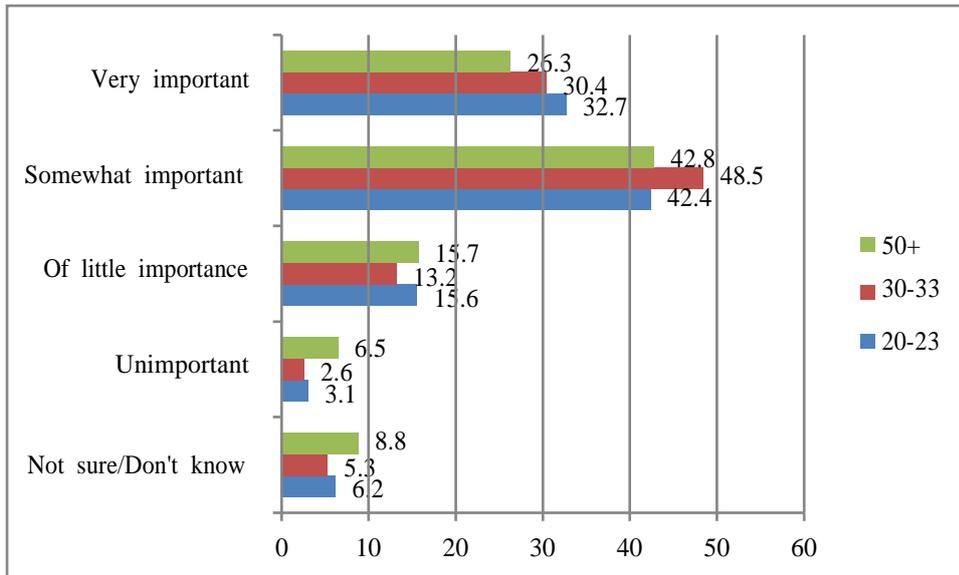


Figure 12. How important do you think electric cars will be as a means of transport in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

When it comes to electric cars, young individuals show a stronger belief in their future emergence and market penetration although the differences across cohorts is not very strong.

Metro, city and rural areas

Building on earlier research in a variety of industries, and defining characteristics of metro, city and rural areas, this part of the survey explores differences between metropolitan areas (800,000+ inhabitants), city areas (80,000-800,000 inhabitants) and rural areas (less than 80,000 inhabitants).

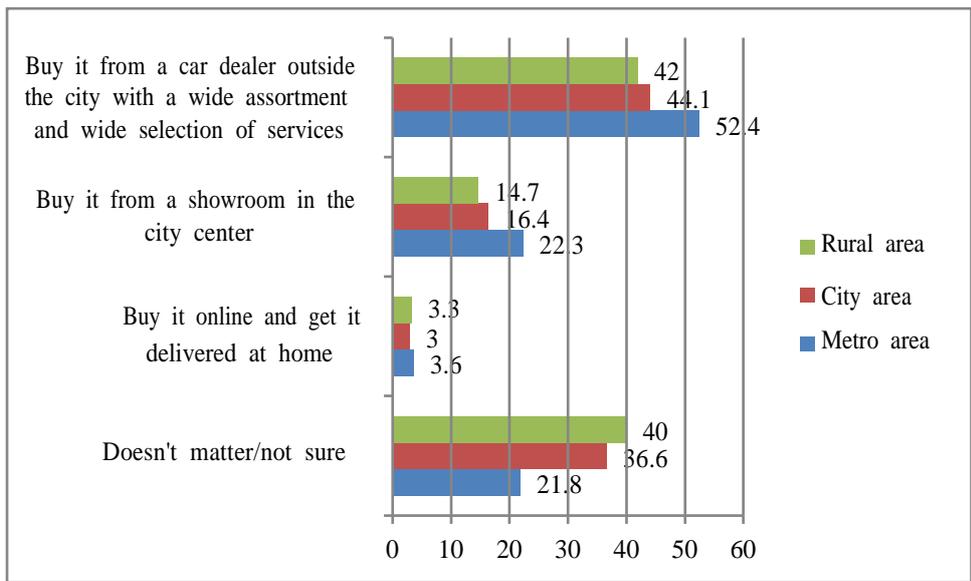


Figure 13. Assume you need a new car. How would you prefer to own and buy it? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

Obviously, metro area respondents have a much clearer idea about where they want to purchase the car in the future – not a surprise when considering that ‘city center’ and ‘outside the city’ might be very distinct in a metro area while hardly distinguishable in a metro area. Online purchase is only preferred by about three percent, regardless of market area.

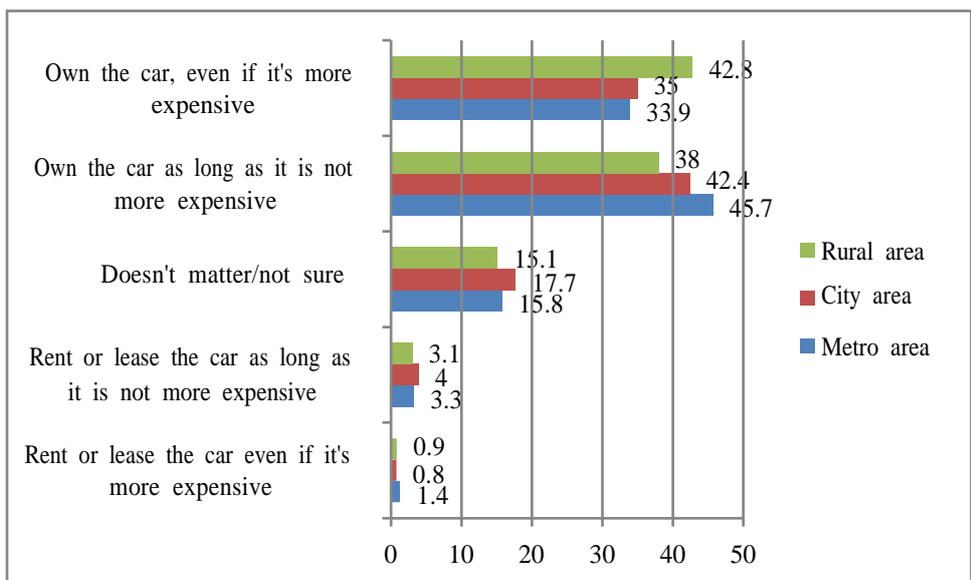


Figure 14. I would prefer to... Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

The preferences when it comes to owning the car on the one hand, or renting or leasing it on the other, does not show any significant differences across market areas.

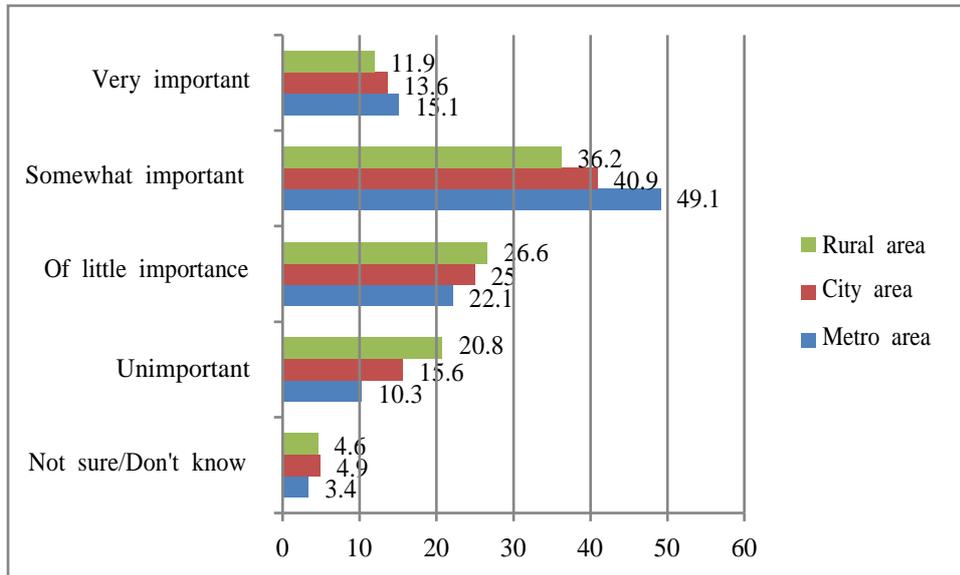
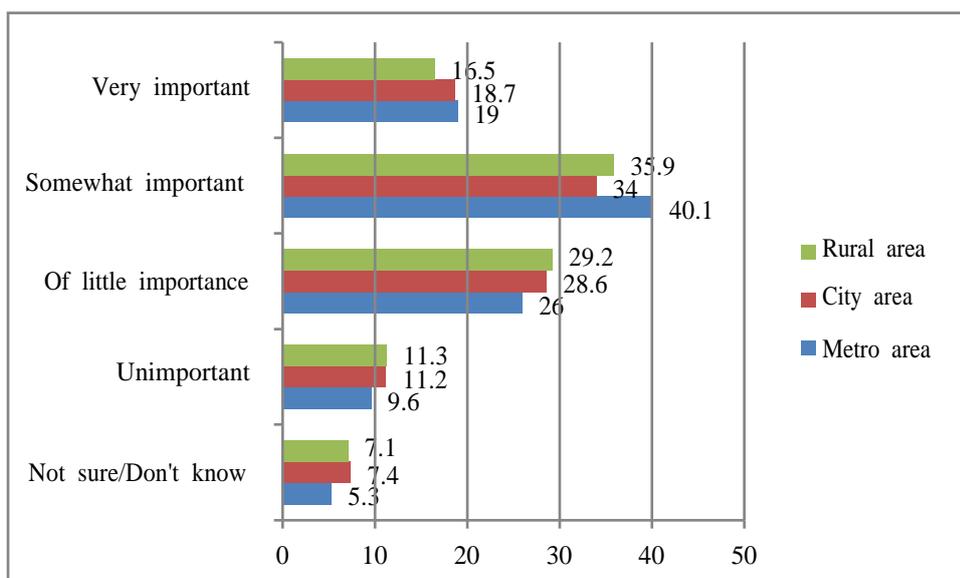


Figure 15. How important do you think the car is as a status symbol in society? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

In accordance with common belief, metro areas have a stronger preference for status symbols, affluent living and emotional criteria in buying⁵⁵. (figures above and below)



⁵⁵ See e.g. Parment (2011a).

Figure 16. How important do you think the car will be as a status symbol in society in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

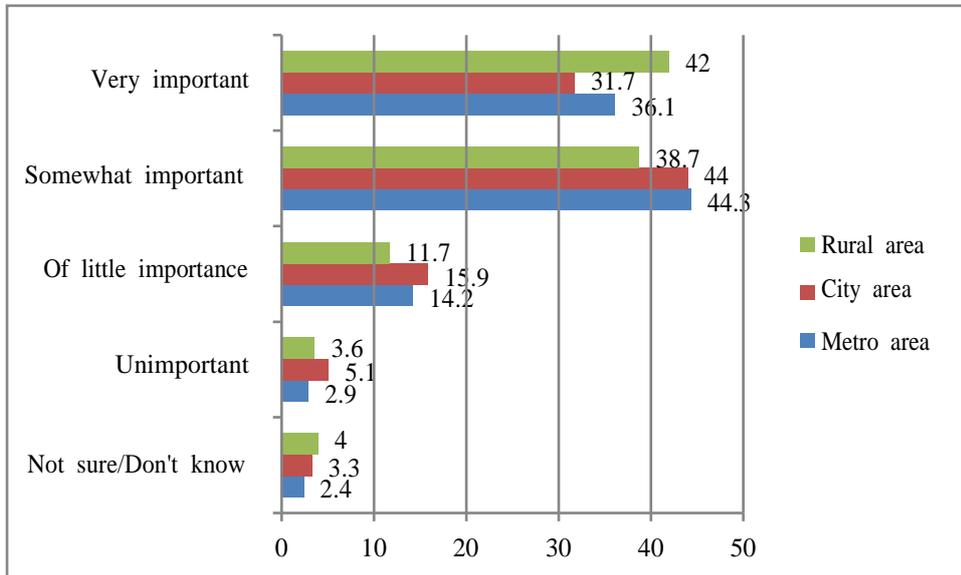


Figure 17. How important do you think the car will be as a means of transport in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

No significant differences were found in the survey study on the role of the car as a means of transport in the future.

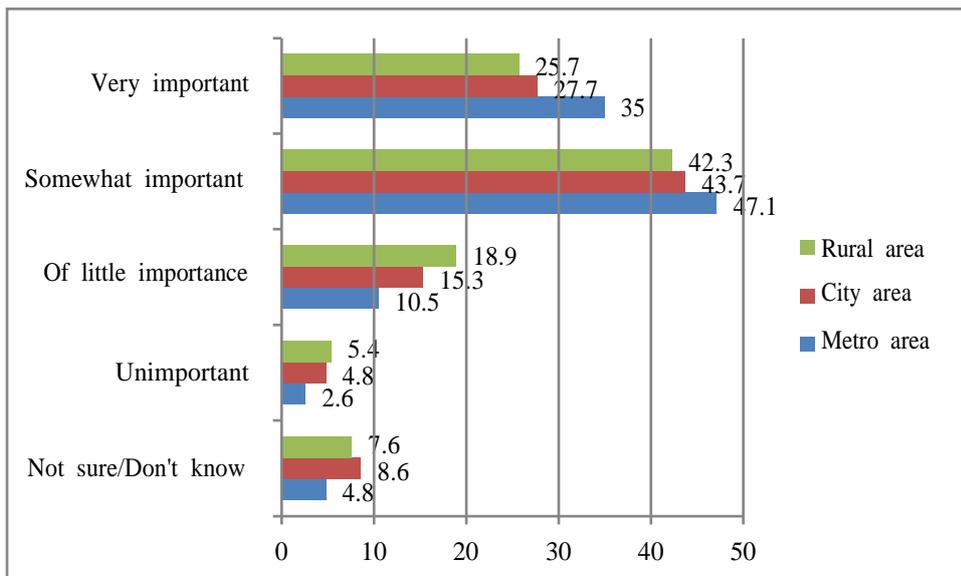


Figure 18. How important do you think electric cars will be as a means of transport in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

Electric cars are in general terms more convenient in metro areas where the driving distances are shorter and the availability of charge stations higher. Interestingly, there is a strong metro bias in the distribution of politicians in most countries, in addition to the fact that most decision that would facilitate market penetration of electric cars are made in metro areas: not only are political institutions located there, but also other societal institutions such as authorities, power companies' head offices, trend-setters with high purchase power, media and lobbyists. There may hence be a risk that decision-makers overstate the potential of electric cars in the future.

Country differences

Here, differences between the four countries that were researched in the survey study will be introduced and discussed.

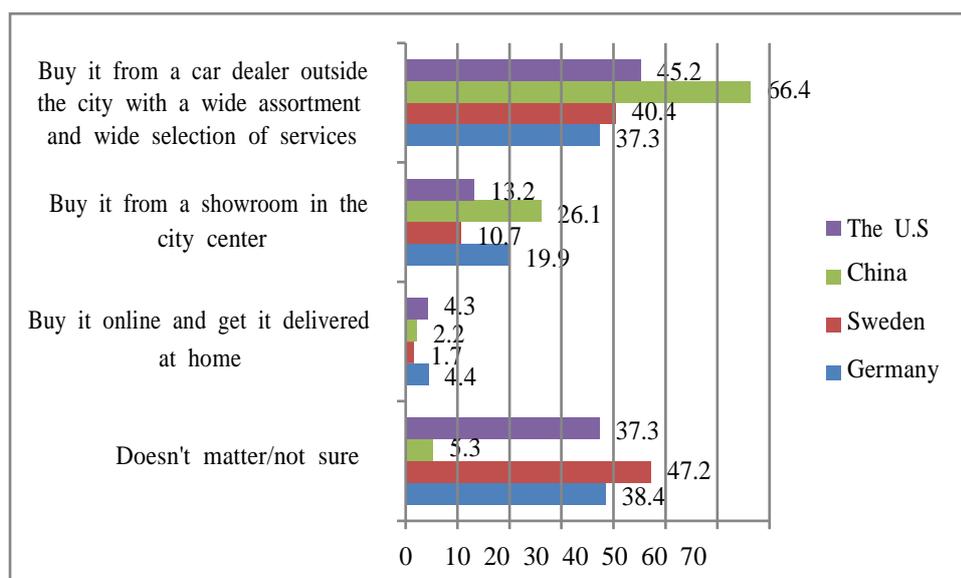


Figure 19. Assume you need a new car. How would you prefer to own and buy it? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

Respondents from all countries in the survey agree upon the low desirability of buying the car online. Chinese respondents have much stronger preferences on how they would prefer to buy a car – but the preference for full-service car dealers outside city centers to showrooms or dealers with restricted service supply in city centers is significant in all countries.

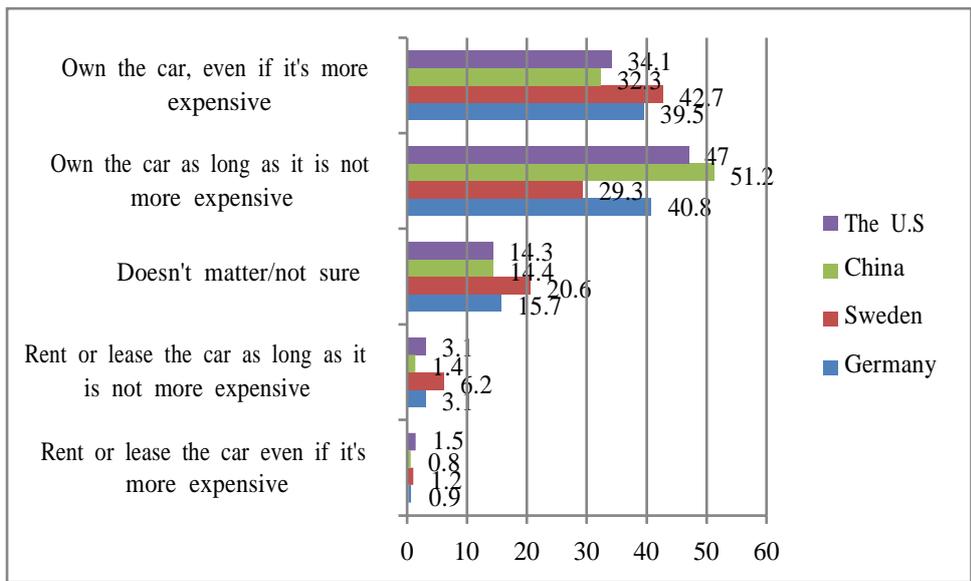


Figure 20. I would prefer to... Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

Although Sweden shows a stronger preference for renting or leasing cars than the other countries, it doesn't change the overall strong preference for owning one's own car.

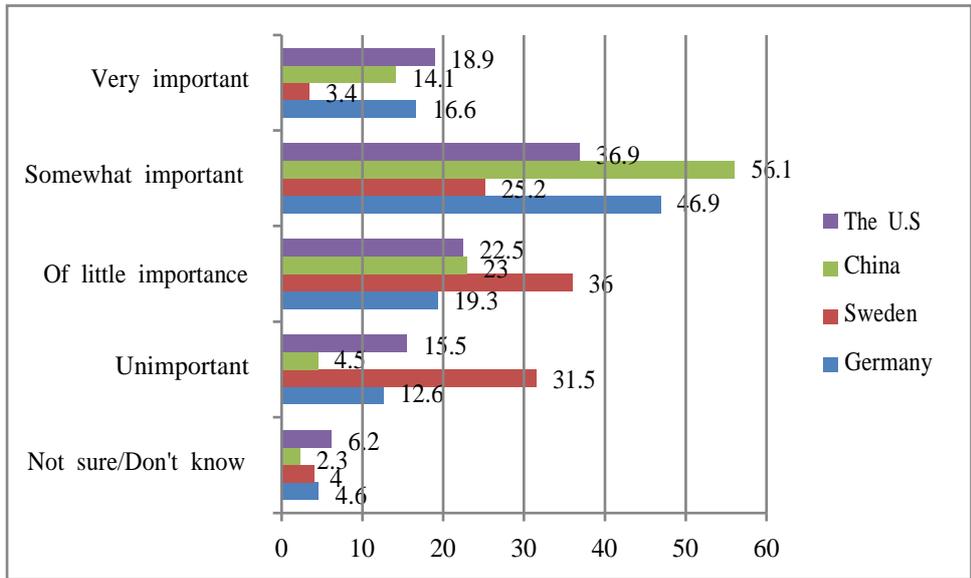


Figure 21. How important do you think the car is as a status symbol in society? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey

Sweden stands out on this question by providing a view on cars not being very important status symbols while the opposite holds for China. German and U.S. respondents see the car as an important status symbol.

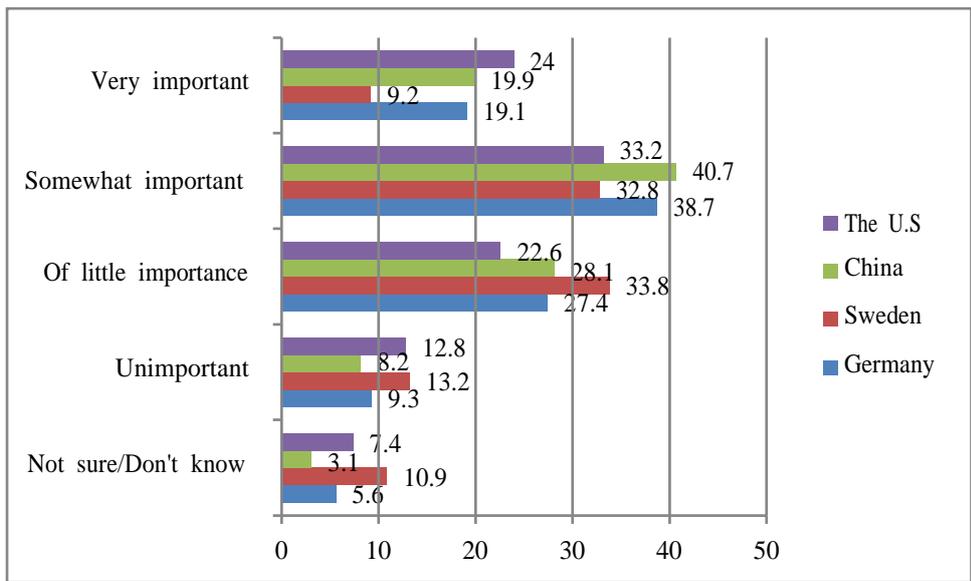


Figure 22. How important do you think the car will be as a status symbol in society in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

Compared to the former question, across country differences are less significant when respondents are asked to forecast the role of the car as status symbol in the future. U.S., Chinese and German respondents expect the car to become less of a status symbol.

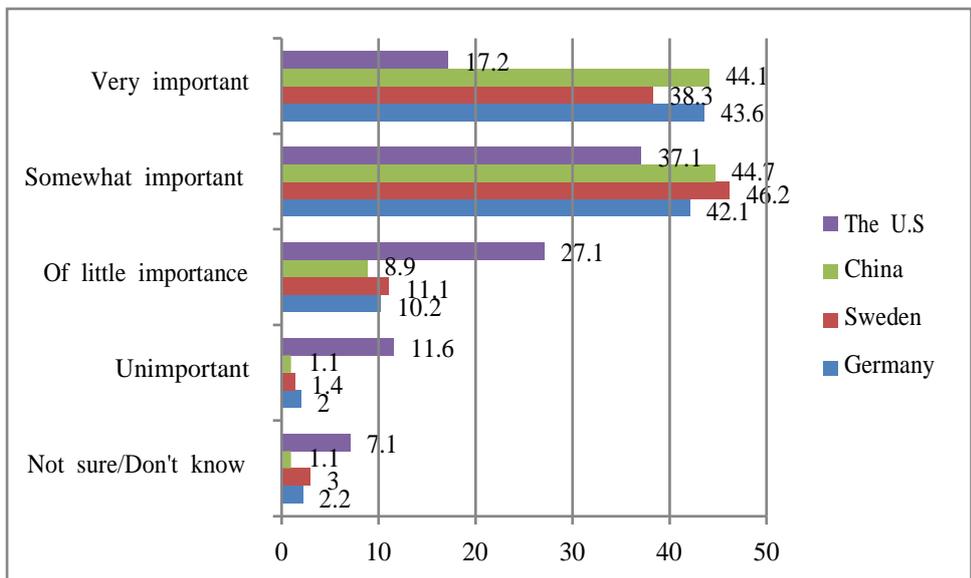


Figure 23. How important do you think the car will be as a means of transport in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

U.S. stands out on this question by – surprisingly – expect the car to be less important as a means of transport in the future. This may reflect a strong debate in the U.S. society that

questions the heavy reliance upon cars for society to function properly, and a reorientation of emphasis on modes of transport among young people. A 2012 report proves that among individuals 16 to 34 year of age, bike trips have increased by 24 per cent; walking by 16 per cent and public transport by 40 per cent – at the same time car mileage has decreased by 23 per cent.⁵⁶

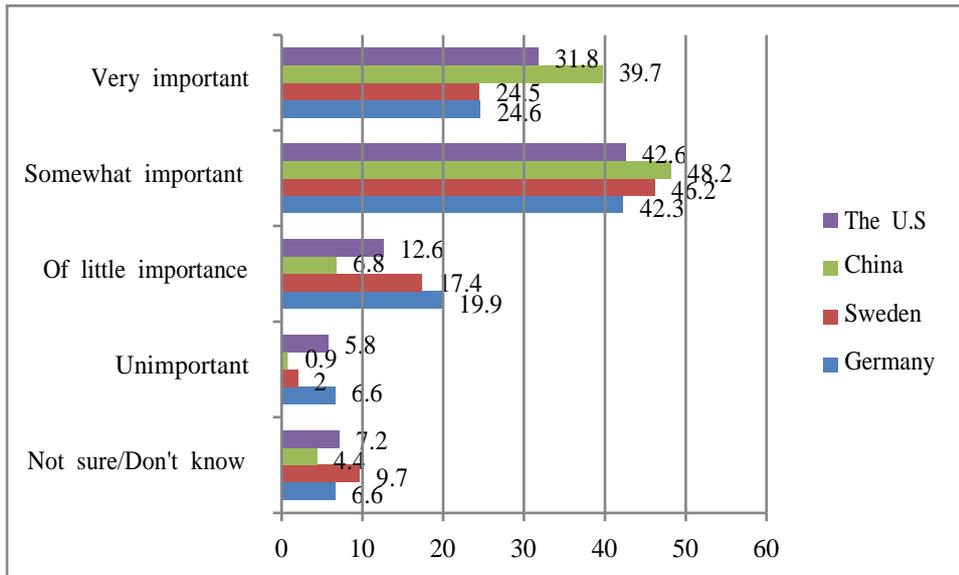


Figure 24. How important do you think electric cars will be as a means of transport in the future? Source: The car buyer 2013 survey.

The belief in electric cars as a key means of transport in the future – which is relatively high in all countries – is significantly stronger in China. An intensive debate on electric cars, high political awareness and interest, and a multitude of electric cars manufactured and on sale – in combination with a growing awareness about the problems related to high dependency on oil supply, pollution problems etc. The electric car is here to stay – as one among many solutions to problems that the car creates – and proactivity through contributing to the implementation of new fuel technologies is important for consumers as well as politicians, car companies and other stakeholders.

⁵⁶ Davis et al, 2012.

Data analysis

The question of what role the automobile plays, and will play, as its symbolism warps from influence exerted by overarching changes in society and consumption writ large, lays the basis of the present study. Our extensive attitude survey with data collected across four different settings – Sweden, Germany, the U.S. and China – contained a large number of questions pertaining to what the respondents saw as indicative of high status in their respective societies.

The resulting data-set from all four national settings were subjected to factor analysis and all yielded three components, the two weaker components diverged among the contexts, reflecting different dimensions. The first factor, however, loaded similarly in all four national contexts, this factor reflected material wealth and included components such as income, home ownership, physical attractiveness and automobile ownership.

This result, while hardly surprising, reaffirms the seemingly close to universal symbolic conveyance linked to material wealth that automobiles appears to carry.

The data was analyzed by applying a number of statistical tools. A One-way ANOVA revealed significant differences between all four countries included in the study in which Swedish nationals put a significantly lower emphasis on the importance of automobile ownership on societal status. In Germany the number was significantly higher but still dwarfed by the very high level of importance attributed to automobile ownership in both China and the USA – the latter featuring a statistically significant higher level than the former but the actual difference was minute.

For each country three regional levels were defined on the rural (<80,000 inhabitants), middle sized city (80,000 – 800,000 inhabitants) and large city level (>800,000 inhabitants). These levels were subjected to an ANOVA procedure.

In the cases of Sweden and Germany no significant differences between these levels was found suggesting that the attitude towards automobile ownership does not vary in a significant way and is at a generally low level. For China and USA regional differences

provide a greater basis for divergence in attitudes toward the connoted status of automobile ownership.

In China regional differences manifest themselves as a higher emphasis on automobiles as a means to status in the more rural areas as each level of decrease in population density is joined by an increase in the pertinence attributed to automobile ownership.

In the USA a similar trend is in effect as significant difference can be observed between the mid-level and rural-level population density.

Analysis

Aestheticization of Marketing Channels: an Extension of Car makers' Corporate Identity Programmes

After a long period of little attendance paid to car showrooms, most car makers introduced extensive corporate identity programmes in the 1990s to improve the customer experience. BMW was one of the first companies to start doing this in the late 1980s⁵⁷, and the goal was clear: to implement an aesthetically appealing environment where customers could enjoy the BMW experience in line with how the car maker wanted the brand to be communicated. At the time, the move was clever and contributed to making the products more attractive, but it took several years until the strategy was fully implemented worldwide.

Differences across countries

Driving culture says a lot about a country. Without doubt, car drivers in Southern Europe are a lot more careful than they used to be, but the rumor still lives: traffic is lively and cars have an endless number of scratches and buckles. Park slots are smaller and roads more narrow – and obviously it is more difficult to keep the car in a great condition when the car culture is focused around the car as a functional and social item. People care less about the car, that's at least how an American, a Scandinavian or a German would put it, and when that's part of the

⁵⁷ The BMW Corporate Identity Programme and its implementation is excellently described in Birkigt et al (1992).

culture around the car, it requires more attention and causes more frustration and effort to

keep the car in a great condition.

It's difficult to find solid international data on to what extent people take care about their cars. Two studies from 2010 and 2013 suggest that 58 per cent of German car owners state that they wash the car once a month or more often⁵⁸.

By 2025, India's middle class is expected to approach 600 million people - about 40 percent of the population. This is a major change for India which, in 1985, saw 90 percent of its population living on less than a dollar a day. When the middle class grows the demand for affordable automobiles takes off. At the same time, mass motorization could result in increased pollution and heavy traffic congestions – more heavy maybe than in any other country given the enormous number of people living in India.

The automobile is the quintessential manifestation of modernity, a promise delivered by industrialism that has had a profound impact on how society and consumption appear to us to this day. The automobile as an artifact of consumption, with close to unrivaled potential symbolic conveyance, can be said to have reached its maturity in the United States of America during the post-war era, but have since then morphed along with the ever-maturing modernity.

In the present day late modernity and its logic of consumption – once confined to “the Western world”, have undergone a transition and merged into new contexts. This journey has not only changed these new loci of consumption fundamentally but the very logic of consumption itself has mutated through the influence exerted upon it by these new venues of its realization as well. For the automobile and those great many people now dependent upon it in various capacities and positions the question what role the automobile, as an object of consumption, will take in these new settings is highly relevant. The meaning the automobile and its consumption takes have also changed fundamentally in the contexts that once constituted the bastions of automobiles. Increasingly the auto industry finds itself in a state of

⁵⁸ AXA Survey, 2010; auto motor & sport, online survey, 2013.

crisis due to the challenges this change offers, something that has been reported frequently in recent years. A strong indication of the crisis is the always overoptimistic forecasts of future

sales that car makers make.

Conclusion

Store location is in general seen as very important, with significant advantages for companies that go for key locations, but our research suggest that it is less important when buying a car. Like for other durables, the purchase process is relatively lengthy and hence the location is not as crucial as for fast-moving consumer goods. Offering new cars in key city locations, something that makes the car easier accessible for younger buyers in particular, consistent with the findings in the first question in this section on dealer location, is not very appealing either.

Consistent with the increased aesthetic orientation in the society that young individuals grew up in, the attractiveness of the showroom is more important for young buyers. But even more important is the software, i.e. a professional attitude. A strong tendency over time in all types of service has been to provide longer opening hours, but our research does not give support for such demands on car dealers.

General belief suggests that consumers prefer flexibility and not owning products to gaining the inflexibility that inevitably comes with owning a durable. Our research suggests the car not to fit with this general belief. Regardless of age, respondents show a strong preference for owning the car. Accordingly, the car appears to have a very strong position as a personal item and as status symbol. A wide range of status symbols combined with a high level of status orientation, and strive for self-realization in life, explains why young car buyers in particular see the car as a key status symbol. However, it will compete with other status symbols in making up one's personal identity and image. Our research identifies some interesting patterns when comparing metro, city and rural areas. Metro area respondents have a clearer idea about where and how they want to purchase the car in the future. Online purchase is only

preferred by about three percent, regardless of market area. In addition, metro areas have a stronger preference for status symbols, affluent living and emotional criteria in buying.

Respondents from all countries in the survey agree upon the low desirability of buying the car

online, however, Chinese respondents have much stronger preferences on how they would prefer to buy a car. Sweden stands out on this question by providing a view on cars not being very important status symbols while the opposite holds for China. German and U.S. respondents see the car as an important status symbol. China also shows a significantly higher belief in electric cars as a key means of transport in the future.

Our research suggest that the symbolism of the car warps from influence exerted by overarching changes in society and consumption writ large. The results of our extensive attitude survey subjected to factor analysis yielded three components, the two weaker components diverged among the contexts, reflecting different dimensions. The first factor loaded similarly in all four national contexts, this factor reflected material wealth and included components such as income, home ownership, physical attractiveness and automobile ownership. This result reaffirms the seemingly close to universal symbolic conveyance linked to material wealth that automobiles appear to carry.

Swedish nationals put a significantly lower emphasis on the importance of automobile ownership on societal status. In Germany the number was significantly higher but still dwarfed by the very high level of importance attributed to automobile ownership in both China and the USA – the latter featuring a statistically significant higher level than the former but the actual difference was minute.

Our research concludes that late modernity and its logic of consumption – once confined to “the Western world”, have undergone a transition and merged into new contexts, in our study represented by China. This journey has fundamentally changed the very logic of consumption itself through the influence exerted upon it by these new venues of its realization. For the automobile and those many people now dependent upon it in various capacities and positions the question what role the automobile, as an object of consumption, will take in these new settings is highly relevant.

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Aesthetics of City's Public Space from Perspective of Art and Design

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Abstract

With the pursuit of quality of life in the city as well as the development of urban tourism and recreation, artistic and aesthetic design has become an important content in modern urban public space. This paper analyzes the relation between urban environment and natural ecological aesthetics, and between landscape in public space and culture and arts. It explores the aesthetic characteristics of the landscape in modern urban public space from the perspective of art and design.

Keywords: urban public space, landscape, aesthetic

As urban public space is an important material support to urban life, its design focuses on creating atmosphere and scenes to meet people's needs for emotional experience of daily life and their aesthetic demand, constructing pleasant aesthetic environment of the urban public space. This is of significance to meet people's spiritual needs, improve quality of urban life and raise urban residents' sense of belonging. The urban public space discussed in this paper refers to the space which is open to the public, and used by urban residents to do activities. It usually consists of buildings, roads, green lands and others and the typical urban public space includes squares, streets, green lands, parks, etc.

Urban landscape under natural ecological aesthetics

With the development of modern planning of cities and design concepts, roads are widened to accommodate the growing modern transport, and crowded skyscrapers make a city look like a concrete jungle, shattering the city and increasingly isolating people from nature. Meanwhile,

industrialization has indeed brought prosperity while it also has been contaminating urban environment, so to building garden-style eco-cities has attracted more and more attention. It becomes an issue for city managers and city designers to consider that how to present the natural beauty of the urban landscapes of a city.

Nature is the foundation of human survival. In the traditional agricultural society, human survived and developed depending directly on nature, so every creature became the main aesthetic object of people, forming people's aesthetic perception of natural beauty happily and cheerfully. A good case is that idyllic natural environment are mostly depicted in traditional poetry and literature of most cultures, and kind people preached in any religions will end their lives in heaven which is a beautiful place with lovely fruits and shade. In China, natural aesthetics is an important part of traditional aesthetic culture. Chinese revere harmony with nature —the “Unity of Man and Nature”—ecological philosophy with ancient roots in Chinese thought. In ancient times, literati worshiped a kind of eco-spirituality in their pastoral poetry and prose, and Chinese classical garden art particularly conveyed connotation of Chinese culture in an ecological form, and pursued and the natural beauty to an extreme.

From the beginning of the industrial society, there has been changes in lifestyles and expansion of art forms brought by technological advances and changes of perception, and new diverse aesthetic perception ways emerged. However, traditional natural aesthetics still exists in the yearning for nature and pursuing nature's peace and quietness which is hard to get in cities to ease mental stress.

People living in urban areas are far away from natural environment, and have intense desire to contact with nature intimately. Therefore, green lands, trees, mountains and rivers without artificial modification in the fringe suburbs of cities become aesthetic objects because they make people get close to nature and gain aesthetic experience. Flowers, trees, mountains, rivers and other natural things bring people the euphoria sense to sight or smell through their shapes, colors and smells, comforting people in psychology. When these natural phenomena have ornamental value, they have the attractiveness to be tourism landscapes, which can fairly explain why rural areas on the outskirts of a city become important tourism attraction in

the development of eco-tourism and leisure tourism.

With environmental degradation in the urbanization process and strengthening of environmental awareness, many cities make the goal of building an ecological and green city. Modern landscape architects recognize the necessity to introduce the ecological concept into urban landscape. The best design is to introduce nature into the city to create an atmosphere that people live in the natural environment, and natural plants become the most basic conditions to constitute the ecology of the city in planning urban landscape from the macroscopic view. Value the mountain, rivers and vegetation locating where a city is for that these natural open spaces are valuable assets of the city. It is suggested that planning be on the basis of protecting the aesthetic value of their original ecology. For example, designers made use of terrain elements innovatively in building Beijing Olympic Park. Going from south to north along the geographical central axis of Beijing, people can directly arrive the park, so the axis is a green channel connecting the city with the natural landscape. The extension of the axis was designed to symbolize continuation of Chinese traditional culture. The park combines areas of sports competitions, conferences and exhibitions, culture and entertainment, and shopping, and has a sound and convenient transportation network, providing a multi-functional public space. Along the central axis are different landscapes. There are important venues in the Olympic center in the southern region of the Park, including Stadium, National Aquatics Center, National Stadium, etc., as well as underground commercial buildings, celebration square, sinking garden, dragon-shaped water facilities. The south part creates a natural, poetic space with entertainment features while the north part are mostly covered by natural forests. There are many famous landscapes in the Park, such as new landmark of Beijing-Water Cube and the Bird's Nest, which features the park with artistic charm and traits of the times. The Olympic Park is designed to highlight itself as the urban landscape and correspond with the history and culture, blending into the urban ecological environment of Beijing.

Microscopic natural landscapes are mostly small urban parks, residential districts or street landscaping, and they are mainly man-made to provide residents with a comfortable and enjoyable public social space for outdoor recreational activities. Urban landscaping is the basis to build a eco-city. People living in a variety of high-rise buildings are far more distant

from nature psychologically. They can have beautiful feelings of getting close to nature by seeing plants in residential districts and on the balcony though they live in a closed space. In the fast-paced modern society, such landscape design caters to the urban residents' eagerness to regain the mentality in simple and rustic idyll agricultural era, and beautifies streets and building facades.

It is deemed as superficial "city beautification" to simply hung plastic plant baskets on street lights, or make benches with cement or other materials as imitation wood. Such beatification can not give people the aesthetic experience of natural beauty, because the ecological aesthetic of vision is not just ecology in visual form, but more importantly through the visual aesthetics it achieves aesthetic experience which is realized through aesthetic pleasure coming from the fusion of natural conception and living space.

Urban public art in visual spectacles

Urban architecture and public artwork constitute the most artistic aesthetic visual forms of urban public space. Distinctive architectural forms and unique public artwork like plaza sculptures often become landmark landscape of a city.

Unique art forms in modern urban public spaces such as architecture, sculptures, installation artworks and art pieces benefit from science and technology development and emerging of abundant materials. The purpose of design as an important part of human creation activities evolves from creating things for functional and aesthetic use to stirring up peoples' desire for purchasing in consumer era. The design idea has producibility like the created items. In designing urban public space, designers need to consider the important issues including how to get inspiration from the existing materials, media and techniques and create things of character which are attractive to more audience, like construction and public works, so that

convey novel ideas and special conception, and how to strengthen a region's atmosphere or enhance attractiveness of a space.

In classical civilization, arts mainly represented the external world, so artistic creation was to understand the law of the world and the more real artworks imitating the real world was, the more recognition they would get from audience. Art creation of that period had a high degree

of consistency with people's aesthetic taste. Modern art and post-modern art since the 19th century put emphasis on visual experience, and focused on the abstraction and symbolization of art forms. Art began to be no longer the imitation of the real world, but a sign system, mainly pursuing technology and forms to generate vitality, which focusing more attention on the structural composition and the unique expression. Designers try to create new possibilities to people's senses through new forms and a variety of techniques. This design concept is particularly evident in the construction like the landmark buildings of Beijing--China's CCTV Tower and National Grand Theater. From the audience' part, the traditional aesthetic experience formed in the classical civilization period was impacted from the beginning of modern art which reflects broad connotations, uncertainty of images, resulting ambiguity and vagueness, and makes traditional aesthetic standards no longer apply to evaluate a piece of modern artwork. New aesthetic tastes continue to emerge under the leading of avant-garde artists or designers. These new and unique forms of art bring special aesthetic experience to people. Arts criteria vary from person to person due to different preference. It is the same for public art in urban public space for the characteristics of urban public space to emphasize public participation in which people have their own expectations and judgment on various public arts. Though there is no uniform criteria, all aesthetic principles such as style, harmony, environment-friendliness in environmental aesthetics are rational and common.

Modernist design idea generated as artists of elite were committed to achieving their socialist ideals. Based on the design concept for serving the public, it explored aesthetic paradigm suitable for mechanical mass production, and ultimately pioneers of modernist design developed functionalist principles and language of abstract forms. Currently at the intersection of industrial society and information age, people focus on speed and efficiency, which motivates design works lay more emphasis on visual stimulation in terms of the modernist design approach, and on association brought by art forms to people. Under such background, decorative art in figurative or abstract forms become an trend in the development of urban public space.

In modern urban space landscape design, designers focus on how to break the habit of thinking and the old aesthetic mode, emphasize the visual representation of environment in a

space to inspire people to understand artworks and have so pleasurable feelings as to reside in the space. In particular, the involvement of new media technologies provides technical support to bring people experience beyond tradition, so design works can make a realistic effect on texture, color, light, and simulation to bring people new visual experience. Modern art emphasizing on the visual experience is reflected in the public art design, no longer following only the function-oriented principle, but pursuing interesting-oriented performance of arts, as well as redefining the purpose and form of everyday items we take for granted, which introduces surprising experience.

Cultural symbol aesthetics and urban landscape

Since the 1980s, worship of Western culture and arts in China lead to homogeneity in the forms of art and design. Facing the lack of ethnic identity in design, designers turned eyes back onto Chinese local culture and continued to explore how the art design reflect local culture, trying to convey it to the audience. Meanwhile, cities are losing their identity and culture in urbanization and they have began to find their own unique culture and identity to show their uniqueness.

Buildings constitute the basic visual image of a city. Old buildings with geographical features and historic characteristics have gone over times and become artworks, especially in modern cookie-cutter city styles and urban landscape, and make themselves as city's cultural memory and identity symbols. These buildings are important visual forms of the sensory involvement and experience of the city's residents and visitors. For example, the Fifth Avenue in Tianjin has architecture styles of different counties. It stands for an important historical content of Tianjin, and naturally become one of the iconic tourist attractions.

Fine culture traditions are losing in urbanization, spirit is collapsing and urban life is gaining homogeneity, so people are nostalgic for the old way of life, especially facing the cold and distant relationship between people in modern society and money-worshiped and consumer-oriented philosophy of life, and they are eager to return to the past folklore and traditional culture. This recalling of traditional culture patterns has been enhanced by rejecting of the current cultures, leading to nostalgia in various cultural areas of modern society. This nostalgia is easily activated and zoomed through a typical cultural symbols. For example, the

traditional commercial streets that have been transformed to develop tourism and entertainment industry, have traditional buildings with strong cultural properties. People can see folk sculptures with national or regional traditions of history in the streets' public spaces, chair, lights, signs and other public facilities with features of traditional culture. All these things give a special visual representation and introduce a atmosphere of traditional culture. This not only creates a physical space but also carries the folk culture as to meet people's psychology yearning for traditional life.

Cultural symbols as visual forms should reflect the history and culture of a city and its folk life and make them to tell about the city. Designers approach the historical and cultural connotations of a city with modern design techniques such as artistic abstraction, generalization, and transformation, and master modeling law to refine them into symbolic cultural elements with characteristics of the times. They also highlight the urban environment and make it become an integral part of the urban culture.

Summary

Urban public space is the main factor for citizens and tourists to feel a city. The aesthetics of urban public space can be interpreted from aspects of ecology, art and culture. Natural ecology aesthetics has significance for urban environment; buildings with unique shape and public artworks in urban public space are art in itself, becoming unique visual landscape; people have diverse aesthetic views because of differences in visual preferences and different identities; with monotony in modern urban landscapes, it is an important way to identify a city by exploring local culture and traditions, and the aesthetic pursuit of a city turns to going after the combination of ecology, art, and culture from the initial simple understanding of city beautification.

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A New China: Portrayal of Chinese Mega-cities in the International Arena

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Abstract

This paper looks at the international media portrayal of two Chinese mega-cities – Beijing and Shenzhen – to better understand the contemporary *China* brand. During the last two decades, China has started to leave its closed-door policies in the international arena, and has shown signs of participating in the global economy. Politically and economically, China has started to increase the quantity and intensity of its relations with the rest of the world. As mentioned in the country's official five-year plans, China sees its mega-cities as an integral part of its relations with the rest of the world through social, cultural, and economic transactions. It has moreover been claimed that Chinese mega-cities can be regarded as tools in China's nation branding. This research conceptualizes international print media as a crucial platform to promote city and nation brand images for branding professionals and administrators, as well as a significant information source for target audiences. Subsequently, three research questions are posed to analyze place brand images. Initially, we look at the volume of coverage these cities receive in the international arena. Secondly, we carry out a quantitative content analysis to understand what aspects of these cities are highlighted. Lastly, we explain how these cities are perceived and the impacts of these perceptions on China's brand through a place branding framework. The findings of this research suggest the low-level and narrow coverage of the print media hinders the potential of these cities to become

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world-renowned centers, thus causing the mega-cities to have limited or negative impacts on the Chinese national brand.

Keywords

Nation branding, place branding, city branding, China, Beijing, Shenzhen, mega-city, quantitative content analysis, combined place categories, mega-cities

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Introduction

This research analyzes the content and volume of international print media coverage of two Chinese mega-cities (Beijing and Shenzhen) within the framework of place branding in order to understand how these cities are portrayed and perceived as well as the impact of these perceptions on the Chinese national brand. In the contemporary setting, places (let it be cities, regions, or nations) all over the world engage in constructing images and representations of their locations in order to compete and collaborate with other places on a global market (Jensen, 2007; Sassen, 2006). The branding of places in the global competition has become a part of urban strategies, and an increasingly necessary part of a place's agenda of ambition (Kong, 2012). Cities and nations use various techniques to build image, promote interests abroad, and attract the attention of various audiences (e.g. investors, visitors, and residents), one way being public relations (Xue *et al.*, 2012; Kjærgaard Rasmussen and Merckelsen, 2012).

Cities and nations are not only bound to the images that are historically specific to them, but also rely on an active process of creating, translating and promoting a set of images that are circulated and appropriated in an off-the-shelf way (Berg and Björner, forthcoming 2014). The images, representations, and values of cities can be seen as a negotiation process between

local, national, and global values; and as an intertwining of nation branding and city branding. Hankinson (2004) has claimed that it often is organic communication – including the media – that has the most extensive impact on the image of a destination. Kavaratzis (2004) has also pointed to the importance of communication by media as a distinctive type of communication, included within what he calls *tertiary communication*. In terms of capturing a city, nation (or place) brand, Zenker (2011) has proposed the ‘combined place categories’ made up of six categories, i.e. place-characteristics, -inhabitants, -business, -quality, -familiarity, and -history.

This paper looks at the international media portrayal of two Chinese mega-cities,⁶¹ namely Beijing and Shenzhen, to better understand the contemporary *China* brand. These cities are chosen due to their prominent yet diverse place in the country. Beijing is the capital of the Republic of China. Shenzhen is the first special economic zone in the country. The study conceptualizes international print media as a crucial platform in promoting city and nation brand images for branding professionals and administrators, as well as a significant information source for target audiences. In order to more inclusively capture the portrayal of Chinese mega-cities in the international arena, we examine the news articles published in English. Given the language’s status as a modern day *lingua franca*, such articles are likely to reach larger audiences. To account for variance in the region and publication, we chose two resources from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Asia, and China – including a total of eight different news resources in the research design.

Through a deductive content analysis, we identify topics, images, narratives and characteristics of Chinese mega-cities distributed and promoted to international audiences. We also seek whether there are significant differences between Chinese and international media coverage through a quantitative content analysis. The research questions posed in the present study are:

⁶¹ Mega-city is a commonly used term to describe metropolitan areas with a population of ten million people or higher.

RQ-1: What are the levels of coverage in different news resources/regions?

RQ-2: What are the topics covered in different resources?

RQ-3: What are the impacts of such coverage on place/nation brands?

Literature review

Place Branding

Definition and Categories

Place branding can be seen as an important element in city development and economic development strategy (Rainisto, 2003). It can also stimulate socio-economic development, create competitive advantage and increase inward investments and tourism (Balakrishnan, 2009; Cova, 1996; Kavaratzis, 2004). Place branding is closely related to concepts like city branding, nation branding, destination branding, etc. A place brand is by Zenker and Braun (in Zenker, 2011, p. 42) defined as “a network of associations in the consumers’ mind based on the visual, verbal and behavioral expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place’s stakeholders and the overall place design”.

Zenker (2011) maintains that a place brand is almost impossible to capture completely, and asks which elements should be used to understand the most imperative elements (categories) of a place brand. Zenker (ibid) discusses different categories – proposed by e.g. Anholt in 2006 (place, pulse, people, potential, prerequisites, and presence), Grabow *et al.* in 1995 (spatial, cultural, business, and historic picture) and Zenker in 2009 (Nature and recreation, Urban and diversity, Job chances, Cost efficiency) – coming up with the *combined place categories* made up of six categories, namely place characteristics, place inhabitants, place business, place quality, place familiarity, and place history.

City Branding and Branding

Kavaratzis (2004, p. 67) has maintained that, “Everything a city consists of, everything that takes place in the city and is done by the city, communicates messages about the city’s image.” He furthermore proposes three distinct types of communication – namely primary, secondary and tertiary communication. In primary communication, communication is not intentional, but the city’s actions (the city landscape, infrastructure, behavior and structure) has communicative effects even though communicative messages is not the main goal. Secondary communication is described as the intentional communication that often takes place through established marketing practices. Tertiary communication is related to word of mouth, and to communication by media (ibid).

Various scholars have drawn parallels between place branding and city branding versus other kinds of branding, such as product, service and corporate branding. A brand can be seen as consisting of a set of perceptions with the aim to differentiate the product from the competition (Aaker, 1996, referred to in McDonald, Chernatony and Harris, 2001). Product and service brands are often developed in a similar way, putting emphasis on the definition and selection of clear objectives and positioning as well as appropriate values (ibid). The strength of a brand depends on to what extent the perceptions are positive, consistent and shared by consumers (McDonald, Chernatony and Harris, 2001). A brand can be seen as containing of various elements, namely ‘brand identity’, and thus how the brand owners would like the brand to be perceived; ‘brand positioning’, meaning the part of the value proposition that displays competitive advantage, that is communicated to a target group; and ‘brand image’, implying the way that the brand is perceived (Kavaratzis, 2005).

Between corporate branding and city branding there are various similarities, and several commentators even point to the relevance of the *metaphor of place as corporate brand* (Anholt, 2002). Balmer and Greyser (2006), Hatch and Schultz (2009), and Kavaratzis (2004) draw parallels from corporate branding to city branding, arguing that city branding is similar to corporate branding (Balmer and Greyser, 2006; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005) and that concepts of place branding are grounded in corporate branding (Kavaratzis, 2004). Other

similarities between corporate brands and city brands are that they have multidisciplinary roots, address multiple groups of stakeholders, have a high level of intangibility and complexity, and that they need to consider social responsibility as well as deal with multiple identities and need a long-term development understanding (Hatch and Schultz, 2009).

There are also differences between corporate branding and city branding and some scholars argue that the complexities involved in city branding are greater than corporate branding. The difficulties are more acute. It is for example harder for a city to adopt and project a single clear identity, ethos and image, and may be not even desired (Kavaratzis, 2009), implying that the goals of the company and the city may be different. Furthermore, cities do not compete in the same way that companies compete, with profit maximization as the single, most important objective. Cities instead compete for residents, tourists, funding, events, investments, etc. (Lever and Turok, 1999).

Nation Branding

Nation branding involves promoting a nation's image to an international audience to further a country's political, social and economic gains and create competitive advantage (Fan, 2005). Even though nation branding can be seen as a fairly new concept, Olins (2003, p. 152) emphasizes that the idea behind branding the nation is not new: "Although the technologies are new and infinitely more powerful and pervasive than ever before, and the word 'brand' is also new, the concepts which it encompasses are as old as the nation itself." Politicians are moreover realizing that every nation has an identity, which they either can try to manage or it will manage them (ibid).

The image of a nation is often fluid and complex (Caldwell and Freire, 2004), and most people around the world today are too busy with their own lives to spend time to shape informed views about the nearly 200 countries in the world: "We make do with summaries for the vast majority of people and places [...] and only start to expand and refine these impressions when for some reason we acquire a particular interest in them" Anholt (2007, p.

1). Olins (2003, p. 150) states along the same lines that, most people know very little about nations other than their own and when they know anything at all their beliefs are often formed by myth, rumor and anecdote, almost always leaning towards grotesque caricatures which can be bruising to trade, tourism and inward investment.

For most people the main source of information about cities and nations around the world, come through international news media (Caldwell and Freire, 2004). National image is created, gained and changed by the impact of various factors, including media representation and international relationships (Choi, 2010). The image that the public or various audiences and people have of a nation, and the media's representation of it, is dependent on a number of factors, e.g. the media's behavior (Lahav and Avraham, 2008).

Place branding in the Chinese context

To promote China's image, the Chinese government uses various public diplomacy tools, such as the Internet, media, projects, publications, events and celebrities (Dinnie and Lio, 2010). Since the early 2000's, Chinese politicians like the President and the Prime Minister have become more active internationally (Kurlantzick, 2007). China has also engaged in a global expansion of China's media properties and invested considerably in establishing a global network of Confucius Institutes, with the purpose of enhancing China's image internationally (Wang and Hallquist, 2011). To foreign publics, China wants to communicate the idea that China will not be a threat to other nations, putting emphasis on the peaceful development of China. It has been argued that China over the past 10 to 15 years has altered its image around the world, from dangerous to benign, and grown in global popularity (Kurlantzick, 2007).

Along with China's urbanization, globalization and strengthened position internationally, Chinese cities are also increasingly engaging in city branding in order to achieve visibility in the world (Wu, 2000). The literature moreover indicates that the largest Chinese cities play an important role in the globalization of China, and that Chinese cities are given tasks and roles

from the central Chinese state. Wei and Yu (2006) argue that the Chinese state play a central role when it comes to influencing the development paths of Chinese cities. Vogel et al. (2010) similarly state that China (the central party directives) decides which cities and city regions emerge and what role they play in the world economy. Many Chinese cities have been encouraged to adopt a series of innovative strategies in order to create competitiveness and build leading positions (Xu and Yeh, 2005). Chinese states and cities have as a consequence been actively implementing policies in order to promote global city formation and attract foreign investments, resulting in an increased competition over resources and opportunities (Wei, Leung and Luo, 2006). It has been argued that the Chinese Communist Party has an interest in the promotion of Chinese cities, especially because it can benefit the promotion and branding of China as a nation (Wu, 2000).

Media Landscape

Mass media and journalism

Mass media is by Guo *et al* (2013, p. 44) seen as, “the main channel for a country’s national image to enter the international society”. Li and Tang (2009) have argued that mass media have the power to discursively construct reality and shape behaviors and public opinion. On a related note, critique is often pointed towards international journalism for reporting about developing countries with bias and constructing non-Western countries as *the other* and in a negative light (Li and Tang, 2009). Some have claimed that, in American media, China is regularly portrayed negatively, as exotic or as the other. Yet, it has also been maintained that the coverage of China by international news media often is fair – and that the negative coverage many times comes from China’s actions and policies (Li and Tang, 2009). In terms of journalistic behavior, Guo *et al.* (2013) have claimed that Western journalists rarely express their personal views bluntly when they cover China in their reporting and find that the Western journalists opinions of China are more covert, as “they use indirect description and metaphors to show their emotions” (ibid, p. 44).

Guo *et al.* (2013) concluded in their study on Chinese national image under the background of Beijing Olympic Games – researching topics and tone of coverage in the New York Times and The Times of London – that both papers “acknowledged that China is a country with rapid economic development, but without transparent politics and with significant social issues” (p. 47). They also conclude that, “The Chinese government and media’s objective to improve China’s national image faces difficulties in countering the stereotypes of Western media” (*ibid.*).

China Daily and Xinhua

China Daily has the widest print circulation of all newspapers in English in China. 500 000 copies per issue is distributed Monday to Saturday, of which one third is distributed abroad. China Daily was established in 1981, has its editorial office in Chaoyang District in Beijing and branch offices in China’s main cities as well as major foreign cities, e.g. New York, Washington, London, etc. China Daily has been called the English language *window into China*. The editorial policies are slightly more liberal compared with regular Chinese language newspapers. Among all China’s newspapers, the reporting style in China Daily is said to resemble the style in Western journalism, yet still more controlled than most international media. For the most part, China Daily portrays the official policy of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). The online edition of China Daily was established in 1995.

Xinhua News Agency is the official press and the largest news agency in China. More than 10 000 people are employed at Xinhua. The news agency has 31 bureaus all over China, and 107 foreign bureaus worldwide. The majority of Chinese language newspapers rely on news from Xinhua. In addition to being a news agency, Xinhua is also a publisher, and owns more than 20 newspapers as well as a dozen of magazines.

Case Selection: Beijing and Shenzhen

A World Capital: The Case of Beijing

Beijing (北京) is the capital of China, and has been the political center during the major part

of the past eight centuries. China's capital is located in the northeast of the country and with a population of over 20 million people, it is the second largest city in China (after Shanghai) and one of the most populous cities in the world. Beijing is governed as a direct-controlled municipality under the national government. Beijing is home to the headquarters of the majority of China's largest state-owned companies. Beijing Capital International Airport is the second busiest in the world in terms of passenger traffic. The city is known for its temples, gardens, tombs, palaces, walls and gates. Its' renowned universities and art treasures have made Beijing a cultural and art center in China.

Some indicate that a main objective of Beijing's 'charm offensive' internationally is the creation of benign or peaceful images (Chen, 2012). Indeed, the initial idea behind hosting the 2008 Olympic games was "[e]nhancing China's national image by integrating the power of culture, publicizing the achievements of China's reform and opening up policy" (Guo *et al.*, 2013, p. 44). The motto for the 2008 Olympics and the theme 'One World, One Dream' was in line with China's 'bringing in' and 'going global' tactics, as well as the nation's eagerness 'to move to the center from a marginal position, and equally participate in building a new global order' (Knight, 2008, p. 171). Internationally, the Olympic Games was also a sign of China's rising international status and economic achievements (Gries and Rosen, 2010).

Being the capital, the image of Beijing is closely intertwined with it being the political and cultural center of China. Beijing is aiming to move away from being too connected to China's

political life, and instead focus on becoming a center for education, health, culture and technology. Recently, Beijing has been positioned as a 'world city' (Yao and Shi, 2012), signaling an aim of reaching international audiences, and creating a city with the same standards as established 'world' and 'global' cities. In addition to being regarded as a world city, the overall strategic goal set for Beijing by the central Chinese government is that by 2050 Beijing will be a sustainable city with economic, social and ecological coordination (Yao and Shi, 2012). Beijing also aims to be a livable city, as well as a global innovation

center. The internationalization process in China and Beijing has contributed to the availability of sophisticated technology, first-class infrastructure, and human capital (He, Li and Wu, 2006).

All over China, innovative areas and creative zones have been and are being established. Two examples are Zhongguancun (Beijing High-Technology Industry Development Experimental Zone) in northwest Beijing – often referred to as China’s Silicon Valley; and creative zones like the ‘798 Art Zone’, located in the northeast of Beijing. In 2002, artists and cultural organizations started re-making the factory spaces of previous factory buildings, (including Factory 798, which originally produced electronics), developing them into arts centers, galleries, artists’ studios, design companies, etc.

Shenzhen – China’s R&D center

Shenzhen (深圳) is situated in the south of China, just north of Hong Kong. In the 1970’s Shenzhen was only a small village (Chong, 2011). Since the late 1970’s, however, Shenzhen has experienced vibrant economic growth, enabled by the establishment of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ), the policy of ‘reform and opening’, and rapid foreign investment (Chong, 2011). During the last 30 years, Shenzhen has experienced a ‘self-dependent innovation development’ (Universiade Shenzhen, 2011). Today Shenzhen is a modern cityscape, and as of 2010, Shenzhen’s population had reached 10.3 million. Shenzhen is one

of the fastest-growing cities in the world, the third busiest container port in China (after Shanghai and Hong Kong), and southern China’s major financial center; home to the Shenzhen Stock Exchange and to headquarters of many high-tech companies. In 2010, Shenzhen was voted the most innovative city in China, by Forbes China (Chong, 2011).

The city currently holds sub-provincial administrative status, with powers slightly less than a province. In terms of economic output, Shenzhen is ranked fourth among China’s 659 cities,

after Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. In 2010, GDP per capita was RMB 95 000 (USD 14 615), making Shenzhen one of the richest cities in China. Shenzhen has very close business, trade and social links with its neighbor Hong Kong. Donald Tsang, the Executive Chief in Hong Kong, proposed in 2007 to develop the Hong Kong-Shenzhen metropolis and strengthen the cooperation further, approved by the Shenzhen Government later the same year. The cooperation included areas like financial services, hi-tech, high-end research, development, transport, environmental matters and ecology.

Shenzhen has been positioned as the new economic and technology engine of South China, and specifically targets high-tech industries for its growth. It has already become the worldwide leader in communication networks, telecom technology and Internet innovation (Ye, 2011). Some of China's most successful high-tech companies are based in Shenzhen, for example Huawei, Konka, Tencent, ZTE, BYD and Hasee. Shenzhen is also home to five of the top ten high-tech companies that had the largest number of patents granted in 2010 in China. These five companies received more than 5,800 patents in 2010, which accounted for over 20 per cent of the national total. Shenzhen is establishing itself as the new research and development center in south China and has become the worldwide leader in communication networks, telecom technology, and Internet innovation.

Research Design and Methodology

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
2/13/2012	1/10/2012	5/30/2012	2/23/2012	6/1/2012	5/26/2012	5/6/2012
5/2/2011	11/29/2011	3/9/2011	3/10/2011	1/21/2011	12/24/2011	6/26/2011
3/22/2010	9/21/2010	4/7/2010	11/25/2010	7/9/2010	2/13/2010	5/9/2010
8/10/2009	12/1/2009	2/18/2009	11/12/2009	3/27/2009	4/11/2009	9/27/2009
9/8/2008	9/9/2008	12/17/2008	11/6/2008	12/5/2008	2/9/2008	3/30/2008

The study employs a quantitative content analysis method to measure the overall volume and topics of media coverage of Beijing and Shenzhen over a period of five years, from 2008 to 2012. In order to understand how these cities are portrayed by China, two resources known for their closeness to Chinese official sources – *China Daily* and *Xinhua General News*

*Services*⁶² – are included in the study. Two resources from Hong Kong (*The Standard*, and *South China Morning Post*), the United Kingdom (*The Guardian*, and *The Daily Telegraph*), and the United States of America (*The Washington Post*, and *USA Today*) are also included in the dataset to capture the international portrayal of these cities. The countries are selected due to (i) their vibrant print media industry operating in English and (ii) their geographic location. These countries are used to give a glimpse of media coverage in Asia, Europe, and North America. The specific newspapers are chosen based on their high circulation numbers and the availability of their archives.

The sampling from news resources was done by using one constructed week per year. Constructed week sampling was chosen due to the method's success in capturing annual coverage compared to other methods such as consecutive day sampling or random sampling (Riffe *et al.*, 1993). Dates were generated using an online random generator.⁶³ Table 1 shows the dates used in the study.

Table 1 Constructed Week Dates

⁶² Xinhua is a news agency with its own outlets. For the purposes of this research, it is treated as a media outlet together with the other seven newspapers included in the dataset.

⁶³ The generator can be found in this website: <http://www.lrs.org/interactive/randomdate.php>, last accessed 01 September 2013.

Subsequently, the data gathering process was carried out for both cities using two different databases. The Washington Post, USA Today, The Guardian, Daily Telegraph, South Morning China Post, and Xinhua General News Services were scanned by using the *LexisNexis Academic* database. The Standard and China Daily were scanned by using *Access World News Research Collection* database. The dates in the constructed weeks were entered to the databases to search for all articles containing the keywords *Beijing* and *Shenzhen* separately. The number of articles accessed for each constructed week is shown in Table 2. Moreover, the number of all the news articles published in a given year (from 2008 to 2012) was also included in the final dataset to carry out an annual frequency analysis.

Table 2 Total Number of Articles Published about the Cities per Constructed Week

		W Post	USA Today	The Guardian	Daily Telegraph	S China MP	Standard	Xinhua	China Daily
Beijing	2008	16	5	27	26	163	7	669	106
	2009	9	3	13	20	106	6	756	152
	2010	17	0	13	19	74	12	675	234
	2011	24	5	18	15	94	10	772	181
	2012	38	3	19	36	182	11	768	176
Shenzhen	2008	1	0	0	1	30	3	80	13
	2009	1	0	0	0	27	6	103	15
	2010	0	0	1	2	27	4	99	20
	2011	0	0	0	2	18	3	116	11
	2012	0	0	0	0	36	3	122	16

The researchers devised a deductive coding protocol for the articles and carried out the coding process. The main objective for the coding process was to understand the different topics through which the cities are portrayed in international media. There have been precedent works in the literature studying place branding and brands through print media portrayal (i.e. Freeman and Nguyen, 2012; Guo et al., 2013; Zhou et al., 2013), and studies discussing the main components and topics that are relevant to places' brands (i.e. Anholt, 2010; Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Sevin, 2013; Zenker, 2011). There is indeed an extant discussion in the literature about the various possible topics. Moreover, the newspaper articles are published under topical sections, such as business, politics and sports. Therefore, researchers initially created a codebook based on the literature and newspaper sections.

During the two rounds of training, the researchers introduced three more codes and finalized the codebook. The codebook can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3 Codes

Beijing as China*	Nature & Environment
Crime	Urban Space & Urban Development
Culture & Entertainment	People
Economy and Business	Politics and Diplomacy
Education	Promotional Campaigns
Health	Science and Technology
Insignificant	Sports
Military	Travel
	Other

* Code used only for Beijing for instances where Beijing refers to the entire country

Each article was coded only once. For news articles that might be included in multiple categories, the researchers identified the most dominant theme by looking at (i) the aspect of the city was highlighted and (ii) the tone / section of coverage in the newspaper. After two rounds of training, the inter-coder reliability between the researchers was very high (97% agreement, Scott's Pi 0.962).⁶⁴

Analysis

As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the dataset is composed of 6,240 news articles coming from five constructed weeks and the number of articles published about the cities in each source annually. Initially, the researchers analyzed the level of coverage and looked for variation based on region, source, and year. Subsequently, the news articles were coded. Lastly, the coded topics were discussed within the framework of *Combined place categories* (Zenker, 2011).

Level of Coverage

⁶⁴ The intercoder reliability was calculated using ReCal2 develop by Deen Freelon (2013). The software can be found on this link: <http://dfreelon.org/utills/recalfront/> Last accessed September 2013.

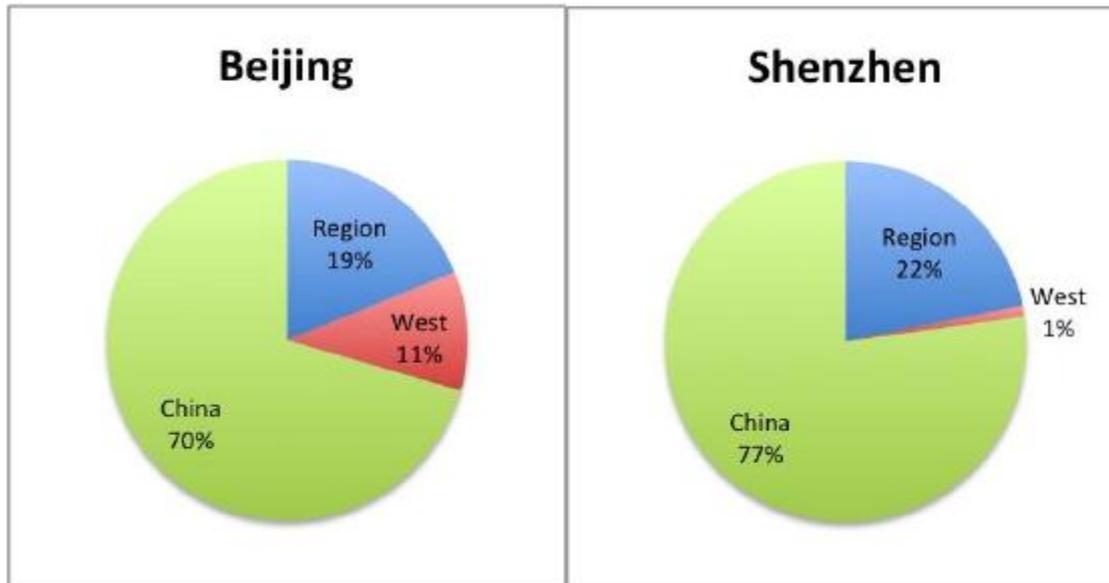
Between 2008 and 2012, the eight sources analyzed in this research published a total of 185,187 articles containing the keyword, thus related to Beijing and 38,682 articles about Shenzhen. As Table 4 shows, the city of Shenzhen's media coverage is relatively stable over the years. The minor changes do not necessarily reflect a pattern over the years. On the other hand, the number of articles published about Beijing is higher in 2008 than other years, as in the summer of 2008 the city hosted the Summer Olympic Games and attracted global media attention.

Table 4 Total Number of Articles Published about the Cities Annually

		W Post	USA Today	The Guardian	Daily Telegraph	S China MP	Standard	Xinhua	China Daily	Total
Beijing	2008	1850	892	2043	1744	8402	504	30577	7107	53119
	2009	667	208	882	809	5671	532	14646	6378	29793
	2010	624	147	812	833	4770	543	15028	10610	33367
	2011	921	160	862	881	5498	558	14665	9532	33077
	2012	1572	319	1146	2340	8022	457	14543	7432	35831
Shenzhen	2008	25	2	16	17	1715	164	3863	763	6565
	2009	11	4	10	10	1533	227	4356	778	6929
	2010	19	6	16	18	1312	202	5813	843	8229
	2011	37	3	15	31	1189	153	6822	770	9020
	2012	51	6	23	56	1760	179	4993	871	7939

The annual coverage numbers revealed an interesting – yet not unexpected – finding. When the newspapers are aggregated into three geographical categories – West (American and British resources), Region (Hong Kong resources), and China (Chinese resources) – it is observed in both cases that Chinese resources dominate the news cycle, followed by regional resources. Western coverage seems to be limited. For Shenzhen, on average (and in total across years) around 77% of the articles are coming from Chinese resources despite the fact that non-Chinese resources included in the research outnumber Chinese resources six to two. Similar to the case of Shenzhen, on average (and in total across the years) around 70% of the articles about Beijing are coming from Chinese resources.

Figure 1 News Resources Aggregated by Region



As an answer to the level of coverage question, it is possible to argue that – with the exception of 2008 and Beijing Olympics – there is no identifiable variation in the volume of coverage over the years. Beijing receives considerably more coverage than the city of Shenzhen – however, as it will be argued in the next section – nearly half of the Beijing coverage is not necessarily related to the city but rather uses the name to refer to the entire country of China or the Chinese government.

Topics

The deductive content analysis of news articles published about the cities show that Beijing and Shenzhen are portrayed differently from one another in the media, with each city enjoying a defining characteristic. Beijing is usually mentioned in the media in reference to the central government or the entire China (cf. Table 5 below, code *Beijing as China*). Moreover, the city is known for political and diplomatic events. With the 2008 Olympics, sports also became an important characteristic of the city. Yet this aspect of Beijing has declined drastically after 2008.

Table 5 Beijing's Portrayal in Media

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Beijing as China	39.45%	48.83%	50.10%	58.98%	53.85%	50.53%
Politics and Diplomacy	14.92%	9.11%	12.93%	10.28%	12.33%	11.88%
Sports	22.28%	8.45%	6.32%	5.45%	6.08%	9.47%
Economy and Business	7.16%	7.42%	5.94%	6.61%	9.33%	7.35%
Insignificant	3.83%	8.17%	4.21%	6.88%	6.16%	5.89%
Culture & Entertainment	3.43%	4.23%	3.45%	4.02%	3.24%	3.67%
Nature & Environment	2.16%	3.19%	4.50%	0.80%	3.08%	2.74%
Health	1.57%	2.25%	2.59%	2.06%	1.05%	1.88%
People	1.47%	1.50%	2.78%	0.71%	1.30%	1.53%
Urban Space & Urban Development	1.67%	0.85%	3.45%	1.25%	0.49%	1.50%
Science and Technology	0.39%	2.91%	0.48%	0.63%	0.97%	1.08%
Education	0.49%	0.66%	1.53%	0.98%	1.14%	0.97%
Crime	0.39%	1.41%	1.34%	0.71%	0.24%	0.80%
Travel	0.59%	0.47%	0.38%	0.45%	0.65%	0.51%
Military	0.20%	0.38%	0.00%	0.18%	0.00%	0.15%
Promotional Campaigns	0.00%	0.19%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%
Other	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.08%	0.02%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Shenzhen is portrayed as a business center. It is important to note that the city's identity as such a center does not necessarily come from various activities. Shenzhen Stock Market is widely covered both in Hong Kong and Chinese media, which thus increases the exposure to the city. As shown in Table 6, 67.63% of the articles about Shenzhen are *Economy and Business* stories.

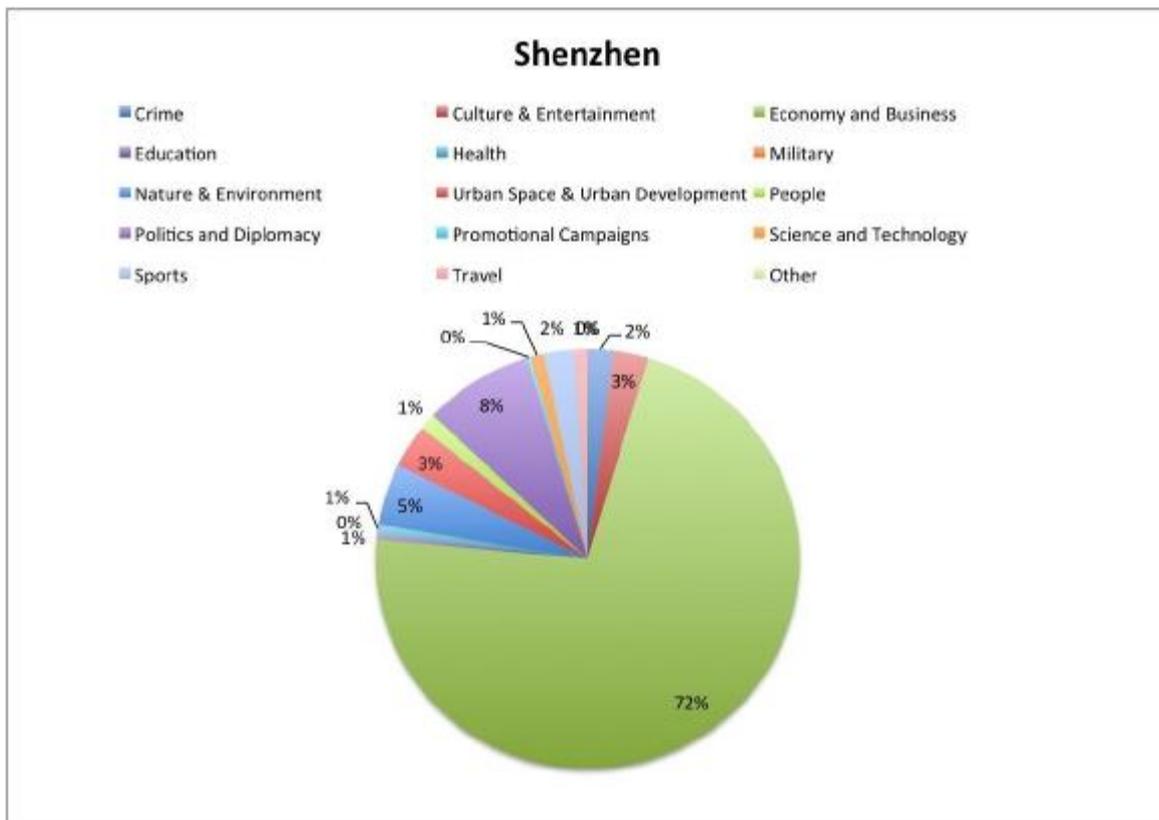
Table 6 Shenzhen's Portrayal in Media

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Economy and Business	62.50%	64.47%	68.63%	71.33%	70.06%	67.63%
Politics and Diplomacy	13.28%	7.89%	5.23%	3.33%	10.17%	7.89%
Insignificant	0.00%	9.87%	0.00%	10.67%	7.91%	5.92%
Nature & Environment	9.38%	2.63%	9.80%	0.67%	1.13%	4.47%
Urban Space & Urban Development	6.25%	2.63%	3.92%	3.33%	0.56%	3.16%
Culture & Entertainment	3.91%	2.63%	3.92%	1.33%	1.13%	2.50%
Sports	0.00%	2.63%	1.31%	4.67%	2.26%	2.24%
Crime	0.78%	1.97%	2.61%	0.67%	2.82%	1.84%
People	1.56%	1.32%	1.31%	0.67%	1.13%	1.18%
Science and Technology	0.00%	0.66%	1.31%	2.67%	0.00%	0.92%
Travel	0.78%	2.63%	0.65%	0.00%	0.56%	0.92%
Health	0.00%	0.66%	0.65%	0.00%	1.69%	0.66%
Education	0.78%	0.00%	0.00%	0.67%	0.56%	0.39%
Promotional Campaigns	0.78%	0.00%	0.65%	0.00%	0.00%	0.26%
Military	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

In both cases, *soft* characteristics of cities – such as people, nature and environment, culture and entertainment – were overlooked and not caught by the print media. Rather, Beijing – even when controlled for *Beijing as China* references – was covered in the framework of

either sports (mainly 2008 Olympics) or politics and diplomacy. Shenzhen was covered in the framework of economy and business.

Figures 2 and 3 News Topics For Cities (*Insignificant and Beijing as China not included*)



There does not seem to be fluctuation of topical coverage across regions. As Table 7 shows, Beijing's political center and Shenzhen's business hub identity are stable across regions. Yet, Beijing is also covered within the Olympic games framework. Especially in 2008 during Beijing Olympics and in 2012 in comparison to London Olympics, the readers are exposed to Beijing in sports news.

Table 7 Code Percentages, Broken Down into Regions

	Beijing			Shenzhen		
	China	West	Region	China	West*	Region
Beijing Government	53.62%	25.77%	41.80%	N/A	N/A	N/A
Crime	0.89%	0.31%	0.45%	1.85%	0.00%	1.91%
Culture & Entertainment	3.30%	5.21%	5.41%	2.02%	25.00%	3.18%
Economy and Business	5.50%	7.67%	19.70%	72.27%	25.00%	52.23%
Education	1.02%	0.00%	1.05%	0.17%	0.00%	1.27%
Health	2.09%	0.00%	1.35%	0.50%	0.00%	1.27%
Insignificant	5.88%	8.90%	4.51%	6.89%	0.00%	2.55%
Military	0.18%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Nature & Environment	3.07%	1.23%	1.20%	5.21%	12.50%	1.27%
Urban Space & Urban Development	1.65%	0.31%	1.05%	1.34%	0.00%	10.19%
People	1.54%	2.15%	1.20%	0.84%	12.50%	1.91%
Politics and Diplomacy	10.98%	15.64%	16.09%	4.87%	25.00%	18.47%
Promotional Campaigns	0.02%	0.00%	0.15%	0.17%	0.00%	0.64%
Science and Technology	1.20%	0.61%	0.45%	1.18%	0.00%	0.00%
Sports	8.62%	31.29%	4.51%	2.69%	0.00%	0.64%
Travel	0.40%	0.92%	1.05%	0.00%	0.00%	4.46%
Other	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

* Includes solely a total of 8 articles

Combined Place Categories

What do these numbers mean in terms of city branding and nation branding? As mentioned above, it is possible to argue about a place's brand through combined place categories: place characteristics, place inhabitants, place business, place quality, place familiarity, and place history (Zenker, 2011). In the case of both Beijing and Shenzhen, the national and international media portrayal is not instrumental in describing the cities' spatial characteristics, giving information about their residents, promoting business opportunities, explaining their history or even their basic qualities. Basically, five out of six combined place categories are not reflected in print media. Thus the news coverage solely increases the familiarity of the readers with the place.

Given the fact that the coverage solely increases the familiarity of the cities in the eyes of the audiences, their impact on the Chinese national brand is limited to increasing brand exposure. It has been argued that a repeated exposure to a brand might influence consumers' behavior towards the said brand (Zajonc, 1968) however recent experimental studies in corporate branding has shown that such influences are not necessarily positive or observed in all target audiences (Ferraro et al., 2009). In 2011, the Chinese government included the promotion of the image of Chinese cities within its 12th Five-Year Plan (Fan, forthcoming 2014). In other words, China sees the brands of these cities as assets to introduce a new China image to the rest of the world. Yet, the portrayal of Beijing and Shenzhen shows that these mega-cities are still under-utilized assets.

Conclusion and Discussion

China is both in the process of developing new mega-cities with a new wave of urbanization and of investing in the image of reputation of existing ones. Moreover, with China's government impetus towards international promotion, cities in China, and especially mega-cities like Beijing and Shenzhen as well as Shanghai, Chengdu, Chongqing, have become more involved in city branding activities and international branding campaigns. (Fan, forthcoming 2014). These cities indeed have the potential to both facilitate Chinese relations with the rest of the world and contribute to a changing image of the country. Based on the analysis of international print media, it is possible to argue that – at least – Beijing and Shenzhen are not fulfilling their potential.

Regardless of the region of the print media, the coverage of these cities highlights three themes. Firstly, political stereotypes about China are rampant. The news media are more interested in China's domestic and foreign policy. The mere fact that the number of articles that covers "Beijing" as a unified political player (Beijing as China code) is very close to the number of the rest of the articles in the dataset (ones covering Beijing and Shenzhen as cities) proves that the print media is more interested in Chinese policies. These stereotypes are

unlikely to be broken solely by communication and promotion activities. New branding campaigns for China and Chinese mega-cities might follow a branding through deeds, i.e. including concrete changes in domestic and foreign policy arenas, to improve the Chinese image.

Secondly, established institutions in the cities receive frequent coverage that do not decrease across the years. For instance, Shenzhen's stock market is prominently covered both in national and foreign media resources. In order to increase the volume of and to diversify the topics of coverage, investing in new institutions might be essential.

Lastly, in line with previous research on the subject (e.g. Chen, 2012; Wang & Hallquist, 2011) mega-events were observed to spark interest in the cities. The 2008 Beijing Olympics has undeniably increased the volume and change the topic of coverage. The city of Beijing is still collecting its return on investment on this mega-event. Similarly, 2011 Universiade Games earned the city of Shenzhen an opportunity for global publicity. These events can be seen as opportunities to promote China and Chinese cities. Moreover, given their international nature, such events will also be likely to increase collaboration with foreign partners.

This study has its limitations. In order to better understand China's and Chinese mega-cities portrayal in international arena, further research is necessary. Despite the prominent role of English language among global audiences, a more inclusive picture of portrayal of Chinese cities should incorporate non-English resources. Moreover, it is possible to include non-print media resources, including social media platforms that include user-generated content. Lastly, future research should compare the Chinese experience with other countries that have used cities to change their national brand image, such as the United Arab Emirates.

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Measuring the Reputation of Tourism Destinations from Internet

Information :

“3I” Index and its Implication on Tourism Governance

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Abstract

Purpose: First, this study aims to construct “Online Image Index of Tourism Destination” of China(“3I” Index). Second, by using the”3I” Index, this study analyses and ranks the online images of the National 5A tourist attractions.

Method: The images of 5A tourist attractions are identified on the Internet by analyzing the contents of a variety of web information sources—official websites of tourist attractions, the China National and provincial tourism administration websites, and online travel portals. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are used to content-analyze the textual information on the sampled websites.

Findings: The results show that the online image of National 5A tourist attractions varies by different online information sources. The “3I” Index differs from a lot of factors, such as economic development level, population size, transportation convenience degree, scenic area management level and so on.

Originality/value: This study underscores the importance of internet information in understanding the destination image. The”3I”Index is composed of six aspects which are related to the tourism industry characteristics. The index can be used as the means of

government management, scenic area marketing and an important basis of tourists travel decision-making.

Research limitations: Content analysis is exploratory in nature and relies on subjective judgments to some extent. This study only examines parts of National 5A tourist attractions because of the method of sampling. Bloggers 'and micro bloggers' viewpoints are not included in this study.

Key words: “3I” Index; Internet data analysis; Tourism Destinations; National 5A tourist attractions; Tourism Governance; Scenic area marketing

1.Introduction

In recent years, the tourism in China has entered “gold age” with high speed. Tourism investment and consumption has increased by a large margin. The development, construction and management of scenic spots have been greatly improved. Although the 5A tourist attractions are seen as scenic spots quality model, they have lots of problems in the process of development, operation and management, which severely damage their reputation and image. Besides, in the new period, the change of travelers' consumption behaviors also threatens the status of the beloved 5A tourist attractions (the tourism destination in this paper refers to the National 5A tourist attractions). The above factors show that in its future development, the 5A tourist attractions have to collect the consumers' experiencing information effectively and pay more attention to the consumers' personalized demand. In the Internet age, the travel related Internet information can reflect the consumers' feeling, attitudes and cognition. So, Internet is the best way to collect tourist consumption information. As discussed above, this paper, filled with our fellow workers' efforts and human resources, mainly and deeply studies the Internet image index of China's 5A tourist attractions to help the domestic 5A tourist attractions improve their service quality and create better travel experience for the visitors.

To deal with the actual situation and problems the tourism industry of China and the 5A tourist attractions are facing with, the China Tourism“12thFive Year” Development Plan(draft

for comments) (hereinafter referred to as “the Plan”) requires: to take the satisfaction of travelers and community residents as the fundamental guidelines of the tourism development in the new age; to further develop the leading role of the informational modern science and technology, modern commercial pattern and professional talents in the strategy of industry transformation and update; to cultivate tourism into a more satisfying modern service industry for the masses. During the implementation of the 12th Five Year Plan, following the leading ideology of scientific development and transforming development method, we should build the industrial foundation of a strong tourism country, combine two strategies, and make big breakthroughs in aspects like element development industrialization, resource allocation marketization, and development pattern modernization.

In recent years, we’ve witnessed the power of internet and it gradually draws the attention our government. Media comments from key websites and constructive ideas as well as opinions from news comments not only lead the view of the whole society, but also have great influence on governmental policy decisions and their implementations.

2. Literature review

2.1 Studies on images of scenic areas

It is widely accepted that destination image is an integral and influential part of the traveler’s decision process and consequent travel behaviors (Baloglu&Brinberg, 1997; Gallarza, Saura, & Garcia, 2002; Rezende-Parker, Morri-son, & Ismail, 2003; Stabler, 1987). Even though the exact definition of “destination image” is difficult to define (Echtner& Ritchie, 1991; Pearce, 1988), there is a common view that destination image is a multi-faceted, composite construct, which consists of interrelated cognitive and affective evaluations woven into overall impressions (Assael, 1984; Baloglu&McCleary, 1999; Gartner, 1993; MacKay &Fesenmaier, 1997). According to Fakeye and Crompton (1991), a significant factor in the destination selection process is informative promotion which can provide potential tourists with knowledge of a destination. Gartner (1993) argued that the type and amount of external stimuli (information sources) received affected the formation of the cognitive component of image.

Phelps (1986) categorized destination images into primary and secondary depending on the information sources used. Primary images are formed through internal information such as past experiences and secondary images are influenced by information received from some external sources. Breckler(1984) and White (2004) emphasized that the image construct follows the three-element attitude model from psychology, which includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral elements(Breckler, 1984; Pike & Ryan, 2004; White, 2004). Echtnerand Ritchie (1991, 1993) suggested that the destination image construct consists of three dimensions: attribute-holistic, functional-psychological, and common-unique. Gunn (1972) and Gartner (1993) categorized information sources into organic and induced. The organic sources (books, school curriculum, news, movies, actual destination visits, etc.) do not have vested interests in promoting a destination, while the induced sources (travel brochures, advertisements, posters, videos, and, most recently, the internet) are a means of communicating marketing messages of the destination and suppliers to a chosen travel audience.

2.2 Studies on tourism destinations network

Travel and tourism services appear to be especially well suited for internet marketing because of their intangibility as well as high price, risk, and involvement levels. Within the destination image literature, the importance of the internet as an image formation agent is increasingly recognized (Castaneda et al., 2007; Choi et al., 2007; Govers and Go, 2003, 2004; Govers et al., 2007; Gursoy and McCleary, 2004).Govers (2003) and Heung (2004) said an increasing number of people are using the Internet for information search because the World Wide Web provides more in-depth materials and richer content compared with conventional promotional agents. Svetlana Stepchenkova and Alastair M. Morrison (2006) used two software programs to compare US and Russian website materials related to travel to Russia. Soojin Choi, Xinran Y. Lehto and Alastair M. Morrison (2007) identified the image ~~representations of Macau~~ on the Internet by analyzing the contents of a variety of web information sources. Noor HazarinaHashim, Jamie Murphy and NazlidaMuhamadHashim(2007) explored online Muslim images in Malaysia via interviews and content analyses of pictures and text on tourism destination websites'

homepages.MridulaDwivedi(2009) contribute to the nascent literature on the use of the internet in destination image formation by exploring India's online image. Xiao Liang and Zhao Liming(2009) through a content analysis of the information comprehensive tourism websites, travel service websites across Taiwan straits and Taiwan official tourism websites , extracts the image themes of Taiwan tourism destinations.

3 Model Building

3.1 The current evaluation perspectives of 5A tourist attractions' images

So far, there is no mature system concerning 5A tourist attractions image evaluation. Li Jie analyzed the constituted elements of the tourism destination image, such as the tourism destination's political and economic situation, natural environment, human tourist resource, infrastructure, tourism development and tourism equipment etc.⁶⁵ Song Zibin and several other Scholars divided the Hai Nan tourism destinations image into 22 variables such as natural sights, clean hygiene, stable politics, social security, sites transportation etc.⁶⁶Zhang Hongmei several other Scholars used 7 factors such as outwards transportation, environment, residents' attitudes, social security, service quality, price and ancient building protection in

⁶⁵Li Jie. On the Significance of Image and Marketing of the tourism Destinations [J]. Tourism Forum, 1998 (1) :17 - 19.

⁶⁶ZongZibin, AnYingmin, Zhen Pei. IPA Analysis of Image of Tourism Destinations: how people in Xi'an see the image of Hainan Tourism Destination [J]. Tourism Tribune, 2006(10) :26- 32

their exploration of Zhou Zhuang travel quality experiencing.⁶⁷In their study of Shuoyang tourist image, Yang Yongde and several other Scholars thought that there were 5 influencing factors, namely, tourist project, tourist environment, local human characteristics, leisure atmosphere, and infrastructure as well as tourist equipment.⁶⁸Overall, the perspectives in which people evaluate tourism destinations are still descriptive in the present. Most of them are just a simple list of the travelers' feeling. There are too many indexes and some of them overlap and are not specially picked and systematic characterized. Therefore, no systematic theory framework is formed.

3.2 Online image evaluation model of 5A tourist attractions

Combining challenges and opportunities China's tourism destinations are facing with, this study creatively brings new online image index for tourism destinations according to the actual tourism industry and through complete, real, objective internet media analysis, it reflects the image ranking and real internet comments of the 5A tourism destinations, thus to help the tourism destinations find its strengths and shortcomings and provide a completely new management instrument for the governmental tourist management department as well as a basis for the tourists' decision-making.

The online image index of tourism destination mainly consists of one first-class index and six second class indexes. The first class index is the online image index while the six second class indexes are the beauty sights index, food quality index, accommodation comforts index, shopping happiness index, transportation convenience index and management level index. Every tourism destination's online image index is weighted according to the six second class indexes.

⁶⁷Zhang Hongmei, Lu Lin, CaiLiping, Huang Tunwei. Diagrammatic Sketch of the image structure of Tourism Destinations and Visitors' Behavior: on the Basis of Localization Research on Potential Consumers [J]. Travel Science, 2011(1) :35 - 45.

⁶⁸Yang Yongde, Bai Liming, Su Zhen.Comparative Study on the Structure and Unstructured Image of Tourism Destinations [J].Tourism Tribune, 2007(4) :53- 57.

1. The unique natural or humane scenery is the fundamental condition that the tourism destination exists, the core element of the tourism industry, the body part of tourism products and the main attraction to tourism consumption. The tourists come for the unique scenery. If they find out that the actual scenery is far from what they have expected or not as good as what the tourism destination has been spread, no matter how satisfying other aspects are, they will be disappointed in the end. Therefore, this study holds that, as the basis of the long-term sustainable existence and development for the tourism destination, the beauty degree of the tourism destination itself is the main composing part of its whole image. The scenery refers to in the index includes natural sights, cultural landscape, gardening arts and leisure entertainment equipment.

2. The six elements of the modern tourism industry are eating, accommodation, transportation, travel, shopping and entertainment. The six elements are not only the body of the tourism industry structure but also the fundamental elements of the scientific tourism system. Because“travel” has been included in the scenery beauty index, entertainment overlaps with several prior indexes and they are hard to differ from each other, this study picks quality food index, accommodation comfort index, transportation convenience index and shopping happiness index as the second class indexes. Transportation takes a lot of money, energy and time when people travel; meanwhile the present travel transportation also undertakes the function of increasing travelers’ unique experience in shortening the time and special distance. Therefore, when calculating weight, we hold that transportation convenience index is more important than the rest three indexes.

3. Scenic area management is a comprehensive and dynamic system concept that includes many aspects such as scenic area development, plan management, marketing management, operation management, financial management, environment management, quality management, crisis management, standard management, ticket management, human resource management, information system management etc., all of which affect and bind each other, so if one aspect is not well managed, the operation of the whole scenic area will

be badly affected and even worse, it will damage the competitive edge of the scenic area. With the rapid development of China's tourism industry, the short boards and shortcomings of the tourism destination are gradually popping out. Problems like travel disorder, environmental degradation, unguaranteed travel security not only severely constraint the long-term development of the tourism destination but also give a devastating blow to its whole online image. Hence, one of the most challenging difficulties China's tourism destination, especially the 5A tourist attractions, are facing is to improve its management level. At the same time, it is also a vital opportunity for the tourism destination to exceed its fellow competitors---whoever manages the tourism destination well gets an advantage in tourism development. Therefore, this study absorbs management level index into the index system and allocates more weight to it, thus to lead the tourism destination to make efforts to improve their management level.

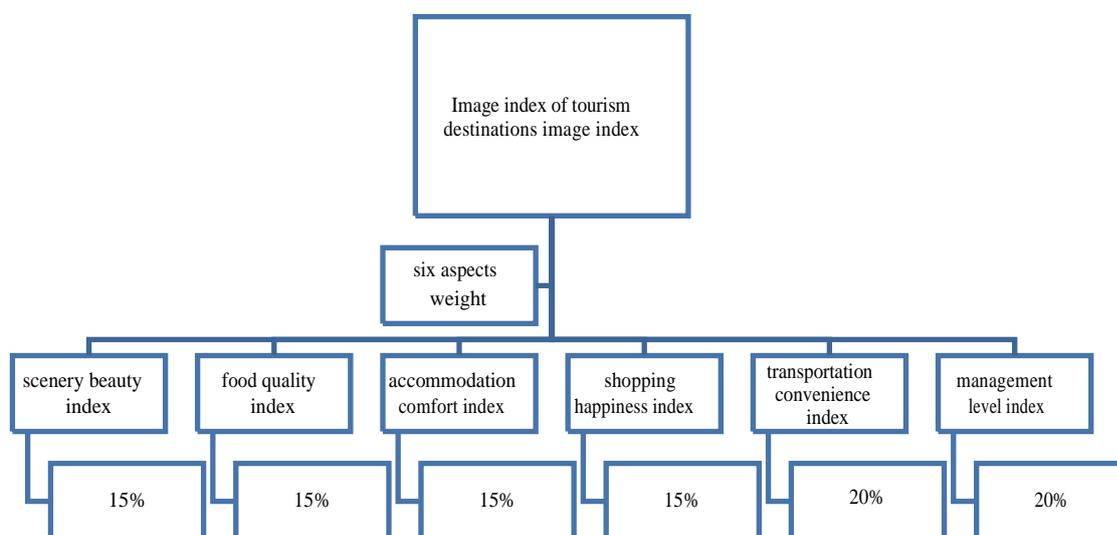


Figure1. The online image index structure of the tourism destinations

In calculating methods, the score of every second class index is the sum of the scores of the three dimensions, which are number dimension, significant dimension as well as central dimension. Number dimension reflects the quantity of texts with rave review of food quality in a certain period; significant dimension shows the percentage of texts with rave review of

food quality in a certain period; central dimension implicates the distribution of the texts with rave review of food quality among different information sources. If the percentage of texts with rave review among different information sources is pretty much the same, the index will get high score; otherwise, it gets a lower score. After calculating the results of the above indexes, they are transformed to standard scores that are all added together to get a second class index score. Adding the six second class indexes together by weight, we get the online image index of the tourism destination.

4. Methodology

The data this study uses are all from Internet, including the following websites: 1) 11 official websites of national Tourism Bureau and of tourism bureau where the tourism destinations are located; 2) 51 official websites of the tourism destinations; 3) 15 travel channels of the portals. Up to September 1st, 2013, among all the information available in the above mentioned 77 websites, we collect some 100,000 pieces of information, most of which are news with some web messages and comments. Statistics from online forums, blogs and micro-blogs are not included.

The software this study exploits includes train collector, MySQL database and Solr. Train collector is professional software that deals with online data collection and information digging. Through flexible allocation, it can easily and rapidly grab structured online information such as texts, pictures and documents and can publish the collected information to the backstage of the websites, various documents and other databases after editing and picking. MySQL is relation database managing system whose source code is open. Solr is the popular, blazing fast open source enterprise search platform from the Apache Lucene project. Its major features include powerful full-text search, hit highlighting, faceted search, near real-time indexing, dynamic clustering, database integration, rich document (e.g. Word, PDF) handling, and geospatial search.

The first step of this study is to categorize and sort out the sources of the target data. We hold that as Internet media, travel channels of the portals can report the tourism destination in a third party's perspective, so we choose 15 travel channels from some main portals in our country as data source; meanwhile, the news report and comments from the state tourism bureaus and the tourism bureaus where the tourism destinations located are authoritative, for they are the departments in charge of the tourism industry. So we pick 11 official websites of the departments in charge as our information sources. Besides, as the window that spread the scenic area, the official websites of the scenic area also have a lot of news about themselves, so we also single out 51 of them as our information sources.

The second step of this study is to use train collector to collect the information in categories as well as types and save them in different data forms according to their categories and websites. The same website with different columns is saved in one syllable in the data form according to their categories. The data form in the URL syllable builds unique constraint and for the first time it avoids data redundancy. After the data is saved in the database, the data's effectiveness is checked and those ineffective data and impure data are excluded.

The third step is to use Solr software to analyze and census the data. The mmseg4j Chinese word segmentation, its latest edition 1.9.1, is used in this study. For example, “台北故宫”, is segmented into “台北” and “故宫”. When searching “故宫”, we need to exclude “台北故宫”; another example, when searching “好”, we do not need to exclude “不好”, because “不好” is a single word in Chinese. The concrete census steps are as followings: 1) leading the data in the Solr according to the category of the websites and also use the URL as the unique constraint, thus avoiding data redundancy for the second time; 2) building index according to word segmentation when the data is being saved in the database; 3) searching the quantity of reports and positive reports concerning the six aspects of the scenic area by using the key words of scenic areas and the six aspects of the indexes.

The fourth step is to set index and build evaluation model. According to the index calculation method, every index gets a score and each score is added up to get a total score. Then calculate the total score of the scenic area according to the calculation model and analyze the image of the scenic area.

5 · The results

Figure 2 shows the ranking of attractions' online image calculated by the online image index system of the 5A tourist attractions after we grab all the information of the 51 5A tourist attractions available on the official websites, the websites of 11 provincial administrative Tourism bureaus and the travel channels of 15 portals.

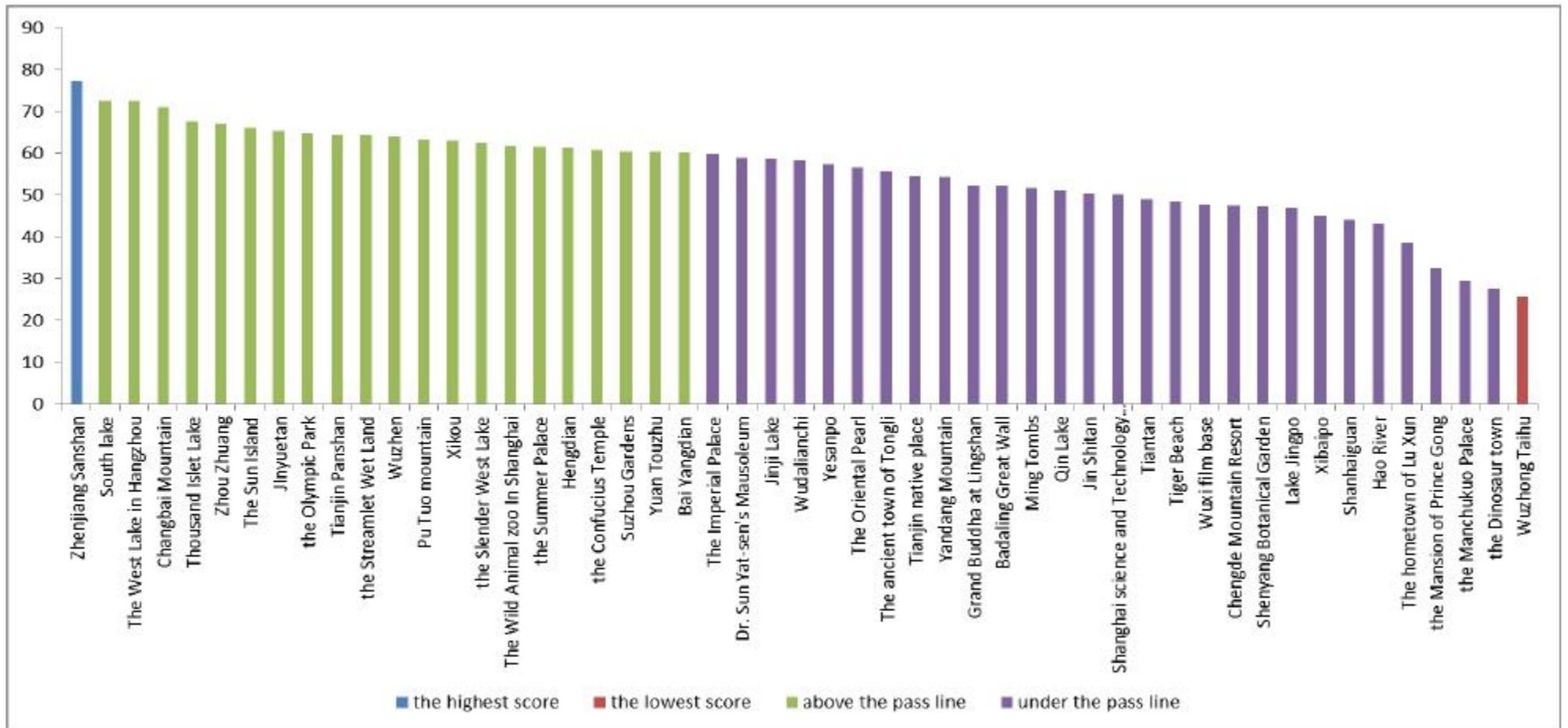


Figure 2 ranking of the 51 5A tourist attractions' online image indexes

As shown in the Figure 2, there are total 22 5A tourist attractions whose online image level indexes are higher than the pass line (60 points) and 27 5A tourist attractions whose indexes are under the pass line. Among them, the top 10 scenic areas are: the Zhenjiang Sanshanscenic spot (77.26); the South Lake Tourist Area in Jiaxing City, Zhejiang Province, (72.49); the West Lake Scenic Area in Hangzhou(72.37); The Changbai Mountain Scenic Area (71.02); the Thousand Islet Lake in Hangzhou (67.39); the Zhouzhuang Scenic Area (67.06); the Sun Island Scenic Area in Harbin(65.95); the Jingyuetan scenic spot in Changchun city, Jilin province(65.38); the Beijing Olympic Park (64.73) and the Tianjin Panshan Scenic Area (64.18). The above scenic areas get relatively better online image as well as higher social visibility and more powerful Internet impact, which manifest the focus and emotion inclination of the vast online information about the 5A tourist attractions. The last 10 scenic areas are: the Shenyang Botanical Garden (47.29); the Mudanjiang Lake Jingpo scenic area in Heilongjiang (46.95), the Xibaipo scenic area in Shijiazhuang city, Hebei province (44.87), the Qinhuangdao Shanhaiguan scenic area (44.05), the Nantong City HaoHe River Scenic Area (43.17), the Shenyuan garden, hometown of Lu Xun inShaoxing City, Zhejiang Province (38.62), the Mansion of Prince Gong (32.42), the Manchukuo Palace Museum in Changchun City (29.40), the universal dinosaur town leisure tourism area in Changzhou city (27.64) and the Taihu Scenic area in Wuzhong county, Su Zhou city (25.84). The lower ranking scenic areas are less attractive or get a bad evaluation on the whole on the internet, which show that their online image is in great need of improvement.

6.Findings

6.1Relations between scenic area image and local economic development as well as population density

Although this study only explores the 5A tourist attractions of three provinces in northeast china, three provinces in North China, and three economically developed provinces in east China, to some extent, it shows two objective facts: first, the online image index of economically developed scenic areas are apparent higher than those in under developed area, for example, the

online image of scenic areas in Zhejiang province and Jiangsu Province are better than that in

Hebei and HeiLongjiang Province; second, the online image index of scenic area and local population density are in negative relations, namely, the higher the population density is, the lower the online image index is, for example Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai.

Since the main factors affecting the image index in this study are media propaganda, scenic area management level, eating, accommodation and transportation etc., we hold that economic development level also has affected the management level and service quality of the scenic areas. What's more, because areas with dense population have limited visitor carrying capacity, which brings unsatisfying travel experience for the visitors, the online image indexes of those scenic areas are also very low.

(Schedule 1)

The ranking of per capita GDP of nationwide provinces in 2012

Ranking	Province/Municipality	GDP in 2012 (1000 million yuan)	Permanent residents in 2011 (10 thousand yuan)	Per capita GDP (yuan)
1	Tianjin	12885.18	1355	95093.58
2	Beijing	17801.02	2019	88167.51
3	Shanghai	20101.33	2347	85646.91
4	Jiangsu	54058.22	7899	68436.79
5	Inner Mongolia	15988.34	2482	64417.16
6	Zhejiang	34606.3	5463	63346.70
7	Liaoning	24801.3	4383	56585.22
8	Guangdong	57067.92	10505	54324.53
9	Fujian	19701.78	3720	52961.77
10	Shandong	50013.24	9637	51897.10
11	Jilin	11937.82	2749	43426.05
12	Chongqing	11459	2919	39256.59
13	Hubei	22250.16	5758	38642.17

14	Shaanxi	14451.18	3743	38608.55
	Nationwide	519322	135404	38353.52
15	Hebei	26575.01	7241	36700.75
16	Ningxia	2326.64	639	36410.64
17	Heilongjiang	13691.57	3834	35710.93
18	Xinjiang	7466.32	2209	33799.55
19	Shanxi	12112.81	3593	33712.25
20	Hunan	22154.23	6596	33587.37
21	Qinghai	1884.54	568	33178.52
22	Hainan	2855.26	877	32557.13
23	Henan	29810.14	9388	31753.45
24	Sichuan	23849.8	8050	29627.08
25	Jiangxi	12948.48	4488	28851.34
26	Anhui	17212.05	5968	28840.57
27	Guangxi	13031.04	4645	28053.91
28	Xizang	695.58	302	23032.45
29	Yunnan	10309.8	4631	22262.58
30	Gansu	5650.2	2564	22036.66
31	Guizhou	6802.2	3469	19608.53

(schedule 2) population, land and population density of nationwide provinces in

2012

Ranking of population	Province	Population (person)	Size of area (km ²)	Population density (person/km ²)
1	Guangdong province	104303132	177084	589.00
2	Shandong Province	95793065	153422	624.38
3	Henan province	94023567	165600	567.78
4	Sichuan province	80418200	484310	166.05

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5	Jiangsu province	78659903	100952	779.18
6	Hebei province	71854202	187045	384.15
7	Hunan province	65683722	212418	309.22
8	Anhui province	59500510	140397	423.80
9	Hubei province	57237740	186163	307.46
10	Zhejiang province	54426891	102045	533.36
11	the Guangxi Zhuangzu autonomous region	46026629	236811	194.36
12	Yunnan province	45966239	383978	119.71
13	Jiangxi province	44567475	167302	266.39
14	Liaoning Province	43746323	145260	301.16
15	Heilongjiang Province	38312224	450076	85.12
16	Shanxi province	37327378	205900	181.29
17	Fujian province	36894216	121894	302.67
18	Shanxi province	35712111	156381	228.37
19	Guizhou province	34746468	176252	197.14
20	the municipality of Chongqing	28846170	82539	349.49
21	Jilin province	27462297	190541	144.13
22	Gansu province	25575254	404955	63.16
23	the inner Mongolia autonomous region	24706321	1445156	21.57
24	the municipality of Shanghai	23019148	6306	3650.36
25	Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region	21813334	1633280	13.36
26	the municipality of Beijing	19612368	16370	1198.07
27	the municipality of Tianjin	12938224	11606	1114.79
28	Hainan province	8671518	33979	255.20
29	the Ningxia Hui autonomous region	6301350	51853	121.52
30	Qinghai province	5626722	715587	7.86
31	Xizang(Tibet) Autonomous	3002166	1204501	2.49

	Region			
32	Nationwide	1339724900	9449963	141.77

Note : Based on the data of the Sixth Census

6.1.1 Analysis of online image indexes among provinces

From table 1, it can be seen that Jiangsu province and Zhejiang province get the most scenic areas whose indexes are above the pass line (60 points) with 7 and 8 scenic areas for each. Meanwhile, 5A tourist attractions in Liaoning Province are all under the pass line. From the percentage of scenic areas whose indexes are above the pass line in the whole 5A tourist attractions, Zhejiang Province gets 80.00%, the highest one, which shows that the 5A tourist attractions in Zhejiang have relatively good online image on the whole; the second one is Jilin Province with 66.67%; then Tianjin follows with 50%. Beijing owns total 7 5A tourist attractions, but only the Olympic Park and the Summer Palace Scenic Area whose online image get more than 60 points and their rankings are relatively lower than most scenic areas, which shows that the online image of 5A tourist attractions in Beijing is worse on the whole and it needs the attention of the regarding department. On the whole, the 5A tourist attractions in Zhejiang Province and Jiangsu Province have obvious advantage in online image with certain social display degree as well as online impact and shows strong regional cluster validity. The online image of scenic areas in Beijing as well as Hebei is not so optimistic and it needs to be improved.

Form1 Percentage of scenic areas above the pass line by province

province	Number of the scenic area above the pass line	Total number of the 5A tourist attractions	Percentage of scenic areas above the pass line (60)
Beijing	2	7	28.57%
Tianjin	1	2	50.00%
Hebei	1	5	20.00%
Heilongjiang	1	3	33.33%
Jilin	2	3	66.67%
Liaoning	0	3	0.00%
Jiangsu	7	15	46.67%
Shanghai	1	3	33.33%
Zhejiang	8	10	80.00%

6.1.2 Online image index analysis by region

Table 2 Percentage of scenic areas above the pass line by region

region	Number of scenic areas above the pass line	Total number of 5A tourist attractions	Percentage of scenic area above the pass line	Top 10 scenic area
Beijing,Tianjin ,Hebei	4	14	28.57%	2
Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning	3	9	33.33%	3
Jiangsu, Zhejiang,Shanghai	16	28	57.14%	5

From table 2, we can see that the three northeast provinces, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, have total 9 5A tourist attractions, of which three scenic areas are above or on the pass line, which are: the Changbai Mountain scenic area (71.02), the Moon Lake Scenic Area (65.38) and the Sun Island (65.95). The percentage of scenic areas above the pass line is 33.33%. Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei have total 14 5A Scenic spots, but only the Summer Palace (61.38), the Olympic Park (64.73), Tianjin Panshan (64.18) and the Baiyangdian scenic area (60.11) get more than 60 points and the percentage of scenic areas above the pass line is 28.57%. Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai have total 28 5A scenic spots, 16 of which get more than 60 points, which are: the Shanghai wild zoo (61.56), the Zhenjiang Sanshan scenic area (77.26), the West Lake scenic area (72.37). Five of the top ten 5A scenic spots are from Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai, which takes up a half of the total. On the whole, in the three regions, the online image indexes of 5A scenic spots in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai are higher than that in the three provinces in northeast China; the online image indexes of 5A scenic spots of the three provinces in northeast China are higher than that in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei while scenic areas in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai have an obvious leading advantage in ranking. Although Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei are the traditional major tourism provinces and have the advantage of being closer to the capital, but their 5A scenic spots are disappointing in building great online image level.

6.1.3 Analysis of the image index abnormality of Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai

The three municipalities Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai enjoy higher-level economic development, but from table 1 we see that the online image indexes of their 5A scenic spots are not satisfying. Does it mean that there is definitely no relation between the online image of scenic spots and regional economic development level?

Through study we find that the online image indexes of scenic spots and regional population density are in inverse correlations. According to data from the Sixth Census, the population density of Shanghai is 3650.36 / sq. km; the population density of Beijing is 1198.07 / sq. km; the population density of Tianjin is 1114.79/sq. km. The population density of those three municipalities is much higher than that of Jiangsu whose population density ranks the 4th place, with 779.18/ sq. km. High population density, to some extent, affects the visitors' whole travel experience, which leads to the falling of their online image index.

6.2 High popularity does not mean good online image

From the structure of the score the online image index gets, the 51 5A Scenic spots can be divided into three categories: first type, scenic areas whose six aspects image index in the index system are balanced in a high-level with high scores, for example the Zhenjiang Sanshan scenic spot; second type, scenic areas whose six aspects image index differ a lot and 1 to 3 aspects score high, such as The West Lake scenic area, the Changbai Mountain scenic area; third type, scenic areas whose six aspects image indexes in the index system are balanced in a low-level and get lower points, for example Tiantan scenic area.

Through analysis, we find that there is no definite correlation between the popularity of scenic areas and its online image. High popularity of scenic areas does not mean good online image. Scenic areas with high popularity do not definitely get high score in online image index; in adverse, scenic areas with lower popularity may get a very high score in online image index, for example, Zhenjiang Sanshan ranks the first in online image index but it is far less popular than those famous scenic spots like the Imperial Palace and Tiantan. But why does Zhenjiang Sanshan rank the first place in online image index?

When using the traditional marketing strategy, Zhenjiang sanzhan scenic spot is also accelerating the pace in building “Intelligent Tourism”. After reorganizing the travel resources, Zhenjiang Sanshan will mainly develop the new tourism formats, creating the “three mountains and one lake” intelligent scenic spot and the best intelligent tourism demonstration plot in our country. The “Sanshan” in Zhenjiang is the intelligent tourism demonstration plot to which our country is making efforts to develop, which, of course, manifests in its online image. The six aspects of Zhenjiang Sanshan, namely, eating, accommodation, shopping, transportation, management and scenery all rank in top 10. Notably, it ranks the first place in shopping happiness and the second place in accommodation comfort. The balanced development in all the six aspects makes Zhenjiang Sanshan rank the first place among the 51 5A tourist attractions. What’s more, its score is 5 points higher than the South Lake scenic spot that ranks the second place, which makes itself the only scenic spot that gets more than 75 points and show its strong competitive online image.

In adverse, the online image index of traditional famous national tourism destinations like the Imperial Palace and Tiantan are not quite satisfying. The total score of The Imperial Palace is 59.93 and Tiantan gets 49.11 points. Both scores are under the pass line. The traditional image of the two scenic spots is always fine but their online image indexes are not quite satisfying, which implicates that there is a big difference between the traditional image of tourism destinations and their online image. The tourism destinations must pay significance to build their online image, or they will not be fit in the present social development with vast information and it goes against the long-term development of the scenic spot.

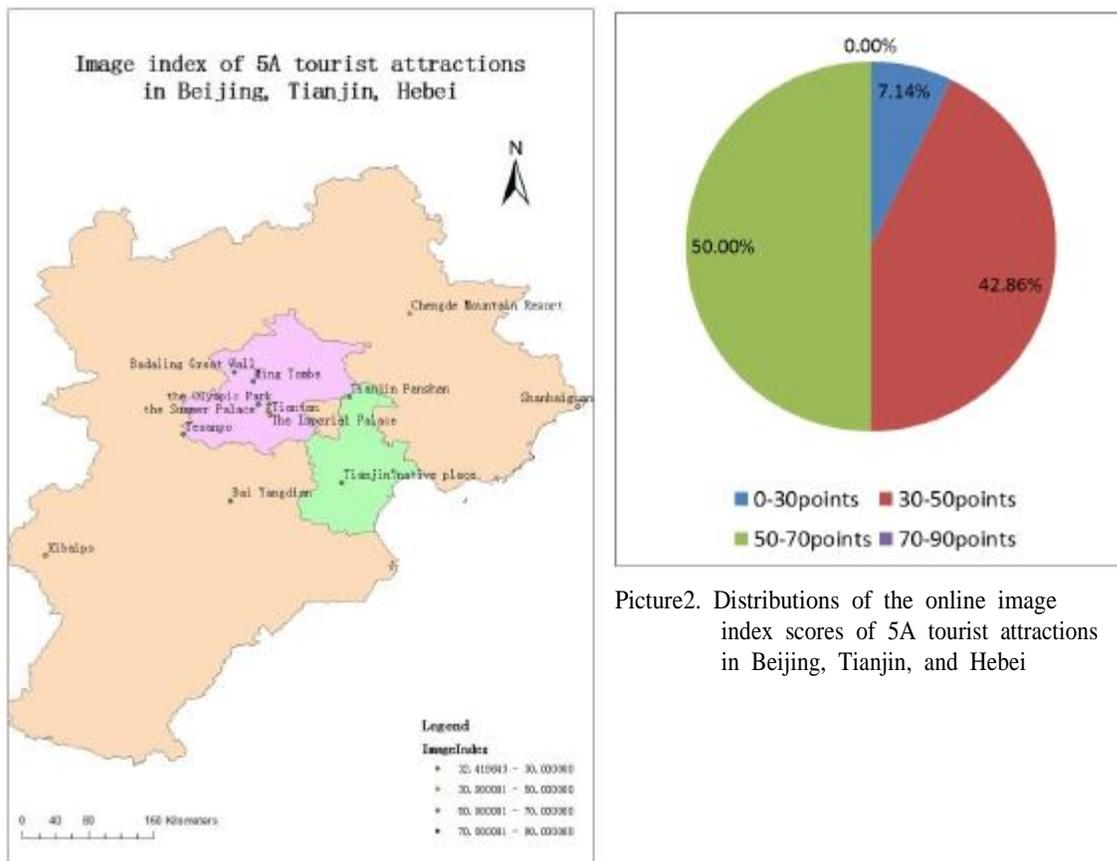
However, there are exceptions among the traditional scenic spots with high popularity. As a tourism destination that enjoys high popularity for a long time and has much representativeness, the online image index of Hangzhou West Lake Scenic Area ranks top 3, which shows that it pays attention to its internet marketing. There are more than 1000 pieces of information on its official websites, travel portals and governmental website, manifesting strong web impact.

6.3 Is positive online propaganda the key to improve the online image of scenic area?

The data we use in the image index evaluation are all from the news report on the internet. Hence, the media propaganda on the internet of a scenic area will affect its image index to some extent (but the influence is limited, for the number of the study sample is large, which reduces the influence degree of special factor in number).

From the “(1) analysis of regional online image index” in the following, we can see that, there are big differences in online image index among the 5A tourist attractions charged by the same tourism bureau; from the “(2) analysis of online image index in calculation dimension in the following, we find that, the quantity and proportion of key articles and media coverage also have influences on the image index; from the “(3) analysis of report quantity of scenic area” we can see that the reports from the official websites of the scenic spots lead the report of the whole internet media to some extent.

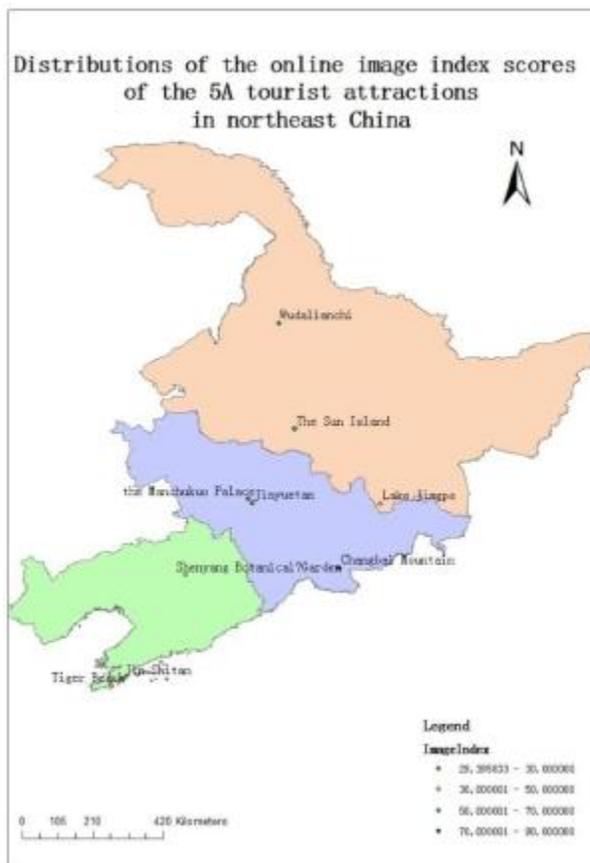
6.3.1 Analysis of regional online image index



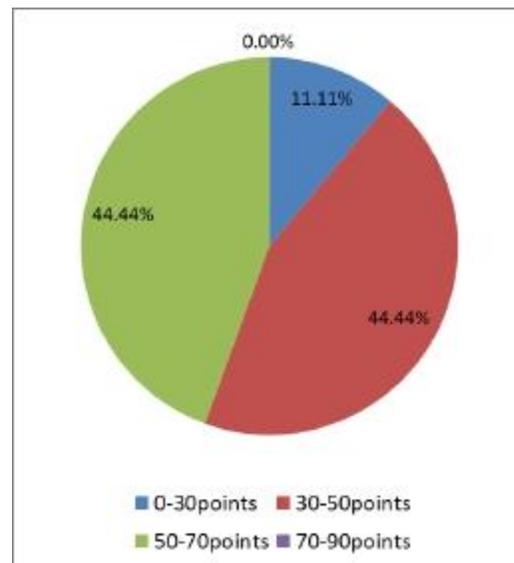
Picture1. The image index of 5A tourist attractions in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei

Picture2. Distributions of the online image index scores of 5A tourist attractions in Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei

From picture 1 and picture 2, we can see that, the online image index scores of 5A tourist attractions in Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei are in relative concentration. 35.71% scenic areas get a score between 30 to 50 points; 64.29% of the scenic areas get a score between 50 to 70 points. No scenic area gets a score between 10 to 30 points or 70 to 90 points. Therefore, the online image indexes of all the 5A tourist attractions are in similar level and the absolute value is not very high, namely they are in low level pattern. Among them, the scenic area that gets the highest score in the region is Beijing Olympic Park, with 64.73 points while the Mansion of Prince Gong gets the lowest score, with 42.42 points. The scenic areas with the highest score and the lowest score are both in Beijing, which makes Beijing a provincial administrative district with the biggest variance in online image index.



Picture3. The image index of 5A tourist attractions in the three provinces in northeast China



Picture4. Distributions of the online image index scores of 5A tourist attractions in the three provinces in northeast China

From picture 5 and picture 6, we know that the distribution model of the online image index of the 5A tourist attractions in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai is pretty much the same, namely, the online image index scores of the 5A scenic areas distribute in all sections and the development of its online image is not balanced (the variance is 146.07). Among them, 7.14% scenic areas get a score in the section 10 to 30 points; 10.71% scenic areas get a score in the section 30 to 50 points; most scenic areas get a score in the section 50 to 70 points; 10.71% scenic areas get a score in the section 70 to 90 points. Although Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai regions has less scenic areas whose scores are between 70 to 90 points than that in the three provinces in northeast China, it has more scenic areas that get high score. Notably, Zhenjiang Sanshan scenic area with the highest score and the Taihu Scenic Area in Wuzhong with the lowest score all belong to the Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai region, which shows that the online image development in this region is not balanced.

6.3.2 Analysis of the online image index in calculation dimension

To study the online image index in calculation dimension, there is a relatively big variance in scenic area ranking among the number dimension, significance dimension and central dimension. Scenic areas like The West Lake scenic area, Zhenjiang Sanshan, Wuzhen rank the top places in number dimension, which shows that there are many articles that speak highly of those areas and those articles are more possible to be read by consumers. Scenic areas like Baiyangdian, Tiger Beach, Zhenjiang Sanshan perform well in significant dimension, which are mainly in two kinds of situations: first, although the number of articles with rave reviews is small, the proportion of those articles in the total articles is high, which implicates that most of the time when the potential consumers read articles about the scenic spots, they are reading articles with rave review; second, both articles with rave review and their proportions perform well, from example, Zhenjiang Sanshan, which can easily impress the consumers with the scenic areas. Scenic areas like Tiantan, the Mansion of Prince Gong and Wudalianchi rank the top places in central dimension, which means that the percentage of articles with rave reviews on the official websites of the 5A tourist attractions, the websites of tourism bureau and portals is pretty the same. There is less possibility that people will have bad comments after they read articles only on some

websites. One thing we have to mention is that Zhengjiang Sanshan gets high scores in number dimension, significant dimension and central dimension and it performs well in articles with rave review as well as their proportions and comments from different information sources.

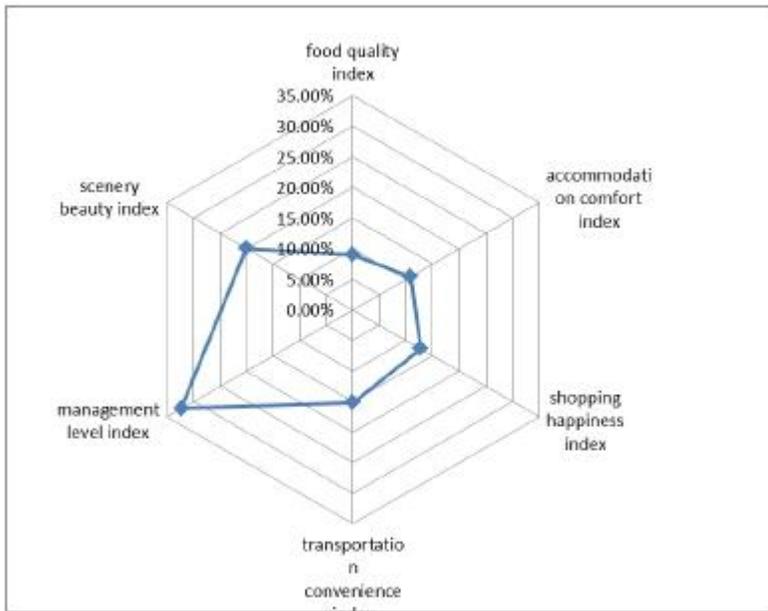
Table 3 the ranking of online image index in calculation dimension

Ranking	Number dimension	Significant dimension	Central dimension
1	The West Lake scenic area	Baiyang Lake	Tiantan
2	Zhenjiang Sanshan	Tiger beach	the Mansion of Prince Gong
3	Wuzhen	Zhenjiang Sanshan	Five-linked-great-pool Lake
4	South lake	Shanghai science and Technology Museum	Jingyuetan
5	Changbai mountain	South lake	The Ming Tombs
6	Zhouzhuang	Hometown of Lu Xun	Zhenjiang Sanshan
7	Thousand Islet Lake	Badaling Great Wall	Xibaipo
8	The ancient town of Tongli	Slender West Lake	Emperor Kangxis Summer Mountain Resort in Chengde
9	Slender West Lake	Hengdian	Pebble Beach Resort
10	Confucius Temple ;	Grand Buddha at Lingshan	Shanhaiguan

6.3.3 Analysis of the report quantities of the scenic areas

From the perspective of report quantity, reports in management level on the official websites of tourism bureau, portals and the official websites of 5A tourist attractions are the most, with 32%. The second is report in scenery, with 20%. While reports in food, accommodation, transportation

and shopping are in average, floating from 10% to 15%. As traditional elements in tourism industry, food, accommodation, transportation and shopping are highly concerned by people. But from the actual reports, the official websites of tourism bureau, portals and the 5A tourist attractions generally introduce food, accommodation, transportation and shopping in an independent column, but the information on those columns has poor dynamic and is not updated in time. Therefore, they get a relative fixed percentage of the whole report. However, under the background of fast tourism industry development and the gradually appearance of the backwardness in management level of the 5A tourist attractions, the official websites of the tourism bureau, portals and the official websites of the 5A tourist attractions are all strengthening their efforts to report their management level in the scenic areas. The contents of the reports cover many aspects such as system construction, environment governance and convenient service for people. Because of large number reports and transshipment on the internet, the reports in management level of the scenic areas take nearly one third of the whole reports.



Picture7. Analysis of percentage of total reports about the scenic area

6.4 A small number of websites makes great contributions to the image index ranking

All the data in the database is analyzed by taking a single website as the smallest unit. We census the reports quantities of the top 10 scenic area on every website and rank the scenic areas according to their report quantities and thus we get ranking set A. Ranking set A includes 10 rankings and report quantity rankings of the 10 scenic areas on websites. According to the top 17 websites in the census ranking of every scenic (20% of the total 83 websites), we get the times that those websites appearing in ranking A. The 20% top websites are chosen because 90% of the reports are from them and they play a decisive role in ranking the scenic areas.

Table 4 Percentage of the total reports from the 20% websites

	Total reports	Total reports of the 20% top websites	percentage
Zhanjiang Sanshan	3357	3149	93.8%
South lake	1851	1723	93.08%
West lake	9959	9661	97.01%
Changbaishan	3540	3504	98.98%
Thousand Islet Lake	1902	1868	98.21%
Zhouzhuang	2436	2371	97.33%
Sun Island	1085	1083	99.82%
Jingyuetan	898	898	100%
Olympic park	1503	1370	91.15%
Tianjin Panshan	1442	1359	94.24%

According to the census, we record all the websites that appear more than 6 times in ranking A, because the total reports of the top 10 scenic areas are mainly from those websites. We call those websites the hub sites of the image index of the 5A tourist attractions. There are 9 hub sites in this study, which are the official websites of the National Tourism Administration of the people's republic of China, Tourism Bureau of Zhejiang Province, the Hebei Provincial Tourism Bureau, Shanghai Tourism Bureau, tencent.com travel channel, sohu.com travel channel, xinhuanet.com travel channel, nettv.com travel channel and the official websites of Mount Wutai scenic area. For the statistics of the hub sites please see table 5.

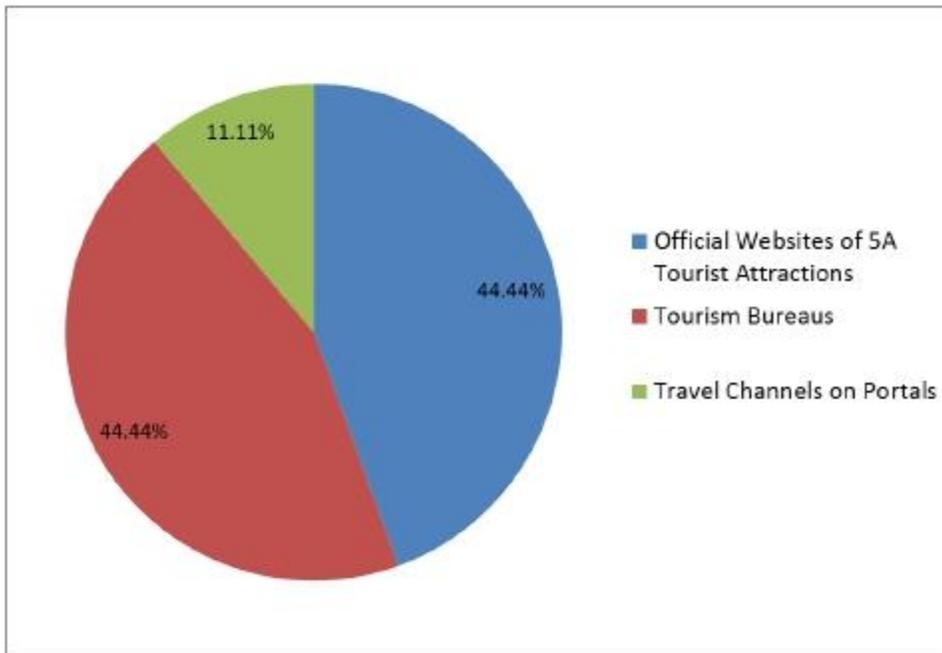
Table5. The Distribution of Hub Sites

Tourism bureau	National Tourism Administration of the PRC (10)	Tourism Bureau of Zhejiang Province, (10)	Hebei Provincial Tourism Bureau (9)	Shanghai Tourism Bureau (6)
portals	tencent.com travel channel (10)	sohu.com travel channel (10)	xinhuanet.com travel channel (9)	nettv1.com travel channel (6)
Official websites of 5A tourist attractions	Mount Wutai scenic area (9)			

In table 5, the number in the brackets is the times those websites appearing in the ranking. 10 times means a website appears in every ranking, which implicates that this website makes very great contributions to the online image index of every scenic area. To clarify, the official website of Wu Taishan Scenic area also appears 10 times, but it is also in the top 10 image index of scenic areas, so we minus 1 times and it gets 9 times in the form.

From the results in table 4 and table 5, we can easily find that hub sites play a decisive role in ranking the image index of the scenic areas. Meanwhile, among the hub sites, the provincial tourism bureau where the scenic areas locate and the portals have larger proportion than the official websites of the 5A tourist attractions. Picture 10 is the proportion of different hub sites.

From picture 8, we can clearly see that the percentage of the hub sites of tourism bureau and portals is around 89%, which show that in the process of ranking image index of the scenic area, the influences of tourism bureaus and travel channels on portals are much greater than the official websites of the 5A tourist attractions.



Picture8. Proportions of different hub sites

7. Discussions

7.1 Innovations

There are three innovations in this study: First, the subjects of this study are 51 5A tourist attractions, which changes the model that only analyzes 1 to 3 scenic areas and it is the first of its kind using information technology like big data digging to analyze massive tourism destinations, which lays a foundation for the management of tourism industry and even other industries.

Second, this study only chooses representative regions like the three provinces in North China, Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, and provinces in the Yangtze River Delta to carry out trans-regional comparison analysis, which breaks the tradition of just making comparisons among the scenic areas and provides a new regional perspective for industry development.

Third, this study creates the first online image evaluation model for the 5A tourist attractions, avoiding the previous studies' shortcomings such as index number redundancy and index overlapping and forming a systematic framework.

7.2 Defections

The defections of this study are as followings: First, the hypothesis of this study is that “real social activity has been reflected in the virtual internet system”, but we did not explore the correctness of this hypothesis.

Second, we did not dig all types of information resources on the internet. We mainly focused on news information. Actually, information resources in internet social media like blogs, web forums, and micro-blogs have greater value.

Third, because of time and human resource limitation, we only rank 51 5A tourist attractions. It can show something, but the study samples are not complete and therefore, the study results also have defections.

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Cultural Creative Industry and City Branding Study: a case study of WenZhou

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Abstract

It is time for economical innovation. The prosperity of cultural creative industries represents the powerful economic strength of a city, and it also brings more recognition to the city branding culture. In order to increase the influence of city branding, Wenzhou should start from its culture creative industries. Start from culture environment of the city and the consumption habits, cross-filed culture innovation union, construction of creative industry facilities, large international activities, culture tourism and other multi-dimension culture creative industries. When a large number of people consume cultural creative products, they will be more familiar with the city's culture and gradually favor the values of the city, and finally fully except its culture values. This will propagate the positive image of Wenzhou's city branding, and increase the popularity and reputation of the city.

Key Words: Cultural Creative Industry, Wenzhou, City Branding

I. The Current State of Wenzhou City's Culture Creative Industries Development:

As a Chinese coastal city with well-developed private economy, Wenzhou has the historical and cultural background, the market potential, artistic creation, talent reserve, consumer demand, and industry foundation, all together they provide a solid background for developing Wenzhou's culture creative industries.

In the year of 2012, "The Twelfth Five Year Planning of Wenzhou Culture Industries Development" stated, Wenzhou wants to become the leading city in culture creative industries of the "Yangtze River Delta", Haixi district (the West Coast of Taiwan Strait) and Zhejiang marine economic development demonstration area, and become a city with culture innovation creativity

as its central value in the next five years. During the next five years, Wenzhou plans to build ten culture industries specialize areas and establish ten culture industries projects, this will transform the city's image from "Made in Wenzhou" to "Created in Wenzhou".

The city has more than 7,800 culture creative industries, which includes film, media, advertisement and more. In the year of 2012, the culture creative industries in Wenzhou have increased revenue by 13.8 billion RMB, which is a 19% increase compared to last year, and 12.2 percent point higher than the overall GDP growth, this makes it one of the fastest growing industries in Wenzhou.

II. Wenzhou's Culture Creative Industry and City Brand

1. Movie Industry Spread out the Spirit of Wenzhou People

How do you let people better understand Wenzhou? The Wenzhou government did advertisement for the brand of the city in a number of ways. Including advertise the Wenzhou spirit in TV drama, the result of the branding is sensational. In 2007 the TV show "Wenzhou People in Paris" tells the story of several generations of Wenzhou people carved out their way, being tenacious, and cooperated well. They worked together and made great achievements, and made the Chinese nation proud. In the TV program, the merchants of Wenzhou were kind, intelligent and brave. They spread out the image of "outstanding private owned economy, and world-class business characteristic" of the Wenzhou to the entire nation. In November 2012, another TV show had Wenzhou as its main theme. The TV show "A Family in Wenzhou" played on CCTV during prime time of each night. Wenzhou once again became the most popular topic in the nation. In different media, waves of comments were produced about the show, everyone were talking about "A Family in Wenzhou". The program showed the green space of Wenzhou, beautiful landscapes of the ancient town, and the modern Wenzhou with huge economic growth potential. The ancient town in the TV program became a popular place for tourism. The Wenzhou elements in the TV program lead the audience to accept the culture identity of the city. It presented a positive image of Wenzhou's "life in harmony, blissing Wenzhou" city brand.

2. Culture Creative Industry Facilities adds Value to the City Branding of Wenzhou

Culture creative industry facilities are landmarks of a city. They play important role in the overall industry production supply chain and they also do good advertisement for the city's brand.

In May 2007, Wenzhou build its first culture creative facility "Xuanyuan Road 7# LOFT",

this symbolize that the culture creative industry has entered the era of growth. When the creative industry developed, the image of Wenzhou improved. It increased “Made in Wenzhou’s popularity. In September 2013, Wenzhou e-commerce facility got the official approve from the local government. This means Wenzhou will have another culture creative facility “number 9 creative streets”.

The culture creative industries has been developed, it enhance the enjoyment of the city for citizens and tourists. It showed the influence of Wenzhou culture, and builds a strong support the Wenzhou city brand. The culture industry facilities build the new landmark in Wenzhou, it will become a symbol that can represent Wenzhou well, and it will best show the value of “life in harmony, bliss Wenzhou”.

3. Special Entertainment Industries helps the City Branding of Wenzhou

The rich artistic talents support the performance art industry. Through increasing the influence of the local entertainment brand, build a “demonstration, cooperation, commerce, and development” all in one public service platform. Through design and develop branch products, it enhance the strength of city branding. It is the fundamental for the culture creative industries, and it plays very important role in the culture market.

According to statistics, there are 5 state-level intangible cultural heritage of Traditional Theatre Project in Wenzhou City, 11 provincial intangible cultural heritage items of traditional drama. The city has 6 state-owned companies, more than 70 semi-professional opera troupe, performing more than 20,000 shows a year. Southern Wenzhou drama "Wenzhou woman", "white rabbit" got the attention of many mainstream media. It has become a representing symbol of Wenzhou.

Wenzhou chorus is the only chorus to win the Grand Slam Award, was named “the Symbol of Wenzhou.” The national chorus base locates in Wenzhou, and it enhances the leading position of Wenzhou chorus within the country. Now Wenzhou chorus has become a shiny name card of the city.

The products of the entertaining industry carry values of the city, which show its culture, tradition, and political standpoint. The audiences are likely to recognize and understand these values. The entertaining industry makes people happy, and it also plays an important role in the city branding aspect.

4. The Culture Holiday Makes the Wenzhou City Branding Even Better

The culture festival activities can present the culture of a city and increase its influence. By hosting unique and rich content culture festival activities, it can raise the awareness of the local custom for the people. It also gives the city an unordinary identity and cohesion, and it could increase the popularity of the city.

“Wenzhou Art Festival” and “Wenzhou Tourism Festival” are the most well known. They present Wenzhou folk art, traditional drama, calligraphy, painting, dance, chorus and other kinds of art with their latest achievement. They make high quality art festivals for tourists and local citizens, and build up a good culture atmosphere.

The culture festivals did not only generate economic benefits, they also widespread the culture of the city. Through the growth of the festivals’ products, the city make good promotion for its culture heritage, and make the Wenzhou brand image to be more widely recognized.

III. Wenzhou Culture Creative Industries and City Branding Facing Challenges

1. The Rich Cultural Resources Have not been Exploited by the Culture Industry

Wenzhou has a rich culture heritage, some beautiful landscapes, and unique commerce culture. For example, embroidery, Ou sculpture, wood carving, Ou drama, Yandang Mountain, Nanxi River, and Central Island are good landscape. Wenzhou’s marine culture, immigrant culture, and rural cultures provide rich ideas for city branding. However, at the current stage Wenzhou is most well-known for its business industrial culture. On the other hand, the handicrafts (such as embroidery, Ou sculpture, wood carving etc.) need more recognition. Elements like this are the important pieces of cultural creative products and city branding.

2. The Lack of Large-Scale Activities, Large-Scale Sports Events, and International Forum to Spread City Branding

Large events tend to increase the development of a city’s culture and economy. Through hosting large international activities, Wenzhou can build an influential culture brand. Wenzhou did host some events in the past, but the influence is limited within China.

3. Culture Creative Industry did not Play a Main Role in City Branding

The culture creative industries add a lot of value, and its development will give the city lots of

energy, and bring in new blood. The uniqueness of the city is important to draw talent people to come. The commerce culture of Wenzhou took very large portion of the overall image of Wenzhou, and it overshadows other elements. It let the Wenzhou city branding into the wrong direction.

4. Tourism Played Very Limited Role in City Branding

Tourism is one important aspect of the culture creative industries, and it is one lively industry that can let people have good experience. City branding usually takes the form of TV, newspaper, Internet, and these methods can only give a virtual experience about the city. When tourists actually travel to a city, they can experience the beautiful views, delicious food, nice hotels, and theme parks. All these experiences can give the travelers good impression, and gain reputation for the city. It increases the power of city branding. The cultural tourism in Wenzhou presents itself very differently to the local citizens comparing to the visitors. Many sites, history, and Ouyue culture are well known by the local people, but the outside worlds rarely notice them.

IV. Wenzhou City Cultural and Creative Industries and City Branding Communication Strategy

1. The Excavation of Wenzhou Historical and Cultural Resources, Cultural Connotation of City Branding Communication

Wenzhou has rich historical and cultural resources, the three main parts including Ouyue culture, regional culture, and the Wen business culture. In Wenzhou, Ouyue culture widely known by its local citizens, but outsiders knows little. Based on this, I recommend design a "Ouyue culture" tourism lines, from ancient Dongou culture to now Ou plastic, embroidery, Ou kiln, Ou dish, drama, Yongjia school, a series of cultural experience and interaction, in order to achieve the communication of Wenzhou city brand culture. Recommendation two, development of "Tourism Culture Festival" that focus on the geo culture, such as "Landscape Culture Festival", "Marine Culture Festival", "Chinese Cultural Festival", "Harvest Festival", "Dragon Boat Festival", to highlight the regional cultural characteristics. Recommendation three, Wen business culture is the most famous, both inside and outside of Wenzhou.

In the perspective of city brand communication, we cannot just spread the information content that we are familiar with, but to find a new angle to spread. The author believes that the

"Wenzhou model" is already the case study of domestic and foreign countries. From this perspective, it should focus on the development of business education industry in Wenzhou. Wenzhou has the best business information resources, rich data and business case study and practice base. We can systematically publish materials that related to Wenzhou culture, including the history and culture of Wenzhou, the Yongjia School, the spirit of Wenzhou, and other business development model. We can use different languages and spread to the domestic and the world. Secondly, organize Wenzhou Business School, and the private economy as the most significant feature of school characteristics. This is another approach of the city brand communication through the development of cultural and educational industries.

2. Create a Cultural Atmosphere of the City, to Guide the Cultural Consumer Demand

The prosperity and rejuvenation of the city cannot do without city's cultural accumulation. The construction of cultural infrastructure of the city is the foundation of city culture development. In Wenzhou, Museum, library, cinemas, theatres, art galleries, parks and amusement parks and other public facilities are regional imbalance. And the number and proportion of the population is also imbalance. Especially when compared with developed countries, there is still a large gap between cities. Specific recommendations are listing as following: First, public cultural facilities to the regional balance and the number of areas to achieve a leading position. Second, create a boutique and influential cultural facilities brands. For example, market-oriented and brand operations of the museums, theaters, libraries and so on. Guide the audience to appreciate the cultural and driven cultural consumption. Third, enrich the cultural types of facilities. Fourth, encourage the government and private enterprise social group jointly establish corporate culture and arts fund. It will be devoted to the arts and cultures contribute to reward talent and help financial relationships. Which has a special fund to be used regularly organizes free cultural arts show to enrich people's spiritual life, and arouse people's participation.

3. Cross Cultural and Creative Integration, Highlighting the Attractiveness of Cultural and Creative Industries

Culture, arts, economy, science and technology are continuous integration in the era of creative economy. Especially in the field of culture and art, integration of performance art and dance, music and painting, drama and film continues to introduce new works of art. They

promote the development of cultural and creative industries and communication. Attract talented arts workers, cultural producers and investors to the city, in order to build the city a good creative atmosphere. Making innovative products continue to emerge and showing the vitality of the city to make the cultural and creative industries become Wenzhou city core brand communication. Wenzhou is still in the stage of traditional creation in the field of culture and art. First, we should strengthen the power of artistic innovation and integration to enhance the attractiveness of cultural and creative industries. Second, Strengthen the integration of cultural art and other industries

4. Strengthening the International Large-Scale Activities, Development Forum, Exhibition Development, and Enhance the International Spread of the Brand Image.

There are many cities spread the city brand image by successfully holding the major international events. Although Wenzhou held some small national and regional events, forums, and exhibitions, the influence is not enough to spread the brand image. I believe that, we should actively apply some influential international events first, especially sporting events. We also show the image of Wenzhou in the application process by leading the world's attention to the event. Second, organize tourist activities and host a series of public relations activities in the bidding process to boost the probability of success to host the international events. Third, promotional activities in the major countries of the world, For example, launch experience Wenzhou top attractions in international tourism fairs and other platforms to establish an international reputation for image purposes. It can also lay the foundation for future applications and organizing large-scale international events successfully.

V. Conclusion:

In today's information age, competition between the cities is becoming more intense under the background of globalization. In order to spread and marketing their brand, each city is digging their own cultural characteristics, and looking for new ways and means of communication. Wenzhou is currently facing the city economic restructuring and second wave of economic development. In order to gain new influence and enhance the popularity and reputation of Wenzhou city, I think we can bring new developments to the city's economy and the spread of Wenzhou city brand image through cultural and creative industries. I hope these suggestions can provide reference and inspiration to the study of Wenzhou City for Wenzhou government leaders

and scholars.

City Character and City Brand Development

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Abstract

City character is a frontier research in the field of city brand. Through comparative analysis methods to study on relationship between city character and city brand, city character means the sum of all kinds of characteristics of a city, including the characteristics of natural landscape, the common characteristics of behavior and mental activities of city population abstracted from some individuals but not a specific individual, and the city cultural characteristics and unique atmosphere. Moreover, city character is spiritual gene and cultural core of a city and is the core of city brand. In a word, city character is exactly a kind of city brand. Fully understanding the importance of the city character can help to promote urban management for improving city competitiveness and shaping the city spirit, and ultimately promote all-round development of city brand.

Keywords: City Character; City Brand; Urban Management; City Spirit

City brand as a kind of asset of a city, it is a foundation of city economic and social development, it is key element to create city cohesion inside, and to create city radiation ability outside, and to internalize optimal structure, and it is the positive force and the effective way to promote city development. But the research to city brand at the present stage, shows deficiency of research to main body of city brand construction. Basically, the purpose of brand building is to improve city competitiveness, and to produce adsorption effect, and to bring brand owner premium value (Fang, 2005).Therefore, brand's vested stakeholder and potential stakeholder are the main body of city brand, like the government departments gain tax revenue and more optimized city management structure; enterprises gain more preferential policies, talents, and market shares; citizens possess more appropriate living conditions, more employment opportunities, and better social welfare, etc.(Norman, 2002). It is generally acknowledged that a good city brand could provide rich imagination, could bring utility to main body, could satisfy the demands of different main body, and city character could be characterized by the

combination of material system, behavior system, institution system and spiritual outlook, etc. formed by these different main body (Wei, 2005), it has significant importance to city brand. In this article, the author emphasized the research on the interaction and relation between city character and city brand management.

I. City Character and City Brand

The author made some rough discussions on the concept (Wei & Dai, 2010a), formation (Dai & Wei, 2010a), development of region character (Dai & Wei, 2010b) and region governance (Wei & Dai, 2010b). This article based on regional character, regarded city character as region character on city scale. From view of concept, city character meant the sum of all kinds of characteristics of a city, including the characteristics of natural landscape, the common characteristics of behavior and mental activities of city population abstracted from some individuals but not a specific individual, and the city cultural characteristics and unique atmosphere.

1. City Character is spiritual gene and cultural core of a city

From the above basic definition of city character, city character is the high-level overview of city characteristics, is epitome of collective behavior and psychological pattern of city dwellers. At the same time, city character is also concentrated reflection of city cultural attitude, concentrated reflection of city specific political and economic system and social management mode, and is city spiritual consciousness atmosphere. Therefore, so to speak, city character is the foundation of city brand, it is spiritual gene and cultural core of a city. Only the city with character is a city with charm and vitality. It is important prerequisite for maintaining city charm and ensuring city sustainable development to build and inherit excellent city character.

2. City Brand is city symbol containing city character

At present stage there are a lot of discussions about concept of city brand, some researchers reviewed the discussions (Su, 2009), a representative of the discussions included theory of elements, theory of assets, theory of symbol, and theory of culture. The theory of elements regarded city brand as a city with the unique elements endowment, historic culture heritage, industry advantages, etc differential brand elements collection (Du, 2004). The theory of assets regarded city brand as urban transformable intangible assets (Chen, 2004). The theory of symbol regarded city brand as urban rich economic cultural connotation and spiritual heritage, and as

unique symbol different from other cities (Ji, 2004).The theory of symbol was a view that the article most agreed with. The primary characteristic of city character is its uniqueness, there is difference between different cities. The difference is urban natural ecological environment, and also urban historical cultural environment, and also the relation between city dweller and environment, these differences make uniqueness of city character. Just like the definition to city characters of domestic 17 cities in “New Weekly”, “Beijing splendid style, Shanghai alien style, Shenzhen busy style, Chengdu leisurely and comfortable style, Hangzhou graceful and restrained like female.....”Only if the city brand really conveys the lasting appeal of its city character, can people really feel the uniqueness of each city.

3. City Character is exactly a kind of city brand

We could regard city brand as a comprehensive cultural system made up of urban material system, institution system, and spiritual system. These systems mix with city character concept. The city brand material system corresponds to the public’s visual identification (VI) to city brand, we could understand it from city character level, regard it as summarization to city characteristic and urban public collective behavior; the city brand institution system corresponds to the public’s behavior identification(BI) to city system, it is the overall impression of the public’s specific behavior shown under city economic social management mode; the city brand spiritual system corresponds to the public’s mind identification (MI) to city brand, containing identification to city spirit, city cultural attitude and values. So to speak, city brand contains city symbol of city character, it is not only refining of all kinds of characteristics factors that constitute the city and the public overall impressions, but also the concentrated reflection of urban cultural attitude and spirit. To make it simple, city character could be regarded as a kind of city brand. Otherwise, city brand could not be seen as the city character. For example, in nowadays, more and more special and grand buildings appear in the different city in China and these building could be recognized as the city brand, but most of buildings criticized as the experiment of foreign architects and may not reflect the core of city character.

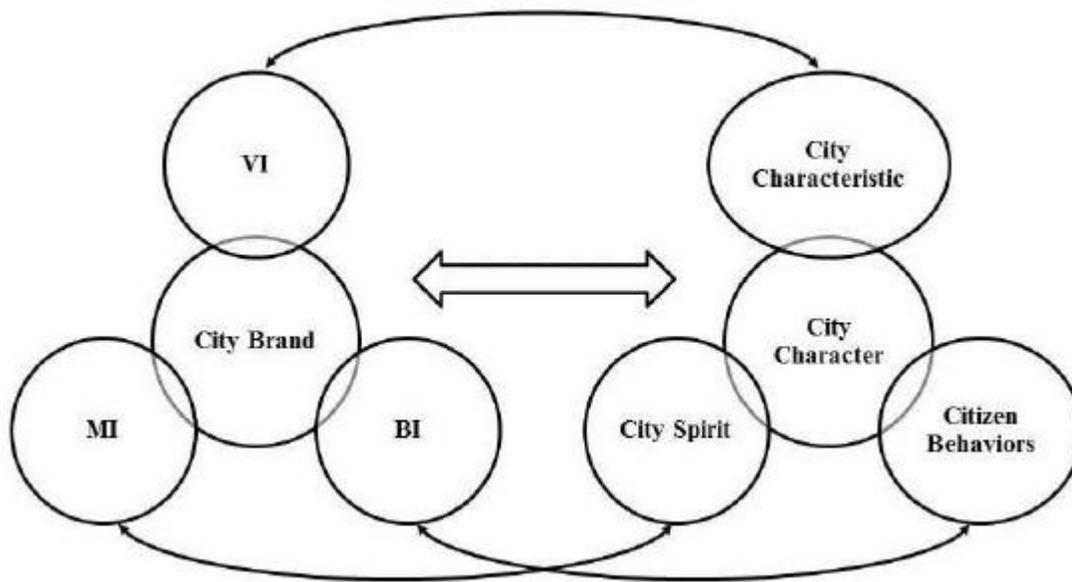


Figure 1 Relationship between city brand system and city character concepts

In conclusion, city brand as city symbol containing city character, has its own personalized characteristics, people feel the urban personality charm through the interaction with the city. This personality charm could display through city character, only city character participate and converge in city brand, or city character develop into city brand, could its lasting charm be maintained.

II. City Character – the Core of City Brand

City character in essence is based on a concept extension of psychological “character” , there is scholar who conducted research on generative mechanism of city brand from psychology view as well, and further proved the important role of city character in city brand (Jiang & Chen, 2004). Jiang Hai considered that the generation of city brand was such a process: city produced information stimulation about city life to citizens and the public, citizens and the public processed this information and obtained psychological awareness about city, so further formed city brand. Therefore, city brand development required 3 basic conditions: First, optimization of city personality factor; Second, optimization of citizen and the public’s cognitive structure; Third, the sublimation degree of citizen and the public’s city cognition. In correspondence with it, city character cultivation and development process was accompanied by building of city brand: city character is of great significance to highlighting city personality factor; and to enriching city brand connotation and promoting added value.

1. City character highlight city brand unique personality

City brand positioning must be based on urban comparative advantage. This comparative advantage might be geographical natural advantage, just like some city's natural endowment; also might be profound connotation human resources, for example, historical and cultural heritage or former residence of celebrities, this might be the unique comparative advantage of the city; or might be acquired advantage built after continuous development and reform, the key to obtain the advantage was continuous characteristic construction, and then formed city special development advantage (Fang, 2005) , the most typical one like Shenzhen city. But for the public all could not give us so a true feeling like city character gives to city brand, these differences represented by city character make us still be able to feel the uniqueness of different city besides city names and region boundaries. So to speak, the unique refining of city character is better for forming the diversity of city brand.

2. City character enrich city brand connotation

At present stage city brand is generally identified by a city's landmark building, unique natural landscape and historical human resources. No doubt this is more direct for people to know about a city, but this landmark lack of true, lasting and rich connotation^[15] for people to taste besides external image characteristics. Especially with the city modernization process sped up, each city increased the landmark buildings' construction, it is getting more and more difficult to distinguish a city by its external appearance. Only city character, the more profound heritage is the primary identification of city characteristics, only starting with the rich connotation of city character, combining with citizen's living traditions, aesthetic taste, ideal of life, spiritual advocacy, behavior pattern, attitude of life, etc., could we grasp the inner pulse of city, and further display the city's personality connotation through city brand.

3. City character promote added value of city brand

City brand added value is made up of city function value, city psychological value, city cultural personality, and city cultural special rights (Su, 2010). Among them, the most closely correlated to city character is city psychological value. The psychological value brought by city brand means satisfaction of psychological demands for customers beyond city function, and it displays the cultural pursuits, values, and self-worth of the city public. City character as strong intellectual impetus and support for city development, is not only a comprehensive reflection of historic culture, spirit, core values, internal temperament of a city, but also is a kind of city idea. The Western scholar Spengler remarked: Which differentiate a city from a countryside is not its

range and scale, is its inherent city idea. If the city brand which lack of digging into city character is conveying to the public the most critical information, then the city brand which overlay city character, could be regarded as the public's deepest memory about the city. What kind of character the city has, determines how far the city can go, and whether it will become a charming and lasting city, only the city brand built on this basis could be like "life genetic gene" that carried the whole information of the past, present and future of the city development (Xu, 2007), and become an inexhaustible motive force for the city innovation and development.

III. City Character and City Brand Management

For individuals, his character determines his future destiny. For the same reason, for a city and its brand, city character is important in its development.

1. Help to build city brand image

Practices has proven that city brand image is invaluable, its impact to city development is tremendous. The core content of city brand image is city character, it is foundation of building, maintaining and promoting good city brand image, is also spirit of promoting the healthy and harmonious development of urban economy & society(Wei, 2005). City character is an important part of city brand image, generally speaking, city brand image is a kind of perception and cognition of people(inside or outside the city) about the city, people formed a kind of attitude and mental activity about the city based on people's demands. City brand image is directly corelated to its citizen and their attitude, culture brand, nature brand, etc. Images of many regions directly originated from local people's characteristics, or became famous brands because of their cultural, natural resources with unique value, such as "Shandong Big Man" , "Qilu Culture", "Up above there is paradise, down here there is Suzhou and Hangzhou", "Guilin landscape is the best", "China Great Wall", etc. Therefore, the purpose of good city character building is to build better city brand image, so further to promote city development by means of city marketing.

2. Help to strengthen city dwellers' sense of identification to city brand

City dwellers are the people who both created and enjoyed city brand. They created the city's own character during their long term living and production activities, so they further built their own sense of belonging. A city's human characteristic gradually formed on the basis of long term history and city humanitarian spirit. Only building the city brand on such a unity with city character, can we find the true sense of identification to city brand, and further transform to tremendous motive force of city development (Meng, 2006).

3. Help to promote guidance force of city brand

The city character that penetrates in people's thoughts, displayed in behavior, affects production mode and living style, and profoundly influence the efficiency and speed of city economic social development. The internal constraining force of city character is fundamental and long-term. Whether a city possesses the common values and world view that conform to demands of the time and needs of future development formed under cultural influence, determines the development path and direction of city reality and future. The guidance force of city character to city brand, on the one hand, include that the city brand needs to show the guidance of a city's production mode and living style, and thoughts, and ideas, and ideals; on the other hand, city brand is important means of displaying city popularity and city image, should contain and show city character, thus under the traction of market mechanism, can transform to realistic capital.

4. Help to city and city brand marketing

According to Kotler's argument, city marketing strategy was divided into city promotion strategy and city image strategy. City promotion strategy included 4 promotion strategies: city design promotion strategy, city infrastructure promotion strategy, city service promotion strategy and city attraction promotion strategy, among them city attraction strategy was the most important part. Here the city attraction means natural characteristic and events covering the city that attracts city dwellers, new city dwellers, visitors, and different industries and investors. The attraction factors that require to be considered mainly include natural beauty and its characteristic, history and famous characters, market city and its characteristic, cultural attraction, entertainment, grand physical exercises meetings, important events, etc. And city character is the most important core part of the attraction marketing, an excellent city character image, like motivated, diligent, and even romantic city character could attract large number of outsiders, and really plays the role of marketing. On the contrary, lazy and loose city character image would cause steep discounts to the city marketing effect (Wei, 2004).

In conclusion, good city brand inevitably has stronger radiation ability, the more abundant the cultural connotation of city brand is, the bigger sense of identification, and the stronger radiation ability, and accordingly the bigger attraction. And during the course of city brand building and managing, city character could largely improve the affinity of city brand, help to improve the target public's social memory and cognition degree of city brand, and the preference and trust to city, and thus improve the connotation, identification, and radiation ability of city brand. So to speak, city character is the soul and charm of a city brand. The modern world is

becoming more and more open, only city managers being consciously aware of the meaning of existence of city character, paying attention to absorbing the essence of city character, could they better promote the building and development of city brand, and improve city competitiveness.

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How is History Used in the Promotion of City Tourism?

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ABSTRACT: We can experience a city's history through the historical heritage sites. If we wish to understand how a city's image is constructed and how to promote tourism, then we must know how the cultural value of historical heritage is understood and used, and what factors influence how we use history. This study focuses on the factors that influence how we use history in tourism marketing and examines how the value of historical heritage has been understood and employed in?

RESEARCH PURPOSE

As cities develop, the solidifying of city history is an essential part of a city's identity and image. More importantly, it is the root of a city's culture. History, however, is not something that can be directly experienced. It can only be appreciated through certain symbols or conveyances and through the imagination. These symbols and conveyances are our historical heritage. History is an extremely abstract concept; broadly speaking, history can refer to objective processes in global development from natural history to human society. More narrowly speaking, history can refer to two things: first, past events and actions that shaped humanity; second, narratives of the past and its methodology of research (See, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1880). This study is on the historical mark and record left by cities as their society and culture has developed. In a sense, it is the more narrower of the definitions of history.

The earliest interest in historical heritage or historical values has focused on art, architecture, city planning, and archeology. As early as the end of the nineteenth century, one of the founders of the study of art history in the modern West, Alois Riegl (1858-1905), discussed in detail the historic and artistic value of cultural artifacts, and brought forward the notion of "the modern

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value” of cultural artifacts. This was not quite the same as our current understanding of the cultural value of historical heritage, but it certainly altered the understanding of historical heritage in the West. By the middle of the twentieth century, the protection of historical heritage became a higher priority in the agenda of governments worldwide. The Vienna Accords (1964) and UNESCO’s *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) both held that the cultural value of historical resources can be found in history, science, and art; however, there still was not an overriding global consensus. Since the 1980s, the protection of historical heritage around the world has gotten increasingly better, and our understanding of the value of historical resources has become more profound and diverse. Generally speaking, according to David Throsby often used diverse concept of the value of historical heritage, we can place the value of historical heritage in five broad categories: Artistic, Spiritual, Social, Historical, and Symbols.

Similarly, by the end of the 1980s, with growing pace of urbanization globally, competition between states, regions, and cities has markedly intensified. In order to obtain more resources for development, city marketing theory began to emerge and receive notice. The history of development over the last 30 years, city marketing research has primarily emerged from the fields of marketing, regional planning, tourism, and regional image studies. Among them, research in tourism marketing has looked at strategic patterns and attempted to outline a framework and profile of tourism marketing, but there is a dearth of empirical field research. This study believed that by researching city tourism marketing from the perspective of historical heritage, we are able to see the construction of a city’s image and enrich our current understanding of research; furthermore, we can discover how cities in China employ historical resources in promoting tourism.

Research Questions

This study analyses cities across mainland China of various ages, and looks at how historical heritage is used in the creation of city images and tourism. Specifically speaking, I will be responding to the following questions:

Research Question 1: How are historical elements presented in a city’s positioning?

- 1) Does a given city use historical elements?

2) If it does use historical elements, then what is the relationship with the historical age of a given city?

Research Question 2: How is historical heritage commoditized in tourism?

- 1) In what ways is historical heritage commoditized for tourism?
- 2) Is there a relationship between the historical age of a given city and the quality of commoditization of historical heritage?

Research Question 3: How has the cultural value of historical heritage been understood and employed in tourism marketing?

- 1) In what ways has the cultural value of historical heritage been shown in tourist commodities?
- 2) Is there a relationship between the historical age of a given city and the degree to which the cultural value has been emphasized?

Research Methodology

As of 2012, there are 288 municipalities over the county level in China. We have taken these cities a basis for a random selection of cities based on categories with five cities for each of the following four groups (See, Table 1). Furthermore, we have extracted data from the official tourism board’s website on their slogans, tourism campaigns, ect, and also have encoded data from the sample. Among the 20 cities selected, there are 215 products that marketed for tourist. In encoding the 215 products from these 20 cities, the fidelity of the encoder test value is, according to Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient, 0.963, which is statistically high and qualifies it for data analysis.

Table 1: Sample Cities and General Statistics

Historical Age	City	Slogan	Use of	Quantity of Historical Imagery	Commodities
1,000 years older or more	Kaifeng	Imperial City of the Song and Waters of Chrysanthemum	Yes	85	

500–1,000 yearsold	Qufu	Home of Confucius and Mencius – Land of Sages	Yes	
	Yangzhou	Yangzhou – There is always undiscovered beauty	No	
	Jingzhou	Ancient Capital of Chu and the Three Kingdoms	Yes	
	Quanzhou	Cultured Quanzhou bids you welcome	Yes	
	Tianjin	A look at Modern China in Tianjin	Yes	
	Xiamen	If you want to get out, go to Xiamen	No	
	Weihai	If you sail the seven seas, you still end up in Weihai	No	52
	Yinchuan	Great Heroine Helan, a colorful Yinchuan	Yes	
	Haikou	Sunny Haikou gives you a hug	No	
	Urumqi	Xinjiang is a Great Place	No	
	Chengde	The Qing’s Second capital and land of Buddhist delights	Yes	
100–500years old	Changchun	A city of movies, a city of cars	No	44
	Hohhot	Culture of the Steppelands, Culture of Mongols, and the Capitol of Dairy	Yes	
	Ha’erbin	A City of Ice, and Capitol of Summer	No	
	Nantong	The First Modern Chinese City	Yes	
	Yan’an	I want to go to Yan’an	Yes	
100yearsoldor less	Shijiazhuang	A Red Xibaipo and Colorful Shijiazhuang	Yes	34
	Shenzhen	Innovative Shenzhen – Capital of Fashion	No	
	Zhangjiagan	Cultured City and welcoming port	No	

Results

I. How are historical elements presented in a city’s positioning?

As shown in Table 1, nearly half of the cities sampled in China (55%, n=11) use historical concepts in their positioning. Among the group of cities over 1,000 years old or older, only Yangzhou did not clearly use historical elements in its positioning, and instead used the creative slogan “Yangzhou – there is always undiscovered beauty.” The other four cities in that group emphasize their historical properties in their positioning. In the 500-1,000 years old and 100-500 years old categories, both groups each have two cities (40%) that involve historical elements in their positioning. In the 100 years old or younger group, there are three cities that emphasize historical elements. These modern era cities all experienced major transitional events in history.

They are cities with a close relationship to war and revolution. In contrast the profound history of the 1,000 years old or older group, these cities chose a time and space in modern history. What is certain among these cities is they all choose a period in history that is considered the height of their culture and position. In their choice of historical concepts, uniqueness is the most important thing.

Table 2: Historical City Branding Cross-tabulation

Historical Age Group		Historical Elements		Total
		Yes	No	
<100years	Count	3	2	5
	%	60%	40%	100.0%
100-500years	Count	2	3	5
	%	40%	60%	100.0%
500-1000years	Count	2	3	5
	%	40%	60%	100.0%
>1000years	Count	4	1	5
	%	80%	20%	100.0%
Total	Count	11	9	20
	%	55%	45%	100.0%

Through analysis with a chi-square test on the use of historical elements and the age of cities, we have found that there is no clear relationship between the two ($X^2=1.667$, $p=0.644>0.05$), so there is no relationship between the age of a city and a cities slogan or positioning in terms of history. As shown above, older cities like to highlight historical elements in antiquity, and younger cities like to emphasize modern historical elements. These cities use what is at their disposal, whether it is in the distant or near past, hence the age of city does not influence its use of historical elements in its positioning.

Table 3: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.667	3	0.644
Likelihood Ratio	1.726	3	0.631
N of Valid Cases	20		

Moreover, on the official websites of the tourism boards of these cities, the tourism messaging lacks consistency. Among 11 cities that employ historical concepts in positions, only Kaifeng, Jinzhou, Yinchuan, and Chengde (36.4%) clearly expressed the positioning in their slogan. In marketing one of the most fundamental principles of effective communication is to maintain messaging consistency at the point of contact, and that's just as true here. So we can reason that most cities understand that they should use their historical resources and position themselves thusly, but they still have not mastered principles of messaging, and they lack consistency in their messaging. This impacts the understanding of audiences on the historical uniqueness of a city.

II. How is historical heritage commoditized in tourism?

The commoditization of historical resources essentially refers to historical elements are transformed into cultural products for consumption or products marketed specifically to tourist. Historically infused products are products developed and used by the tourism industry using historical elements in order to attract and serve tourist. David Throsby argues that cultural heritage has a doubly important cultural and economic value. In order to transform cultural heritage into cultural capital, then the cultural value of cultural heritage must be marketized as either a good or service, which will give it economic value. Based on the pretense, we have divided products for tourists that use historical resources into six categories: Folk Culture, Guided Tours, Historical Architecture, Local Delicacies, Nostalgia, and Thematic Performances.

Table 4: Categorical Distribution of the Commoditization of City History

Historical Age Group		Categories						Total
		Folk Culture	Guided Tours	Historic Architecture	Local Delicacies	Nostalgia	Thematic Performances	
<100 years	Count	3	7	14	5	2	3	34
	%	8.82%	20.59%	41.18%	14.71%	5.88%	8.82%	100%
100-500years	Count	1	8	22	5	0	8	44
	%	2.27%	18.18%	50.00%	11.36%	0.00%	18.18%	100%
500-	Count	3	9	28	5	4	3	52

1000years	%	5.77%	17.31%	53.85%	9.62%	7.69%	5.77%	100%
>1000years	Count	6	16	36	15	9	3	85
	%	7.06%	18.82%	42.35%	17.65%	10.59%	3.53%	100%
Total	Count	13	40	100	30	15	17	215
	%	6.05%	18.60%	46.51%	13.95%	6.98%	7.91%	100%

From the quantity of products for tourist we can see the degree to which historical resources are used in their products. From Table 4, looking at the distribution of the quantity of products, among the 215 products marketed towards tourist, 85 (39.5%) were in the 1,000 years or older group, giving it the largest proportion of products for tourist. Among the three other groups, as cities get younger, the number of products become increasingly less. From this perspective, the group with the longest history has the greatest diversity of historical resources, and in marketing practices, there is clearly a greater degree of commoditization of historical resources.

In terms of the distribution of products, we can see that the largest categories of products that use historical resources are historical architecture (46.51%), guided tours (18.60%), and local delicacies (13.95%).

First, the main ways in which historical resources are commoditized are in historical architecture. The historical architecture discussed here is very closely related to historical heritage. These generally include edifices and ruins that have commemorative significance and historical value; there are also ancient cultural ruins, old edifices, tombs, and other historical heritage that have historical, artistic, and scientific value. Clearly, a well-known historical edifice can elevate the name-recognition of a city. The tourism industries of many Chinese cities with a cultural heritage have been held up by historic architecture. For example, the City of Chengde, Hebei Province, is well known because of the Qing Dynasty's Summer Palace, and is the main reason tourist are attracted to the city. There are also buildings associated with historical figures and events that cities have come to rely upon, and they have commoditized it. The City of Qufu, Shandong Provinces, for example, is a normal Chinese cities, but is world renowned because of its association with Confucius, who has influenced all of East Asian culture through Confucianism, which has given it the title: "The Jerusalem of the East."

Guided tours are another major way to bring local historical architecture, historical heritage, cultural sites, and other elements together to provide a general service. This also benefits the general display of a local image and helps travel management and planning firms. They also allow for people to experience more in less time, but can also be planned for prolonged trips, and there are a variety of models to consider. Hence guided tours have become a common form of commoditization of history. For example, Tianjin's "A Look at Modern China in Tianjin" and Haikou's "A Journey of Filial Piety" thematic tour plans are very common method. Our research finds, however, that these resources have not been used to their utmost. Most official websites just pile on list of scenic spots with very little narrative description of the historical resource to give any major significance or cultural meaning.

Finally, thematic performances (7.91%) and folk culture (6.05%) are relatively few among the number of products sampled. Thematic performances and events targeted towards tourist are a type of artistic tourism. The artistic tourism market developed quite late in China, and it still lacks systemic assurances. Only with the major landscape performance *Impressions* in 2004 and in 2005 with the Ministry of Culture's policy *Opinions on Encouraging the Development of Private Artistic Performances*, have performances for tourist begun to take off. As a new form of product for tourist, thematic performance do not highlight clearly historical resources is very obvious. Furthermore, we live in a time period that is largely visually driven. Pictures and films are the main symbolic modes that audiences are able to appreciate and have a sense of. Communicating ones image in a way that can be well received by audiences is a major precondition for successfully communicating an effective brand. Although it is not clear the degree to which local uniqueness comes out in these thematic performances and folk culture displays, they could potentially use the opportunity to show their local traditional culture, folk customs, historical events, legends, and other abstract historical elements. This kind of visual and participatory form of commodity certainly has great potential for development. In this survey, there are either cities that have already employed film, performances, and rituals as a way of showing their historical resources; for example, the City of Chengde, Hebei Province, has two major performances - the *Imperial Gardens and Dreams of Flowers* and *Tranquility Across the Seven Seas* – and the City of Qufu, Shandong Province, has a reenactment of *the Sacrificial Rites*.

Table 5: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.771 ^a	15	0.275
Likelihood Ratio	19.889	15	0.176
N of Valid Cases	215		

Note : a. 10 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.06

In Table 5, we have run a Chi-square test analysis of the relationship between a cities historical age and commoditization of history. The results show that there is no clear relationship between the historical age of a city and the quality of the products commoditized ($X^2=17.771$, $p=0.275>0.05$) . Furthermore, there is no clear forerunner in any given category of products within any given group. That is also to say, in the process of developing historical heritage, there is no clear distinctions in the way historical resources are development. They are essentially equal.

III. How has the cultural value of historical heritage been understood and employed in tourism marketing?

This study relies on David Throsby’s interpretation of historical value, which categorizes the cultural value of historical heritage into artistic, spiritual, social, historical, and symbolic values. Among these, artistic value refers to any work that possesses or displays intrinsic or environmental artist quality that objectively exists. Spiritual value refers to any heritage among a defined area or specific practitioners that provide a sense of cultural pride, and strengthen their ability to communicate with the outside world, assist in defining a human culture and society. Social value refers to any heritage that assists in strengthening communal value and allows a community work and lives comfortably. Historical value refers to anything that assists in proving the uniqueness of a heritage, provides a connection to the past, and highlights information to historical sources. Symbolic value refers to the ability of heritage to express meaning and information, assist in understanding its uniqueness.

According to the frequency data, we find that the official language of each group of cities overwhelmingly emphasize the historical value of products targeted towards tourist (49.46%); this is followed by artistic value (20.27%). Except for the cities of Haikou and Zhangjiagang, all of the over 18 cities had artistic value as a part of their website and showed in detail the artistic quality of their local historical heritage. In third was spiritual value at 16.67%. There were 16 cities that went at length to share the uniqueness of local culture and showed a fervent pride in their culture and a desire to improve cultural dialogue and understanding. Only 1.62% of products showed a degree of social value, putting at the lowest ranking, which reflects a general lack of concern for individuals as they develop historical heritage, and a neglectful attitude towards the feeling and experience of individuals.

Table 6: Cultural Value of Historical Heritage in Products and Services

		Category					Total
		Fine arts value	Historical value	Social value	Spiritual value	Symbolic value	
<100 years	Count	14	25	1	4	10	54
	%	25.93%	46.30%	1.85%	7.41%	18.52%	100%
100-500years	Count	11	37	1	19	5	73
	%	15.07%	50.68%	1.37%	26.03%	6.85%	100%
500-1000years	Count	16	48	1	10	4	79
	%	20.25%	60.76%	1.27%	12.66%	5.06%	100%
>1000years	Count	34	73	3	29	25	164
	%	20.73%	44.51%	1.83%	17.68%	15.24%	100%
Total	Count	75	183	6	62	44	370
	%	20.27%	49.46%	1.62%	16.76%	11.89%	100%

According to the Chi-Square Test on cultural value and the historical age of a city, it is clear there is no clear relationship ($X^2=20.617$, $p=0.056>0.05$). That is to say there is no connection between the age of a city and the value of historic resources in a given city. As previously states, cities of all historical age groups are enthusiastic in emphasizing their historic value. Whether or not subjectively a city wishes to coordinate the historical value of tourism

resources and city marketing is determines whether or not a product or service for tourist has historical properties as a main selling point. Whether it is spiritual or symbolic value among the distribution of cities, we can still see this very objective property.

Table 7: Chi-Square Tests – Relationship between Cultural Value and a City’s Historic Age

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.617a	12	0.056
Likelihood Ratio	21.539	12	0.043
N of Valid Cases	370		

Note : a. 10 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.06.

Hence, generally speaking, most cities are consciously commoditizing historic resources; however, the depth and messaging of these commodities lack a rational methodology. In terms of messaging strategies, most cities tend to look at the market as a monolithic whole to respond to without considering first what they have at their disposal, analyzing consumers, developing targeted products, and most importantly market targeting strategies. Overcoming the subjectivity of their marketing strategies will determine the effectiveness of how they develop their historic resources.

Concluding Thoughts

This study finds through statistical analysis of abstract data the historic age of city has no impact on the use of historical elements in the tourism positioning. At the same time, they tend to commodify historic architecture and guided tours to a greater degree, but tend to use folk culture and thematic performances to a lesser degree. In terms of the cultural value in historically infused products, there is clearly a large emphasis on their historic value, but very little emphasis on their social value. Our calculations also show that the variety of a city’s historic resources, as well as the cultural value found in the products of historical import, has no connection to the historical age of a city.

As cities have developed products of a historical nature there is still an insufficient development of the cultural value attached to historical heritage. This is primarily due to a lack of planning, excessive subjectivity in the choice of products, and the capriciousness in which they are determined. The commoditization of historical heritage has not entered into the levels of strategic management. The commoditization of historical heritage is a systemic process. Strategic management not only protects historical heritage, but more importantly allows a city to mold a unique image and personality. This is the greatest value that a rationalized development of historical heritage can give to a city's development. This study finds there is a major lag in the development of folk performances and thematic performance that can lend a unique individuality to a city. Consequently, the cultural backdrop of cities often seems insubstantial. According to data from the Information Center for Chinese Heritage, up until December, 2013, there were 1167 total cases of intangible cultural heritage in China, and between 1961 and 2006, there 2513 cases of cultural heritage in the six categories approved by the government. This data shows there is a major disparity between these two types of cultural heritage; cities, however, have a bias when it comes to developing the tourism industry in favor of cultural heritage that be seen and touched, such as natural scenic sites, historic ruins, and historic architecture, which are promoted to a higher degree, but there is clearly a lack of protection for intangible cultural heritage. If, for example, we take intangible folk cultural heritage, there are only 136 cases, which is only 11.65% of all the intangible cultural heritage, and among the cities sampled in this study, folk culture made up only 6.05% of the examples of historical heritage being commoditized. There is more need to develop these resources, and this issue drowns out any uniqueness of a city's culture as well as a major lost opportunity of shaping a city image.

In messaging historically inspired products in tourism promotion, there is clearly an emphasis in many cities on spiritual value and are closely linked to modern wars, such as "I want to go to Yan'an" or "A Red Xibaipo and Colorful Shijiazhuang." A great amount of importance is given to nationalist revolutionary wars, which shows the impact of Chinese communal cultural values. In all the cities where major historical events in modern Chinese wars occurred, particularly cities associated with the Red Army, there is a certain apparent spiritual value in the sense of a revolutionary spirit. The core of their messaging is the spiritual value of commemorating the bitter struggles of the red army and unified esprite'd corps. A city's

spiritual value includes a city's culture, historical heritage, but it should include some strong feeling that is contagious, creating an atmosphere that inspires people to strive, work hard, and be creative. In our research we have found that cities generally tend to emphasize more communal spiritual values, but there is very little consideration of individual value and demands. Cities have particularly done poorly of using the spiritual pursuits and aesthetic qualities of modern culture in the positioning of their cultural values. For most cities, with the homogenizing forces of modernity and urbanization, there is a gradual eroding of the uniqueness of local cultural values, which in turn dilute attempts by cities to mold a unique identity and lessens the import of the individual; consequently, there is a general trend of spiritual values being homogenized, particularly in the sense of modern meaning of how historical heritage is commoditized. Hence there simply is little emphasis on the historical, artistic, social, and symbolic value of historical heritage.

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**Global Cultural Branding through the Investment of Historical Culture: A
Case Study of the Beijing Olympics Opening Ceremony**

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Abstract

Purpose– This study was to explore from consumer cultural perspectives how the Beijing 2008 Olympics facilitated the growth of China as an international brand by focusing on the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony.

Methodology–This study adopted multi-site studies based on the ECM method. Data were collected from 23 interviews with UK and China-based consumers and managers.

Findings– We argue that, in the context of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Chinese international cultural branding models are emerging – targeting market myths through historical and mythical Chinese culture paired with modern technology; composing identity myths; and extending them to global identity myths, creating global sacred consumption. The Beijing Olympics opening ceremony, which China invested with historical and mythical Chinese culture, serves as a compelling contemporary example and arena for branding efforts.

Originality– Despite a large body of research on cultural branding, to date, most studies have been conducted in Western developed countries. Past research has showed that global branding are deeply embedded in culture. As such, it is meaningful to investigate global cultural branding in China, whose culture is vastly different from the West.

Key words: global cultural branding; identity anxiety; the 2008 Beijing Olympics

Classification: Brand management and communication

Introduction

Despite the fact that sport remained a focus, the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing attracted the eyes of many who hoped for a glimpse of contemporary China, often obscured behind a veil of the past. Olympic scenery and the scene of Olympic branding drew the attention of the world. Of course, the Olympics itself is an iconic brand that gains much from top-level athletes' involvement and the infrequency, and thus anticipation, of the event. Olympic events are held once every four years, and provide vehicles to express world union and national pride, including appeals to the hearts and minds of viewers through the tears, smiles, and personal challenges of athletes and coaches.

And the event is popular: NBC paid nearly \$900 million for broadcast rights for the 2008 Olympic Games and attracted an average broadcast television audience of 30 million viewers each night. Millions more watched on the NBC cable channels. 30 million unique users visited NBC Olympics Web site and 6.3 million shared videos from the coverage streamed on the site (Carter and Sandomir, 2008).

Crucially, the Olympics has helped brand the host nations; for example in the Tokyo

Olympics in 1964, the Seoul Olympics in 1988, and the Sydney Olympics in 2000. In the case of the Beijing games, Greyser states that “China's ‘coming out party’ reflects and signals its significance in sports, its magnitude as an economy, and its power in global politics” (2008). Arguably, China itself is the most evident and notable brand of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, effectively and efficiently employing the Olympics to enhance the country's visibility and the salience of its marketplace on the world stage in accordance not only with modern advanced facilities but cultural involvement as well.

This paper will explore from consumer cultural perspectives how the Beijing 2008 Olympics facilitated the growth of China as an international brand by focusing on the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony. The study includes interviews with UK and China-based consumers and managers. The paper draws on a consumption as text framework to highlight how the opening ceremonies performed branding work for its sponsors. The following literature review sections present a brief background of Olympics branding research and elaborates notions of engaging culture and myth to build global brands. Conceptual insights include how cultural branding infuses contemporary image with a historical lineage.

Literature Review

Olympic Brand Context

Olympic branding has been investigated, including branding of the Olympic event itself, co-branding between the Olympics and its sponsors, and the host nations’ branding (Greyser, 2008). For example, Morgan et al. (2004) revealed how Sydney branded itself as fantastic place for tourism through the 2000 Olympic Games. Madrigal and LaBarge (2005) discussed how Visa enhanced its global brand equity through the Olympics. Furthermore, Gold and Gold (2008) indicated interests that host cities have brought to bear on staging the Games, because of the increasing scale of their ambitions (e.g., urban regeneration and city rebranding) and the huge financial and human costs involved. However, few researchers focus on the host nations’ cultural branding from the perspectives of consumers and managers.

Brand Culture, History, and the Myth Market: Building Global Brand Myths

Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling discuss the roles that history and culture play in understanding the cultural codes of branding, expanding recognition of research that taps into what they call brand culture, a third realm of branding research in addition to brand image and brand identity (2006). Followed the brand culture approach, we understand the importance of social, cultural, and historical resources in undertaking branding, marketing, and consumer research. For example, numerous researchers indicate that meaningful insights into marketing

contexts can be acquired when they are treated as cultural texts; and the apparatus of literary theory has been brought to bear on branding, advertising and marketing (e.g. Belk, 1986; Hirschman and Holbrook, 1992).

Furthermore, the presentation of historical culture or the past in marketing includes two key schools: one, the prevalence of retroactivities is motivated by the consumers' nostalgic and authentic desire (e.g. Stern, 1992; Holbrook and Schindler, 2003); two, marketing the past is a way of secularizing the sacred historical, cultural, and religious elements and beliefs to enhance marketing activities (e.g. Belk, *et al.*, 1989; O'Guinn and Belk, 1989).

Moreover, a cultural approach to branding in the global marketplace depends on different attempts to develop an informed historical and cultural analysis of brands (Cayla and Arnould, 2008). Branding practices are grounded in various cultural perspectives, such as the archaeological, the political, and the semiotic. Besides, global myths might be targeted to build international brands. Put simply, global brands arouse a global myth and "the global myth of the independent, self-actualizing, decision-making consumer is simultaneously a participant in and citizen of a modernizing world" (Cayla and Arnould, 2008; p.102). Aspects of the mythic landscape are moving into the global brand landscape, and this global myth entails employing branded products to produce personal identity discourses.

Holt (2004) posits that a cultural branding approach through targeting market myths, composing the identity myths and extending or reinventing these identity myths. He further explains that "identify the most valuable type of myth for the brand to perform at a particular historical juncture, and then provide specific direction to creative partners on how to compose the myth" (p.218). Put simply, targeting the most appropriate myth market engages knowledge of the country's main existing and emerging myth markets, and the cultural and political authority to address these market myths. According to Holt, composing the identity myth depends upon the preparation of a synopsis of the myth that depicts the identity anxieties the myth will deal with and the way in which the myth should address these anxieties; acknowledging "the populist world in which the myth will be located, and the strategy for the brand to develop an authentic voice within this world"; and finally "developing the brand's charismatic aesthetic, namely, an original communication code that is organic to the populist world" (p.219). Once the right myth market is targeted, and the brand is utilized by consumers to satisfy their identity desires, the market myth will need to be extended or reinvented, keeping the myth fresh.

Eckhardt and Cayla (2008) evoke the modernity of Asian branding. They found that Asian brand managers highlight universal practices of globalization that simulate "a generic, hyper-urban, and multicultural experience... infused with diverse cultural referents, and therefore

contribute to the creation of an imagined Asia as urban, modern and multicultural” (p.216). As Eckhardt and Bengtsson suggest in the Chinese case, it may be valuable to engage the past as a strategic brand-signifying practice (2008). We argue that, in the context of the Beijing 2008 Olympics opening ceremony, Chinese international cultural branding models are emerging, targeting market myths through historical and mythical Chinese culture paired with modern technology; composing identity myths; and extending them to global identity myths and creating global sacred consumption.

Methodology: multi-site studies based on the ECM method

To investigate how the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony has helped China establish itself as a transnational brand, we followed the logic of the extended case method (ECM) and interviewed international consumers, CEOs, brand managers in China and UK from universities, corporations, market research firms(see table 1). The tenets of the ECM are “not data gathering techniques techniques but to an analytical logic that is applied to the data types typically used in interpretive research, such as field observation, interviews, primary source materials, archived texts”(Holt, 2002, p.73). Eckhardt and Cayla (2008) also suggest that taking this approach helps smooth away the shortcomings of grounded theory, which may ignore “the larger social, economic and political contexts in which phenomena occur” (p.219). Thus, a multi-sited research approach was followed including on-line, telephone, and face to face interviews; email correspondence; and visual analysis of the opening ceremony.

A group of consumer respondents were interviewed, including three non-Chinese speakers at a UK university and one China-based consumer interviewed by telephone. About 60 Chinese and foreign marketing agencies, Chinese brand managers and CEOs were contacted, and of these 22 responded in some way. Nine were eventually interviewed on-site in five Chinese cities.

Name	Position	Company type	Location	Brands worked on
Rick Su	Marketing executive	Marketing agency	Beijing	BMW
Frank	Marketing executive	Financial company	Shenzhen	China Merchants Bank
Wu, Jinghuang	Retired	/	Taiwan	/
Joycee Lau	Marketing supervisor	Retail company	Hong Kong	Watson
Eros Qendro	Student	University	India	/
Johar, Sheetal	Student	University	Greece	/
Lu, Xue	Marketing executive	Steel company	Shanghai	Bao Steel
Wu, Jian	Vice CEO	Consulting company	Shanghai	CUIPPC
Chen, Xihui	Brand manager	Automobile company	Hangzhou	Geely
Liu, Jingliang	Vice CEO	Automobile company	Hangzhou	Geely
Miss Gao	Store manager	Luxury brand company	Shanghai	Shanghai Tang
Sallay	Store manager	Luxury brand company	Beijing	Shanghai Tang

Mr. Zhang	Sales manager	Consumer electronics and home appliances company	Jinan	Haier
Wang, Ning	The executive deputy director of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Beijing Olympics (Source from Chinese Radio International, or CRI, 2008)			
Cai, Guoqiang	Director of visual and special effects of the ceremonies for the Olympics and Paralympics (Source from CRI, 2008)			

A convenience sample was gathered of people who had seen the opening ceremony and were willing to be interviewed. A total of 13 informants, including CEOs, brand managers, and consumers were involved in semi-structured interviews over a period of eight months. The interviews lasted between 60 and 75 minutes and were conducted both in English and Chinese, with translation from Chinese into English. These interviews often started with general questions about consumers' cultural background, working experience, opinions about the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony and about CEOs' and brand managers' current business situation, and viewpoints toward the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony. Then, detailed questions about the use of advanced technology to present Chinese historical culture in the opening ceremony, and its implication for Chinese cultural branding, were discussed in-depth.

In addition, empirical data was also collected from various Chinese print media, on-line and televised ads, and news casts on the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony. Two useful interviews conducted by CRI were also selected. By examining these different sources, we constructed careful descriptions of informants' opinions about China's branding through the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony, and their attitudes about Chinese international branding.

In interpreting informants' responses and the media archive, the opening ceremony was placed within the larger context of the 2008 Beijing Olympic games, China branding, and global cultural branding. In doing so, we checked quotes and observations, and tried to link these to emerging theory in Consumer culture theory and branding. For example, we conceptualize an alternative framework that sheds light into Chinese branding contexts.

Targeting the myth market through historical Chinese culture with advanced technology: Addressing anxiety of identity

The myth market evokes cultural contradiction that comes from the gap between "national ideology" and "citizens' identity projects" (Holt, 2004, p.58). Accordingly, the myth market involves both historical culture and the present, and addresses China's anxiety of identity. China's efforts to move away from a "poor and backward" identity include the use of modern technology to express historical Chinese culture, and an expression of long-standing traditions in Chinese modern life. This section aims to present how the Beijing 2008 Olympics opening ceremony targets the myth market. It should be noted that there were many target markets for the opening ceremony – home Chinese viewers, Olympic guests, the attendees in the stadium, and a global audience. Only fragments of the entire ceremony were broadcast on global television, and different audiences saw different fragments.

Iconic Authenticity and Nostalgia

The Beijing Olympics opening ceremony targeted historical Chinese culture, the most important myth market, because it evoked audiences' nostalgia and feelings of authenticity. Respondents thought investing historical Chinese culture in this ceremony created authenticity.

For example, Joyce from Hong Kong said that,

“in the darkened stadium with only their glowing red drumsticks visible, the intense ‘rat-a-tat thump’ beaten reverberations of the “Fou” completely captured my attention. I was really moved and felt how vivid, true and authentic it was.”

In marketing literature the importance of authenticity in the consumption context includes indexical authenticity and iconic authenticity (e.g., Grayson and Marfinec, 2004; Brown et al., 2003). *Indexical authenticity* refers to an object that has a factual and spatiotemporal link to history while *iconic authenticity* means an object that is similar to original physicality through the reproduction or recreation of the original objects. “Fou” is an ancient percussion instrument of China with a 3,000-year history, similar to the Chinese drum and described in the Lian Po and Lin Xiangru section from the *Records of the Grand Historian* by Sima Qian in the Han Dynasty. Accordingly, the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony presented iconic authenticity through modern advanced technology. Reproduction or recreation of the past is, indeed, an artificial presentation in the present, no matter how truthfully and precisely we preserve, authentically and properly restore, and deeply and attentively immerse ourselves in past times; yet iconic authenticity contributes to understanding the past and creating fantasy consumption. In this sense, this ceremony helps Chinese resolve their anxiety for authenticity

Further, this ceremony stimulates audiences’ nostalgia through the presentation of the historical culture. Mr. Wu Jinhunag from Taiwan (speaking in Chinese by telephone) said:

“It is amazing and I am very, very proud of it. It made me miss my hometown, my country so much. You know I have left my hometown for nearly forty years. Although I visited mainland China several times, I really missed it so much. You know the performances of the old Silk Road and the Chinese opera make me wish to visit the Mainland [China] as soon as possible. I want to revisit Xian, the starting point of the Chinese Old Silk Road and re-listen to the Beijing opera in the Mei Lanfang Grand Theatre”.

Chinese historical culture expressed in the Olympic opening ceremony simulated feelings of nostalgia. In theory, nostalgia resides in every brand (e.g. Nike town) and markets every product – for example, the fashion for old films, old clothes, old music, old recipes; the dominance of traditions and revivals in architecture and the arts; schoolchildren delving into local history and grandparent’s recollections; and historical romances and tales of olden days flooding all the media (Lowenthal, 1985). Nostalgia transcends yearnings for lost childhoods and scenes of early life, embracing imagined pasts never experienced by their devotees or perhaps by anyone (Holbrook and Schindler, 2003). In this way, there is uncontrollable faith and truth in reincarnations and regressions into past life, and thus fictional returns to previous times attract

massive audiences. This is because nostalgia is an appropriate emotion for self-reference. In this way, the investment of the Chinese past into the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony facilitates consumers to give up the anxiety of identity.

Technology, Modernity, History

Eckhardt and Cayla (2008) indicate that Asian brands demonstrate the modernity of Asian cultures. To this end, this ceremony did not merely present China's historical culture, but also Chinese modern life, where not only is China able to employ advanced technology to reveal the historical Chinese culture, but also people live a modern life with long-standing traditions. For example, Wang Ning, the executive deputy director of the opening and closing ceremonies of the Beijing Olympics told CRI that,

"The technology and equipment used in this opening ceremony is very complicated. More than 2,000 tons of equipment were [was] used in the opening ceremony, including [a] large amount of light-emitting diodes. An LED screen 147 meters long and 22 meters wide at the centre of the stadium transported the audience into a Chinese dreamland. --- At the beginning of the show, 29 colossal, footprint-shaped fireworks exploded along the central axis of Beijing to symbolize the pace of the summer games. Sparkles from the final footprint fell into the centre of the stadium and "lit up" the floor, bringing out the shining Olympic "Dream Rings" on a huge LED screen and proclaiming the arrival of the Olympiad. Beijing used a smokeless powder to reduce pollution from the 40,000 explosions".

Cai Guoqiang, director of visual and special effects of the ceremonies for the Olympics and Paralympics, further indicates that

"This opening scene is considered a highlight of the opening ceremony. These were conducted by a very complicated digital control system. The system can control the fireworks, the music, the lights, and the videos. It can launch all these at the same time. It is a very advanced system, and it was a success." (CRI, 2008)

Not only was modern advanced high-tech knowledge explored in the performances of "magnificent civilization", seen in the sparkling Fou, the huge movable scroll, the "athletic footsteps painting", the movable printing, and the splendid Silk Road map; but also this opening ceremony brought the historical Chinese culture into modern life, expressed in the "Glorious Time" section.

In the performances of 'Magnificent Civilization', the intense drumming gave way to the whimsical as dozens of ancient "Flying Apsaras" (mythical Buddhist goddesses) soared across the stadium and made an illuminated replica of the Olympic rings raised above the arena, while

in the shows of “Glorious Times” modern “Flying Apsaras” with spacesuits were soaring in the splendid space. “Flying Apsaras” is one of the murals in Chinese temples and grottos (e.g., the art of flying apsaras in Yuangang, Longmen and Dunhung Grottos in China), which refers to an imagined flying god. Historically, Chinese Buddhist scripture defines “Flying Apsaras” as the gods of heaven, song or music or as fragrant goddesses with sweet voices. Mostly they are young girls with slim figures, plump faces, elegant manners, and gentle moods. They further suggest that generally they appear as a group of girls flying and dancing in the sky with ribbon fluttering elegantly and beautifully in hand.

Motivated by the ancient Chinese “Flying Apsaras”, the modern Chinese “Flying Apsaras” refer to the exploration of outer space. In this ceremony, the space suited man soaring in space and Li Ning’s “walking in outer space ” with the lighting of flaming cauldrons are the most notable and obvious performances to show the modern “Flying Apsaras” and the connection of Chinese historical culture within modern life. The targeting of a myth market in this ceremony, using historical Chinese culture with advanced technology, can be seen as addressing Chinese anxiety for identity, including aspects of authenticity and nostalgia.

Composing the identity myth: Modern with historical cultural identity

The identity myths of a country are important cultural fabrications where myths smooth over people’s identity anxieties and create their desired identity (Holt, 2004). China, in this ever-changing era, desires to construct its identity in the international arena. According to the interviews, this ceremony has helped China resolve identity anxiety and establish desired identity. For example, Eros Qendro from Greece told me that,

“Specifically, in the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony, the first thing to attract my attention was the historical culture, such as the four great innovations of ancient China (paper-making, printing, gunpowder, and the compass) and the old Silk Road. It made me feel curious about this mysterious exotic culture, because China is the other end of world, compared with the west, and China is so large and there are lots of subcultures, and key cultures come from these subcultures.”

The presence of the Chinese past in the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony facilitates building China’s brand. The ceremony’s presented historical culture conjures up an imagination of the Chinese past. It has been argued that unsealing the imagination can bring about a heightened sense of place, or product or brand (Campbell, 1987). It is important to find a place or a product or a brand for the imagination when discussing an historical culture- based context. Campbell (1987) suggests that imagination or emotional feeling could be considered as rational

behaviours towards consumption. Thus, investing the imaginative different past in the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony allowed audiences to suspend of disbelief and adjust the level and nature of the imagining experience. Investing the past in this ceremony is a skilful use of the imagination because imagining past in branding produces an emotive situation. Differences from the past make consumers imaginative, and differences from the Chinese past allow consumers to imagine. But more importantly, the difference of the Chinese past can help consumers to construct China's brand.

Lowenthal (1985) further suggests that the reason for people's yearning for the past depends on their desire for identity – the past is essential to the sense of identity. This is because “the sureness of I was” serves as an essence of the sureness of “I am” and ability to recollect and identify the past often offers existence meaning, purpose and value for people (Wyatt, 1964, p.319). The investment of the Chinese past in this opening ceremony can be seen to manifest China's identity.

Interviewees found the ceremony demonstrating China's identity of sincerity, romance, friendliness and innovation, as Rick from Beijing explained:

“the Fou beaters started a thunderous welcoming ceremony, chanting Confucius' saying "How Happy We Are, To Meet Friends From Afar!". After that, a picture with words of this Saying in Liu-styled calligraphy appeared around the stadium and guided me into an ancient Chinese warm welcoming ceremony. These lead to a frame of a historic Chinese gallery and strongly emanate the Chinese romance, hospitality and sincerity...”

Furthermore, Johar from India said

“You know, in the show of Chinese movable-type printing, on the one side, 3000 people, dressed in ancient clothes, each holding a Chinese character, formed huge Chinese characters of "He", which means “harmony”, in different Chinese calligraphy; on the other side, 3000 people, dressed as the 3,000 disciples of Confucius, each held an ancient Chinese book [called Jian in Chinese and made by baboons] and chanted renowned epic poems from the Analects of Confucius [‘All those within the four seas can be considered his brothers’]. “Oh, it was fantastic. I like Confucianism so much. This obviously shows the Chinese are friendly and love harmony. Further, you know in the performance of coloring for the mounting of the final painting in the process of Chinese scroll painting, a Chinese artist in white clothes only swung a Chinese writing brush [which is a traditional Chinese pen called Mao Bi in Chinese] with ink to color or modify the painting and then the painting became harmonious and simple. Also in a huge LED scroll, artists drew a painting simply with their twisting bodies. I think it showed the Chinese desire for a simple, peaceful and harmonious life.”

These myths manifest romance, hospitality and sincerity, the Chinese desire for a simple, peaceful and harmonious life, and the Chinese spirit of exploring and conquering nature.

Extending the global myth market

Cayla and Arnould (2008) indicate that global brand mythologies depend on targeting global cultural myths. Aspects of the mythic landscape are moving into the global brand landscape and this global myth entails the employment of branded products to personal identity discourse. In this way, historical Chinese culture is not only a myth to the Chinese, but to westerners as well. Further, the myth markets are not only from “the narratives involving the sacred, either gods or near-gods or the distant past, particularly the creation of the world” (Segal, 2004, p.5), but also are derived from the gap between what people hope and the reality (Holt, 2004).

For example, in this opening ceremony, the “harmony” presentation in the movable printing performance, the gigantic elevating globe called “Dream”, the scroll with the footprints of all the participants and the theme song of “You and Me” notably reveal the theme that equal, peaceful, friendly people get along with each other in the world. This theme is a hope or a dream for many people across the world. In this way, the investment of historical Chinese culture in this opening ceremony enables China to target a global myth.

Investing the Chinese past in the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony promotes sacred consumption. Hirschman (1988) explains sacred consumption as an ideology that focuses on ruralness, natural imagery, communalism, manual labour, interpersonal cooperation, and the consumption of simple, self-produced (or naturally derived) products and services. However, Belk et. al (1989) states that “the sacred involves magic, shamanism, animism, and totemism in some societies. Such societies often accord sacred status to components of the natural environment that are revered, feared, worshiped, and treated with the utmost respect” (p.2). In other words, elements related to religion, historical or traditional culture and beliefs create the possibility of sacred consumption.

Conclusion

Through interviews and observations, we have seen that the Beijing Olympic opening ceremony employs historical Chinese culture with modern technology to target the myth market, evoking consumer nostalgia and enabling feelings of authenticity. Nevertheless, this ceremony did not merely present China’s past, but also envisioned modern Chinese life infused with long-standing traditions. Furthermore, the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony created a myth market not merely for the Chinese, but for non-Chinese people as well. As myth markets are derived

from the gap between what people hope and reality, the opening ceremony revealed themes of world harmony – for humans and nature. Historical Chinese culture, displayed in this opening ceremony, harnessed cultural codes of strength, equality, and peace. Historical Chinese culture offered non-Chinese viewers sacred elements and feelings of wonder, and moreover, themes constituting hopes and dreams for many in the midst of difficulty, conflict, and war around the world – thus contributing to the global myth market, and the building of Chinese global brands.

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Research on the Economic Strategy of City Branding

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1.0 Introduction

The past decade has seen the rapid development of the research on city brand in the academic area. The city brand embodies the soul of a city; its positioning is the key of successfully building a city's reputation, as well as attracting more investment and consumption. It may be the case that a proper city brand positioning can only be implemented effectively by executing appropriate economic strategies (Lever 2002). After the completion of city brand positioning, the whole city's category has been identified, namely its main industries and functions, which should be focused by the relevant economic strategies.

Porter (1998) suggested that industry is the core competitiveness of a city; its positioning is also the core of city brand localization. Therefore, in order to figure out an appropriate city brand economic strategy, this paper seeks to address the following six questions. Firstly, what kind of industrial policy should be used to ensure the realization of industrial localization? Secondly, what kinds of hardware and software environment are proper to support the industry? Thirdly, in terms of marketing strategy, on the one hand, it is important to consider how to break regional blockades, so as to increase openness. On the other hand, from the domestic market point of view, there is increasing concern on how to improve transaction efficiency and reduce transaction costs. Fourthly, after solving the market problems, how to carry out publicity? In other words, how to transfer the relative information to the target customers? Fifthly, what kinds of investment strategies should be applied to continuously attract investors, which is an important guarantee to realize industry positioning? Finally, from the city cluster point of view, the evolution of brand pattern can be divided into three parts, namely product brand, industry brand and city brand. In light of that, what kinds of route strategies should be applied as the beginning of a city brand construction (Pollard & Stoper 1996)?

2.0 Industrial Strategy

Every city has its own leading industries, however, not all the leading industries are competitive industries (Cheshire 1990). In order to develop competitive industries, it is important to have advantaged enterprises and brands. Industries without a strong brand may not have a permanent competitive advantage. Therefore, industrial policy must be a series of policies from the industry to the product and then to the brand, instead of focusing on the industrial policy itself. In other words, there are three problems to be solved by the industrial policy: one is city industry entry mode; two is how to implement the strategic arrangements from the industry to the brand; three is the role of the government in the process of brand cultivation (Kresl & Proulx 2000).

2.1 City Industry Entry Mode

It may be the case that there are four kinds of city industry forms: one is single industry; two is industry chain; three is industrial cluster; and four is the combination of industry chain and industry cluster. In light of that, there may have five kinds of city industry entry modes.

One is to form a single industry in the city, without the upstream and downstream industry chain extension, as well as the mutual support system of industrial cluster, which may expose the city to big risks, such as some resource-based cities are facing resource depletion threats at the moment. According to Brown (2001), this means that a city can determine a leading industry, so as to promote the development of related industries, but that does not mean it has a single industry structure, which may not benefit the city in the long term.

Two is to form a relatively complete industrial chain in the city, based on a few competitive enterprises. In this model, if all the parts of the industrial chain can fit properly to each other, it may produce a strong and stable competitive power, because the city can solve the problems of the industrial chain all by itself, which may help to avoid the influence of external shocks (Mcneill 1999). However, the whole industrial chain is too dependent on the key enterprises, once those enterprises decline, the whole industry chain may decline as well. This model is particularly suitable for those cities that have existing competitive industries and face the challenge of new industries. They can rely on the existing advanced industries as the core, and to extend the industrial chain gradually (Rast 1999).

The third is to enter a segment of the industrial chain, and cultivate competitive industries. As it may be difficult for a city to have competitive advantages in various segments of the industry chain, choosing a specific part of the industrial chain, and becoming bigger and stronger in that area may be a more sensible choice (Saito & Thornley 2003). However, it will make the city directly expose to the global production system, once the city does not have the competitive advantage, it will be replaced by other cities in the link soon (Broadway 1992).

The fourth is to enter an industrial cluster, which has been a hot research field in recent years, because of its strong vitality and competitiveness. The largest area of industrial clusters in China lies in the southeast coast of China and Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. Industrial clusters are most suitable for active and prosperous economic area (Broadway 1995).

The fifth is to enter parts of an industry cluster, this is when there is a cross regional industrial cluster, which may across the city's administrative boundaries, it can choose to be a part of the whole industry cluster. A city can choose different kinds of industrial entry modes according to its own condition. However, the first mode may have greater risk and may be recommended to be adopted (Cheshire 1995). Moreover, the other four models may also have dynamic changes, converting from one mode to another mode, along with the development of the city industry.

2.2 The Leading Role of the Government

No matter what kinds of industrial entry mode are used by a city, it is practicable to develop competitive industries based on key products and brands, a mature industrial cluster must have a large number of successful brands. Therefore, after determining the industrial entry mode, it is important to determine the key brands to cultivate. Harvey (1996) mentioned that one thing to be noted is that choosing industry is the responsibility of the government, and developing brand is the result of market competition. The government cannot interfere with the process of market selection. The brand can only be the result of consumer choice.

However, in the process of selecting and cultivating key products and brands, the government can act as a guidance role through the following detailed policies: (1) Establishing brand

economic development advisory committee, providing objective evaluation and policy suggestions; (2) announcing strategic planning timely and implementing various promotional activities, in order to enhance brand awareness among people; (3) Systematizing brand management to ensure its continuity and stability; (4). Providing material and spiritual rewards (Mills 1995).

3.0 Environmental Strategy

Any industry needs to be matched with certain environmental facilities, and city environment may be the main factor to affect the target customers' psychological cognition. Therefore, enterprises cannot simply pursuit profit maximization, but also to pursuit superior living environment to attract high-quality person (Perry 1986). In this paper, the city environment is divided into both hard and soft environment, in which hard environment includes infrastructure, natural and artificial environment, and soft environment includes cultural and institutional environment, although it cannot be observed directly, it may have potential and enormous effects on the investors and residents, in terms of psychological induction.

3.1 Hard Environment of the City

According to Samuels (1995), nowadays, a perfect city infrastructure has become the basic elements to attract investors, which mainly includes: (1) transport facilities, such as highway, railway, bridge, port, aviation and developed traffic network; (2) communication facilities, such as communication cable and information infrastructure. A perfect transportation and communication infrastructure facilities can shorten the actual distance between the city and external space, as well as reduce the transportation cost, which is especially conducive to the enterprises to access to external information timely; (3) water, electricity, gas and other facilities, which is the basic condition for the normal operation of enterprises and residents, and also the elementary requirements for increasing living standards (Smailes 1941).

A city's natural environment mainly includes the climate, air, water, forest, flowers, rivers and other natural landscape. Artificial environment refers to the artificial modification of natural environment, including places of historic interest and scenic beauty, as well as green parks

(Proston 1971). City environment can be directly experienced by the residents, thus improving their welfare. Also, it can create the environment and conditions for the city to attract tourists and high-tech industry investors.

3.2 Soft Environment of the City

The urban culture is a kind of long-term accumulated precipitation of spiritual temperament with the characteristics of non-replication. It mainly includes the value orientation, behaviour, communication ethics and enterprising spirit of urban residents. Although the urban culture is an intangible wealth of the city, it also has its carriers. Its material carriers include cultural facilities, places of historic interest, etc. The behaviour carriers actually refer to the social and economic behaviour of the residents and enterprises. They are divided to hard environment and soft environment (Reps 1965). The behaviour of residents and enterprise could bring direct impact on foreign investors, visitors and customers' subjective evaluation and psychological cognition on the city. Some details may have a decisive influence (Borchert 1967).

The main builder of the urban culture is the microcosmic body, for instance, enterprises and residents. Whereas it has some inevitably factors which against the improvement of brand construction and urban competitiveness. This requires the government's public opinions by means of public welfare advertisement, citizens' convention and various activities in promoting integrity, civilization, entrepreneurship, innovation, the spirit of tolerance, etc. Now many cities have put forward their own city spirit and citizen convention in which the solicited opinions are used concerning to all nationals, and the good results have been achieved (Elin 1996).

If the urban culture is a kind of informal institutional arrangement, the institutional environment is a kind of formal institutional arrangement to standardize people's behaviour in ways of the law, regulations and policies. It is the endogenous variables which could be chose and changed (Stegman 1995). It mainly includes the legal system, the property right protection system, free and fair market system, the government regulation system, etc. The main builder of institutional environment is the government. The urban institutional environment determines the hidden costs and efficiency of enterprises. Now most of the infrastructure construction still stayed in the construction of hard environment in many cities. The institutional environment is relatively

backward. This hindered the entrance of investors to a large extent. In China, it does not only create a huge gap between eastern and western cities in the aspect of economic development, the gap of institutional environment is bigger (Porter 2000). The urban institutional environment of eastern cities has become more perfect and flexible in the sharpening of market economy. However, many western cities have still relied on the preferential national policies, taxation to attract investors in the process of western development. The poor institutional environment has become a deterrent factor in attracting investments.

The advantage of an open and flexible institutional system is that it could reduce the hidden costs of investors and improve investors' psychological cognition of cities. This is an important premise to attract domestic and foreign investors (Barney 1991). On one hand, the government should perfect the relevant laws and regulations to ensure the fair order of market to create a fair, open, transparent and efficient government image, on the other hand, it requires the government to carry on the innovation of city management mechanism, provide flexible institutional environment and create characteristic administrative service brand.

4.0 Institutional Strategy

The institutional strategy includes two parts, one part is the opening up of the market, breaking down the barrier of administration, regulating the market instead of artificial protection; the second part is to improve the administrative efficiency internally and reduce the transaction costs to develop the enterprise efficiency.

4.1 The Opening Up of the Market

According to Hotelling (1929), city competition requires the free flow of product space, product sales in different regions is the embodiment of the city competition. However, in reality there are always some cities trying to rely on artificial regional protection and market blockade to develop local economy. In general, a city has relatively smaller market scope than a country. The industry which developed under regional protection could only be sold locally if it has no competitive advantage. However, it cannot achieve economies of scale because of the narrow internal market. This would lead to higher production costs, which may even further weaken the competitiveness of products. Finally, the customer may like to spend less cost on purchase products from outside

instead of local purchasing (Morgan 1997). This kind of industry developed in regional protection actually is at the cost of local residents' welfare. Such kind of industry, which is not competitive externally and against residents' welfare internally, would not become the source of the urban competitiveness even under the aegis of the government.

Therefore, it is necessary to open up the market and introduce competition in determining the industry positioning and city brand positioning on the basis of comparative advantage. This could help local enterprises and industries develop to be more competitive both in internal and external market (Mckercher 2004).

4.2 Improving the Administrative Efficiency

Although the government administrative efficiency could not directly constitute a factor of the city brand attractiveness, it brings direct impact on the enterprise efficiency of local investors. It is characterized by the following three aspects. The first is to get through the communication channels of government and enterprises. It may be the cast that if the government's policy cannot get effective implementation, enterprises may encounter obstacles (Douglas 1994). At most of the time, the government did want to get things done but it lacks of effective communication channel between governments and enterprises. The government's information could not be transmitted to enterprises; the problems of enterprises also could not be reported back to the government. Particularly, the small and medium-sized enterprises have little chance of communicating with the government. As a result, the government believed these enterprises did not follow the relevant policies, the enterprise also complained about the government's various policies, which may harm the interests of them. Second is to reduce and simplify examination and approval procedures. The cumbersome approval process give rise to the high transaction costs, this seriously hindered the arrival of investors. On the one hand, it seriously reduces the efficiency of economic operation, the enterprise registration often needs to run dozens of department and cover hundreds of official seals. As a result, enterprises are forced to spend a lot of manpower, financial resources and energy to deal with the government, which reduces the management efficiency to a large extent; On the other hand, power dominates the allocation of resources will inevitably lead to rent-seeking behaviour and cause a lot of corruption, this seriously disrupt the market order. Finally, it is important to maintain the market order,

establishing fair market environment including the protection of intellectual property rights and property rights, cracking down on counterfeit goods, maintaining social order, creating the health and safety market environment, setting up the technical standards and the entry barriers of market (Ansoff 1965).

5.0 Communication Strategy

Communication strategy is the main way to construct city brand, as well as the most efficient way to spread city brand. Its main approaches include variety ways of media advertising, public relations activities, events, exhibition meetings. The subjects can be either investors or consumers, and it can also attract investments, promote products and expand the market.

5.1 Advertising Strategy

Advertising is one kind of traditional marketing approach through a variety of media information to deliver city brand information to the target customers, including TV, radio, internet, newspapers and magazines, light box signs and a variety of mobile advertising tools (Barbara & Etorre 1995). However, it is important to note that the success of advertising is depend on its authenticity; whether or not the advertising delivered the single interest point of city brand effectively and focused on the target customers; and finally whether or not the single interest point conforms to the needs of target customers.

5.2 Public Relations Strategy

The author believes that the city brand public relations strategy should define the object as the target customers of the city, only focusing on the targeted customers can deliver a single point of interests. Public relations can adopt various means, like the news media, some kinds of activities, or directly facing the target customers. In a word, by whatever means, it is always a purposeful planning (Barrow 2000). Moreover, public relations activities can also be normalized, such as setting up news spokesman, holding a press conference on a regular basis, delivering brand message to the target customers through the news media.

5.3 Press Release Strategy

If a public relations strategy is an intentional planning, then, the press release strategy is a kind of method of spreading city brand through a certain well-known and sensational events. In other words, the news is borrowing strengths from others, for instance, with the help of films and television programs. A good film and television program could reflect a region's history, culture and the spirit of the specific idea deeper by shaping the infectious characters and storyline compared with the advertising and public relations. It can produce strong attractiveness to target customers due to its highly emotional benefits. Moreover, big sport events are another way to spread the brand of a city. As sport has widely participation, especially the world class sport events could attract the eyes of the world, and people are more likely to pay attention to all aspects of the host city accordingly (Gibson 2000). All in all, what is the key of 'borrowing' is whether or not the borrowed things have the consistent interests with the city brand. Otherwise, it would not have any real significance in promoting urban competitiveness if it's just borrowing reputation.

5.4 Exhibition Strategy

Exhibition is not only an industry, but also a window or one chance to display the city's economic strength, science and technology level and the image of the city to the exhibitors, traders and exhibition visitors from all over the world. Exhibition industry also can be regarded as a kind of public relations activities, which could help to deepen the understanding and communication among governments, communities and investors. Moreover, it could promote personnel visits and cultural communication among the cities. It is a new kind of third industry with high income, as well as providing communication channel for the spread of city brand (Hall 1992). Therefore, the development of convention and exhibition has become the choice of many cities in the world. It requires organizers to have highly commanding and coordinating ability. Moreover, it is also important to make sure the exhibition is in accordance with the laws of market economy. Otherwise, the loss of a failure convention and exhibition is not only a direct economic effect, but also can damage of a city's brand, which will cause long-term economic and social losses.

6.0 Investment Strategy

According to Lewis (1992), each city's government website provides investors or investment services to visitors, including investment projects, investment environment, investment policy and investment approval process services etc. Most of the governments consider the investment policies as understanding various kinds of preferential policies. This may be part of the investment strategy, but not all. A completed investment strategy should be based on a set of related services to potential investors and existing investors, including pre-investment, investment and after-investment strategy.

6.1 Pre-investment Strategy

Before investment, it is important to figure out target and potential investors, according to the city's brand positioning. Then, using the aforementioned communication strategies, it should not only clear its own comparative advantages, but also research on investors' cultural background and behaviour characteristics, so as to tailor the publicity based on different investors.

In addition, due to the incompleteness of information, investors may not be able to access some investment information, which requires a city to expand the sources of information. One feasible method is to strengthen the connection between various domestic and foreign intermediary organizations, enhancing its visibility and influence among those large companies and government agencies, in order to obtain their latest investment information. Also it can establish a good relationship with famous international law firms, accounting firms and other intermediary organizations, as most of the big companies are their customers, so it may get valuable investment information from those institutions (Salamon 1994).

6.2 Investment

In the process of attracting investors, disconnect the relationship with the investors after their arriving regardless of the project implementation status and their operation status is considered as short-term behaviour, which may upset investors and discourage them to establish a long-term relation. As a result, the city should strengthen the contact with the potential customers who have the investment intention, such as inviting them to visit the city, helping them gather information,

putting forward reasonable investment advice (Wain 2003). Moreover, it should assist enterprises solve practical difficulties, supporting them to run a successful business. In other words, helping them gain profits.

6.3 After Investment

After the investment, investors may have a new cognition to the city through the actual contact with all aspects. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to their psychological cognition and expected investment goal, trying to lead them to achieve satisfactory psychology.

Specifically, after the occurrence of the actual investment activities, the government should pay close attention to investors' psychological feelings, through regular communication, so as to obtain the feedback information. If investors feel better than expected, the government should make clear what gives them those feelings, in order to further improve the city brand strategy; if the investors feel worse than expected, the government should also find out what makes them feel disappointed, these factors must be improved as soon as possible (Ritchie & Brent 1984).

7.0 Route Strategy

From the city competition point of view, the evolution of brand can be divided into product brand, industry brand and city brand. Among them, the product brand is always a foundation of a city's competitiveness. Industry brand is the pillar of a city's competitiveness. City brand is the highest form of brand development process. With the emerge of a number of products brand, people will generate recognition on the city's brand, which originates from the products brand and the relevant information, including the industry itself and the embodied spirit, historical tradition and values of the city (Simon 1995).

7.1 Analysis of City Brand Construction Path

In reality, the evolution process of brand may not be fully in accordance with the above route path, a brand may start from a product, an industrial cluster or the government's promotion. Generally speaking, the brand development path can be roughly divided into three modes, namely: products model, image model and cluster model.

Berenner (2004) suggested that the product model is starting from the product brand, promoting the development of other brands through the demonstration effect of the star brand, or attracting foreign investment, gradually formed industrial brand, at the same time, establishing city brand through the comprehensive development of brand economy.

The image model drives the development of product brand and industrial brand by shaping the city's image and its brand, in terms of constructing infrastructure, developing software and hardware environment, creating landmark buildings and unique activities. The city can also be benefitted by the exhibition business, which can not only attract investors, but also gradually form industrial development in the city.

The industrial cluster model mainly forms products brand through the cluster's competition. Moreover, this model can be divided into two categories: the first one is mainly based on small scale production, which is characterized by low entry barriers and small scale of the enterprises. A large number of small enterprises' development gradually formed industrial clusters; another one is by seizing the opportunity of world industrial structure adjustment, starting from the low-end products and operations, actively integrating into global production chain of information industry. Therefore, it may be clear to see that the common characteristics of these industrial clusters are that they all start from the low-end of industrial chain, then many smaller enterprises spontaneously form industrial clusters and industrial brands, after which a group of excellent enterprises gradually develop into influential brands in the cluster's competition (Josephs 2002).

7.2 Comparison of Three City Brand Construction Path

The above three kinds of brand development mode are actually three different paths, each path has its own occurrence, development and results. Firstly, they have different initial driving force. For the products mode and image mode, the government plays an undeniably important role. Because of the city brand's externality and its public goods nature, without the support of products brand and industrial brand, only the government can promote the construction of city brand as the leading force. Compared with the other two route modes, the government's role in the cluster mode is much weaker; the main driving force of cluster model is no doubt the market. Because of the opening market, the local traditional business and commercial sense, the

enterprises start from small-scale, low-end products, which do not have any competitive advantage, or brand image. However, along with the regulation of market development, those enterprises' production and management process become standardized, and then gradually form industrial clusters, which promote the development of the regional brand and city brand. Along with the development of industrial clusters and the inside competition, a group of excellent enterprises continue to grow in size and strength, establishing its own products brand (Taaffe & Gauthier 1973).

Secondly, they have different development conditions. The image model is promoted directly by the government to build the city brand, which requires the city itself has a comparative advantage, especially the market advantage, as well as the appropriate timing. Otherwise, the city brand may be in danger of becoming a shell, without any attractive materials. The product model requires the city to have a certain number of enterprises and entrepreneurs, aiming to make the brand become bigger and stronger. The chosen industry should also have significant economies of scale. The industrial cluster model requires the citizens to have entrepreneurial awareness, as well as business sense, so as to identify the city's traditional features and advantages, and the fast changes in the market. Also, the chosen industry should have production flexibility (Douglas 1994).

Finally, they have different developing results. The image model begins with the government promotion. However, with the development of economy, the role of government may be gradually weakened, eventually giving the place to the market. As a result, the relevant industries, such as exhibition industry and service industry, should gradually realize industrialization and market operation, which is an inevitable choice from the city brand to the product brand and industrial brand. The product model tends to follow the development path of great brand, namely considering a few large and great enterprises as the core, with a large number of small and medium enterprises supporting around (Morgan 1997). Also, the city may gradually implement the brand echelon strategy, which may lead to a sustainable follow-up brand power. The industrial cluster model is more like a network pattern, which is formed by interrelated enterprises within the clusters. All the relative companies may have close market connection,

while still maintaining strong independence and flexible contact, which may be easy to adapt to the external flexible market.

In short, no matter what kinds of model, the function of the government is indispensable, especially to those cities that do not have competitive advantage. Therefore, on the one hand, the city should use government power to create city brand and accelerate the development of brand economy. Also, the government should help it pave the way for attracting foreign enterprises' investment; on the other hand, in the premise of government maintaining market order and fair competition, the government cannot replace the market directly to intervene the development of enterprises. The city should make full use of market forces to create products brand through market mechanism of survival of the fittest (Porter 1990).

8.0 Conclusion

This paper has given an account of how to improve the accuracy of the city brand economic strategy, through the construction of city brand economic strategy model. This paper has also put forward six strategies of city brand economy, namely industrial strategy, environmental strategy, institutional strategy, communication strategy, investment strategy and route strategy, and investigated each of them respectively.

This study has found that generally city brand honors its commitments to customers through city brand positioning and the complemented city brand economic strategy, which may reduce the choice cost of target customers and therefore, influence the choice behaviour of them, as well as enhance the city's competitive power. Once the city brand has formed, it embodies a city's competitiveness, which in turn may strengthen that competitiveness as well.

This paper has constructed the city brand economic strategy model. However, a successful model should not only be able to explain what has happened, but also be able to predict the future. Therefore, future research should further enrich the theory of the model proposed in this paper, and use this model to implement an empirical analysis of one city, in order to put forward the valuable suggestions and guidance.

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**Place Marketing Mechanism Research on Three Gorges Reservoir Area
Under the Collaboration**

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Abstract

Purpose - There are 545 towns in the core area of the Three Gorges Reservoir Area, which is the scope of nearly a thousand towns. This paper aims to explore the town development model suitable for the reservoir area; while preventing the occurrence of urban disease in the region's cities and towns.

Approach - we use some of the theories on city marketing in domestic and abroad, conduct comprehensive research on the towns development in the reservoir area, collect relevant data and select representative towns to have case study, And then raised nine kinds of urban development model for governance 'reference.

Findings - Geographically the Three Gorges region is a relatively independent area. In this mountainous district, the population is dispersed, traffic is not so convenient in most of the area, and there are many town clusters, it is not suitable to use the same city planning and marketing strategy as the one being used in the large and medium sized cities. As the region has not been administratively unified, resources are not being used reasonably and efficiently. The industry emptiness appearance exists in the towns with varying degrees.

Originality - Based on above mentioned idea, we think that the pillar industry in this area is ecological and leisure tourism. The base of urban orientation is its industry development and the features of scenic spots to be developed green ecologically, objectively, scientifically and unified to have the regional residents gotten real benefits, and this is the correct road. Under the well environment of the the area, each town should make the correct development orientation location by well combining its natural, cultural and industrial features, to build its own brand as much as possible, to make this area become the model in national reservoir and lake areas after carrying out right marketing strategy.

Keyword – Three Gorges Reservoir Area , place marketing, urbanization, ecology towns

1 Introduction

The Three Gorges Project is the largest project in China. The Three Gorges region which is from the Three Gorges Project, and it has two meanings: a wide range of it and a narrow one. In the narrow, it contains Yiling (夷陵), Zigui (秭归), Xingshan (兴山) and Badong (巴东). They are part of Hubei (湖北) province. And it contains Wushan (巫山), Wuxi (巫溪), Fengjie (奉节), Yunyang (云阳), Kaixian (开县), Zhongxian (忠县), Fengdu (丰都), Wulong (武隆), Shizhu (石柱), Wanzhou (万州), Fuling (涪陵), Yubei (渝北), Banan (巴南), Jiangjin (江津) and Chongqing (重庆) urban cores also. This is a relatively narrow range. In fact, because of the construction of the project, other towns in Hubei Province, Chongqing Municipality belongs also affected by the project. Their economic plan and social programs had to follow the super project. This is a wide range of the Three Gorges Reservoir Area.



Figure 1 The Three Gorges Reservoir Area

In China, township local government is often crowded area. So, we statistical analysis is based on the number of these local governments. According to our statistics, there are 545 towns in the core of the area. Taking into account the influence of the project, there should be nearly 1,000 towns. Three Gorges Reservoir Area is a relatively geographically separate area. There are

the 20 million inhabitants, and 3/4 people living in scattered small towns nearby. Because of the special status of the Three Gorges region, as well as government attention to this area, in the early days of the decision to build the dam, some scholars began to focus on marketing the towns, especially in tourism marketing(Mao Y,2001),and more research on city brand of it(Hu X-Z,1999).

In 2004,China National Tourism Administration, the State Council Three Gorges Project Construction Committee, National Development and Reform Commission, the Western Development Office of the State Council, Ministry of Communications, Ministry of Water Resources and other functions of the organization organize a large number of experts to conduct special research findings and finally the formation of the "*Yangtze River Three Gorges Regional Tourism Development Plan*"; 2007, in order to solve developing problem of the towns, Land Development and Regional Economic Research Institute of National Development and Reform Commission has announced the "*Three Gorges of the Yangtze River in Hubei Province of international tourism destination development control planning*." In a timely manner, from the macro to the local, the results with the policy of the organizations, have guided the development of the Three Gorges Reservoir Area of town planning and how to sustainable development.

At the same time, colleges and universities in Chongqing and Yichang, accordingly establish research institutions. The organizations work together to study the reservoir resettlement, urban construction, tourism development, economic and trade issues, and help some towns have made tourism development plan. Many scholars continue to study issues related to the region. The research areas involving aspects of immigration, relocation and agriculture (Yu Y, 2003), regional coordination and logistics development (Yi W, 2008), urban brand (Meng C, 2010) and eco-environmental of the reservoir area (Huang Y-W, 2009), urbanization development paths(Li J-Z,2012). And they have made more extensive and fragmented researches. Commendable is that most of the studies are based on detailed research.

The scholars studies suggest that: as many mountains, scattered population, traffic is not convenient and the construction of the Three Gorges Dam, development of the area is not suitable for use in urban cities of the marketing strategy used. On the basis of these achievements, it is need to research the marketing model for the towns of the area.

On the basis of years of follow-up survey and collect information, combined with the local cultural environment, local customs, environmental protection, industrial structure, we will focus on the marketing mechanism of the towns.

2 Situation of the towns

In the area, number of towns and more scattered distribution, transportation is not convenient. 18 counties(county-level city, district) in the region also belong to the Wuling(武陵) Mountain Area, which is the focus area of the State Council Poverty Alleviation Plan. Therefore, to do the marketing of the towns, not only to strengthen the various towns in the region, but would be able to explore a practical way that whole Wuling Mountain Area, the other reservoir, lake district to make a demonstration.

The region belongs to Chongqing, Hubei two provinces/municipality. Because of disadvantages geographical and different administrative, the level of urban development in the region is very inconsistent. There are well-developed core of Chongqing municipality, and there are more reasonable development of the main district of Yichang city, and commercial prosperity node cities such as Wanzhou, Fuling. And then, here distributed more than 500 towns, which is slow development.

From the following aspects, we will analyze the current situation of urban development in the region :

From the positioning point of view - 20 years ago, the state decided to build the Three Gorges Dam, so far, many experts and scholars have explored the area on the positioning after the completion of the Dam. Although there are some inconsistencies in these discussions on perspectives, but in the "travel", "leisure" on everyone's point of view is quite uniform. This unity is based on the uniqueness of the area. Development of tourism, especially leisure travel, is the most appropriate development path of the Three Gorges Reservoir Area. Three Gorges is one of the leading products in the international market competition in China tourism. There are two World Heritage, National Scenic Area 6, National key units 29, National Forest Park 30, National Nature Reserve 9, National industrial and agricultural tourism demonstration sites 14, AAAAAA grade scenic spot 10. Rich resources make it a famous tourist area.

However, the area is inter-regional tourism, the various tourist attractions and related facilities scattered in every county, the attractions and scenic spots are not mere tourist area. They belong to Chongqing, Hubei two districts, although the two provinces/municipality were a number of coordination on this, but it is actually difficult to manage; at the same time, it is a basin-wide tour. From Chongqing to Yichang, any city along the river can be used as an access point, visit the Three Gorges. It is difficult to manage by organization. Moreover, it is the dynamic nature of the event tourism, many "small, scattered, weak and poor" tourism enterprise price wars, lowering service standards when such phenomena have occurred, is difficult to regulate. Since 1992, the Three Gorges tourism ups and downs, development are very uneven.

In particular, Three Gorges Project began to store water in 2003 to great fact completion in 2009. The traffic pattern of the Three Gorges tourism, landscape pattern, market structure, management structure have been "re-shuffling". In the past to attract tourists magnificent Three Gorges has been changed. After storing water, formed with the lakes, canyons, islands and peninsula has not been a real development and utilization of national experts to develop a plan to lose the real meaning.

To solve the difficult problem of implementation after positioning, from an administrative point of view, only waiting for this region can be integrated into a whole. However, the development of nearly 1,000 towns really cannot wait, these scattered towns flexibility, can be waiting for opportunities, timely, scientifically develop their own towns.

From the point of view of urban brand value - the city brand positioning of the core of Chongqing and the main district of Yichang are scientific, the city branding elements are properly integrated.

In the *China City Marketing Development Report* (Liu Y-P, 2009), Chongqing's Brand Index ranked No.3, Yichang ranked No. 41. Meanwhile, the factors associated with the other cities and towns in the area do not get attention, and no integration. So, people talk about the "Three Gorges", the first thought is of Chongqing and the second is Yichang. About other towns in the area, they are difficult to have been associated with the Three Gorges, for their attractive low, low attention and not obvious in local characteristics.

From the industrial point of view – Chongqing core district do well at the industry and commerce, and city function structure and the surrounding scenic spots development more reasonable. The industrial structure of Yichang city is adjusting along the positioning of "world

hydropower and tourism city". But because of its total economic output and the scale is not big enough, a few enterprises operation is very difficult. Its lack of capacity of independent innovation, and the level of industrial structure is low. Strategic emerging industries and modern service industry is relatively weak. Because of the weaknesses, the industrial structure of Yichang didn't have obvious advantages, has not achieved the expected benefits. About the other towns of the area, industry "emptiness" is very serious. The traditional "grain and pig" industrial structure benefit less. The second industry is small and scattered, has not formed the "fist" products. To travel for the advantage of the third industry by the constraints, development is slow. To a considerable extent, the conditions have affected the reservoir area residents in employment, housing, thereby reducing the well-being.

From the point of view of urbanization - The urbanization development in the area is extremely unbalanced. The core district of Chongqing urbanization rate is very high, into the city society. Yubei, Banan urbanization rate is higher than 76%, into the senior city society. The urbanization rate was higher in Yichang, Wanzhou, Fuling, and other towns are very low (Table 1).

The data from the official website published data. But according to the calculation method of the urbanization rate, there is a virtual high phenomenon, lacking relevant data more by man-made.

The development of tourism marketing - There are some problems of tourism marketing in the area-elements of the tourism industry overall is not enough. Tourism market growth degree is not high. Tourism association leading role is not strong."Three Gorges" brand image of the overall shape of poor. So, the government and tourism enterprises local have contract the benefit good spots. The attractions nearby residents have got the benefit less. Even in the scenic spots to set up around the new town, also caused the original urban waste of resources or repeated construction. Tourism marketing in fact became a local government "own" task, the local residents participation are not high. The tourism marketing strategy of government is difficult to obtain the actual benefits.

3 Our point: Leisure tourism destination with green, ecological and environmental

3.1 The model of urban development general plan

As mentioned before, the area development general orientation should have been identified and have a consensus, that is: International Leisure Tourism destination. From administrative planning, social management point of view, Chongqing, Hubei should actively seek state will be the area named set ecological demonstration, poverty alleviation and development and tourism as one of the state-level ecological tourism economic zone. So, overall arrangement of the regional industrial structure, urban planning and management, residents living environment improvement, would have a real possibility.

Table 1: Resident population and Urbanization rate , 2012

Town	Resident population/10 thousand	Urban population	Urbanization rate/%
Wanzhou	158.31	92.60	58.49
Fuling	109.84	65.11	59.28
Yubei	143.32	110.29	76.95
Banan	94.62	72.04	76.14
Jiangjin	125.35	74.07	59.09
Wushan	47.85	15.95	33.33
Wuxi	40.42	11.58	28.65
Fengjie	80.02	28.53	35.65
Yunyang	90.69	32.22	35.53
Kaixian	116.16	45.60	39.26
Zhongxian	74.19	26.93	36.30
Fengdu	62.86	23.83	37.91
Wulong	34.97	12.65	36.17
Shizhu	41.21	14.72	35.72
Changshou	78.72	44.84	56.96
Yiling	54.65	12.97	50
Zigui	42.3	6.7	35
Xingshan	17.47	4.3	37.91
Badong	49.1	16.5	34.1

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Three Gorges was very famous for their scenic spots in the world, but today is different from the history of Three Gorges Reservoir area of Three Gorges. The history of the Three Gorges is famous for its magnificent, beautiful, magical and unique scenery. After the completion of Gezhouba project, the area of the flow is slow, to a certain extent affected the original landscape features of the Three Gorges, at least "a thousand miles to Jiangling one day" is not to see the spectacular. After the completion of the Three Gorges project, some traditional attractions were submerged, from Chongqing to Yichang natural landscape has changed completely, the entire reservoir is a huge artificial lake. In the region, people did not feel the original natural landscape, and the large number of human landscape is invisible, or, the changed landscape. The canyon has changed into the lake. The thinking is correct to develop tourism industry in the region, but we can't strive for the number of tourist attractions and scenic spots while to ignore the protection of the area of the original ecological.

We believe that the development of the Three Gorges Reservoir area, the various towns first is stronger, then to seek large. To be strong, "you" must know "yourself" as well as the enemy, count "your" towns, to find own way out of town development. Place marketing theory should be the main approach to solve the problem.

3.2 The main observation point and the corresponding strategies

3.2.1 Town positioning

AT the first, every town must be positioning their own town. The positioning follows the general planning of the Three Gorges Reservoir region by state. It should be combined with the actual their towns, suit "their" measures to local conditions to be positioning.

In view of the area has not yet been seriously environmental pollution, and no significant city disease appear, we must be to follow several principles when positioning the towns:

First, green, ecological and nature.

No lack of green here, the key is to do environmental protection. we must keep the town characteristics, and to prevent the destruction of the environment to happen.

Second, industry concentration, and efficient.

Combined with the local situation, the government would plan a wide range of local circumstances industrial planning, and to avoid excessive interference. Citrus has been grown in

the area, causing over capacity, the farmers often face selling orange difficult. This lesson should be learned.

Third, local conditions, avoid artificial scenic spots; prohibited the introduction of polluting enterprises ; no repeating industrial structure. More than 10 years, for their political achievements, the officials have governed the towns in the blind pursuit of the town's "big" rather than according to the structure of urban functions. There are already some polluting enterprises in the area is set. Appeared in the case of short-term economic benefits of good industrial blind be set as well. Some man-made attractions cost a lot of money, but built soon abandoned. These phenomena should arouse enough attention to.

3.2.2 Town brand

"Three Gorges" is a super brand. From the current situation, whether it is the core of Chongqing, Yichang, even in a small town, are playing the "Three Gorges" brand. However, every town have ignored to refine brand elements associated with their own characteristics. Some local products, natural landscape, either ignored, or is modeled on the other scenic features to "modify" attractions. Objectively, almost every town has its own personality, if finishing it with reasonable, it can contribute to marketing the town. Natural landscape of the region in "Tiankeng-Difeng "(doline or sinkhole, a sort of the karst landforms),large wells, ancient cottage, Highlands Ranch, bamboo, natural bridge, as well as a variety of valuable rare flora and fauna, but also the famous "Fuling mustard" and sturgeon aquaculture industries etc. If the brands be closely associated with town development, which will shape the brand of great benefit to the town.



Figure 2 Tiankeng-Difeng

3.2.3 The industrial structure and appropriate industry

In the town planning should be the industry with its own characteristics. Attractions and industry would show their production process. Relying on the education and training institutions in Chongqing, Yichang, a large number of residents would be training. Relying on the education and training institutions in Chongqing, Yichang, a large number of local residents would be training and be employed in the enterprises. Conditional towns can create "Theme towns" to attract customers.

Located in the new lake district, the industry would develop combined the fishery and leisure tourism. In the old sightseeing tourism was the focus of the gorge and the ship. The tourists see the spots by boat/ship. to see spots. They were leisure and live in the city nodes such as Chongqing, Yichang. The new three gorges formed, a major change is from pure "see the spots by boat" to "tour in the spots" and "leisure travel". Face the change, we must consider how to keep the city customers to stay overnight at "our town". In the realization of the urban and rural integration process, to create tourist attractions at the same time, we should the industry combined with its production process, the humanities combined with tourism and leisure. For

example, after the formation of many small lakes, around the "water", the local residents would develop fish farming, fishing, boating, water sports, catering and other related industries.

3.2.4 Urbanization and livable

Livable situation of the area: The housing problem of Three Gorges migrants have solved. But the local residents which non immigrant or not in the Yangtze River side haven't, their housing situation is not optimistic. The quality of housing of the immigrants is very good, while, some urban functions related to the living environment is seriously lagging behind. Moreover, the new housing is often to build a unified, lost the original "stilted building" characteristics of Three Gorges. Because living in the mountain town, local residents in the construction or renovation of housing should be "natural" as the foundation. For the town residents, "local livable", also is to improve the living quality of life. The government needs to make general planning, and taking the reference planning model and building drawings to them. The governments allow residents to self construction. The good economic conditions of towns can also give residents to appropriate assistance.



Figure 3 Water pollution in Three Gorges Reservoir Area

3.2.5 Tourism marketing and the third industry

Base on the income of tourism enterprises in the area, tourism marketing is well done. However, many tourism enterprise work is very simple. It is the reception of visitors; other industries associated with tourism services have not been developed. Visitors at the end of the scenic tourist back to large and medium-sized city, near to the accommodation. Tourism products which are selling in the scenic spots, have almost lacked local characteristics. This situation is not due to the lack of local characteristics of the product, but the lack of native development of local material and spiritual. In order to drive the development of other related industries, the government would fund and take supervision mode, vigorously develop the local residents of "Family Hotel", supporting the tourism industry, researching and show corresponding cultural elements. In the new market situation, changes in marketing ideas, conformity of resources and capitalization on its strengths make the tourism industry and other third industry more competitive and successful.

3.3 Discussion : town development model

Based on our observation of the towns in the area, statistics and review of related data, we put forward the development mode of the towns.

Mode 1 Aquaculture Town

After the impoundment of Three Gorges reservoir, the region is formed at least 1620000 acres of River Lake, after deducting the river channel, around the towns and other unfavorable use waters, and 600000 acres of water can become the aqua farm. And then, the water flow slowed down, the development of aquaculture is very favorable conditions. A study from the Wuhan University shows that, After the impoundment of Three Gorges reservoir, fishing can be placed 23600 labor, about 45000 immigrants, is one of the Three Gorges immigrants to become rich reliably. At present, the industry is based on the individual farming, has not formed the development situation. In the appropriate towns, the government would take capital, technology, marketing and other aspects of support. Aquaculture could also be combined with fishing, food, water sports project. At the same time, they could also be raised lei cassis longirostris, giant salamander, mullet and other rare species. The lake water is rich in resources, suitable for the

development of the town,such as Dachang(大昌),Zhenxi (珍溪) ,Qingxi (清溪) ,Zili (梓里) and Gaofeng (高峰) .

Mode 2 Courtyard Town

Small farm house, seasonal fruits and vegetables, small bridges, is a beautiful life, which is many people especially living in the big city yearning. The traditional pattern of small farmyard in the Three Gorges area is generally on stilted building, in front of houses planted with a variety of vegetables and seasonal fruits. The streets of the towns are often paved with stone. In the past time, the Three Gorges territorial Dachang, Qingtan(青滩), Shazhenxi (沙镇溪) etc.,so style. Usually, such a small town, giving visitors the impression is beautiful and unique. Currently, subject to the impact of the traffic is not convenient, suitable for the development of this model is the outskirts of the town, such as Lianpeng (联棚) ,Yesanguan (野三关) ,Changshou and so on. Courtyard economic development can also promote the development of special breeding, vegetables, fruits, hotels and other industries

Mode 3 Livestock Town

The area alpine meadows little, mainly in Chongqing range. Yichang, Enshi have sporadic distribution. The town is located in these places is restricted geographical conditions, while they only pay attention to the traditional concept of raising pigs. Therefore, utilization of grassland in the region is not high. We recommend appropriate breeding sheep, rabbits, geese, cows and other traditional herbivores, with the introduction of some of the ornamental value of deer, bears, monkeys, wild boar and other special animals. In good condition towns, it would be allowed breeding horse and to built racecourse. Under the condition of income, at the same time, it would meet a part of tourists' needs with hunting, horse racing. In the area, aquaculture development is very slow, difficult to meet local market demand. As far as we know, Chongqing, Yichang required beef and mutton are mostly from the North in. In the aspect of animal husbandry, Moudao(谋道) develops better(Figure 4).

Mode 4 Fruits and vegetables Town

The natural environment of the area is excellent, adequate light and abundant rainfall, most suitable for growing fruits and vegetables. Introduced a variety of seasonal fruits and vegetables, we could guarantee to supply the peaches in spring , orange in summer and pomegranate in autumn. Even in the snow flying season, there are peach. And, there are mulberry, cherry, apricot,

plum, pear, loquat, longan, navel orange, pommels, walnut, chestnut, papaya and some wild fruit filling the four seasons. Four Seasons fruit and quiet farm landscape, it can attract customers. When selling the products, we should fusion products and its appreciation, picking, edible, making the customers to indulge in pleasures without stop in this special cultural atmosphere.



Figure 4.1 A beautiful town,Moudao.Two years ago



Figure 4.2 Moudao today

Mode 5 Special herbs and flower Town

The area is a natural Chinese herbal medicine library, where rich quality of *Gastrodia elata*, *Coptis*, *Fritillaria taipaiensis*, *Codonopsis pilosula*, *Magnolia officinalis* etc 300 kinds of Chinese herbal medicines. Located in the hinterland of the reservoir area of Wanzhou, Fengjie, Yunyang, Wushan, Wuxi, Shizhu are from the wild herbs. The development of other industries have no advantage, the development of herbal and flower planting is the most suitable.

Mode 6 The ecological tourism Town

Three Gorges reservoir area is very rich in tourism resources, but with a larger development value have been developed basically the government. On the other hand, the mountains here are

very strange, water resources are also very rich. Therefore, tourists can visit the small town is still a lot of. Classic characteristics of these small towns have is more scattered, difficult to integrate into large scenic. If local residents and the government unite, integrating resources, around the big brand "Three Gorges", it could do some tourism-related matters. Compared with the large scenic, these small towns would highlight their "ecological", integrating ecological concept into the local tourism marketing. This model is suitable for the development of many towns, such as Gaoyang(高阳),Qiaobian(桥边),Gaolan(高岚),Gaofeng(高峰),Xiangshui(响水) and Changtan(长滩).

In addition, after the Three Gorges reservoir water has formed a development value of more than 100 islands and numerous lakes. These are self-contained islands and lakes, formed a new attractive tourist town. The suitable places are Xiaodao(小岛),Nantuo(南沱) Town and the Jinlong(金龙) Lake of Jiaoshi(焦石) Town.

Mode 7 Agricultural industry Town

A very famous brand in The area is the "Fuling mustard."The raw material comes from mustard cabbage head. The local commonly known as Qingcaitou. The cabbage is suitable growth in the mountains, where is adequate light, abundant rainfall. Fuling mustard is historic. Many towns in the region are engaged in mustard production, processing. After the integration of resources, we can produce division head cabbage, mustard production related to each town, and then decorated with the necessary humanities decoration, showing the whole process out. It can not only enhance the brand value of Fuling mustard, but also to attract visitors to watch and experience. This model is suitable for the development of many towns, such as Longqiao(龙桥),Linshi(蔺市) and Nantuo,etc.

In addition to mustard production, other industries can also try this mode.

Mode 8 Experience rural life Town

Over the past 30 years, due to the development of cities, the rural life is far from us, especially from the youth. Accustomed to the city park, young people are more willing to try the sledge, hoe, water tankers, windmill, the raft. In the stream fish, crab touch, as many young people dream of activities. If given them a chance, let them touch the water snail, catching catfish, picking bracken, wood fire and cooking experience,etc. That is also emerging high heat tourism projects. Build this town, for the montagnards, it is simply a process of self-construction,

there is no effort, it will not invest too much.10 years, a small town in Yichang, is relying on a stream, relying on such a model, developed into a four-star spots. This scenic called Chexi(车溪). Chexi · Chinese means "a full of water tankers stream.

Mode 9 Dock culture Town

Three Gorges history almost is written with boat and pier writing. Today, the bigger the boat, while the traditional dock disappeared. Nostalgia worried about the Three Gorges people, but also concerned about the people around the country have passed from here. The old scenery of the Three Gorges is gone, but we can in the reservoir according to the history of the Three Gorges along the coast, restoring some of the "pier culture." Including trackers past resident of shanty, radish dumplings, also the songs forever do not understand the Ba people sing. So try to make the history of the Three Gorges reproduce. Some small river connecting the reservoir should have a section on the history of some of the characteristics of the Three Gorges. We can consider in these

small towns near the river to restore this culture. This is the Three Gorges dig out the old brand, both to save the cultural heritage, but also to create economic value.

4 Conclusions

As the region has not been administratively unified, resources are not being used reasonably and efficiently. The industry emptiness appearance exists in those cities and towns with varying degrees. We think that the pillar industry in this area is ecological and leisure tourism. The base of urban orientation is its industry development and the features of scenic spots to be developed green ecologically, objectively, scientifically and unified to have the regional residents gotten real benefits, and this is the correct road. Under the well environment of the Three Gorges reservoir region, each town should make the correct development orientation location by well combining its natural, cultural and industrial features, to build its own brand as much as possible, to make this area become the model in national reservoir and lake areas after carrying out right marketing strategy.

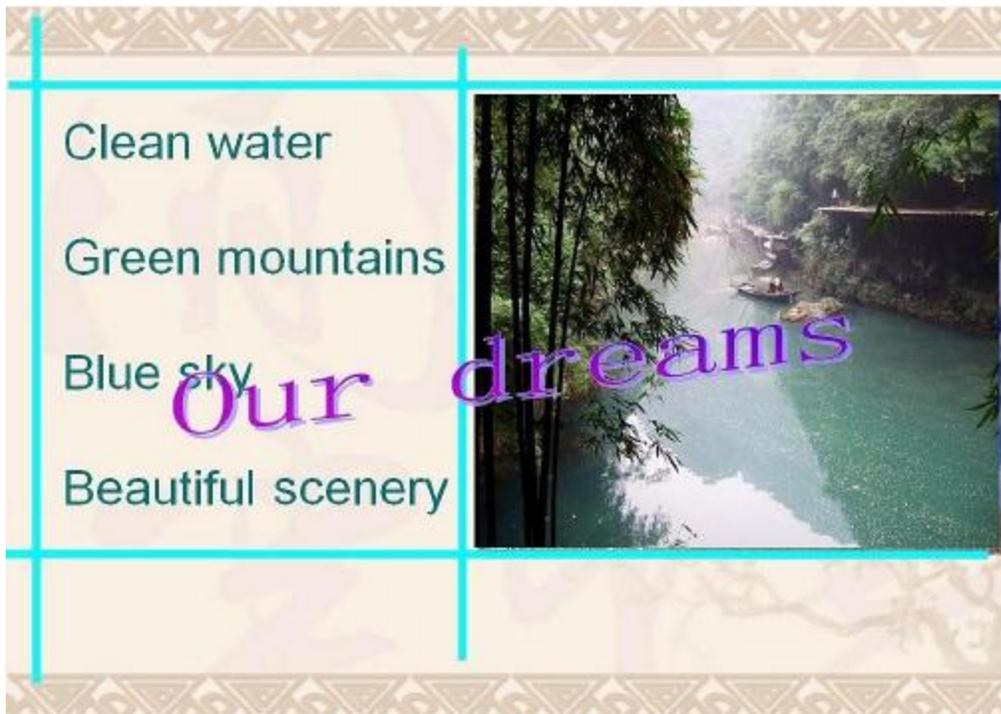


Figure 5 Our dreams

Clean water, green mountains, blue sky, and beautiful scenery. This is natural of the Three Gorges. We look forward to maintaining its natural characteristics, to guide its development with scientific theory of city marketing. The future of the Three Gorges is prosperous, harmonious and more beautiful.

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Identification and Innovation

— *The significance of cultural heritage in city culture positioning*

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Abstract

Cultural heritage in a city compose of a unique symbol for the city itself. It is the valuable basis for a city to search its cultural origin and identify its positioning. Understanding and researching cultural heritage as well as their relationship with the city, and taking advantage of city cultural wealth effectively are necessary actions for highlighting the city's character and promoting sustainable development. This article describes the close relationship between the city and its cultural heritage firstly. On this basis, it discusses the important role of cultural heritage in the cultural context of the city's origin, evolution and characteristics. It also points out prominent effects of cultural heritage in aspects of restoring city identity and getting public recognition. It advocates that cultural heritage should combine with the modern socio-economic activities to achieve mutual promotion among their inheritance, protection, innovation and developing. In the end of the article, it emphasizes the practical significance of cultural heritage innovation for the development of a city in modern society.

Keywords: Cultural heritage, City identity, Cultural positioning

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From ancient to modern times, city always means a combination of population, resources, public facilities as well as commercial, industrial and entertainment events. Whatever a historic or emerging city, its development relies not only the maintenance and promotion from its political and economic power , but also the accumulation and inheritance of culture which carries the soul of a city. In recent years, China's urbanization process accelerated. With the simply and blindly pursuit of “Modernization” and “GDP”, the kind of the city had become stereotyped. City in the cement and glass forest gradually lost her most fundamental and characteristic identity. With the rupture of culture and the loss of identity, how a city can be recognized by people as their spiritual home, and how to keep a city's spirit and vitality sustainable?

Carrying the city's memory and soul, culture heritage is the nature of the identity of a city. Colorful and various cultural heritages make a city gained the independent nature. Meanwhile different cultural characteristics affect a city's different positioning. How to expand the city's economic and cultural influence, how can make a city find its place in variety of modern and future society, and how to reduce the city's hesitation and blind follow during its development process? All these are important issues that face to any city that tries to achieve the inheritance and sustainable development of cultural heritage. It is a worth approach for the promotion of a city's sustainable development to understand and explore the relationship between a city and its cultural heritage scientifically and thoroughly, restore and enrich the city's identity and connotation, define the city's characteristics reasonably, carry forward the city spirit contained in cultural heritage.

1. Inheritance and dependencies- cultural heritage and urban

Cultural heritage is the traces of life in the city. Cities in the beginning of the formation, has been created, integrated, revealed its unique cultural characteristics, and carried forward from generation to generation. As Mr. Shan Jixiang said: “*A city was originated by the historic evolution in the framework of time and space in human history and in the civilization and development process of human society. In a sense, the city itself is a cultural heritage*” (Shan, 2010) . A city is not just a simple collection of buildings, but also a complex and dynamic

integration adapting to the times and the requirement of the people, and storing the evolution of culture. Some cultures disappeared or stopped in the process of spreading, with traces left as signs, marks on the body of the city; some cultures continue to inherit, evolve, like the constantly surging and regenerated blood in the context of the city. The essential attribute and accidental factors as well as the interaction of ethnic, geographical, climate and other internal and external influences, creates a special and close relationship that the city is the carrier of a culture which in turn extend the existence of a city.

Cultural heritage is the concentrated expression and interpretation of urban characteristics. Most of the metropolitans are trying their utmost for the forest of skyscrapers, developed roads and bridges, and commercial communities constructed with the same model, resulted in almost similar residences and even copies of one and another. But before the impact of industrialization, different cities show various appearance and characteristics.. The palace temples and the walls in ancient capitals, fortresses and inns in bordering cities, shops and workshops in commercial towns, ships and docks in canal ports, and even the western-style buildings and shops in the opened and colonial cities in the modern history all represents the unique characteristics of a city.

Cultural heritage represents the real existence of the memory of a city. The memory of the city, no matter glorious or sadness, from the ancient to nowadays, all records in its residences, streets, stones, pavilions, bridges and forts as well as its customs, persuasions, arts and songs, all of which became a special fragment and clue of the memory of the city. The rich and various cultural heritages can evoke the memory of a city and make the city more genuine with unique charming and characteristics. As a collective memory, the cultural heritage of a city reaches far into the daily life of the residences and shapes the lifestyle, aesthetic tastes and values of the people.

2. Identity and recognition- the importance of cultural heritage in the city

History is a mirror. Reviewing history is helpful for the outlook of the future. How was a city originated, how did it reach its prosperity, and how did it decline, what was its importance and influence in the geographic transportation as well as the politic, economic, and military

aspects from the ancient to nowadays, how to identify the characteristics and advantages of a city, and how to absorb its spiritual strength, all of these questions should be considered for a city to position its roles in the modern society and achieve sustainable development.

First, seeking the “origin” of a city’s culture from the origination of the city and its geopolitical environment.

Seeking the origin seems to be a kind of feelings of human nature. Positioning a city with cultural heritage is shown distinctly on the matching of the origin of a city with its cultural heritage. China has a vast territory, there are significant differences on the natural environment and the origin of cities. As the origin of a city always accompanied by the gathering, living and breeding of the people, the culture of a city should in turn integrate the complex factors of nature and human life. It was the various origins of culture that explained the fundamental question about the existence of a city and affected in a wide extend the development of a city.

Capital cities for the central or local governments such as Xi’an, Luoyang took the advantages of political protection, excellent environment, suitable for long-term residence, and collected the resources and operated for a period of time to form a regional economic, transportation and cultural center, with far reaching influence to neighboring regions. Although they were damaged from some extend or even ruined due to the replacement of dynasties, wars and disasters, the cities still maintain their unique cultural heritage with characteristic buildings, walls, temples and the ruins of large public facilities.

Military-oriented cities were mostly located in the boundary and interior dangerous areas, such as Jiuquan, Dunhuang, the military villages and gates along the Great Wall, and the coastal towns established in the Ming Dynasty. There are ruins of defensive facilities such as forts and defense buildings in these cities. And archaeological findings there often include weapons and other military-related artifacts.

Transportation and trade oriented cities include the intersections of road and river transportation as well as posts and towns along them, ports of rivers and coast, and the bays.

Trade, transportation, and visitors made such a place far away from the political center a city and made it prosperous due to the increase of population. There are often quite a lot of ruins and cultural relics of carriages, horses and ships in these cities.

Commerce and crafts oriented cities were formed under related single type of economic requirement. After the Song and Ming Dynasties, many towns were formed due to the development of commodities, such as Jingdezhen and Pingyao. Such emerging industrial cities in the history also recorded the revitalization of the nation. The kilns, workshops, money exchanges, , shops and other historic sites found in the ancient cities, and the old factories, oil wells and other industrial historic sites conserved in the modern cities are visual demonstrations of the rise of cities.

Cities planned under special historic situations, such as Qingdao and Shanghai opened to other countries due to colonialism in the modern history and Shenzhen planned as special economic zone after the opening and reform policy. There are attractive and outstanding cultural heritage due to the integration of Chinese and foreign cultures.

Obviously, cultural heritage which is generated at the beginning of a city and survived and accompanied the evolution of the city are the most primary and realistic explanation of the city. The cultural heritage touches directly the fundamental of the existence of the city, and the origins of the distinctive culture of the city.

Secondly, seeking the “evolution” of the development of city’s culture from the historical changes.

Urban identity can be interpreted by cultural heritage that is also manifested in the heritage of urban cultural evolution. Most of the city’s history in China has a clear evolution, which benefits from voluminous historical documents and the real and rich cultural heritage. Based on the mainstream of political culture in Chinese dynasties and flourished forms of development of local culture, it has never decayed over thousands of years. As the capital cities in history for many times, such as Xi’an, Luoyang, Nanjing, Beijing, etc., cultural connotation and extension experience with large and small changes due to the changing times, but culture mainline is still

extended from generation to generation within the city. From the point of view of existing cultural heritage, it confirms this point. For example, Beijing was designated as the capital of the Yuan Dynasty with the overall urban planning, although the Ming and Qing dynasties made some changes, the location of imperial palace, city axis and other basic urban planning mostly inherited the system of the Yuan Dynasty , therefore, today we can still see some remains of the Great Capital of the Yuan Dynasty of seven hundred years ago. These stacked layers of culture makes the city heritage more and more heavy and calm, no matter how time changes, she has been able to accommodate more diverse culture with a broad mind.

Medium and small cities, due to their urban type, size, grade, geographic location and other reasons, may decline after the prosperous period. For example, Handan once served as the ancient capital of Zhao in the Warring States Period, and also successively as the capitals of Cao and Wei, respectively, Ye City being constructed, and reestablished as the capital in the Northern Qi Dynasty, as China's political, economic, cultural and religious center in a very long time. However, after the Tang Dynasty, it gradually became mediocre, just famous for Cizhou kiln factory. In recent years, Handan becomes a single economic form of industrial city due to coal mining. From a well-known metropolis into a featureless prefecture-level city, for this phenomenon, there are many examples in China. In order to retrieve these cities' glorious identity of the past, and to highlight its individuality, it needs to focus on the city's cultural heritage to restore and make full of their city connotations. Compared with single, limited industrial resources, intrinsic driving force of survival and development of a city is her timeless, hereditary cultural evolution and inner spirit.

Therefore, in terms of cultural change of cities, those with long history can highlight its richness, inheritance; those with short period of prosperity, also have to complete its historical evolution, pursue its prosperous era, and restore the most distinctive identities, which have profound implications for the future development of the cities.

Again, seeking the "characteristics" of city's culture from the major historical society events.

The major historical society event is a mark of cultural heritage for the city's identity. The charm of some cities is derived from that she is a witness to historical change and social development milestone. For example, Hubei Chibi was the scene of the "Battle of Red Cliff"

being prestigious because the battle decided the situation of tripartite confrontation of Wei, Shu and Wu ; Zunyi in Guizhou province, because of "the Zunyi Conference" in 1935 marking the maturity of the Chinese Communist Party, also becomes a "famous city" in the contemporary history. Today, Chibi battlefield is still discernable, the venue of "the Zunyi Conference" is also well preserved in the city, which marks the precious heritage of cultural characteristics of the city. Compared with those buildings with heavy investment, modern sculpture, they have become the city's best mark, to make the city identity with special significance more eye-catching.

For each city, in order to recognize their own value and position the core spirit and character, it is necessary to explore their own life trajectory, to grasp the pulse of sustainable development, from the origin of city and the historical evolution. Systematic analysis and reconstruction on "origin", "evolution" and "characteristics" of cultural heritage of the cities, is an effective way to go in-depth understanding and develop the city's cultural heritage, and reshape urban identity. Accurate grasp of urban cultural identity lays a good foundation for obtaining widespread public recognition, and positioning the direction of development of urban culture. The obtainment of "recognition" is an important safeguard to establish a good image of urban culture and expand urban brand culture for the external, help foster consensus to the internal, and obtain a powerful spiritual motivation and intellectual support of the city's economic and social development. Being fully aware of the prominent role of the cultural heritage on the interpretation of the identity of city, contributes to the city's reunification of the external image and internal spirit, in order to obtain a stable, lasting and comprehensive development.

For example, Pingdingshan is well known due to the rise of the coal industry, but its urban culture is somewhat bleak. In recent years, archaeological excavations have opened a door to history and culture for this city. The revelation of city site and discovery of large cemetery of Zhou, makes the era of urban civilization of Pingdingshan much earlier, and unearthed jade and inscriptions on bronze further confirm the existence of "Ying State"— an ancient kingdom with "Eagle" as a totem (It is the same as "Eagle" in classical Chinese) . The exploration of the "Eagle" culture not only fits the people's feelings of looking for origin, also enhances the cultural advantages of Pingdingshan, in addition, eagle's image and characteristics are exactly in line with enterprising spirit and local character of industrial cities. It can be said that spiritual heritage with "Eagle" as the theme opens up new horizons to the cultural development of

Pingdingshan, while this ancient and real city qualities are bound to get more recognition by common people.

3 · Inheritance and Innovation — contemporary significance and development of city cultural heritage

Cultural heritage is a valuable material and spiritual wealth left by our ancestors, which is cultural foundation of sustainable urban development and inexhaustible source of power. On cultural heritage, in the past, we talked more about protection. Due to lack of comprehensive understanding of the meaning and value of cultural heritage, the practices of protection only for the protection remain difficult to expand, in the long run, it is not conducive to cultural heritage and promotion. Therefore, it is very necessary to change the stereotype on cultural heritage. Through making in-depth analysis and mining great value, significance and profound potential of cultural heritage in today's society, and drawing from its traditional spirit and life wisdom, it combines with awareness and protection of cultural heritage, and contemporary social and economic activities, injecting into the modern consciousness and the modern way of life, in order to achieve balance of protection and development in innovation-driven situation.

Cultural heritage should become active constructors of urban identity. On the one hand, cultural heritage provides an important resource for the city brand building , research, mining, and communication on cultural heritage are an innegligible important foundation and effective way to promote urban culture strategy and establish a brand image of the city. On the other hand, cultural heritage can bring tangible and intangible benefits to many aspects of the city. Under the guidance and direction of overall strategy of urban brand, to carry on cultural heritage protection, communication, industrial innovation, and secondary development, etc. can better fulfill its role in modern society value, achieve sustainable development, and promote cultural heritage protection. Communication, innovation and development, and protection of cultural heritage are mutually reinforcing, and rational design and development can achieve positive interaction between the two.

Culture is continued evolution in the process of constant innovation and heritage. Without innovation, culture loses its vitality. We hope to draw enough nutrition from the cultural heritage, instead of blind imitation, copy and conservative behavior. Today's colorful cultural heritage comes from tireless innovation and exploration of ancestors. In order to achieve urban cultural

heritage, it needs to re-examine and explore along the clues of historical evolution, discover and realize the wisdom and truth, and summarize and inherit experience and achievements, so that people can enjoy the city' s unique geographic advantage and cultural features, highlight the characteristics of the city identity and role with a historical perspective, and create spirit inspiration and emotion attribution for the city' s people and make cultural identity and innovation become spiritual power of sustainable development and inexhaustible source of culture to maintain the city.

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