

# Harnessing Place Branding through Cultural Entrepreneurship

Frank M. Go  
Arja Lemmetyinen and  
Ulla Hakala

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'The contents of this insightful book "preach" what Amsterdam marketing practices are: an independent entrepreneurial approach which focuses on cultural icons in a way that motivates millions from across the world to visit the Dutch capital. They are founded on a cohesive public-private partnership strategy designed to maintain a balance between keeping Amsterdam livable for its inhabitants and loveable for its visitors.' – *Frans van der Avert, CEO Amsterdam Marketing*

'The Finnish Government Programme (2011–2015) includes a number of objectives and measures aimed at developing business and entrepreneurship in the creative industries. This effort brings together the policy implementation of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and of the Ministry of Education and Culture in a shared aim to promote the creative economy as part of normal everyday activities. *Harnessing Place Branding through Cultural Entrepreneurship* is relevant here in that it advocates the need to create functional structures to enable cooperation between actors responsible for development, including government ministries, the need for product and service development to help support cultural entrepreneurship and job creation in the creative industries, and the coordination of marketing and branding expertise embedded in creative hubs and places.' – *Petra Tarjanne, Ministerial Adviser on the Creative Economy for the Finnish Ministry of Employment and the Economy*

'The combination of theory and case studies makes this book a record of the state of the art on governance and stakeholder relations. *Harnessing Place Branding through Cultural Entrepreneurship* can be a source of inspiration for the various partners in cultural tourism. When social scientists and policymakers measure these ideas and apply them in their new plan formulation we can develop a more systematic approach. This entails reflecting on ways of cross-fertilizing a range of academic disciplines and practitioner backgrounds to bridge controversial interests and agendas so as to establish the necessary critical mass for effective decision-making.' – *Maria D. Alvarez, Associate Professor, Department of Tourism Administration, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey*

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# Harnessing Place Branding through Cultural Entrepreneurship

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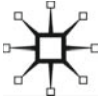
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# Testimonial

*Jyrki Kangas*

Jykri Kangas is one of the founders and the former director of the International Pori Jazz Festival. His overview of the festival's almost 50-year history has given Mr Kangas a grandstand view of how the city of Pori, a modern industrial city, has gained from the boost provided by a cultural production such as the jazz festival, which has led the city to the postmodern era of the 'creative economy' or the 'experience economy' well ahead of the global discussion. 'The book *Harnessing Place Branding through Cultural Entrepreneurship*, with its multifaceted articles around the phenomena of cultural entrepreneurship and place branding, has succeeded in catching the symbiotic relationship between those themes,' says Mr Kangas. He goes on: 'I would recommend this book not only to those who are in the cultural business as entrepreneurs or professionals, but also to those who are in charge for planning and marketing cities and regions. This book also gives interesting case studies for business students at university.' Mr Kangas has been one of the initiators of the launch of a master's programme in Creative Business at the University Consortium in Pori. The programme benefits from his experience both as a musician and as a consultant and adviser to cultural businesses.

# About the Book

This book engages with diverse audiences, the private sector, urban and rural authorities, local and regional public sector officials, consultants and place brand managers, by integrating current knowledge into discussions about place branding and cultural entrepreneurship in a comprehensive way. As both can become easily overwhelming in their multitude of topics, concepts, theories, and examples, this edited volume responds to the great need to present the material in a systematic framework.

The intention is to highlight the need to identify the areas of tension and build bridges to connect the value embedded in culture and entrepreneurship so as to align the goals of business and the public sector for sustainable development.

Since the rise of the Internet, two iron laws have shaped our physical landscape. These laws are, firstly, synchrony, or the necessity to interact with others at the same time, and secondly, co-location, the need to work in the same place with the same people. Pervasive technologies are bringing about a partnership between the material and the digital, and the relationships among humans, machines, and environments are becoming more interdependent.

Solutions do not dwell within today's replication processes; therefore, paraphrasing Mahatma Gandhi, cultural entrepreneurs must be the change they wish to see in the world. With their requisite technical and artistic skills in hand, cultural entrepreneurs face the 'socializing' dilemma, which has encroached on focused autonomous practice, whereby interruptions and distractions may undermine the ability of the traditional site of artistic practice. But socializing is a necessary entrepreneurial tool for bridging attitudinal obstacles, learning, and deploying ways to engage a disengaged culture and make audiences relate more effectively to their surroundings, thereby contributing to collaboration in an open and virtual setting on projects to discover the creative opportunities that contribute to social cohesive place brands that nestle in the unknown.

At the same time, the content of this edited volume makes clear that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach is likely to result in failure, as every place brand situation is unique. The authors represent a wide diversity of countries, which adds depth and richness to the book's global coverage

of empirical elements, which goes beyond the normative American, British and Western European case material so often utilized in these sorts of books.

A final defining feature of the edited volume is that it seeks to steer clear of simplistic descriptions of the cultural entrepreneurship–place branding association. Overall, this book provides innovative ways of looking at creativity, place making/meaning, image, branding, entrepreneurship and many other timely concepts. The empirical contributions which follow in this book provide case materials that can be used not only for teaching and research but also by practitioners.

## **Objectives**

- To develop awareness of the contemporary relevance of the concept of cultural entrepreneurship to the process of harnessing common powers for place brand formation;
- To present creativity as a vehicle to knowing differently as opposed to knowing better, enabling the adaptation of a value proposition aimed at leveraging local participation and audience engagement; and
- To highlight how bottom-up cultural entrepreneurship acts as a mechanism for coordinating collaboration and integrated communication so as to foster agility expressed in the ‘right’ mixture of efficiency and equity.

## **Contents and Structure**

Four separate parts analyse current issues of relevance to place brand managers, community leaders and other stakeholders who dedicate themselves to cultivating and coordinating relationships that link support activities and cultural entrepreneurial elements to creative industries. These are rooted in culture, founded on collaborative partnership focused on revitalizing brands and improving the quality of life for residents, and the attractiveness for visitors and investors. In its final format, the edited volume contains contributions set out in the following parts:

1. Part I explores the association between culture and placebranding within a theoretical framework in relation to the arts, introducing the main issues, challenges, and approaches, theoretical and practical, addressed in remainder of the volume.

2. Part II presents cases to consider the tensions between the autonomous practices of cultural entrepreneurship on the one hand and the collective practices mobilized around the placebranding process to raise awareness among stakeholders; give them a joint identity; make them more effective in their relationship to their surroundings, and help them deal with challenges with regard to enhancing creative production, knowledge sharing and innovation, which are preconditions for urban regeneration.
3. Part III interrogates empirically and theorises the coordination of cooperation, marketing communications, e-governance, and the role of branding in culture-led neighbourhood regeneration.

The discussion draws to a close with further intellectual debates on harnessing the place branding–cultural entrepreneurship association, draws implications and considers opportunities for further research and theorization in the discipline.

# Organization of the Book

## Part I Place Branding: Multidisciplinary Principles

In a globalizing society, regions are becoming more reliant on interregional flows of trade, tourism, labour and resources. As a result, the patterns of interactions between regions are experiencing a dramatic shift in their centre of gravity. The location and market conduct of cultural entrepreneurs harbour the potential to influence the spatial structure wherein processes unfold. Cultural entrepreneurship can flourish only when political institutions are inclusive, enabling the creation of virtuous circles of innovation, economic expansion and more widely held wealth. Therefore, knowledge of this mutual relationship is relevant to comprehending the functioning of the cultural economy, building a place brand culture as opposed to a brand logo and capturing different scientific disciplinary 'readings' in this book which contribute to interrelated tensions.

Part I presents several experiences that introduce the main issues, challenges and approaches, theoretical and practical, addressed in the remainder of the volume.

In *Chapter 1*, Marinda Scaramanga explores from a 'generative thinking' perspective the question whether there is a possible reciprocal strategic fit in terms of place brand association and important cultural stakeholders. Within a theoretical framework she laments how the disparate viewpoints of players with different backgrounds and disciplines render the internalization of the harnessing of placebranding through cultural entrepreneurial approach difficult due to the tensions between explorative and exploitative activities.

In *Chapter 2*, Alice Loy interrogates the issue as to whether or not there exists potential for a shared strategic vision for the formation of the identity within the value chain composed of 'individual' cultural entrepreneurs and the agency of others – particularly those who make up the 'collective' identity in practice. In her analysis of the tensions between autonomy and the collective, Loy draws on Giddens' theory of structuration (1993) and focuses on 'agency' as a principle to comprehend what these differences in these identity aspirations, claims and beliefs mean and what we may expect to occur when these differences become visible and what the outcomes of the leading social structures aimed at cultural innovation and preservation processes are likely to be.

From a strategic perspective on global convergence versus local diversity, Edward Kasabov in *Chapter 3* argues that missing in the literature are intellectual debates that challenge the aforementioned tendencies in the literature. He argues that place-making and place-branding should be viewed as outcomes, entities and processes that are far from unproblematic; rather, they are deeply and fiercely contested, involve power and control issues, and require stakeholder theorizations which recognize the political, disciplinary and conflict-ridden dynamics involved.

Focusing on the regional policy level, Kari Ilmonen (*Chapter 4*) considers the role of culture as a 'medium' in regional development work, involving changes and tensions. His paper is concerned with a fourth tension which relates to internal versus external perspectives on harnessing cultural entrepreneurship for place branding purposes, among others. Ilmonen refers to the 'cultural turn' in regional development that took place in the early 1990s and has been clearly in evidence in strategic and managerial discussions at the local and regional levels since the beginning of the new millennium.

## Part II Individual Place Case Studies

From an organizational purpose viewpoint, Philip Speranza (*Chapter 5*) draws on the literatures about place branding and architecture to analyse city planning methods. He interviews city planners and use academic design research at the scale of urban spaces to assess to what extent bottom-up planning strategies can be successfully integrated in a partnership arrangement involving the scope and content of place branding and the context of the case of Barcelona's 22@ information activities district, comprised of neighbourhood urban spaces, existing cultural events and materiality.

From a policy formation viewpoint, Maria Della Lucia and Mariangela Franch (*Chapter 6*) present a framework which addresses a crucial question in policy planning: what specific organizational capabilities does the province of Trentino possess that would make its government better suited to a culture-led regeneration strategy than its competitors? The case studies on hand represent the sources of possible areas and processes of tensions that influence perspectives on how the provincial government could best pursue a form of equitable governance central to developing the cultural reputation of the district under investigation, both at the national and the international level.

In *Chapter 7*, Kenneth Wardop explores from a change perspective the linking issues and roles of stakeholders in the 'maturity' phase of



cultural place branding: Edinburgh – Scotland’s Inspiring Capital and World Festival City. He applies the case study method to comprehend ways by which Edinburgh might maximise its destination development opportunities, build on its distinctive ‘cultural offer’, and how the same defines the Edinburgh visitor experience, brand positioning and place marketing.

Cecilia Pasquinelli and Nicola Bellini (*Chapter 8*) write from a network level perspective, addressing whether the power of soft infrastructure holds potential for improving the productive capacity of regional entrepreneurial culture and innovativeness towards an evolutionary perspective. Focusing on the Italian region of Tuscany, comprised of a variety of regional circumstances, the authors suggest the need to reframe debates on regional development by problematizing the potential relationships between entrepreneurship, innovation and soft infrastructure.

In *Chapter 9*, Eli Avraham takes a national-level perspective to explore the cultural diplomacy and entrepreneurship association as a means to restoring Israel’s positive image and its people among audiences worldwide. Drawing on qualitative content analysis, he emphasizes how news reports, publications and newsletters of the foreign and tourism ministries, and case studies from the academic-professional literature provide potential communication lines, linkages and synergies for exploitation within the fields of international relations and cultural diplomacy.

*Chapter 10*, written by Jan Suchacek and Pavel Herot, explores the theme of ‘changing industry context’, in which the authors offer a historical overview of the development of the city of Ostrava, traditionally nick named the ‘steel heart of Czechoslovakia’. The authors discuss the shift towards the ‘industrial image 2.0’, a phase in regional development characterized by connections with the concomitant rise of cultural entrepreneurship across the region, and they conclude that regional branding is a relevant vehicle for achieving governance objectives, closely linked to accountability structures.

### **Part III Particular Place Brand Themes**

Focusing on the network-level perspective, Arja Lemmetyinen (*Chapter 11*) draws on the empirical findings gathered in the national Case Culture Finland. This project aims at the value co-creation processes through coordinating cooperative networks, including the actors in tourism and cultural businesses. Her critical examination of the epistemological foundations of harnessing cultural entrepreneurship for effective place branding provides some of the missing reflexivity in modern

managerial methodology. With her study, Lemmetyinen flags the need for a theory of creative interaction aimed at building the infrastructure along which relation-specific knowledge between business counterparts can be constantly updated and fed back in iterative cycles of learning.

From a strategic thinking view point, Ulla Hakala (*Chapter 12*) connects the fields of communication, strategic control and branding within integrated communication (IC) processes via the 5Cs (consistency, continuity, commitment, coordination, and content). Her critical literature review forms the foundation for developing a systematic framework for analysis. She proposes that the strategic control and integration of marketing and IC processes via the 5Cs foster synergy, one-voice benefits and profitability, and enhance the outcomes of place branding.

In *Chapter 13*, Frank Go, Mariapina Trunfio, Angelo Presenza, and Maria Della Lucia discuss, from an inter-organizational perspective, the challenges and implications for local identity and cultural entrepreneurship encountered in the process of e-governance-based smart place brand building. The authors introduce the e-governance model as a participative decision-making platform, mediated by Web 2.0 tools, and intended to foster a virtuous cycle of dynamism which redefines local identity and cultural entrepreneurship relationships. Local communities able to bridge the Web 2.0 divide in support of harnessing place branding through e-governance can 'ride the waves' of the intensity of tourist social media use, thereby giving cultural entrepreneurs access to customers which its competitors lack and generating the common power needed to claim the status of 'smart place'.

Stephen Little (*Chapter 14*) writes from a strategy formation perspective and focuses on one of the central questions in the theory and practice of place branding: how are change processes formed, implemented and changed, within the place making for cultural entrepreneurship framework? Little focuses his observations about future research on process in emergent practice more on the need to gain visibility in the global economy contemporary place branding. This often involves the construction of landmark structures, frequently invoking cultural credentials. He points to an extensive literature on the lengthy history of architectural symbolism which can be applied in support of state and metropolitan status and legitimacy.

# Notes on Contributors

## Editors

**Frank Go** is Professor Emeritus and former Bewetour chair in the Marketing Department of the Rotterdam School of Management. He served as a professor at Hong Kong Polytechnic University, the University of Calgary and Ryerson University. He received his PhD from the Faculty of Economics and Econometrics, University of Amsterdam. Drawing on marketing and strategy insights he has (co-)authored and published articles in the *Journal of Brand Management*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *European Spatial Research Policy*, *Journal of Research in Marketing and Entrepreneurship*, *Journal of Travel Research*, *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management*, *Information Technology & Tourism*, *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, *Tourism Review*. He is co-author of *Place Branding* (2009), and co-edited with Robert Govers the *International Place Branding Yearbook* series (2010, 2011, and 2012).

**Arja Lemmetyinen** currently works at the Turku School of Economics, University of Turku, as a senior researcher and is responsible for the Master's programs of the unit. Her research interest lies firstly in network management and value (co)-creation in networks. Her dissertation, 'The Coordination of Cooperation in Tourism Business Networks', was published in 2010. She is interested in research on place branding and brand management. Thirdly, her research interest lies in cultural tourism and creative economy. Together with Professor Frank Go and D.Sc. Ulla Hakala, she co-edited a special issue of the *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* in 2013. The articles in the special issue were presented at the Cultural Entrepreneurship Conference held in Pori, Finland, in 2012 and hosted by the Turku School of Economics. Her articles have appeared in *Annual Place Branding Yearbook*, *Journal of Brand Management*, *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, *Tourism Management and Tourism Review*.

**Ulla Hakala** is Lecturer in Marketing at the Turku School of Economics, University of Turku, Finland. Her research interests lie in marketing communications and branding. Lately, she has conducted research on

city branding, country image, brand equity and TOMA, brand heritage and cultural heritage, and cultural differences in brand perceptions. She has published articles in *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, and *Tourism Review*, as well as in the 2010 series *Place Branding Yearbook*. She is a co-editor of *Names in the Economy – Cultural Prospects* (2013). The same year, she co-edited a special issue in the *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, together with Frank Go and Arja Lemmetyinen.

## Contributors

**Eli Avraham** is a media professor in the Department of Communication, University of Haifa, Israel. He has published articles on place branding, destinations' image restoration and heritage promotion in professional journals. He is also the author and co-author of eight books and monographs. These include *Campaigns for Promoting and Marketing Cities in Israel* (2003), *Behind Media Marginality: Coverage of Social Groups and Places in the Israeli Press* (2003), *Media Strategies for Marketing Places in Crisis: Improving the Image of Cities, Countries and Tourist Destinations* (2008), *America in JeruSALEm: Globalization, National Identity, and Israeli Advertising* (2009). He has delivered keynote speeches and invited talks for various organizations and has won an award from the International Communication Association for his research on Israeli advertising. *Media Strategies for Marketing Places in Crisis* was included in 2009 in the '100 most essential books in public relations list' by *Communication Director* magazine. Prof. Avraham has been involved in several branding projects of cities, countries, tourist destinations and higher education institutions.

**Nicola Bellini** is Professor of Economics and Business at the Institute of Management of the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, and director of The Galileo Galilei Institute in Chongqing and co-director of the Confucius Institute of Pisa (Italy). He is a former director of IRPET, the Institute for the Regional Economic Planning of the Tuscany Region, and a fellow of the Regional Studies Association. He is author of numerous international publications on regional economic policies, innovation policies, real services, place marketing and place branding.

**Maria Della Lucia** is Assistant Professor of Economics and Management at the University of Trento in Italy. Her current research interests include local and regional development, destination management and governance, sustainable tourism and wellbeing, sustainable mobility, event

management and marketing, and economic impact analysis as investment decision-making tools. Tourism and culture are her main interest domains, and her field research focuses primarily on fragmented and community-based areas, particularly Alpine and rural destinations and small cities. She has authored and co-authored journal articles in *Tourism Management*, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Journal of Information Technology and Tourism* and *Journal of Agricultural Studies* and book chapters in volumes published by Palgrave Macmillan, Routledge, Emerald Publishing, and ESV Erich Schmidt Verlag.

**Mariangela Franch** is Full Professor of Marketing at the University of Trento in Italy. In 1997 she founded the interdisciplinary eTourism Research Group, <http://etourism.economia.unitn.it>, which brings competencies in tourism management, marketing, environmental economics, information and communication technologies and statistics to the analysis of the tourist sector in Alpine regions. She is a member of the Doctoral Programme in Local Development and Global Dynamics at the University of Trento, of the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism (AIEST), and of the International Federation for Information Technology and Tourism (ITIT). Her main research activities focus on the decision-making processes and behavioural profiles of tourists, management models of small and medium-sized enterprises, governance of local tourist systems and the use of ICT and of web marketing by the main actors in the tourist sector. She has published widely in the areas of tourism marketing and management, with over 100 publications in national and international journals (*Journal of Information Technology & Tourism*, *Tourism Review*), government research reports and monographs.

**Kari Ilmonen** is Research Director (and a former professor of Rural Studies) at the University of Jyväskylä–Kokkola University Consortium Chydenius, Finland, where he directed the Unit for Social Sciences and the Social Research Team. His doctoral dissertation, titled ‘Culture as a Regional Resource: Dominant and Marginal Cultural Policy Discourses’ was published in 1998. In 2005 he was nominated Adjunct Professor of Regional Studies in the Department of Regional Studies of the University of Vaasa. His interests are focused on Nordic cooperation, mainly on the theme of cultural policy. Ilmonen leads in Kokkola a social sciences group of about 15 PhD students. This graduate school provides regular research seminars, methodological seminars and personal supervision for the students. He has been responsible for a study module titled ‘The Capitals of Rural Culture’ as part of the Rural Studies network, which is

a national multidisciplinary university network in Finland. He also is a poet and a rock musician.

**Edward Kasabov's** earlier work revolved around notions of clusters, regions and regional development, modelling and mapping high-technology clusters, and identifying factors behind cluster success. This has now been replaced with an interest in the lack of growth and competitiveness, notions of periphery, historical development of regions, difficulties faced by early-stage locations, entrepreneurship and rural entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial failure, cooperation and co-operatives in rural areas. In the area of marketing, his research focuses on relationships, service provision and collaborative work with Alex Warlow on a new theory of compliance businesses. His work has been published in *Regional Studies*, *European Planning Studies*, *European Journal of Marketing*, *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, *Environment and Planning*, *Business History*, *MITS Sloan Management Review*, *Forbes*, and *Journal of Marketing Theory & Practice*, among others, as well as books and invited contributions to edited volumes, handbooks, practitioner reports and encyclopaedias.

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as finalist and third-place honours for the Market Value International Design Competition for downtown Charlottesville, Virginia. In his research, teaching, and design, he seeks to understand how design can support urban participation across time while it also reflects and strengthens local identity. To that end he investigates methods of digital and analogue media, including drawing and diagramming to integrate open-ended frameworks for participation, testing new systems of future possibilities.

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# Introduction

*Frank M. Go, Arja Lemmetyinen and Ulla Hakala*

## Why this book?

In the 17th century, militiamen had the duty of maintaining law and order on Amsterdam's streets, but by the time a group of militiamen, the Kloveniers, commissioned Rembrandt to do a collective portrait in 1642, their job had become largely ceremonial. Such paintings were typical, but usually just dull lines of faces. However, Rembrandt took this genre and produced instead, an extraordinary picture full of movement and life. *The Night Watch* was quickly recognized as a great achievement and became the symbol of the new Dutch nation (Bohm-Duchen, 2002).

Fast-forward. US president Barack Obama called an emergency meeting of the Group of 7 industrial nations, who joined the Nuclear Security Summit hosted by the Netherlands. As these world leaders gathered in the Netherlands, Mr. Obama's trip was overshadowed by the actions of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, whose country's forces had seized another Ukrainian military base in Crimea. While in Holland, Mr. Obama visited the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam on 24 March 2014. After touring the museum with Mark Rutte, the Dutch prime minister, Mr. Obama said in a brief statement: "Europe and America are united in our support of the Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian people." Mr. Obama made the remarks while standing in front of *The Night Watch*. Mr. Obama called it "easily the most impressive backdrop I've had for a press conference" (<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/3136759/posts>).

The above vignette illustrates the powerful interaction between the life of a masterpiece by a world-renowned cultural entrepreneur and media practice within the contemporary brand reputation culture, in which the consumption of images has become increasingly significant

as a space for place branding, a medium that gives cultural entrepreneurs incentive for the development of active engagement in collective social and economic life.

As the competition for audiences intensifies, branding has become entangled with everyday life, and is practiced by companies, but applied to countries, cities, museums, and the arts, sectors that want to rebrand themselves. For example, an industrial strategy for the creative industries aims to establish 'regional centres of excellence and creative hubs' (Straw and Warner, 2014: 33), but these lack coherence at the strategic level in the United Kingdom (*ibid.*, 39), while the articulation and valuation of the links between the arts and cultural industries and the commercial creative industries appear to be lacking (*ibid.*: 39), as well as a sound case for branding the relationship between the regional centres of excellence and the commercial community.

However, such association is not easy to achieve (see e.g. Govers and Go, 2009; Go and Govers, 2010; 2011; 2012), and development agencies often end up pushing the entrepreneurs to 'overextend themselves' by fully recognizing their constraints. This book is the result of a partnership of the Dutch and Finnish editors, and a follow-up to the Special Issue: Cultural Entrepreneurship Conference<sup>1</sup>, *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* (Go, Hakala and Lemmetyinen, 2013).

Against the backdrop of creative destruction (Schumpeter, 1942: 83), including trends such as the cost crisis while the productivity of live classical music performance has not increased since the 19th century (Baumol and Bowen, 1966); automation which puts 42% of US jobs at risk (Frey and Osborne, 2013); technology turns businesses from newspapers to music and retailing on their heads, which result in victors and victims.

The editors and contributing authors to this volume are motivated by the argument that a rethink of strategy enables synthesis by way of harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship; offers new directions for the revitalization of local economies and communities. Particularly, when the local actors feel a sense of urgency to address complex business and government challenges within a design, which leverages key elements embedded in the interfacing of cultural-, economic- and technological systems. Their combination in a system is necessary to coordinate the stakeholders of the creative industries, and communicate their view on values such as freedom of expression, equity, mutual social respect and sustainability.

The market is highly dynamic and competitive, especially for actors who are situated in the renewed growth stage of the value chain life cycle.

The harnessing of branding places, including nations, urban and rural regions, through the intervention of cultural entrepreneurship, particularly during the current phase of government retrenchment, offers great promise for representing culture centrally and indivisibly from 'place'. The integration of communication and coordination mechanisms serves as a precondition for actors to operationalize the determinants of success and ultimately achieve desired performance outcomes expressed in terms of wealth creation and well-being.

### **Theoretical strategy perspectives**

At the core of every scientific debate there are multiple perspectives that shape these debates. The questions of branding urban- and regional areas as well as nations are entangled with divisions of space-place, cultural and governance differences between 'us' and 'them'. These issues result in fundamental tensions between opposites like the identity of self, group and representations of place.

Thoughtful members of the academic community are increasingly arguing that the concepts and tools of analysis that formed the backbone of the marketing literature during its major growth phase need a basic re-evaluation in order to pave the ways for new ideas. Nakata (2003), for example, laments that many marketing studies treat culture theory as static and ahistorical, assuming national and regional markets to be culturally homogeneous. More recently, several marketing scholars have begun to consider the cultural and market transformations triggered by the flows of people, ideas, media, finance and technologies (Appadurai, 1990). They call for more research on the impact of contextual factors on consumption behaviour and corporate marketing conduct into the consequences of new cultural dynamics taking place in societies where the borders between cultures are becoming increasingly porous (Briley, 2009; Craig and Douglas, 2006; Nakata, 2003; Yaprak, 2008).

There are also calls for a discourse as a fresh and theoretically informed way to explore the leadership of place branding studies (Mabey and Freeman, 2012: 43), away from approaches which draw on corporate branding theory in a 'unilateral functionalist manner' (43), thereby taking a consumption or production orientation analytical perspective (Kavaratis and Ashworth, 2005; Hankinson, 2007) for traditional prescriptions advocating formal planning and analysis. Such thinking can lead to the interests of managers within a tourist destination management organization, for example, in fostering the cultural

exchange hegemonically to reproduce and reinforce structures of dominance (Mabey and Freeman, 2014: 40).

Despite all these signposts for rethinking the branding of places, there has been relatively little accumulation of theory. Managers and entrepreneurs in today's hypercompetitive environment are engaged in branding experiments without the guidance of appropriate theories underpinning their decision-making. Furthermore, one of the weakest elements in community-based cultural resource publications concerns their sole preoccupation with the supply side of the creative market.

In this edited volume, the contributors reflect on new directions in the branding of places. The aim is to contribute to strategy synthesis, by considering the association between the place brand and entrepreneurship with the cultural context, instead of increasing further fragmentation resulting from dichotomies. Within this framework, Volberda and Elfring (2001) explored three modes of strategy synthesis:

- redrawing the enterprise boundaries (alliances, networking, physical vs. virtual chain), based on the boundary school which considers strategy as a boundary decision and is concerned with the issues: where to draw the boundary and how to manage across the divide;
- developing dynamic capabilities (routines and core competences, unique resources), based on the dynamic capabilities school which considers strategy as a collective learning process aimed at developing distinctive capabilities that are hard to imitate;
- discovering new viable strategy configurations (aligning strategy, structure, systems and culture for competitive advantage), based on the configurational school which conceptualizes organizations as coherent clusters of characteristics and behaviours, and in this way serves as one way to integrate the claims of the different schools

## **The role of cultural entrepreneurship**

This introduction examines cultural entrepreneurship as a field of research and an area of professional practice. On a more generic level the main characteristic of entrepreneurship is that it originates bottomup, from private individuals. Cultural entrepreneurs can be considered as individuals imbued with a 'pioneering spirit' in that they possess the capability to translate vision into concrete practice.

Who is the entrepreneur? Gartner (1988) suggests that it does not matter who entrepreneurs are as long as they create organizations, that is, the personality characteristics of the entrepreneur are ancillary to the

entrepreneur's behaviour. Gartner's perspective can be described as the behavioural approach to entrepreneurship. Due to information asymmetry, markets are in a disequilibrium (Akerlof, 1970). Unpredictable markets raise another question: why do people want to start and lead an enterprise? Baron's (2004) trait approach offers another perspective which suggests that entrepreneurs are motivated by self-efficacy. They are confident that they can be successful in using their own talent to pull together the necessary resources to pursue market opportunities even if objective data suggest otherwise. Shepperd et al. (1996) refer to this trait as 'suffering' from a severe optimistic bias.

While optimism is an important entrepreneurial trait, Maccoby (2000), among others, points to the potentially destabilizing effects of charismatic leaders who are in a rush for change, and the negative effects of charismatic individuals, including grandiosity, distrust, suspicion and paranoia. Within the framework of the creative industries, cultural entrepreneurs must create out of diverse networks an organization for collective action. This implies the need to recombine 'existing strategies, structures and surprises' (Ciborra, 1996). Moreover, they face a dual challenge: first, focus on their personal ambition and ways of expressing their individual artistry; second, harness place making and branding in a manner which is representative of all interests concerned.

This introduction draws on the findings presented in the special issue of the Cultural Entrepreneurship Conference (CEC) in Pori, Finland (Go, Hakala and Lemmetyinen, 2013) to convey the great significance of networked cultural heritage and its influence in harnessing the common powers of stakeholders to improve regional prosperity, especially from a place branding perspective. In this context, Mittilä and Lepistö (2013) conceptualize the role of artists in place branding within the context of networks and stakeholders' collaboration. They emphasize the pivotal role of rural tourism in keeping the countryside alive in the face of cultural and technological change within an urbanizing world. Their finding that the direct and indirect roles that artists play in the construction of the identity of place coincide to a certain extent with Landry's (2000: 173–176) creative city approach which is rooted in long-standing cultural traditions. Vuorinen and Vos pose (2013) the fundamental question concerning how to build long-term commitment among a group of stakeholders, who lack the data which is abundantly available to their urban counterparts. They conclude that the landscape plays a significant role in the branding of rural regions.

Lemmetyinen, Go and Luonila (2013) use a multilayered content analysis to gain insight into what happens when the aspirations embedded

within the identity of Pori, a relatively small community, interact with the realities of international decisions, and, more specifically, their impact on the content of the Pori Jazz Festival in relation to the city and its audience.

The study by Hakala and Öztürk(2013) discusses the elements of branding a city, highlighting that even though place branding is not a one-man show, enterprising, visionary people who display commitment to the process can still make a difference. While territorial gastronomic branding (Gordin and Trabskaya, 2013) can be a significant component of the attractiveness of a tourist destination, embedded in the richness of the complexity of place within the public domain (Landry, 2000: 175), the culinary arts are not included as a subsector of the United Kingdom's creative industries. Many towns and cities rely on universities. Both the former and the latter are at risk of disruptive innovation.

Within a copycat environment, there exist tensions between a distinct brand identity and harmonization. Suomi, Lemmetyinen and Go (2013) argue that the concept of place offers a new component in the higher education context. The place – a higher education association – offers a foundation for new institutional developments aimed at coordinating positive government-academic-business relationships.

## **The creative industries context**

Cultural entrepreneurs operate in the complex landscape of the creative industries, and their interaction can be viewed as a goal to pursue or as development roles played by actors. This logic leads us to propose that cultural entrepreneurs have the ability to draw on tangible and intangible cultural factors, to harness stakeholder collaboration to create value propositions which attract audiences. Three overlapping perspectives appear that give affordance to connecting public sector initiatives and private sector resources for competitiveness.

The first concerns the perspective of individual artists, whose practice was fixed traditionally to one location. Technology-mediated inter-individual networks and practices enable new strategies which seek to reframe and reinterpret 'global symbols to establish local meaning versions of these symbols and in that way produce greater variety of cultural meanings' (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard, 2007: 139). This position is founded on the practice-based based perspective of knowledge, which assumes all knowledge or knowing is personal. Thus, the embodiment of cultural production in social life presents a stage for individual artists committed to responsible values, ways of expressing what it means to

be human, celebrate differences, negotiate symbiosis among the diversity of ethnicity, lifestyle and aspirations for the future (Stevenson, 2002). The shift in power from large media enterprises that manipulate demand to networks of adaptive local entrepreneurs who jointly create value propositions with an audience signals a defining change in market structure.

The second concerns a commercial perspective, linked to how cultural commodities such as art, fashion, novels, and music, live and mediated, are being consumed as experiences and how these affect both macro- and micro levels of social life. The duality caused by the simultaneous concentration and diversity in production (Dowd, 2004) leads to competing logics in pluralistic organizations with multiple goals that are hard to manage. For instance, the forms of production that are employed originate from the creative goal of an individual artist that must be reconciled somehow with the economic goal of a managing director (Denis, Lamothe, and Langley, 2001; Leenders and Waarts, 2003, cited by Bhansing, 2013); alternatively the economic and artistic functions can be embodied in one person. But ultimately cultural organizations face highly divergent demand, and while their key goals might be hard to combine and in some cases be mutually exclusive (Delmestri, Montanari and Usai, 2005, cited by Bhansing, 2013), they must adapt a structure enabling them to establish a critical mass in order to

- (re-)combine the creation, production and distribution of cultural products in newer forms of institutional development, including business, academic and government collaboration to create seed capital for small and medium-sized enterprises;
- understand how public goods in the local cultural domain are associated with the role of the private sector, which is primarily accountable to shareholder interests, and;
- deal with cases that are protected by intellectual rights, which raises an issue of import: what organizational form is most appropriate for a specific expression of artistic and creative activities that could be represented centrally and indivisibly through the branding of places, that is, cities, regions and nations?

The third is a participatory perspective best expressed by individuals and groups who wonder how to cope with the limitations of their creativity and understanding of the surrounding more crowded, more interconnected, more volatile and more unstable world.

With uncertainties and risks culminating among others from social issues such as poverty, inequality, cultural, differences and economic turbulence trigger feelings of uncertainty within society. These have been exacerbated by recent high profile corporate scandals which have fuelled consumer cynicism over the motives of companies and their executives. Severe reductions in the economy, including employment opportunities, dwindling investments in education and the infrastructure and the raising of taxes have led to public apprehensions and a sense of meaninglessness. As a result of the alleged alienation individuals suffer in modern societies, they are motivated to seek nostalgia. But the consumption of cultural objects hardly allows in-depth exposure to the historical context. This has led some people to resist the movement towards the branding of the nation (Olins, 2002: 214).

Finally, the participatory perspective is also justified because it enables reflection on our findings, which can be shared with other researchers, government and business to further map the role of cultural entrepreneurs in their practice of co-creating public-private value propositions. Here we draw attention to the fact that, so far, there exists no typology which identifies the role of cultural entrepreneurs relative to the roles of public- and private stakeholders. Such a typology would be helpful in painting a more complete picture. First, it would show how the various roles could be optimally coordinated in ways that would serve to improve competitiveness. Second, it would advance the understanding of what parallel changes need to be made at both the public- and the private sector level that would be conducive to harnessing the powers of government, academia, civil society and industry in creative and innovative ways. Third, it would identify in the fields of art, fashion, music and media the players who could perform an intermediary role as a broker between business partners in the areas, for example, of media and music production.

From an ethical perspective, the creative industries can have a 'destructive' impact. Big producers that have been involved in a high-profile scandal are Paramount Pictures, Twentieth Century Fox, in association with James Cameron. This trio erected a real and impenetrable wall between the production of the film *Titanic* and the surrounding environment, with devastating results for the people of Popotla, Mexico: it destroyed their traditional way of life (Coombe and Herman, 2001).

Many cultural entrepreneurs display a high level of commitment, but their 'deeds' have remained so far relatively 'invisible' in the market. In this regard an umbrella place brand approach gives cultural entrepreneurs affordance for harnessing the capacity and capability of



stakeholders to help them maintain their integrity and, paradoxically, their independence within the value chain, perceived as distinct from government policies, to tackle, for example, social issues, thereby reinforcing their credibility.

In summary, any study on the culture-brand association needs to acknowledge that understanding the structure, growth and dynamism interaction with various actors of the creative industries tends to have division-forming dimensions. Through the production of cultural commodities, live or mediated, the creative industries make places more attractive to visit and in which to reside and invest. Their integrated development, including place branding, contributes to the utilization of their physical, economic, and social assets more efficiently and effectively.

### **Competitive value chain development in sustainable ways**

Value creation processes and forms have changed over time. These can be placed on a life-cycle continuum comprised of various stages, each featuring a dominant model. Much marketing analysis focuses on corporate branding in a unilateral functionalist manner (Mabey and Freeman, 2012), highlighting its hierarchies and mechanisms of control. From this construct flows traditional business strategy organized around competition, a win-lose model, embedded in shareholder thinking, which feeds hard measurement and the protection of quantifiable brand equity. The competition, shareholder-oriented model is situated in the maturity stage. Cooperative strategy is a significant business challenge. The reason is that cooperation in traditional industries tends to be confined to industry associations, which focus on issues of common concern, such as setting common technical standards and whether or not the members of professional bodies comply with ethical norms.

Over the last decades, however, we have witnessed a variety of challenges to traditional business models that are locked into competition-centred thinking and acting. The emerging 'renewed growth stage' of the life cycle has roots, in part, in the transition to digital production and distribution, and the disruption of the revenue and investment mix of the music, film, television content and advertising segments of the creative industries (Straw and Warner, 2014). Keen competition is leading to market fragmentation. Businesses have to aim their new products at smaller market segments, and if they lack dynamic capability to customize service provision, they may find themselves with lower sales and profits.

Motivated customers and entrepreneurs have responded to the above, which challenges the 'renewed growth stage' of the life cycle by upending traditional thinking. They have taken the initiative through new forms of self-regulation, and have become connected and interactive as participants in processes of joint value creation. These developments are reshaping markets, cities and regions, as attested by the following examples.

- The city of Edinburgh (see Wardop, this volume) has learned that cooperation with competitors by drawing on international networks can develop markets and reduce the cost of 'reinventing the wheel' through their involvement in globally distributed projects and work, possibly involving the outsourcing of certain (e.g. administrative) tasks to multi-locations (Fenema, 2002).
- Regions in peripheral zones are commonly perceived as places of lesser significance and therefore more vulnerable to the dissolving of local cultures by homogenizing forces, that is, in particular the effect of global mobility, global tourism, and global work relations. However, Askegaard and Kjeldgaard, (2007: 138) discuss the issue of place branding in this context by reference to 'a range of initiatives to brand the island of Funen, Denmark, as a region of small-scale gastronomic excellence. These initiatives spring from a wish to strengthen local production, as Funen has a significant relative share of high-quality, small-scale food producers, therefore securing economic development'.
- The Finnish government has formulated its Rural Policy Committee's vision of Finnish Rural Tourism for 2020, which states, in part, 'The Finnish countryside is an attractive and easily operational environment for business and leisure travelling. Small enterprises, especially family businesses, succeed by providing sustainable experiences in different seasons by making use of clean nature, Finnish service and competence. Tourism is a significant generator of jobs and prosperity in rural areas' (Mittilä and Lepistö, 2013).
- In Lazzaretti's (2004) research, the city context emerges as the economic unit of analysis. At the same time, however, the UNESCO Convention (2005) reminds us that 'cultural activities, goods and services are vehicles of identity, values and meaning', and therefore have implications for producers, consumers and society at large.

A distinguishing feature of the creative industries is that the creation of value within the chain involves both public and private goods, in more

		Nature of consumption	
		Subtractive	Joint
		Private Goods and Services	Toll Goods and Services
Feasibility of exclusion	Easy	Private businesses in the fields of advertising, design, software and computer services, publishing, artisan products	Museums, heritage centres and galleries that may or may not charge a fee for visiting, gazing and related activities, etc.
	Difficult	Common Pool Goods and Services	Public Goods and Services
		World heritage sites	Local social and cultural authenticity (language, dance, music, visual arts); the city/region's image

Figure I.1 Typology of community cultural goods and services

Source: Adapted from Thomson and Freudenberger, 1997; Wijk and Go, 2005

or less organized forms, manifest in cultural policy and business policy, respectively, and therefore subject to the forces of excludability and a degree of rivalry. In turn, this results in four categories: private goods, public goods, common pool goods and toll goods, which are depicted in Figure I.1.

### Connecting four types of community cultural goods and services

The creative industries (CI) produce a wide variety of goods and services, ranging across broad subsectors, including 'advertising and marketing; architecture; crafts; design (including fashion); film, TV, video, radio and photography; information technology, software and computer services; publishing; museums, galleries and libraries; and music, performing and visual arts' (Straw and Warner, 2014: 1). Some of these are truly communal 'goods', such as state-subsidized museums, galleries and libraries. The two dimensions that are commonly used to distinguish private from public goods – excludability and degree of rivalry<sup>2</sup> – result in four categories that have been captured in a typology: private goods, public goods, common pool goods and toll goods. Figure I.1 depicts the typology of community cultural goods and services, which builds on the work of Thomson and Freudenberger (1997) and Dongier et al. (2002) in their study on community-based development. It is relevant in the context of the creative industries to distinguish between private goods,

public goods, common pool and toll goods – in the sections below we draw on the work by Wijk and Go (2005) – to pinpoint, amongst inter alia, that each of the categories depicted in Figure I.1 requires specific entrepreneurial skills, cooperative capability and start-up facilities.

### **Private goods and services**

These are typical private sector goods and services, such as private enterprises in the fields of advertising, design, software and computer services, publishing, and artisan producers. In the context of the creative community, the private sector often consists of micro-enterprises, companies typically with less than ten full-time equivalent (FTE) employees. These enterprises differ widely in their objectives, including profitmaking, income diversification, and life-style entrepreneurs and their relationship between the cultural sector and the business sector. To determine what approach is most appropriate for a specific expression of artistic activity, it is relevant to distinguish between three scenarios, which are, firstly, the cultural sector, which receives support from the business sector (e.g. sponsorship and/or forms of cooperation); secondly, the cultural sector, which provides artistic competence to the business sector, for example, in the form of new product development, services and personnel or to offer the public access to cultural assets, such as via the staging of events; and thirdly, the scenario of the culture embedded in a business relationship, which represents a dynamic, yet small part of the business sector as a whole, which we refer to as the ‘cultural entrepreneur’.

### **Toll goods and services**

A toll good is non-rivalrous but excludable. Access to this good can be made conditional, for example, upon payment. Products in this category comprise, for example, museums, heritage centres and galleries that charge fees for activities in the venue. Toll goods and services may generate alternative employment opportunities for residents who formerly made their living from exploiting common pool goods.

### **Common goods and services**

Products in this category are most vulnerable to Hardin’s (1968) ‘tragedy of the commons’ scenario, which often affects whether or not the community will be perceived as a creative city. An option is the transformation of creative products into community toll goods. In this manner, the ownership of cultural resources remains communal, that is to say, if the coordination and ‘control’ rest in the hands of inside agents, who have a personal stake in the sustainable governance of the cultural

resources. Responding intelligently to complex conditions in the world will require a dynamic capability to establish a delicate balance between the application of cooperative strategy as well the management of dilemmas that tend to trigger competitive and cooperative behaviour.

### **Public goods and services**

The entire community has a stake in maintaining these goods and services because they are vital for the community's cultural life. Cooperation among community residents is required to maintain and enhance public cultural goods.

The typology depicted in Figure 1 differs from existing contributions in two aspects. Firstly, the classification is applied to the cultural sector, resulting in four categories of community creative goods and services. Secondly, unlike Dongier et al. (2002), who argue that community cooperation is only appropriate for common pool goods and local (i.e. not regional) public goods, we posit that community-based cultural tourism is comprised of all four products categories, and that each category represents a 'node' in a network. In order to yield effective network marketing results, the community should decide to integrate the four product categories. For example, Loy (this volume) conveys, in parallel with the findings by Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2007) how the culinary- and local agricultural sectors connect places to visitors and outsiders through the market mechanism and consumption in a sustainable way.

### **Harnessing place branding: the issue of partnership**

Making an organizational transition that is needed to unleash the creative potential of all stakeholders in relation to far-reaching cultural, economic and technological changes requires a paradigmatic shift in the emphasis of analysis from marketing shareholder to marketing stakeholder interests (Merrilees et al., 2005). A paradigm is at the core of the cultural web, which represents the behavioural, physical and symbolic manifestations of a culture that inform and are informed by the taken-for-granted assumptions, which are essentially the way in which we view the world, including sets of values, principles and prejudices that may underpin our judgement.

Economic activities have traditionally been clustered in particular geographic locations, but the regional specialization of economic clusters is creating divisions within national economies. Economic inequalities are emerging that generate regional imbalances, which, in turn, lead to unevenness in regional development. This phenomenon becomes visible

in the area of a hallmark event, staged by the 'rich' regions, which put on events as a marketing instrument to compete on a global basis. In this framework the creative industries, particularly the field of advertising, play an important role in transferring the brand knowledge that the authorities need to differentiate their region from its rivals. However, in their formulation of strategies, the authorities typically reduce the question of regional development to the interregional economics approach of sorting capital and labour, which is a rather limited approach to problem solving. In contrast the performing arts build on a broader repertoire by drawing on the opinions of a range of stakeholders, a method rooted in 'selection system orientation' (Bhansing 2013, p. 18). This approach distinguishes three main types of selectors. These are, first, market selection that is dominated by consumer; second, peer selection that is driven by other producers; and third, expert selection, that is, professionals who are neither consumer nor producer, but who possess expertise that is attributed to them personally or by the organizations to which they belong.'

Selection system theory is especially relevant to the theme of this book, which lies in the overlap of economics and social science, as well as political science. Differences in background, objectives and the agenda of decision-makers can influence the performance at the organizational level (Murray, 1989; Voss et al., 2006), let alone the confusion that may occur in the context of a platform in which inter-organizational level relations are common.

The place branding-cultural entrepreneurial association necessitates structures that are responsive to cognitive heterogeneity and the demands of different types of stakeholders at the level of commercial and civic leadership (Bhansing, 2013). Furthermore, Houghton and Neubaum (1994) found differences in managers' perception of their strategic environment. Therefore, it is likely that their selection system orientations in multiple executive leadership structures in the creative industries will also differ.

Based on these results, individual managers who are responsible for organizational performance are likely to focus their orientation on selectors that play a role in the organizational performance for which each is responsible. Thus cultural entrepreneurs must display the ability to reconcile the demands of artistic production with those of the marketplace and planning intervention by the government to revitalize local economies and communities.

To assess market opportunities in a specific segment, questions must address not only the demand side but also the institutional context surrounding the chain, as no brand can be managed in isolation.

Figure 1.2 positions organizations on a continuum based on relationships in community networks. The range of relationships that are involved in the networks may vary widely, however. Some type of relationships should be encouraged, while others should not be pursued, for instance, because the conditions might be too demanding. Watkins and Bell (2002) posit that individual experiences of business relationships in networks include three phases: competition, cooperation and collaboration. Each phase entails an increasing order of complexity. The resulting networks are conditional for collective action.

The continuum of network relationships is relevant for community-based cultural projects in at least three respects. In the first place, it includes a form of negative relationship in which access to cultural networks is blocked. As is the case in most markets, the community creative industries market is politically constructed. Institutions typically regulate who can participate and the legitimate objects of market exchange, define each agent's rights and obligations in designed areas, and regulate the process of exchange itself (Chang, 2002).

The institutions, in turn, are to a large extent determined by the more powerful stakeholders who possess the capacity to effectively prevent specific groups or individuals from having access to networks and thus from entering the cultural market. For example, 80% of Europe's enterprises within the creative industries are comprised of small and medium-sized enterprises. Out of these categories 60% are micro-enterprises with one to three employees (EC, 2010). Due to their small scale, ethnic grouping, gender issues or other reasons micro-entrepreneurs may be formally or de facto restricted in offering their artistry, closing contracts, participating in meetings lending capital or otherwise. If the community-based place brands are to harness cultural entrepreneurship for regional growth – and the reduction of poverty – through the creative industries, micro-entrepreneurs from different genders and diverse ethnic groups must be empowered to contribute their talents and labour within inclusive, sustainable networks.

Investigation in inequality issues in society encompasses knowledge regarding the organizations involved, stakeholder networks and policy-making amongst others. However, there is a dearth of research which focuses on the exercise of power for place brand boosterism. We build on Watkins and Bell's work (cited by Wijk and Go, 2005) by expanding the phases of experience with 'discriminatory access to the cultural market' and 'coordination' (see Figure I.2).

Networking relations are relevant to entrepreneurship so as to uncover and use cultural resources (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 1997: 176) In

	Discriminatory network access	Competition	Coordination	Cooperation	Collaboration
Trust	None	Minimal	Medium-high; based on knowledge that divergence may be self-defeating	Low-medium; trust often placed more with organizer than other co-operative players	Medium-high; trust in partners based on shared outcome
Commitment	None	Mostly to self	High, if pulling out is costly	Low; relatively easy to pull out	Medium to high; formalized commitments to results
Goals	–	Individual and related to financial performance	Common interest in efficiency; no shared goal	Common interest in risk reduction and economies of scale; no shared goal	Shared goal
Beneficiaries	Participants	Own organization	Participants	Participants; some potential to wider region	Partners
Decision-making	Non-participants excluded	Individual; Some limited shared arrangements	Decisions taken by strong individuals or groups convincing others to follow	Decisions often taken by strong individuals or groups convincing others to follow	Shared; consensus partners required
Conditions	–	Participants are accepted stakeholders	Participants are stakeholder	Participants contribute	Partners are independent and contribute equally

Figure I.2 Continuum of relationships in community networks

Source: Adapted from Watkins and Bell (2002:22) and Gray (1998); Wijk and Go (2005).

addition networking relations serve as an aid to become critically aware of the cultural achievements of the ‘past’ and use heritage assets as the ‘roots’ for the harnessing of a place brand partnership founded with the aim of unleashing the creative potential, share knowledge and expertise. In turn, these drive the promotion of social inclusion, diversity and sustainable economic development of cities, regions and nations.

Network theory has been adopted in research in many fields, which has yielded a number of main approaches, including the social network approach, the inter-organizational approach, the industrial network approach, the policy making approach and the entrepreneurial network



approach (Go and Trunfio, 2011). While these approaches differ, they share a common need for an interactive coordination mechanism to bridge governance, cultural and adjacent gaps by cultivating trustworthy relations in the context of decision-making by network stakeholders.

Secondly, competition may be the dominant relationship between private sector actors, but also between communities in the same region. Although commitment to competition may be healthy for developing the cultural sector, it can also incur high costs on the actors involved, especially in view of their interdependencies, opposing and common interests in the international creative industries and the cultural market.

Thirdly, community cultural resources require networks that facilitate collective action between providers of all four cultural goods categories depicted in Figure 2. Collective action, however, can take different stages in the building of a brand (Lemmetyinen and Go, 2010) and involves different processes including – coordination, cooperation and collaboration – under divergent conditions and levels of complexity. These need to be clearly distinguished. The mutual expectations in terms of a project's beneficiaries among network participants are likely to be more realistic if the degree of collectivity is transparent from the outset. It may also prevent situations in which community activities are incorrectly labelled as 'collaborative', while in reality they serve private rather than communal purposes.

## **Mapping strategic tensions**

### *Discussion*

Difference and contested frames of reference are prominent in studies centring on, for instance, the governance of conflicts and partnerships in knowledge and innovation networks (Cappelin, 2011). The contributors to this book focused on examining the harnessing of place branding through cultural entrepreneurship from different angles, assumptions and various perspectives.

Right from the start, to be viable for the competitive arena during the longhaul, decision-makers who understand the need for a theory of creative interaction to underpin the choice-making process, should pose questions which represent opposing perspectives on the future of marketing and the branding of places in the context of the culture-commerce association. Theorizing creative interaction is embedded in material, digital, managerial and visual worlds, career paths and other

symbols, particularly the social media (Kaplan et al., 2010; Ketter, 2012; Kietzmann et al., 2011). These lead to paths of ‘reverse marketing’ (Lawer et al., 2004), that can be captured for generating knowledge. To establish the critical mass needed for effective decision making, such knowledge is imperative to weigh and share the pros and cons of the intellectual argument, among all interests concerned. Thereafter, the marketplace can apply the knowledge by finding appropriate ‘price-quality carriers’, which enact the harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship proposition.

### *Cons*

- Branding a place and its culture simply is a recipe for cheapness, the acquisition of superficial gloss at the expense of real texture, real learning.
- For some people the notion of brand has ‘superficial implications unworthy of the national idea’ (Olins 2002, p. 241).
- Culture is of little worth as the cultural attainments of place, for example, a nation, region, city, do not sell – that is, they fail to generate a return on investment in the same way that inward investment brands and tourism do (Anholt, 2002: 235).
- The creation of a brand image encourages the false public perception of what a place, that is, a nation, city, urban and rural region, is.
- Is it ethical to connect a company’s profit motive with campaigns that address wider social issues, such as poverty and women’s rights, in relation to place?

### *Pros*

- The branding of nations has become ‘an immutable law of global capitalism’ Anholt (2003: 145).
- Place branding helps the fostering of socially beneficial reputation systems over time based the assessment of whether and to what extent the reputational object lives up to the stakeholders’ perceptual judgments.
- Place branding serves as a platform for integrated communication, the recombining of existing building blocks for the coordination of networks of engaging stakeholders, customers and producers, who jointly create value propositions, more effectively, efficiently and equitably, than traditional, manipulative market structures.

This introductory chapter has attempted a theorization of the relationship between culture and the branding of places, urban and rural

regions and nations, in an effort to further expand and supplement the literatures on the creative economy, cultural entrepreneurship, cultural identity, innovation, governance and contiguous streams of scholarly work. Although place branding studies have been marked by growth and increased diversity since the late 1990s, the relation between the place brand and culture remained in the shadow of studies on, for example, brand equity (Florek and Kavaratis, 2014) and other ‘fashionable’ marketing and branding phenomena, including the application of corporate level brands to countries, regions and cities (Balmer and Gray, 2003; Hakinson, 2007).

Beside the assessment of the cultural enterprise-regional brand relationship, it is relevant, of course, to focus on the determinants which influence their management and outcome. One of the central issues arising from this framework is that the relationship between the individual cultural entrepreneur and collective decision-makers of a cultural platform aimed at stimulating creative can turn into one of tension.

Establishing the shared interest within place is fraught with challenges and requires a synthesis of thinking beyond a fundamental tension between apparent opposites at the core of every set of strategy issues (Wit and Meyer, 1999). Pairs of opposites confront cultural entrepreneurs and other actors with conflicting pressures and tensions, for example, opposites of differentiation and integration, *individual versus “collective”* interests, *comparative versus integrative* analytical perspectives and *internal versus external* perspectives. The chapters in this book have confirmed the urgent need to explore further the interplay between these, other tensions and their interplay within the cultural entrepreneurship – place brand relationship. For example, in Chapter 3 (this volume) on a stakeholders’ approach, the issues revolve around the fundamental tension between creativity and compliance. In Chapter 9 (this volume) on ‘Cultural Diplomacy and Entrepreneurship as a Means for Image Restoration’, the fundamental tension between compliance and cultural diplomacy lies somewhere at the centre of the subject.

The theorizing of strategy that is rethought in ‘creative’ analyses as demonstrated by an international cast of authors renders visible the dynamism between tensions, contradictions and conflicts which arise in scala of different social interactions (see Table I.1). The outcome of their discourses can influence the perspectives of actors. In turn these form the foundation on which the design modelling takes place, based on which the actors believe they can effectively handle the challenges stemming from the particular dynamism encountered under turbulent market and societal conditions. The authors’ contributions draw on

*Table I.1* Strategy tensions and perspectives encountered by contributing authors after Wit and Meyer (1999: 16)

Chapter/Focus	Strategic tension	Strategic perspectives
2. Strategy thinking	Logic vs. creativity	Rational thinking vs. generative thinking
3. Glocal context	Local-Global autonomy and the collective	Global convergence vs. local diversity
4. Regional policy level	Markets vs. resources	Inside-in vs. outside-in
5. Organizational purpose	Profitability vs. responsibility	Shareholder value vs. stakeholder value
6. Strategy formation	Deliberatedness vs. emergentness	Material vs. intangible knowledge
7. Strategy change	Competition vs. cooperation	Discontinuous change vs. continuous change
8. Network level	Deliberatedness vs. emergentness	Evolution vs. revolution
9. National level Strategy	Responsiveness vs. synergy	Portfolio (of media) vs. core competence (in the form of public diplomacy)
10. Industry context	Compliance vs. choice	Industry evolution vs. industry creation
11. Network level	Competition vs. cooperation	Discrete organization vs. embedded organization
12. Strategic thinking	Creativity vs. logic	Coordinate vs. centralized
13. Inter-organizational context	Control vs. chaos	Organizational leadership vs. organizational dynamics
14. Strategy formation	Deliberateness vs. emergentness	Hierarchy vs. grass-roots

concepts, generalizations, techniques and theories, empirical evidence and their professional experience.

They identified tensions, contradictions and conflicts, beside opportunities, which will demand different requirements and attitudes. Impelled by technological and social changes that are reviewed by the contributors, the emerging logics are transforming socio-economic interactions in fundamental ways. Our assumption is that theorizing aimed at developing knowledge that goes beyond earlier conceptualization by joining the creative interactions, opens avenues to detect emergent patterns of emergent practice (Little, this volume) that can

be understood as a potential means to apply public diplomacy beyond conflict (Avraham, this volume), relational views for innovative ways to compete and collaborate, although these may not lead to consensus or coherence (Kasabov, this volume).

Against this backdrop, we consider three criteria deemed critical to make the transition from the maturity stage of the life cycle to the renewed growth stage of the life cycle. These are summarized in the following reality check.

First, referring back to Straw and Warner's (2014) industrial strategy, there appears a lack of *awareness* at the strategic level in the United Kingdom, one of the countries leading the creative industries. In particular, this concerns a lack of awareness that the articulation and valuation of the links between the arts and cultural industries, as well as the commercial creative industries requires a closer association between cultural enterprise and the branding of creative hubs and regional centres of excellence in order to capture their latent value distribution, dynamics and upgrade their value chain.

Furthermore, there are tensions involved, theorized by Jane Jacobs (2004) as two opposing moral value systems representing the foundations of commerce and politics, which she captures in the form of a Platonic dialogue based on two opposing moral syndromes, the 'commercial moral' versus the 'Guardian moral' (Thomas, 2000: 68). In turn, these lead to political and other interdependencies resting on complex, multifaceted relations among multiple actors and stakeholder constituencies implicated in processes of creating places and images of these places, and of branding them (Kasabov, this volume). Towards this end, cultural entrepreneurs require a flexible structure which enables rapid responsiveness to the cognitive heterogenic demands of different types of stakeholders. But their decision-making and actions must also consider ethics through a communicative action framework designed to engage with legitimacy, inclusion and consistency issues between messages in the domestic and international arena (Sevin, 2011), to avoid undesirable place branding effects (Insch, 2011).

Today's urban areas, not countries, have become the unit of analysis for companies, (Dobbs et al., 2012), which seek to benefit from the benefits of dis-aggregating marketplaces for strategic advantage (Dobbs et al., 2012). Urban marketplaces are becoming simultaneously more multi-cultural and more like one another across national borders than other, more homogenous parts of the countries in which they are located.

Through interventions required at the local government position in the chain, cultural entrepreneurs can play an important role by raising

awareness not only of the value of heritage assets, cultural goods and services but also of multicultural goods and how these may complement the commercial market, that is, by covering what economists call 'market failures' (e.g., the market's inability to supply opera performances). This entails the development of analyses of interlocking arenas of culture, economics and technology, their combination in product and service systems to exploit community sentiments by flagging up important territorial events, personalities, rituals and symbols.

Second, *adaptability* is relevant because it signifies the ability to transform without trauma, that is, without massive adjustments and in collaboration with a cast of stakeholders who rally around an umbrella place brand. Cultural entrepreneurs can serve to inspire them to establish an engaged partnership within a value chain for stimulating sustainable growth. But to be effective, their intervention requires reliable communication facilities as communication is the backbone of any project and policy intervention at both urban and regional levels. Branding communities is hard due to the involvement of multiple stakeholders in a variety of roles, who not only hail from different disciplinary backgrounds but also have divergent agendas and seek to achieve different objectives (Orbasli, 2000). However, the human need for ontological security (Giddens, 1987; First and Avraham, 2009) can be used for advocating the importance of creating and sustaining a sense of belonging or communality.

To bridge the gaps caused by the different perceptions of stakeholders, Hakala explains (this volume) that communication must be integrated, responsive, flexible and on demand, and so should the communication network mapped against the dimensions of top-down to bottom-up initiatives and place focus to process focus. Moreover, Rindova (2007: 169) argued that 'diverse communication strategies enabled firm to build multiplex identities, i.e., identities with many facets that engage stakeholders in different ways – cognitively, emotionally, and aesthetically'.

In response to socio-political, temporal and spatial contexts (Hall, 1997; Edensor, 2002; First, 2002; cited by First and Avraham, 2009) that result in fragmentation, cultural entrepreneurs can play an important role in the chain through innovative interventions. In this regard Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2007, p. 138) demonstrate 'that marketing not only represents a homogenization of culture through global corporate business but also that the principles of marketing and branding can be used in the service of creating sustainable small-scale production-consumption relations and, therefore, local cultural sustainability.'

Third, *agility* is a significant factor because it depends on contingency planning supported by quick response mechanisms that are needed to improve group cohesion, productivity and protect against defecting partners. Within a conurbation which is analogous to biological diversity in an ecosystem, it is important to maintain balance between place and process most appropriately for fostering effective and beneficial cultural entrepreneurship (Little in this book).

Lemmetinen (2010: 38) underpins Little's observation from a theoretical perspective by considering 'the coordination of cooperation, its contextual factors, prerequisites, selected means as structures and processes (network brand identity, common e-presence of network stakeholders and the coordinative role of the DMO [destination management organization], and value creation as the outcome of coordinated collaboration in tourism business networks'.

## Notes

1. The Cultural Entrepreneurship Conference (CEC) was held at the University Consortium of Pori, Finland, 10–11 December 2012. The conference theme, 'Networked Cultural Heritage and its "Impact" on Place Brands – Global Perspectives on Capturing Value through Entrepreneurial Partnerships', amplifies the important role played by new patterns of activities, relationships and new forms of networking between regions in tandem with cultural production so as to enhance regional and national competitiveness.
2. Excludability refers to opportunities of the producer to exclude someone from consuming the good, while rivalry involves the degree of which consumption of a good or service by one person limits the consumption of that good by someone else. Public goods are defined as non-excludable and non-rivalrous.

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# **Part I**

## **Place Branding: Multidisciplinary Principles**

# 1

## Place Branding and Culture: ‘The Reciprocal Relationship between Culture and Place Branding’

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**Keywords:** culture, cultural industries, cultural mapping, cultural planning, place branding

The identity of cities and regions is a concern of many who reflect the spatial consequences of globalization, global values, global mobility and global consumption patterns (Kunzmann, 2004). In this chapter, we review the state of knowledge about arts and culture as the main element of a place’s image and highlight tools used by urban planners and decision-makers to achieve regional development through existing resources. The goal of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework to describe possible key features in the relationship between culture and place branding, to identify methods, including the harnessing of branding, and to leverage the cultural resources that convey meaning to places in a co-creative process by providers who have aspirations for their place brand and citizens, visitors and investors who imbue such brands with personal relevance. Thus, this chapter does not seek to create a discourse about developing a culture and infrastructure for the sake of the arts first and then communicating the same to the place-brand audience.

We accomplish the aforementioned proposition by referring to literature resources that examine the reciprocal relationship between culture and place branding, from a wide range of disciplines: marketing, place branding, cultural management, urban studies, cultural policy, and so on. On the one hand, we aim to point out the powerful advantages in using the existing art(s) and culture-based activities to promote a place. On the other, we highlight the layered dilemmas for practitioners concerning the amalgamation of such a practice on a branding campaign.

Beginning our research and having as the central pillar the bibliographical resource of Simon Anholt's City Brand Hexagon, about branding regions, and taking as a given that 'culture is one of the main factors influencing a place's reputation' (Anholt, 2007: 97), we came across other authors supporting this crucial statement who provide strong links between culture and place branding. After a thorough review, we discovered that both place branding and culture seek the same principal point: originality. In light of theoretical assumptions, there is room for arguments supporting the 'go global, stay local' strategies that look to culture-led regeneration and the celebration of diversity (Evans, 2003), built on local creative industries. In this chapter, we provide a deeper understanding of culture, bridging the gap between technocrats and culture-oriented professionals by contributing to the creation of a coherent communication system for the study of the cultural aspect of place branding theory.

### **Place branding as a multidisciplinary field**

With a view to studying the relationship of these two interwoven fields, as we will shortly see, we should start by defining their essential significance. In the pioneering literature about place branding, at least three definitions can be distinguished. Firstly, the *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* suggests the following definition: 'Place branding is the practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, social, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries' (<http://www.palgrave-journals.com/pb/index.html>).

According to another definition, place branding is indeed a practice but also (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007: 294) 'the process of inscribing symbols and images to a place that represent that set of central, enduring, and distinctive characteristics which actors have ascribed to that place, thereby creating a focus of identity'. In the first instance, place branding is more than the creation and promotion of place images as part of place management<sup>1</sup> (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008), concerned with the pre-existing reputation (Parkerson, 2007). Academics and practitioners agree that place branding is a multidisciplinary field of research and activity – such as corporate branding (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009), as it addresses multiple groups of stakeholders, has a high level of intangibility and complexity, must take account of social responsibility, deals with multiple identities, and requires long-term development (ibid.). It is more accurate to consider a place brand as intellectual property, such as 'the totality of

the thoughts, feelings, associations and expectations that come to mind when a prospect of consumer is exposed to an entity's name, logo, products, services, events or any design or symbol representing them' (Lindsay, 2000). Place branding can be considered an effort to use strategies developed in the commercial sector to manage, if not necessarily wield, the soft power<sup>2</sup> of a geographical location (<http://www.placebrands.net>).

In this chapter, we will discuss in more detail, on a theoretical level, culture as one of the ingredients of a successful place branding campaign, since many accept as true that it enhances the value of locations (Kunzmann, 2004). Our aim is not to focus on places which need to reinvent their identity, but on those which have already invested in their cultural infrastructure.

## **What is culture?**

The definition of 'culture' has been formulated and treated by many different scientific fields, as it is one of the most difficult notions to define, since it has not just one single dimension. Culture can include every expression of life in a certain time-space framework (Kavaratzis, 2011). Kunzmann (2004: 384) argues that the most popular meaning of culture is that of a 'particular system of art, thought, and customs of a society', or 'the arts, customs, beliefs, and all other products of human thought made by a people at a particular time'. For that reason, culture is a powerful human tool for survival, but at the same time, it is a fragile phenomenon: it is constantly changing and easily lost because it exists only in our minds. Starting from the fact that every creative mind is unique, we can easily conclude that culture developed by a specific group of people is unique, to be called 'original'. Following Zukin's (1995) observation 'culture is a system for producing symbols', we conclude that products of culture are the written languages, artworks, policies and so forth. The movement of the Italian Renaissance was at the time an authentic creative movement which flourished in the city of Florence. Today, we can still enjoy the sublime artworks spread throughout that city. The local identity is maintained as a unique representation of the social identity.

We have noticed that in the place branding literature, when we talk about 'culture', our understanding is centred on arts, architecture, design, history (Kunzmann, 2004), heritage (Anholt, 2007), relative events like festivals and cultural facilities, like museums, galleries, theatres or art centres. Culture can refer to 'highbrow culture', the fine arts, the great masters, haute couture, opera and much more: this is taste as determined by the elite. It also forms an integral part of human life,



its system of beliefs, social mores, emotional behaviour and its socio-culturally constructed knowledge (Ryser and Meyer, 2011).

By the early nineties, the term 'cultural industry' started to appear in the literature, and was widely used by arts managers, funders and policymakers to describe the production and distribution of creative goods (Evans and Shaw, 2004). Those industries include all the above-mentioned forms of creativity. Furthermore, according to Landry (2000: 9), 'cultural industries' are those which shape culture and, thus, include casinos or theme parks as well as design or the arts. The term 'cultural industries' refers to those industries in our society which employ the characteristic modes of production and organization of industrial corporations to produce and disseminate symbols in the form of cultural goods and services – usually as commodities (Garnham, 1987). In place branding, when using the word 'culture', we include the description and notion of 'cultural industry', as urban cultural policies have been used within urban revitalisation and city marketing strategies (Lavanga, 2009). More generically speaking, when talking about culture, the first key word which comes to mind is 'creativity', a new kind of currency for places (Landry, 2000: xxv). Likewise, part of the cultural sphere is also entertainment (Kunzmann, 2004) as enjoyable performance (Montgomery, 1990).

### **Associations between culture and place branding**

Culture is the panoply of resources that show that a place is unique and distinctive (Landry, 2000: 7). As previously described, in place branding, when using the word 'culture', we include the description and notion of 'cultural industry', as urban cultural policies have been used within urban revitalisation and city marketing strategies (Lavanga, 2009). The term 'culture' within the concept of place branding is oriented more towards cultural goods, products of cultural industries and heritage. As Kavaratzis (2005) explains, branding – such as arts and culture – has the power to 'create powerful associations, attributing to almost everything that takes place in the city a symbolic value, next to its functional value'. When creating a brand image for a place, we need to trigger positive emotions to the consumer (i.e. visitor, potential investor, citizen etc.) contributing to the established preconceptions and the global perception.

The Parthenon in Athens, the Colosseum in Rome and, more recently, the Centre Pompidou in Paris are buildings intended not only to be residences of particular public functions but, more important, to be

a 'signature' of the unique identity of the place and, finally, built a reputation. On the other hand, due to the uniqueness of individuals, place branding uses personalities, often artists (architects, sculptors, painters etc.), as they are more suitable for this purpose, being less divisive than politicians, for instance, to create associations between them and the place. Examples of this particular practice are Paul Cezanne for Aix-en-Provence and Raphael for Urbino. Lastly, cultural events such as festivals and historical pageants are often chosen to be part of place branding campaigns because of their visibility, political neutrality and acceptability, adding value to the place and contributing to its global recognition. Examples are the Edinburgh Festival, the Avignon Theatre Festival and award title events such as the 'European City of Culture'. The Edinburgh Festival and the Avignon Theatre Festival are good examples of actions that brand the place automatically as 'cultural', for the long term.

The fundamental component that art(s) and culture in reality provide to a place is its authentic features. Many researchers (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Gibson, 2004) have emphasized the importance of authenticity. Gran (2010) discusses how image and identity are fundamental components of brands. He explains the branding of places and attractions in the context of the experience economy and relates the concepts of theatre and marketing together. He states (2010: 27), brands 'must relate to some relevant facts or reality effects: It is very difficult to put a middle age image on a modern town dominated by the architecture of international style. This means that a brand of a place must take into consideration what kind of resources and characteristics the place really has'. Gran (2010: 28) stated that 'products and places need both image and identity in order to form brands and added value. An added value is what the brand is worth beyond, and in addition to, its area of use and technical quality'.

Where traditional cultural heritage – although unique and authentic – does not seem to be sufficient in the race for a place, new sites must be constructed in order to meet contemporary expectations and demands of the 'creative class' (Haddock, 2010). The example of Florence supports this argument. Despite the strong presence of heritage, the city today welcomes the creative headquarters of the most well-known luxury brands as a consequence of the creative tradition of Tuscany.

Florida's (2002; cited in Scott, 2006: 11) theory on the creative class is based on the idea that once the creative class has been attracted to a place then 'its innate entrepreneurial and cultural energies will automatically be activated in the construction of a vibrant local economy'.

Generalising this observation, cultural industries are principally located in cities where a significant mass of both producers and consumers is available, to make them economically viable. These cities attract culture as the local society stimulates innovation and creative ideas (Lavanga, 2009). Simultaneously, assuming the intimate relationship between a place and its locals, we should reflect that 'while we develop programs which seek to attract new people to our cities we must remain focused on the fact that what makes our city interesting in the first place are the people who already occupy it and the culture which they produce' (Gibson, 2004). Additionally, it is important that local artists have opportunities to develop and not be forced to leave town in the search for recognition, while city managers are busy trying to attract the 'big names' (Montgomery, 1990).

In practice, culture is used by local authorities with tangible and manageable tools for their place's brand (Kavaratzis, 2011), as they have strong place-bound characteristics, relying on the local production system (Lavanga, 2009). Ashworth and Kavaratzis (2011) detect three major types of contributions of culture, commonly used as place-branding instruments: signature building and design, personality association and hallmark events. At the same time, many researchers (Landry and Franco, 1995; Gibson, 2004) have emphasized the importance of authenticity, as it is the fundamental component that art(s) and culture in reality provide to a place. The Principality of Monaco, known especially for the Formula 1 car race – held in the streets of Monte Carlo – has established a variety of cultural events and foundations in order to encourage the local population and add value to its image through culture. The Opera of Monte Carlo and the Monte Carlo Ballet are today world renowned and attract thousands of spectators, contributing to the projection of a positive image of the Principality.

## **Impacts of culture**

Nowadays, we come across the phenomenon of globalization. As a result of this process, we are heading towards a 'homogenization' of culture. The paradox is that as people become more similar, they also become more different from one another. The process of globalization has created both greater individuality and cultural diversity. Consumers exercise more choices in their spending patterns and their lifestyles. The world has become more interdependent in nature, both polarization and inequality are on the rise within and between nations, and these developments trigger the need for strategies 'to unleash the creative potential

of all to respond to the far reaching cultural, economic, social and technological shift in market power from organizations that determine what people need, to networks of clients and cultural entrepreneurs who jointly create value. 'In this context the concept of the creative and cultural economy is growing around the globe and the interface between culture, economics and technology' (BOP Consulting 2010). Kunzmann (2004) explains that 'cultural content remains the last bastion of local identity'. Cultural industries, our main interest in place branding, are significant economic sectors in their own right, as they employ 3% to 5% of the workforce in world cities such as London, New York, Milan or Berlin (Landry, 2000: 9). It is noteworthy that local cultural industries have become a key concern and that cultural content remains the last bastion and the main currency of cities and a leading feature for local distinctiveness. According to Landry (2000: 7) creativity is 'more sophisticated and powerful than finance capital, which is one-dimensional and narrow.... Creativity helps to develop culture and identity because the innovations that it generates shape what a place becomes'.

Reinforcing local identity is one of the impacts of culture in urban development. And the arts provide a ready-made set of positive images on which to base a reconstruction of a less than perfect city image. In other words, the arts are ingredient of 'cultural resources'. Landry (2000: 7) defines cultural resources as 'the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold'. They reflect 'what a place is, why it is like it is and where its potential might lead it'. Bianchini and Ghilardi (2007) argue that 'place branding and marketing should be more "cultured", knowledgeable and critically aware of traditions of cultural expression, by being rooted in research on the history, on the socio-economic realities, on the internal and external image, and on the cultural life and cultural representations of a particular locality'.

Furthermore, cultural institutions can be seen as poles of attraction for cultural tourism, providing the basis for survival in the tourism market (Kavaratzis, 2011). The value of cultural production is thus mainly defined when a cultural policy is drawn up, through its market and economic dimension. Cultural events, as products of the creative industries, are also key elements of a place branding strategy, 'raising the city's international profile and attracting visitors' (Quinn, 2005), and adding economic value to the place. An extra aspect is the idea that, in our times, there are sections of the city's population which act as tourists in their own city and make explicit demands for leisure (Lloyd and Clark, 2001). The Principality of Monaco is a good example as during

winter – when the tourist season has come to an end – cultural institutions such as the Philharmonic Opera, cinemas and art exhibitions receive mainly residents and inhabitants of the French and Italian cities around Monte Carlo. Cultural institutions are thus considered part of the economy, certainly as labour but also by offering to the market products to be consumed.

This multidimensional nature of culture produces economic value at diverse levels. Apart from strengthening social cohesion, increasing personal confidence and improving life skills and people's ability to act as democratic citizens (Landry, 2000: 11), culture has a positive influence on a place's reputation and image (Kalandrides, 2014). In place branding, the communicated brand should have its foundation in the local collective identity, and policymakers should build on the local culture to strengthen the feeling of an identity shared by the population and promoted externally as a distinctive entity (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2011). However, practicalities such as a lack of professional delegates from the cultural field, very often lead to the promotion of leisure consumption venues, disallowing authenticity and the local features of the place. Nonetheless, in place branding what we need is to promote the unique character of the place and reinforce its identity and distinctiveness (Evans, 2003). This means that rather than being an add-on to the serious concerns of the economy and the 'hard' infrastructure of urban areas, culture is central to the way cities should develop (Montgomery, 1990). Note, at this point, that local cultural industries and arts provide a ready-made set of positive images on which to base a reconstruction of a less than perfect city image.

## **Cultural resources**

As stated above, Landry (2000: 7) defines cultural resources as 'the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold.' This focus draws attention to the distinctive, the unique and the special in any place.

Bianchini (2004) introduces a global listing of what the cultural resources of a place encompass:

- arts and media activities and institutions;
- the cultures of youth, ethnic minorities and other 'communities of interest', including local festivals and other celebratory events;
- the tangible and intangible heritage, including archaeology, gastronomy, local history, dialects and rituals;

- the local 'image bank';
- the natural and the built environment, including public and open spaces;
- the diversity and quality of places where people socialize, including street markets, bars, clubs, cafes and restaurants;
- local milieu and institutions for intellectual and scientific innovation, including universities and private sector research centres, and the repertoire of local products and skills in the crafts, manufacturing and services.

These are the essential advantages for place makers to invest in and capitalize on, while creating a complete plan for the promotion of a geographical region. Planners are invited to consolidate this existing capital in a coherent way by integrating these elements into strategic planning while building a positive and 'creative' image. Diverse cultural assets may characterize different cities: the new Acropolis Museum or the Athens and Epidaurus Festival are part of the cultural resources of Athens. The Eiffel Tower of Paris or the Golden Gate Bridge of San Francisco are seen as part of the urban landscape or as landmarks (Landry, 2008: xxx), representing assets of urban cultural resources. Local food, clothing and products of cultural industries are the existing material and sources of the unique character of each place.

The remaining question at this point – in order to maximize the potential of local culture – is the following: how can we first identify and then integrate cultural goods into place branding?

## **Methods to identify cultural resources**

Art, art institutions and the art industry play a significant role in both raising awareness and changing the way we see the world operating (Ryser and Meyer, 2011). Cultural industries have a significant impact on place brand, as described above. The purpose is to introduce to non-culture related practitioners and academics, the standards for cultural resource investigations, systematic and high-quality methods for the identification, evaluation and interpretation of culturally significant resources in order to include the products of cultural industries in place branding.

### **Cultural audit and mapping**

The first step before getting into any planning of how to integrate culture into a place branding campaign is to identify the resources of the place

and recognize their value. The importance of a comprehensive 'chart' of existing, redundant and prospective art facilities and participation (and non-usage) is therefore an essential prerequisite to planning for the arts and supporting the infrastructure (Evans, 2001: 108). An audit is needed in order to identify the place's strengths and to receive an overall view of cultural resources: individual, firm, industry sectors and clusters to networks in the city, the city itself as an amalgam of different organizational cultures (Landry, 2006: 417). Cultural mapping is a 'valuable tool for identifying a community's strengths and its resources' (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2007).

This method using a range of qualitative and quantitative methods to identify and describe local cultural resources, is thus an essential precondition for culturally sensitive place branding and marketing (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2007). This approach includes phases such as categorization and lists an area's cultural resources (facilities, activities, people, groups, organizations, business, valued places and landscapes, previous cultural projects, community services, economic activities and information), identifies plans for new cultural activities and barriers for cultural development, and provides an overview of strengths and weaknesses (Evans, 2001: 109). Cultural mapping is a process, used, for example, by UNESCO, that has a purpose, and through the use of a proven 'system' its outcomes can be harnessed and directed to policy decisions for the creation of sustainable futures (Field, 2010). Mapping, which involves a comprehensive effort to identify all relevant cultural economic activities, organizations, employment and links in a given area such as a town or region, has the added advantage that the actual mapping process itself can generate 'substantial awareness and foster collaboration across a wide range of creative stakeholders, building momentum that can then influence the political sphere and encourage suitable public policy-making' (Understanding Creative Industries/UNESCO). The 'map' (i.e. the report on the findings) formed is loaded with many kinds of extremely useful information, which, when isolated, analysed and treated, provide the cultural landscape of the area and can be utilised to create a wide variety of outcomes. The results point out problems to be solved or strengths to build upon. In place branding practice, this procedure is particularly useful, as it supplies the place marketer with supplementary competitive advantages for this particular geographical area.

### **Cultural planning**

How do we describe cultural planning and what is the profit in using such an approach in urban development? The Cultural Planning Toolkit

(Creative Cities/Canada) defines cultural planning as ‘a process of inclusive community consultation and decision making that helps local governments incorporate cultural resources and think strategically about how these resources can assist a community to achieve its civic goals. It is a strategic approach that directly and indirectly integrates the community’s cultural resources into a wide range of local government planning activities’. In other words, it is a cultural way-of-life approach to urban planning (Montgomery, 1990) used to revitalize cities and promote the anthropological concept of culture as a ‘way-of-life’ (Smidt-Jensen, 2007). Landry (2000: 173) also puts in terms of management of cultural resources: ‘cultural planning is the process of identifying projects, devising plans and managing implementation strategies based on cultural resources. It is not intended as the planning of culture...but rather as a cultural approach to any type of public policy’. It is a matter of political choice from the one hand, and a question of negotiation on the other hand.

Mechanisms employed include consideration of urban design, public art, transport, safety, cultural workspace and industry quarters and the linkage concept of the creative production chain and scale hierarchy of facilities (Evans, 2001: 7).

According to the Cultural Planning Toolkit (Creative Cities/Canada), the cultural planning process is characterized by five important and distinct phases as follows.

*Phase one: start-up*

- confirm goals and priorities
- secure approval by municipal or Aboriginal governing authority to undertake cultural planning
- convene local municipal or Aboriginal governing authority staff working group and steering group for the plan.

*Phase two: identify where we are*

- planning context – determine the community’s existing plans and priorities
- cultural mapping – identify the community’s cultural resources
- cultural assessment – analyse the cultural resources’ strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats; determine how to connect them to the planning context.

*Phase three: determine where we want to be*

- define desired shared future – establish overall vision and strategic direction through consultation.



- consult and engage with municipal or Aboriginal leaders and staff
- undertake broad community engagement with all relevant stakeholders; this may include cultural organizations and businesses, other businesses, academic and community leaders, and community residents.

*Phase four: determine how we get there*

- draft a cultural plan that outlines the vision, roles and partnerships, strategies and actions; include a strategy to strengthen cultural resources management, a cultural administration and governance model (such as a culture department or cultural roundtable), and outline a monitoring and evaluation plan
- seek municipal or Aboriginal governing authority approval to adopt the cultural plan.

*Phase five: determine how culture becomes part of our everyday business*

- ensure ongoing integration of culture in all facets of local planning and decision-making (such as official plans, land use, economic development strategies, tourism strategies and integrated community sustainability plans) by adopting a cultural lens for all government decision-making
- ensure ongoing updating of cultural mapping and cultural plan(s)

Cultural planning may offer an urban and resource planning process and framework, within which conflicting worldviews and amenity demands may be reconciled and more equally balanced. Culture-led planning might provide a fundamental response to the promotion of cultural diversity, the protection of cultural identities and the encouragement of the local and the vernacular (ibid., 14). In many European countries, such as France or the UK, the cultural planning approach to urban development is a common practice contributing to economic and social development. Through cultural planning, regions can attain international recognition, and 'enable local artists to reach wider audiences... without losing their local voice and identity' (ibid., 229).

## **Summary**

Both academics and practitioners have become interested in the relationship between culture and place branding. Using local cultural goods in the forefront could be the key solution to 'place branding strategies which are very often very similar' (Sevin, 2010). As Landry (2000: 11) explains, the 'local distinctiveness they (i.e. cultural resources)

express, is vital in a world where cities increasingly look and feel the same'.

We have examined the methodology used by cultural planners to identify and organize the cultural resources of a place, outlining the importance of implementing activities based on local features. Some authors believe (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2007) that places that did not 'stay true' to their history, social dynamics, economic background and distinctive heritage and urban characteristics tend to struggle over time with maintaining a new identity and brand, while those that adopt a more 'organic' approach to identity building are more successful.

The introduction of cultural planning to a place branding strategy has many advantages. Thinking practically, the most important result of adopting a cultural approach to place branding is that place makers, like urban planners, will be forced to look at urban areas in new ways, from the standpoint of users rather than uses, and with an awareness of quality. The result is root planning in a cultural sense of place (Montgomery, 1990). Due to the assumption that people 'understand' cities as brands (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2007), cultural planning has the power to encourage creativity, reveal the distinctive features of the place and improve brand perception towards a wide audience. By definition, place branding emphasizes the attractive elements of place. Culture provides a ready-made series of positive images that can be manipulated according to the positioning requirements of the city (Quinn, 2005).

Our findings can be summarized in three points:

- Culture plays a critical role in a place brand as long as the authentic cultural elements are produced by the residents. This practice helps avoid the mass reproduction of 'borrowed' cultural elements, that is, the investment in cultural and leisure consumption industries.
- The cultural field has already deployed practices used by local authorities in urban regeneration, such as cultural planning. Thus, converged objectives link cultural managers to place branding experts, refining multidimensional policy thinking towards a more integrated image.
- Finally, the cultural aspect is related to the preexisting reputation of a place. Further, it is connected with the minds of people, fostering the contentions of common essence between culture and branding.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, we tried to analyse the theoretical framework between culture and place branding in general terms. Based on our research into the role culture can play in place branding, we admit that it should be part of the overall strategy. The brand then flows out as a result of events and not as a forced advertising message transmitted to consumers. Many places around the world have invested in culture as part of their city marketing, regeneration and revitalization of their environment. However, cities are too often seen in functional and technical terms (Ryser and Meyer, 2011). They are planned according to a manual, rather than in more 'lyrical' and imaginative terms, which take into account the place as a sensory experience with emotional effects.

Further research needs to be carried out with the aim of bridging the gap between policymakers and culture representatives. We need to know more about the cultural industries, how they operate, what they think during the creation process and about the further use of their products. A quantitative deepening in cultural industries will provide more data to be used – not as an inventory, but to generate new perspectives for effective place branding. In theory, place branding includes by default the notion of culture in its definition. The theory and the policies adapted by governments, however, are nothing without implementation. The lack of knowledge and communication between departments is very often the reason for not including very important creative clusters in the implementation of place branding.

Cultural planning and the valorization of cultural resources through place branding can potentially boost a place's international reputation and create value and wealth. A coherent and true communication and the consistent commitment of all players are needed when designing and implementing public policy.

## Notes

1. Place management was defined by the Institute of Place Management as a 'coordinated area-based, multi-stakeholder approach to improve locations, harnessing skills, experiences and resources of those in the private, public and voluntary sectors'.
2. According to Joseph Nye's (2004a: arises from the 'attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies'. He also adds that (2004b: 6), soft power should be considered a significant asset in influencing others, not by using 'hard' military power, but by 'the ability to attract' 256) definition, soft power has 'the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments.... Soft power, beyond influence or persuasion.

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# 2

## Cultural Entrepreneurs as Foundations of Place Brands

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**Keywords:** cultural entrepreneurship, Giddens' theory, place brand

### **Introduction**

Place making, as an economic development strategy, has long been used by cities and regions to attract and retain human resources, secure outside investment and compete in commerce and markets (van Ham, 2008; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006). Globalization and the free flow of information via the Internet have given rise to a fiercely competitive arena in which regions strive to stand out as exceptional based on their unique characteristics, offerings or environment (Dinnie, 2004; Kotler and Gertner, 2002). Around the world, politicians, planners and developers are working to define how their community is unique and to whom their community may appeal. Notably lacking in this discussion is the role cultural entrepreneurs play in place making and could play in place branding.

This chapter explores the role of cultural entrepreneurs as key stakeholders in shaping place and place brands. Through exploring the contributions cultural entrepreneurs make to place development, and the potential success to be gained by engaging cultural entrepreneurs in the place branding process, it is argued herein that cultural entrepreneurs are foundational to successful and sustainable place making and therefore place branding initiatives. Additionally, the chapter considers two cases that provide insight into the place making activities undertaken by cultural entrepreneurs. The resulting place branding effects of these cultural entrepreneurs are examined. The goal of this chapter is to provide readers with concrete examples of how cultural entrepreneurs, as change agents oriented towards consumers and markets, shape place

branding initiatives through customer and marketplace engagement, resource aggregation and social leadership. The chapter complements these findings with recommendations to place branding initiatives striving to engage cultural entrepreneurs.

The field of place branding has expanded and evolved over the past two decades, with a growing number of scholars contributing to a now confusing array of definitions of place branding (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006; Lucarelli and Brorström, 2013). For the purposes of this chapter, we will utilize the definition of place brand provided by Pryor and Grossbart (2007: 294), in which place brands are defined as ‘the set of central, enduring, and distinctive characteristics that actors ascribe to a place’.

### **Cultural entrepreneurs as key stakeholders**

Place branding processes have been likened to corporate and product branding strategies (Kotler and Gertner, 2002). However, this comparison fails to fully account for the complexities of branding a place when one considers that a given place holds historical and actual identities and values that cannot be dismissed or overridden by a central organizing element, such as a city government or department of tourism (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2006). So while corporate and product branding strategies have informed the development of place branding as an area of practice and study, stakeholder engagement may provide greater insight into effective place branding strategies that lead to brands that ‘stick’ (Kraff and Jernsand, 2012). Recently, discussions on place branding have begun to posit the process of place branding as a social and cultural process in which stakeholders are central actors (Kraff and Jernsand, 2012; Hankinson, 2004).

A wide range of stakeholders must be engaged in order to create an authentic and sustainable place brand (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007; Hankinson, 2004, Kavaratzis, 2005). Furthermore, the ongoing engagement of varied stakeholders may be tied to brand longevity and success (Ryan and Mizerski, 2010; Hankinson, 2004). The literature describes stakeholders in place branding processes as including residents, shop owners, visitors/tourists, and civic and public officials (Freire, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2005), and Braun, Kavaratzis, and Zenker (2010) identify local business owners as ‘ambassadors’ of place, suggesting that local business owners serve as a sort of frontline with the public and visitors, providing concrete experiences with local culture, art and related activities. Carrying forward this role as a direct channel of communication



with visitors and residents, one can see the importance of cultural entrepreneurs as stakeholders who not only are influenced by branding activities but also shape brand perception through translating distinctive characteristics of place into consumable products, services and experiences for locals and visitors alike (Gnoth, 2002; Ryan and Mizerski, 2010). Yet, while cultural entrepreneurs play a foundational role in place making and development, their influence on place and place brands is often overlooked (Dinnie, 2003).

Cultural entrepreneurs are founders of new ventures based in creative expression and cultural production. Found in the film, music, craft, visual and performing arts, culinary/local agriculture, and architecture and design fields, cultural entrepreneurs (sometimes referred to as creative entrepreneurs) transform cultural and creative knowledge, values and skills into products and services to be consumed, experienced or enjoyed by the general public, or by clients or customers. Cultural entrepreneurs' ability to marry intrinsic cultural or place-based knowledge and creativity with extrinsic market trends and channels connects places to visitors or outsiders through market mechanisms wherein consumers consume and experience the differentness of the place. Furthermore, successful cultural entrepreneurs reshape social structures and reorganize resources around their ventures.

### **Cultural entrepreneurs build place through markets**

In diverse communities around the world, cultural entrepreneurs have forged new markets through innovation and creative expression. Often blessed with exceptional creative talent and a deep understanding of cultural assets or traditions, cultural entrepreneurs have brought places into the limelight in communities around the globe. Walt Disney's intuitive sense of storytelling, character development and fantasy, for example, led him to invent the modern-day theme park and a media giant in the Walt Disney Company. Walt Disney's work led to the establishment of Orlando, Florida, a place described as 'beloved for its theme parks' by the Visit Florida website. In another instance, at the turn of the last century, Maria Martinez of San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico, USA, working with her husband and visiting archaeologists, invented the 'black-on-black' pottery method that gave birth to a renaissance in Native American art and provided a foundation for Santa Fe's current reputation and standing as a world-class art market.

Examples of famous individual entrepreneurs do not tell the whole story, however. In many communities, the combined efforts of multiple

cultural entrepreneurs give rise to cultural innovation, market development and the regeneration of cultural assets that collectively shape the place. Examples abound: vintners in the storied winemaking regions of France; cheesemakers in Parma, Italy; safari outfitters in Kenya; and indigenous weavers across the mountainous terrain of Guatemala all contribute to create the distinctive characteristics ascribed to their places. These examples are innately tied to market activities, a fundamental form of human interaction and exchange across cultures, class and geographies, which are likely to shape brands in the minds of market participants (Kipnis et al., 2013). While the nature of a place can occasionally be shaped by a single visionary entrepreneur engaged in market activities, much more frequently, place is a shared and complex identity (Hankinson, 2004) that emerges over time as myriad stakeholders, cultural entrepreneurs included, combine culture and creative expression, and present these complex identities to consumers, or visitors, or even residents. In any case, considering that the cultural assets and creative expression of a given locale provide key ingredients to differentiation – and thus competitiveness – within place markets, cultural entrepreneurs perform an essential function in the shaping of place brands (Mittilä and Lepistö, 2013).

### **Cultural entrepreneurs as social organizers**

In addition to shaping and sharing the distinctive character of a place, cultural entrepreneurs serve as social change agents. Entrepreneurs are adept at reorganizing social, human and financial capital in order to pursue market opportunities (Loy, 2012). Viewing entrepreneurship through the lens of Giddens' theory of structuration (1993), we see that entrepreneurs diverge from social and cultural norms sufficiently to observe opportunities that arise, while retaining enough social capital to be able to attract the resources necessary to new venture formation. Recognizing that opportunity recognition is a reflexive and ongoing process of interpreting social relations and structures, structuration theory places entrepreneurs at the nexus of social structure shifts through their processes of recognizing and capturing opportunities through resource acquisition.

Through entrepreneurial activities, openings for new network entrants are created, and social order is deconstructed and then reconstructed around new leaders, new norms. Asserting that entrepreneurs are made aware of opportunities due to their position in a given communication system, Sarason, Dean and Dillard (2006: 287) write, 'structuration theory

suggests that social structures both constrain and enable entrepreneurs in the venturing processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities'. This relates to place brand development in two ways. First, successful cultural entrepreneurs can be understood as change agents whose activities reorganize the cultural and creative – as well as financial, human, and social – resources of a given place to respond more effectively to market trends and opportunities. Second, successful cultural entrepreneurs are central to social organization and structure. Their actions indicate the directionality of norms and values. Therefore, place brand initiatives will likely be more sustainable if they engage local entrepreneurs in the brand development process and ongoing construction/reconstruction of the brand.

Entrepreneurship, cultural and otherwise, resides at the intersection of individual agency and social system evolution. Debunking the myth that entrepreneurs are solo actors begs the question what is the social role and function of entrepreneurship? Etzioni (1987: 176) writes, 'The societal function of entrepreneurship is...to change existing obsolescent societal patterns (of relations, organization, modes of production) to render them more compatible with the changed environment'. This sweeping statement places entrepreneurs central to disrupting social system stasis. While this proposed central role is intriguing, perhaps more interesting is that Etzioni, among others, displaces the notion that entrepreneurs perform solo (Byers, Kist and Sutton, 1999). Instead, these scholars argue that entrepreneurs engage others in a social exchange. Cultural entrepreneurs simultaneously defy social-structural constraints, while engaging dominant players in social structures. Entrepreneurs disrupt social systems to create new systems.

The activities of cultural entrepreneurs are primarily social: they seek to engage resources and accrue relationships, and necessarily disrupt the social stasis in order to make room for their new venture. As entrepreneurs gain success, social norms are disrupted and social change occurs (Giddens, 1993). As place brand actors and stakeholders, cultural entrepreneurs serve to galvanize social change through the displacement of social structures, the introduction of innovative cultural and creative products, and the engagement of consumers with these products. Cultural products become associated with specific places, serve as form of cultural expression and communication, and begin to exert influence over a place's brand.

This set of communicative actions that brands enact is referred to by Hankinson's model, in which he argues that brands have four characteristics. Brands are (1) communicators, (2) perceptual entities or images,

(3) value enhancers, and ultimately, (4) relationships. Hankinson writes that brands are a 'relationship with consumers and other stakeholders', and this places cultural entrepreneurs as central to place branding processes. Understanding the role cultural entrepreneurs play in shaping place through social organization and reorganization, is central to grasping the influence cultural entrepreneurs have in brand development of place: cultural entrepreneurs organize the social structures in which cultural differentiation and exchange occur, cultivate communication channels with consumers and deliver the brand experience to the consumer. These unique roles can be demonstrated through studying a particular case. Let us again visit the case of Maria Martinez, the potter from San Ildefonso Pueblo.

During the early 1900s, economic structures across Native nations were shifting to accommodate the influx of non-Native populations and their economic activities. Native American communities were rapidly losing cultural assets, including art forms and traditions, language and place-based knowledge. The innovation of black-on-black pottery, combined with the successful entry of Maria (and her husband, Julian) into national and international art markets with this widely acclaimed art form, brought renewed appreciation for and economic value to Native art. Artists who had previously been losing social and economic status were reconsidered in light of the notable success of Maria as both an entrepreneur and an artist. The early success of Maria and Julian was a harbinger of the demand for innovative and authentic indigenous art. Moreover, Maria influenced hundreds of Native artists and generated pride in Native American creativity and economic value for Native art. Today, the Native American art market in the United States is valued at over US \$1 billion (US Government Accountability Office, 2011), and Native artists are held in esteem as caretakers of cultural knowledge and values.

Cultural entrepreneurs, like entrepreneurs in other industries, are forces for social change. As cultural entrepreneurs shape new social structures, cultural artefacts (such as pottery, amusement parks, feature films, music festivals etc.) that reflect unique characteristics of a place, as well as social norms and cultural values, evolve to reflect these social changes. Indeed, as change agents go, cultural entrepreneurs may be more influential than other entrepreneurs when we consider that, through art, music, film, literature and performance, cultural entrepreneurs involve humans in meaningful and enticing sensory experiences. This position of influence may prove especially helpful to place brand developers seeking to engage stakeholders and community leaders in the place branding process.

Cultural entrepreneurs reside between consumers, markets and cultural communities. Situated in this unique place, cultural entrepreneurs serve as transmission lines between two or more cultural communities. Their creative and cultural products offer visitors tangible interactions with different cultures and leave visitors with impressions of a place's cultural norms and beliefs. Visiting wineries in rural France, viewing wildlife while on Safari and shopping at colourful textile markets in Guatemala all connect locals to their own place and to visitors. In this sense, cultural entrepreneurs are ambassadors whose impact can be positive through cultivating increased appreciation for and understanding of differing cultures, or harmful, through reinforcing negative stereotypes or providing distasteful interactions that misrepresent the culture on the whole (van Ham, 2006).

As discussed above, cultural entrepreneurs bring several essential elements to place and place branding processes. In summary, cultural entrepreneurs

- harbour exceptional creative talent and cultural assets and translate these into innovative consumable products and services;
- collectively constitute a place's capacity to differentiate itself in the marketplace;
- create social change and reshape economic and social structures;
- attract and reorganize resources and around market opportunities;
- directly engage with the public and serve as responsive communication channels between extrinsic market trends and intrinsic cultural traditions and beliefs;
- reinvest economic and human resources into a place's distinctive character, increasing competitiveness and sustained success of place branding efforts.

Given the varied and substantial role cultural entrepreneurs play in shaping place and can play in shaping place brands, improved understanding of and greater investment in cultural entrepreneurs will likely increase the success of place branding efforts.

This chapter offers two case studies that explore the role of cultural entrepreneurs in the development of place brands and the evolution of place brands at differing stages of development. The cases include (1) Province of Limón, Costa Rica (emerging), and (2) Santa Fe and the Santa Fe International Folk Art Market (mature). Each of these cases provides insights into how cultural entrepreneurs leverage cultural assets and innovation, collectively provide a distinctive product offering, create

shifts in social structures, reorganize resources, connect differing cultural communities and serve as responsive communication channels between intrinsic and extrinsic factors and actors.

## **Case studies**

The two case studies presented herein were conducted in 2013–2014. Data collection for the first case, a look at the role of cultural entrepreneurs in Limón Province of Costa Rica, was completed through the first author's participation as a consultant to the Cultural Corridor project, which allowed me to gain access to government planning documents, project plans and discussions with local tourism and cultural development officials. Additionally, the first author reviewed websites and media articles, attended several open community meetings, hosted four community trainings on cultural entrepreneurship (open to the public) and visited informally with resident cultural entrepreneurs, civic leaders and tourists. The second case relies on personal experiences consulting with the founders of the Folk Art Market over a period of three years, a set of informal interviews with one of the founders and a review of local media articles and websites. Names of individuals have been changed to respect their anonymity.

## **Province of Limón, Costa Rica**

Costa Rica enjoys a leading place in international tourist arrivals to Latin America (World Economic Forum, 2013). However, the Caribbean side of the small Central American nation receives disproportionately fewer visitors than other regions. In 2012, only 21% of tourists visited the Caribbean side of the country (Costa Rica Tourism Board, 2013). Several explanations have been suggested for this disparity (Palmer and Molina, 2004; Palmer, 2005), primarily racism and a historical lack of infrastructure. The province of Limón is home to the nation's most diverse population: 16% of Limón's population is Afro-Caribbean, 7% is indigenous and nearly 75% consider themselves a mix of Afro-Caribbean, indigenous, Chinese and/or mestizo blood (Costa Rica Census, 2011). Until 1948, national law excluded Blacks from participating in Costa Rica's society and economy outside of the Province of Limón. This, in combination with a lack of infrastructure investment (much of the region lacked electricity and passable roads until the 1970s), fostered a distinct cultural heritage and strong cultural identity tied to Afro Caribbean and indigenous traditions, beliefs and lifestyles.

Villages throughout the province today offer intercultural experiences, eco-adventures and Afro Caribbean music and entertainment. Situated downslope from the peaks of the Talamancan Range, the region receives nearly 200 inches of rain per year, and visitors can experience rainforest wildlife, including monkeys, caiman, tree frogs, sea turtles, a range of birds and exotic mammals. While the eco-experiences of the region mirror those offered in other parts of the nation, visitors may find two reasons not to travel to Limón: exaggerated crime reports and a lack of large resort/hotel developments offering high-quality, if predictable, accommodations and cuisine (Jones and Haubner, 2013).

Recognizing that the region maintains a rich cultural heritage and unique product offering, in 2013 the Costa Rican government contracted with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to build a project intended to organize cultural entrepreneurs, and tourism and hospitality entrepreneurs in the Limón Province. The goal of the project was to shape a unified place brand designed to attract adventure and culture-oriented tourists interested in the unique cultural and ecological aspects of the region.

To date, the project has identified over 200 locally owned businesses relating to culture, tourism, eco-tourism and creative production. After identifying regional leaders and entrepreneurs, the project began organizing a consortium, developing and delivering capacity-building workshops and exploring marketing strategies suited to the region. The formation of a consortium of artists, producers, tour providers, hotel and 'B & B' operators, and restaurateurs enabled the initiative to organize the diverse and distributed product offering into a coherent product set. Through building capacity in various enterprises, marketing costs are shared and greater presence in social media and search engines can be achieved. This will increase marketing reach, allow for more targeted marketing activities and increase competitiveness in the national marketplace.

Several interesting aspects should be noted: this set of activities was initiated by a governmental entity, not a local entrepreneur, and yet has been successful in generating abundant enthusiasm for and participation in the project. This is attributed to two factors: (1) the project engaged cultural entrepreneurs early on and gave these leaders guiding roles in the formation of the project and design of project activities; (2) cultural and creative talent, matched by an intrinsic aptitude for entrepreneurship, abound in the region. Project leaders noted the eagerness of locals to own businesses and bring forth cultural assets through business activity.

Several cultural entrepreneurs (for reasons of privacy, we refer here to fictitious names) have stood out as place making leaders during the project. In particular, Linda, founder of Puerto Viejo's Casa de Cultura, and Corbin Blackrow, founder of Hotel Mango Vida, have provided the project with leadership regarding place branding that aligns with local perspectives related to identity and values. These founders, like many of the participating cultural entrepreneurs, maintain and readily express a passion for Caribbean culture, a determination to maintain the uniqueness of the region, a strong sense of community and a desire to reinvest in the community through entrepreneurial activities.

The Casa de Cultura, located centrally in the small town and touristic centre Puerto Viejo, situated in the Caribe Sur (South Caribbean region), is described by its founder in the following way: 'The idea behind the casa de cultura is to rescue and save our [cultural] patrimony and to give a place – in July we start this – to local artisans and for a market for their art. For us the Casa de Cultura can be a center of information and exchange, about our history and our culture' (Halgarson, G., 2014).

Linda's vision of creating a cultural community centre came to fruition in early 2014, when renovations on the former Marcus Garvey home were completed. Marcus Garvey, famed as one of the first



Figure 2.1 Afro Caribbean band performing at Casa de Cultura, Puerto Viejo, 2014



African nationalists, and founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, lived in Puerto Viejo during the early 1900s and worked as a reporter for a local newspaper. After four years of work, the Casa de Cultura, a simple open wood-frame house is painted in bright colours and gives visitors insight into daily cultural life through murals and hung oil paintings depicting musicians and dancers, beach scenery, fishing boats, local fruits and foods, and children enjoying Caribbean lifestyles.

In creating the Casa de Cultural, Linda brought forward local artistic talents whose contributed works visibly remind community members and visitors about traditional lifestyles, Caribbean values and traditions, and the beauty of the area they inhabit. Linda commented on the colourful murals, noting, 'Yes, actually, the big mural we changed it because it had a palm tree in the middle and now it has a woman to show the importance of familia and the women'.

The Casa provides a social gathering place for the community and organizes the community around culture and tradition, while inviting innovation and economic development through hosting workshops and educational activities. Linda hopes the Casa will become an anchor for community identity in the context of development which aims for sustainability and social inclusion: 'We want to change the image of the region away from "it's a party place" to a place known for culture, for our pride of who we are'. The Casa creates a place where visitors engage directly with artists, musicians and community leaders through attending performances and shopping at the small artisan marketplace in back of the Casa.

Over the next years Linda plans to collect oral histories, historical photographs and articles and books related to the region's Afro Caribbean culture and history. Eventually, she hopes to open a small museum and library that will serve to attract scholars, artists and greater investment into the area's cultural patrimony. Time will tell if the social and economic structure of the community is affected by the Casa's activities. Reinvestment in the community and the shared and unique culture of the place have been realized by the Casa de Cultura and may foster a continued tradition of reinvestment and community-centred development.

The Hotel Mango Vida founder, Corbin Blackrow, is a North American who immigrated to Costa Rica after 'falling in love' with the diversity of cultures and the laid-back lifestyle of the region. As one of the most successful hotel owners of the region, Mr. Blackrow has demonstrated the effectiveness of both collective marketing and savvy Internet-based

marketing. His effective use of innovative technologies to reach customers from around the world has inspired other local entrepreneurs to adopt new marketing technologies. Furthermore, the community mentions Mr. Blackrow as someone who 'encourages us all to work together so we can all be more successful' and willingly mentors local entrepreneurs on the use of Internet technologies.

Mr. Blackrow's noted leadership and outspoken attitude about collaboration and collective economic action have shaped the thinking of other entrepreneurial actors in the region. Furthermore, he is accorded credibility due to his success in the hotelier business. His devotion to the uniqueness of the place and the diversity of cultures helps perpetuate a cultural norm of the region: appreciation for diversity and a peaceable mingling of diverse cultures and belief systems. Through embracing culturally diversity and identifying it as one of the region's assets (on his website and in marketing materials), Mr. Blackrow has translated cultural values into saleable services and experiences for tourists. Additionally, through marketing this aspect of the region, Mr. Blackrow encourages visitation from tourists who seek out and appreciate cultural differences, which in turn reinforces the community's valuing of its own diversity.

## **Santa Fe International Folk Art Market**

Founded in 2004 by four cultural entrepreneurs, the Santa Fe International Folk Art Market is today frequently cited as the largest folk art market in the world, bringing together over 150 artists from 40 or more nations one weekend in July, each year. Gathered over breakfast at a local diner, four friends, Judy Espinar, Tom Ageson, Charlene Cerny and Charmay Allred (names not changed), were captivated by the idea of hosting a folk art market centred on the folk artists, generating sales for artists with as little involvement of 'middle men' as possible. What followed was 'totally amazing', according to Ageson. With hopes for 3,000 attendees the first year, the founders were stunned when over 12,000 people attended and most artists were sold out after the Market's first day. The Market's success has continued to grow from this high point. Held on the Milner Plaza of Museum Hill in Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Market attracts over 22,000 visitors each year, and has helped create direct sales to participating artists of approximately US \$14 million since its inception.

Selecting artists for the Market is a lengthy and complicated process. Each year, the Market receives over 400 applications, and a panel of

reviewers selects finalists based on the quality of the artistry, previous participation (artists are usually welcome for three to four years in order to give new artists a chance to attend), and the potential for positive social impact through the artist's success at the Market. As the Market has developed over the past ten years, a preference for women artists and artist cooperatives has developed as the Market has collected data that indicates participating women artists and cooperatives tend to invest their Market earnings into community resources, including schools, medical resources, wells and furtherance of cultural assets.

Over the past several years, the Market has been recognized for the excellence of the creative expression and artistic quality presented there. In 2009, the Clinton Global Initiative invited the Market to participate, and President Bill Clinton invited three Market artists to create prizes for recipients of the Clinton Global Citizen Awards. The United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Awards of Excellence have been given to over a dozen participating artists, and museum collectors from across the United States attend the Market to discover folk art forms for their collections.

The founding entrepreneurs of the Folk Art Market have shaped the Santa Fe community in several ways that reflect their role as social change agents. First, the community brand as a centre for artists and art markets has been reaffirmed through the success of the Market. Prior to the Market, Santa Fe had failed to launch a new and significant cultural event or activity since the opening of the Georgia O'Keeffe Museum in 1997. The Santa Fe brand, long tied to arts, culture and indigenous heritage, was at risk of losing relevancy in the global art market. Second, the success of the market elevated the role of Santa Fe's cultural entrepreneurs, and has highlighted the positive impact cultural entrepreneurs have in shaping place and place brands. Recognition of the founders has been ongoing and public: three have received the Santa Fe Mayor's Award for Excellence in the Arts as individuals. Local, national and international press splashes the Market's success across their pages in June when preparations for the Market are ramped up. Finally, the founders have shifted local financial and human resources, and each year over 1,500 volunteers give time and money to the Market. Last year, the Market raised US \$6.7 million in a successful capital campaign. Centred directly on a new market activity, the Market has organized substantial resources around culture, art and a place's brand.

In addition to having a meaningful impact on Santa Fe's brand in the global tourism and art marketplace, and on the economic and social

structure of the community, the founders have generated, through the organization they created, a profound impact on the lives of participating artists. The Market has given folk artists, often disregarded as 'simple artists' in their communities, an enviable stature. Artists commented, 'Before the Market invited me to come, not everyone cared about my art but then, I go to America because my art is something special and I become someone people think, "wow, she is a success!"' As artists' stature has changed, so has their economic position in the community. Artists earn an average of US \$12,000–\$14,000 during the Market. The majority of artists come from nations in Africa and Asia, where annual incomes are less than US \$5,000.

Providing cultural entrepreneurs with substantial earnings allows these participants to shift resources in their communities back home. In interviews with artists, we learned that the following activities were made possible by income the artists took home:

- A community well was dug so that women would not have to walk so far for water.
- The number of days per week was increased for a nurse who travelled to the village to provide health care.
- School supplies were purchased for the community's school.
- Family members were hired to work in the artisan business and expand inventory and sales.

As the folk artists' incomes shift and grow, they reinvest their new economic resources into increasing human resources and development, organizing the local social structure increasingly around cultural activities and shifting economic roles in the community. Their success as artists allows them to reshape social norms and activities: women travel less to gather water and spend more time at home, children spend more time at school, artists become community leaders, and so forth.

## Discussion of case studies

Both case studies demonstrate the role cultural entrepreneurs play in shaping place through being rich deposits of creative talent and cultural skill, through transforming their cultural talents into consumable products and services that connect people to place and community, and through collectively offering the distinctive characteristics that allow one to place to differentiate itself in the market of places. In addition

to being essential to the generation of place and identity, cultural entrepreneurs are social change agents, reshaping community social and economic structures and patterns, bringing innovation and human resource development and creating a direct line of communication with locals and outsiders through market activities.

Cultural entrepreneurs have been ignored in the academic literature surrounding place branding, their influential role in shaping place and their potential role in forming place brands overlooked as planners and developers take centre stage. These case studies indicate that place brand stakeholders have much to gain from engaging cultural entrepreneurs in the brand development process. Cultural entrepreneurs have the power to engage and shift communities, generate and grow incomes from place, reinvest in place distinctiveness and provide consumer feedback and innovative responses to emerging market opportunities. Place branding is best viewed as a community-based process through which the beliefs, values and experiences of stakeholders are thoughtfully constructed into a coherent and representative set of symbols, stories, images and experiences. In the process of building place brands, cultural entrepreneurs provide scaffolding as communities move across time and adopt new cultural norms and activities. They serve as sources of creative inspiration, community organizing and market intelligence. They are foundational to both place development and branding.

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# 3

## Managing the Unmanageable: Stakeholder Involvement in Creating and Managing Places and Their Brands

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**Keywords:** place branding, place making, stakeholder theory

### **Research problem and conceptual terrain**

This discussion is driven by my disillusionment with current stakeholder theory and extant research on place branding, especially the treatment in both areas of matters relating to the manner in which locations, images and perceptions of them, and place brands are generated, (re)shaped, governed and challenged internally and externally. Through this analysis and the empirical research programme spanning a decade that it reports, I seek to bring the two lines of academic thought together in order to make sense of and theorize the difficulties with which processes of creation and recreation of high-technology locations, their images and brands are fraught, by involving and coordinating internal and external stakeholder constituencies with a stake in such place branding initiatives. The empirical research reported here demonstrates the potential for considering entrepreneurship, institutional and cultural entrepreneurship in particular, as a solution to seemingly intractable difficulties in managing multiple and frequently unmanageable stakeholder constituencies in such processes. As suggested in later sections in this chapter, such an approach may rest upon the ‘intellectual prowess’ and ‘persuasive capabilities’ of key individuals and institutions – acting as cultural entrepreneurs and collective cultural entrepreneurs – best positioned to mediate entrepreneurial and local resources for purposes of



place creation and management, successful place image generation and effective place branding.

The relevant literature on place branding, and especially the stream of research addressing inadequacies of processes and outcomes of branding locations, serves as the starting point of this short critical account. Extant research in this area tends to define initiatives of branding locations such as nations, regions and cities in terms of the efforts to generate images of such locations and market them through a consistent mixture of brand values (Iversen and Hem, 2008). Such initiatives are typically undertaken by national authorities (Papadopoulos, 2004). Place branding as a discipline has for some time now prioritized the normative assessment or empirical investigation of the above-noted promotion of places (Ashworth, 1993; Ashworth and Voogd, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1994) and their commoditization as marketable spaces (Kotler et al., 1993, 1999; Kotler and Gertner, 2002). Many recent place branding accounts have also been focused on the production of tourism imagery or have sought to establish the importance and implications of product-country imagery (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2004). In summary, it appears that it is image management as part of promoting and branding places that dominates academic thinking, with only a handful of scholars, such as Power and Hauge (2008), challenging intellectual tendencies in the literature, including the propensity to describe or assume location identities, place images and especially place brands as malleable, measureable and ultimately perfectly manageable (Anholt, 2005, 2006). What is missing frequently from extant literature and practitioner accounts are the discursive, political and other interdependencies resting on complex, multifaceted relations among multiple actors and stakeholder constituencies implicated in processes of creating places and images of these places, and of branding them. It is not that stakeholder perspectives are entirely absent or that complexities and contradictions of place making and branding are completely marginalized – a minority stream in scholarship has in the past decade or so engaged more consistently and seriously with matters of stakeholder perspectives and stakeholder dynamics in a variety of contexts of place branding (Hankinson, 2004; Mihailovich, 2006; Wang, 2006). It is on this foundation that my critique builds, while also seeking to extend further sensibilities of how places, their images and the way they get communicated and perceived internally and externally are fraught with negotiation, disagreement, dissent and various other challenges which are not only exciting conceptually but also present real, material challenges to locations and their management. Place making and

place branding are therefore viewed as problematic, non-unitary and politicized phenomena and processes – deeply and fiercely contested, invariably involving power and control, and requiring stakeholder theorizations that recognize the political, disciplinary and conflict-ridden nature of interactions and outcomes.

In the search of a stakeholder lens to location image creation and branding, relevant to this line of argument are a set of contiguous literatures in regional studies, regional science and economic geography tackling in a compound and non-simple, yet informative and robust, manner multifarious and intricate issues of stakeholder interactions and dynamics, stakeholder management and governance. The expectation is that such analyses contain approaches to and lessons for stakeholder involvement and stakeholder management that are of consequence to place creation, place image management and its branding. One of these intellectual traditions – a set of theories on governance – explores the turn from top-down to bottom-up policymaking, and the attendant replacement of government mode of managing locations to more governance-based approaches (e.g. Amdam, 2010). There is considerable scholarly consensus in this tradition that governance may and can displace government, and that bottom-up approaches may supersede top-down policies in creating and managing locations such as the life science regions examined in the next section.

Further sensibilities of interactions among stakeholder constituencies inhabiting and shaping locations, and the complexities of governing such interactions are also explored from perspectives of communicative interaction and of social processes embedded in regional and local networks, conceptualizing among others the ‘spatio-temporal fix of networking practices’ (Gualini, 2005: 305), conflicting and complex dynamics, and additional matters of communications within and across stakeholder groups and the involvement of external stakeholder constituencies for purposes of promoting a place by building its reputation. The complexity and difficulty of these interactions are alluded to by Löfgren (2008) who describes instances of multi-stakeholder involvement in European regions as examples of ‘dreamscapes’, rather than ‘strong’ ‘integration’.

Addressing interpenetrated academic questions and policy problems of stakeholder involvement, coordination, governance and the reputation building of places has also been linked with the notion of place leadership. Gibney’s (2011) is a more recent addition to a burgeoning interest in how competitive and sustainable places are (re)shaped through leadership, or lack thereof, of the type empirically shown and conceptualized

in later sections. Place leadership as a topic is closely related to earlier noted concepts, including place management. Debates in this area are also contiguous to the problematic of stakeholder involvement and management. Similar to current intellectual tendencies in these traditions, research on place leadership seeks to disentangle the complexities of leading, moulding and (re)shaping places. Especially in contexts of advanced markets, such questions have been raised at a time of shifting economic, political, socio-cultural and symbolic landscapes and during a period when the notion of 'relational interdependencies' and theories of the complexity of linkages among economy and place have assumed a prominent place in academic debates.

Far from prioritizing only problematic and negative manifestations and outcomes of interactions, some contributors to these streams of regional and planning research emphasize and theorize affirmative expressions of stakeholder involvement, encompassing empowerment through stakeholder involvement in planning (Dwyer, Ward, Lowe and Baldock, 2007; Amdam, 2010). Strong stakeholder involvement and bottom-up planning seem to be viewed by some as benefitting both stakeholders, through their involvement, and regional governance (see Goodchild and Hickman, 2006, for an example of the Northern Way in England). However, in practice, such a form of governance does not always represent a viable solution, nor does it unavoidably empower local constituencies (Amdam, 2010). There are further complexities of multi-scalar governance and stakeholder involvement relating to negotiation and bargaining among stakeholder groups (Perry and May, 2007), compromise (Crespy, Heraud and Perry, 2007), disagreement and even conflict – all of which generate distinct and significant governance challenges (Koschatzky and Kroll, 2007) and difficulties for place creation and attempts to manage place images or develop places as brands.

Although not consistently discussed in contexts such as those studied here, the picture that gradually emerges regarding the creation and management of places and their branding is far from unitary. More often than not, it may struggle with the unequal distribution of power (Crespy, Heraud and Perry, 2007) and intractable differences underlying difficult negotiations within the parameters of multi-level governance, with distinct implications for stakeholder management (Salazar and Holbrook, 2007) – issues which this contribution to the edited volume empirically explores. Illustrative of a view cognizant of the above challenges is the picture drawn of power relations and complex coordination within regions and other locations painted by Allen and Cochrane (2007). Many of the relations and influences studied by the authors lie outside the

institutions and governance structures of the core region, suggesting the need for a networked and fluid view of influences on governance, place governance and place promotion these days. As aptly demonstrated by Allen and Cochrane, the new networked realities of complex arrangements disrupt traditional forms of coordination and management, making it considerably more difficult to translate, operationalize and implement specific goals and objectives. Particularly useful for our investigation of stakeholder involvement in place creation and promotion is the suggestion that interdependence and involvement across scales and levels of organization produce governance of a networked nature which is less uncomplicated, 'clean' or 'straightforward' than we humans are commonly accustomed to expect or desire. Such complex governance involving negotiation and coordination (Salazar and Holboock, 2007) may generate polycentric authority (Crespy et al., 2007) or even 'authorities' crossing the boundaries of organizations, institutions and individuals, each with their (often incompatible and even contradictory) goals and objectives, structures, cultures and histories.

### **The empirical research and a selected few findings**

In order to empirically explore and theorize stakeholder involvement and coordination within the context of creating and managing high-technology locations and their brands, longitudinal empirical research was organized whereby four life science clusters were empirically studied in the UK and Ireland: Oxford, Central Scotland, the South West of England and Ireland (Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland). During a decade-long study from 2001 to 2009, 1,524 life science companies and other organizations, institutions governing and overseeing the life sciences, regional and national authorities, as well as other stakeholders such as analysts, consultants, advisers and scientists were studied. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from representatives of key stakeholder constituencies, including managers of small and medium-size companies and big multinationals, service providers, scientists working both in the public and private sectors, analysts and industry commentators, scientific and technical business consultants working with private-sector life science companies, public-sector research facilities and university hospitals, as well as regional and national public-sector managers charged with creating, managing and promoting these locations.

During the empirical research, we explored concrete experiences, perceptions, evaluations and recommendations by members of the

above-mentioned constituencies, and sought to capture the frames that guide the actions of the diverse groups studied. In this manner, we hoped to attend to, collect and make sense of narratives designed and utilized by diverse sets of actors implicated in struggles of place making and place promotion. Such frames and viewpoints were subsequently incorporated into a more general understanding of 'stakeholder involvement in creating and managing places and their brands', reflected in the title of this analysis.

I report here a select few findings illustrating key difficulties in creating, shaping, upholding and fostering locations and their collective brands. The following three sets of narratives document how interactions among stakeholder groups implicated in processes of place creation and branding are as much consensual and cooperative as they are marked by tension and disagreement, at times surfacing as obvious and readily observable opposition and conflict. This section of the discussion also presents and explores frames and accounts across locations which allude to divergence, negotiation, power dynamics and opposition, all of which may be described with reference to weak or absent relational and cognitive proximity (Boschma, 2005), as well as negative and conflictual social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Initial evidence of such disagreements and opposition among stakeholder constituencies was uncovered in the process of researching the Irish life sciences in the early 2000s, but similar complexities revolving around weak relational, cognitive and even ideological proximity also surfaced during the collection and analysis of extensive quantitative and qualitative data in the context of South West of England life sciences more recently.

As some findings from the empirical research in question have already been presented and theorized elsewhere, although in a different context and with respect to a different set of management and planning challenges (see Kasabov, 2010, 2011; Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013), here we report a set of narratives which have so far remained unpublished.

It was during the initial round of interviews with Irish stakeholders in regions populated by members of the country's life science community – mainly in Dublin but also in the South and the West of the country – that evidence of sometimes hidden, although persistent and intractable, disagreements among key internal stakeholder constituencies emerged. References to 'opposition of views', 'misunderstandings', 'continuous arguments' and 'challenges to authority' were at first relatively rare during a round of interviews involving mostly managers and other representatives of the public sector, especially in institutions and support bodies implicated in policymaking in the area of the life sciences.

Subsequent rounds of interviews with scientists, academics and staff in technology-transfer offices revealed little in the way of 'misunderstandings' and 'challenges'; however, they confirmed the initial impression that – in spite of the positive tone of policy documents and publicly available materials painting a picture of unity regarding the identity and promotion of life science and life science locations in that country – deeper forces and darker dynamics were also at play. In particular, such disagreements between public-sector bodies and small to medium-sized enterprise (SME) managers figure prominently during a third round of interviews held mostly with private-sector actors. Some of the themes collected during this early-stage research in 2001–2003 were later confirmed, under somewhat similar circumstances, in the context of life science location creation and branding in South West England. In both places – Ireland and South West England – disagreements, contestation and power battles seemed to mark the relations among, first, public-sector bodies and consultants, second, public-sector bodies and SME managers, third, public-sector bodies and stakeholders in higher education, including academics and university researchers, and finally, within the public-sector itself. Disagreements in both locations revolved mostly around incompatible understandings and competing frames regarding the nature of a high-technology (in this instance, life science) location, the management of the image and promotion of this location, and the future direction the location's identity, image and promotion.

Particularly pronounced were the mutual challenges involving private-sector practitioners – especially SME managers, consultants and advisers – and public-sector bodies charged with overseeing and assisting initiatives in creating and managing the high-technology locations studied. The set of interviewed private-sector practitioners often challenged public-sector accounts and stories about the two locations. Practitioners expressed their concern about the poor record of development, internal investment, commercialization, and production of Internet Protocol (IP) address in both locations – contrary to public-sector accounts highlighting competitive success, growth and increased visibility of both locations not only within European life sciences but also internationally. In both locations, private-sector stakeholders noted that they had raised concerns even regarding the lack of a clear, unambiguous identity of the locations studied. Nor did it appear that such an identity was promoted through the unambiguous and effective promotion of the locations. References were consistently made to the identities of the locations studied 'obviously ha[ving] to improve' and requiring 'considerably greater advocacy' on the part of regional public-sector bodies'.

Public-sector stakeholders were often accused of apathy, 'misunderstand[ing] the needs of ... private-sector' constituencies in both locations, and even 'block[ing] ... efforts to do something sensible with this place'. Recommendations were made for public-sector and other constituencies to 'shout ... a bit louder maybe, it's difficult to say isn't it', instead of focusing on allegedly current – at the time of the interviews – 'futile efforts' and 'self-serving initiatives'. The number and dominance of narrative codes of 'difference in agendas', 'lack of collaboration', 'sporadic conflict', 'endemic disagreement' and 'no meeting of minds' regarding interactions and agendas involving initiatives about raising the visibility and reputation of the studied locations attest to the problematic nature of stakeholder interactions in both studied locations.

Furthermore, evidence was uncovered of a weak and inconsistent sense of belonging to and identification with the two locations. Where present, such identification was more often described as 'problematic', 'unwelcome', 'distract[ing]', 'hinder[ing]' and 'unwanted', rather than positive and encouraging. Attachment with both locations, especially on the part of private-sector stakeholders but also among some interviewees from the public sector and higher education institutions, was also weak and negative or neutral at best. Perceptions of the regions hosting life sciences in the two locations, of other actors implicated in processes of location creation and promotion, and of the processes of regional identity and image creation were also coded mostly negatively: 'marginal areas', 'peripheral locations', 'secondary locations' and 'area without much future for science-making and for scientists'. Identification with a location ideally has a collective basis, but should also be deeply personal and emotional, Zimmerbauer (2011) suggests. I have uncovered little evidence of this in both studied places. This last set of findings provides the transition to the second dominant narrative in both locations: disagreements among stakeholder groups as to the nature, effectiveness and impact of branding initiatives.

Once again, it was initially in Ireland that I uncovered some evidence of private-sector disquiet regarding public-sector-sponsored initiatives to place brand life sciences in the country and promote the regions hosting clusters of such companies. Although public-sector interviewees had shared with me stories of success in promoting and branding the locations in question, private-sector narrators emphasized the 'inadequacy' and 'inconsistency' of branding initiatives. To this one must add the widely held perceptions of 'the absence of consultation' noted by interviewees at a later stage of research – in South West England – the 'disinterest in involving everyone [in such initiatives]' or even the 'lack

of awareness' amongst private-sector stakeholders of such initiatives. The outcome – in both locations – was 'disappointment' and even 'frustration' or 'anger' consistently expressed by private-sector interviewees and stakeholders working in higher education. In principle, such initiatives are aimed at generating or inventing a viable image of a location. Yet, neither of the two identities of the locations studied here were seen as distinctive and strong, facilitating their differentiation as well as their unambiguous and positive, internal and external positioning, further exacerbated by the above-mentioned disagreements concerning the processes of generating such identities and images.

The above-mentioned narratives of disagreements and weaknesses were confirmed during a content analysis of documents and reports on both locations. For instance, in the case of South West England, interview narratives of weaknesses and inconsistencies in branding the location were confirmed by a single reference, almost in passing, to 'perceptions of the region' in an official document which does not even mention 'place promotion', 'place branding' or any other related terms. Although the authors of the report in question conceded that there was a need to 'improve the way that the South West is perceived by investors, businesses, potential workers and visitors', and the importance of 'promot[ing] the renaissance of the region's largest urban areas as dynamic international cities', campaigns and initiatives relating to identity creation, image creation and promotion seemed to be rare, ineffective and inadequately organized or coordinated. Although public-sector managers in both locations emphasized the quality, impact, number and variety of branding and communication programmes – including the organization of networking initiatives, various missions to other locations, planned associations with stakeholders in other regions, and events – awareness of both locations, their character and achievements – both internally and externally – was shown to be low, at times negative, and often inaccurate. The effect of the few noted branding and promotional campaigns was judged by most interviewees to be 'limited' and 'minimal' as well. Nor has the representation of the two locations improved either nationally or internationally since the completion of the empirical research a few years ago, for both locations still seem to be defined as places with identity and image problems as far as the life sciences are concerned.

### **So what are the implications?**

From a purely theoretical and conceptual standpoint, this discussion should be unproblematic, for it interrogates issues which have already



been noted by a minority of scholars in the extant literature – especially those intrigued by matters of ‘relationality’. This is by no means a first analysis conceptualizing regions, locations and other places as relational constructs, nor is this account of two life science locations the first to approach and analyse them through a relational lens. Macleod and Jones (2007) have for some time now argued that spatial configurations identical or similar to the ones described in the section on my empirical research may no longer be conceptualized as ‘territorial and bounded’. Rather, they are constructed through and constituted by relationality in its various manifestations. However, as Macleod and Jones (2007) caution, such a relational view should not assume or anticipate consensus or coherence. In fact, this discussion demonstrates that it would be unrealistic or even detrimental to ignore the magnitude and prominence of relational and interactional disparities, impediments and barriers.

The questions conceptually and empirically explored here should be of intellectual interest and of practical importance, due to the current gradual state withdrawal in locations such as those studied here, leaving behind regionalized, compartmentalized planning and branding (Trouve and Berriet-Sollic, 2010) which may lack an overall vision and may be marred by conflict and dissent. In terms of the underlying theory, findings provide credence to recent conceptual claims and empirical evidence of conflicts among actors (Koschatzky and Kroll, 2007), often driven by the ‘silo’ mentalities marking stakeholder involvement and interactions – each constituency revealing specific interests and a lack of acknowledgment of the agendas and positions of other stakeholder groups (Counsell, Hart, Jonas and Kettle, 2007). Findings should be interpreted in terms of problematic and intractable stakeholder management, disagreements reported recently by Moore (2006), Maennig and Olschlager (2011) and Pearce and Ayres (2007), among others, although in contexts different from that of place making and place branding. My discussion also builds upon and takes further accounts of political and power problems, approaching them as stakeholder management issues (Mawson, 2007), failures to involve adequately relevant stakeholder constituencies in conversations (Pikner, 2008) and stakeholders subverting the official rationale for cooperation (Löfgren, 2008).

It should be noted that the combined state withdrawal, growing challenges to traditional public-sector leadership and the ensuing difficulties in managing stakeholders in complex environments and with respect to often intractable problems as those studied empirically by us call for innovative approaches to the creation and management of places

and their brands. Such approaches may need to increasingly involve, in one form or another, entrepreneurship and especially institutional and cultural entrepreneurship by recognizing and embracing, rather than dismissing, the place and role of key individuals, their 'intellectual prowess' and 'persuasive capabilities' (Mokyr, 2011). With the field of entrepreneurship offering a variety of frequently incompatible definitions and conceptualizations of 'cultural entrepreneurship' (e.g. Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001), for the purposes of this discussion and especially the suggested inclusion of 'cultural entrepreneurship' in creating and managing locations and their brands, I define the two key terms as follows: first, culture as 'an interpretive framework through which individuals make sense of their own behavior, as well as the behavior of collectivities in their society' (Scott and Lane, 2000: 49), and second, cultural entrepreneurship in terms of processes which mediate entrepreneurial and other resources, on the one hand, and regional and especially local development through 'wealth creation' by involving place management and place branding. Cultural entrepreneurs may be the ones in possession of the necessary experience, resources and credibility to mould and shape place creation, place development and place branding in seemingly 'unmanageable' locations as those studied by us. They may achieve this by establishing legitimacy and cultivating collective cultures within cognitive communities involving relevant stakeholders which are conducive not to conflict and disagreement but to cooperation and the pursuit of a shared vision regarding a place and its brand. Such entrepreneurs and the institutions that they create may also help accumulate and consolidate various resources and competencies underlying place creation, place management and place branding. In summary and on a practical level, the difficulties that this discussion evidences in areas of traditional management of places and their images suggest the importance of considering alternative – cultural entrepreneurial and social – dynamics in processes of place creation and promotion.

The above-mentioned individual and collective entrepreneurs possibly share traits with enterprising, proactive actors enjoying legitimacy in the eyes of the multitude of local and extra-local constituencies described earlier. An illustration of the possibilities of such an approach to managing and branding locations is found in Löfgren's (2008) example of the 'regionauts' who actively 'create integration' through their contacts and encourage local and extra-local activity. Although Löfgren's is an account of the complexities and intricacies of transborder collaboration, rather than stakeholder involvement in governance and

promoting locations, his story of the opportunities for regions and other locations to 'position themselves' as 'hot spots' and attractive destinations for investors and other external constituencies as enabled almost singularly by actors such as the above-described entrepreneurs could provide the blueprint for future initiatives by making the unmanageable more manageable, and by inspiring new approaches to stakeholder involvement in creating and managing places and their brands.

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# 4

## The Role of Culture in Regional Development Work – Changes and Tensions

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**Keywords:** cultural turn, Finland, regional development

### The 'cultural turn' in regional development

A worldwide trend in the integration of culture into regional development strategies has been taking place since the 1990s. This is a trend in which towns and cities have adopted culture-led development strategies in the hope of strengthening their competitive position (Miles and Paddison, 2005: 833–839). In China culture has even been regarded as a significant resource in village development strategies (Oakes, 2006: 13–37). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report *Culture and Local Development* (2005) recommends the strengthening of communities' cultural capital through education and work practice, as this is believed to have a beneficial effect on local and regional development. Such developments led Radcliffe (2006: 228) to claim that a 'cultural turn' with its attending discourses, paradigms and actors had taken place in development work.

However, neoclassical economic perspectives and theories have dominated the scientific and societal debates at the expense of the arguments that are founded on perspectives which draw on economic theories that lean towards the political and social sciences as well as cultural studies. Within this theoretical debate, researchers on both sides emphasize the significance of their perspective in relation to the concept of 'regional development'. How should entrepreneurs and policymakers respond to these opposing viewpoints?

This chapter refers to the term ‘regional development’, delineated as economic, social and ecological development, which implies the conscious and active exercise of influence on the development of a given area or region. This definition suggests that for regional development to succeed at a sustainable level, the region’s leadership and administration must employ the know-how derived from both economics and the social sciences, which are fundamentally intertwined, as evidenced by the European Union’s (EU’s) Europe 2020 growth strategy, which aims to *“become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion.”* (European Commission, 2014)

Thus, based on the EU’s growth strategy, I assume that within the context of regional development, social and economic perspectives are dimensions of the same empirical reality. By extension, I assume that the social science dimension in regional development is influenced by culture, defined here as *“the collective programming of the human mind that distinguishes the members of one human group from those of another. Culture in this sense is a system of collectively held values”* (Hofstede, 2001). Thus, rather than treating culture as something ‘out there’ or a technological issue, something used to solve problems, I understand culture to be a factor which influences how people, in the case of regional development, interrelate. In that sense culture can be understood as the glue that keeps everything in social life harnessed together as a value structure (see e.g. Gullestrup, 2007).

The term ‘regional development’ is frequently taken to refer to economic, social and ecological development and to imply the conscious and active exercise of influence on the development of a given area or region and its leadership and administration, which is assumed to call for a certain kind of regional development know-how. In the Finnish context, culture (including the arts) has been gaining a progressively stronger foothold alongside other aspects of development in the strategies and scenarios espoused by local and regional authorities. One example of the raising of culture to an equal level with other branches of development can be seen in the Finnish Regional Programme for Central Ostrobothnia, 2007–2010:

The culture of Central Ostrobothnia is increasingly being viewed as a local, regional, national and international resource, and the exploitation of culture and the arts as a means of creating an image for the region and its economic life and promoting competitiveness is being

seen as an important part of the development of well-being in the region and the stimulation of its economic opportunities. (K-P-liitto, 2007: 27)

This brief statement contains many of the terms that lie at the heart of the discourse of regional development: resource, exploitation, economic life, image, competitiveness, well-being and promoting. These are instrumental values that are used in many policy documents, vis-à-vis well-being, to bang the drum on behalf of culture and the arts, as in the strategy *Cultural Competitiveness and Vitality for Southern Ostrobothnia*, where it is observed that

In the current global pattern of social development, culture is being looked on as a more significant factor in the development of economies and societies than ever before. Where culture was previously regarded very much as a value in its own right, it has now become an essential part of regional development, so that cultural development has come to focus on questions of well-being and the making of a living (at the [inter] household level) from cultural activities, which reflects a value choice, a sense of identity in relation to other styles of life and types of social persons. The significance of culture is now more closely connected with its powerful position as a means of building up an image for a given area or region and strengthening its power of attraction. Culture can also have a beneficial influence on an area by promoting a sense of belonging and enhancing the local identity. (E-P-liitto, 2004: 8)

Purontaus (2008: 121) perceives differences in emphasis between the cultural strategies of regional councils and local authorities alongside assertions of the instrumental value to be attached to culture. Regional strategies in particular tend to start from the world of EU projects, with its dominant discourses and resources to be tapped – with the underlying question of ‘How can culture support an area’s development?’, while the purpose of a town or city in drawing up a cultural strategy is largely to document the justifications for its own aims in view of the competition for resources within the local authority. Purontaus then goes on to maintain that even though the legitimization of public funding for culture on the grounds that it has an influence on an area’s image and development may be a somewhat vulnerable argument relative to the justifications for more ‘concrete’ investments, ‘In an age in which the emphasis is on economic efficiency and profitability, culture is required



to demonstrate its significance to the community and to society at large so that it will be regarded as an activity that lends support to competitiveness and productivity in spite of its naturally low profit margins' (Ibid., 122–123).

Changes have taken place in the field of cultural policy in Finland and in the other Nordic welfare states towards more market-oriented ways of speaking that emphasize the economic use to be derived by culture (see Ahponen, 1991; Heiskanen, 1994; Luttinen, 1997; Ilmonen, 1998; Kangas, 2004; Häyrynen, 2006), so that these can be more readily accepted as natural and favoured forms of expression within the linguistic framework of regional development. In simplified terms, one might say that the dominant discourses and actors in regional development and cultural policy have begun to merge to a deeper extent, a trend that has the effect of instrumentalizing the field of the arts and neoliberalizing the welfare state, as claimed in the criticism put forward by Merli (2002) and Belfiore (2003), for example. The hegemony of the administrative processes involved has nevertheless pushed such marginal, heretical voices out of range.

Although the ways of speaking in the fields of culture, economics and administration have been tuned to represent a single, consistent strategic language, it is quite another question whether the regional strategies have been successfully transformed into action, social processes and structures, or whether they have produced any obvious benefits at all for the people and communities of their areas. Many of the strategies have become ancient monuments buried in filing cabinets or, as Häyrynen (2006: 127) describes them, they were no more than decorative promises and expressions of rhetorical nihilism from the outset. This led Purontaus (2008: 111) to comment that 'if they wish to combat cynicism and anti-developmental attitudes, public sector organizations should not draw up strategies unless they have the resources with which to put them into effect and a real interest in doing so'. Mistakes of this kind were made in abundance during the recession years of the 1990s, when culture-based image campaigns gained a fashionable status in the administrative systems of regional councils and local authorities.

When setting out to evaluate the local or regional impact of culture and the arts, one must also pay attention to processes of the kind referred to as 'emergent development', that is, spontaneous trends that may be partly unconscious in nature and obey laws of their own, which are extremely difficult to detect and study (see Sotarauta and Kosonen, 2004: 25). Not all activity can be examined or initiated via systematic governance or administration.

Also, the deeper one goes in the direction of the creative or performing arts (see Loisa, 2004: 165), the more conflicts of values and cultural struggles may be focused on these in the context of administrative strategies or image campaigns, since the opposition between instrumentality and autonomy is a deep-seated one. On the other hand, dichotomies involving conflicting values scarcely arise in the case of popular culture or cultural entrepreneurship because the logic of a culture industry that provides suppliers with a living and an audience with entertainment typically functions on market principles.

If one were to ask the actress and theatrical director Leea Klemola for her opinion on regional development, for instance, she would probably massacre the concept at the outset. Her comments would probably cause mild astonishment in future workshops organized in connection with regional planning and related programmes, where the discourse of development flows pleasantly as a self-evident theme that is not even questioned. And she would probably raise her anarchistic tone still further if culture and the arts appeared to occupy a natural place in the vocabulary of regional development. Indeed, a critical commentator might well brand the development discourse as purely a question of power, as a part of post-World War II Western modernization and the subjugation of 'underdeveloped' areas (the Third World, development regions and rural areas) to the categorizations and strategies generated by the majority culture (cf. Escobar, 1995).

In general, however, it has been the custom in both the cultural sector and the academic community to put forward positive, constructive arguments for a link between culture and regional development. Much has been written and spoken in recent years about culturally sustainable development, sharpening and advancing the observations and interpretations that have for a long time been associated with the tensions and opportunities existing between culture and developmental work.

### **Conflicts or communication on an equal footing?**

Studies of the regional impact and utility of culture and the conclusions they have reached have taken shape mainly according to the research traditions that the scholars concerned have espoused and to which they have committed themselves. It is evident, for instance, that the integrative view of the connection between social capital and development within society as put forward by Putnam (1993) would provide a totally different path for such research from the approach

based on structuralism and conflict theory as advocated by Bourdieu (1995), with its emphasis on the inherent struggle between social fields (see Siisiäinen, 2003: 204–218). It is likely that the former would lay stress on the opportunities for interaction, mutual trust and balanced regional development, while the latter would emphasize conflicts of interest and power issues, which admittedly would also serve to carry development forward. As Siisiäinen (Ibid., 215–216) sums up the situation, ‘A strict commitment to Bourdieu’s notion of social capital would lead to a quite different perspective on the same special problems from an adherence to that of Putnam.’ In spite of this, however, there are many empirical studies of culture in which the methodological perspective has been left entirely to one side, without any conceptualization or discussion.

When speaking of culture or the arts in connection with regional development, we should similarly not forget the earlier philosophical constructs that could nowadays be looked on as ‘historical myths’. The *L’art pour l’art* (Art for Art’s Sake) movement that arose in the 19th century was utterly opposed to the harnessing of art for external purposes and to demands that it should possess a utilitarian value (see Laurila, 1947), while the autonomy of art was defended in the 20th century, under the influence of the Frankfurt School, by alluding to its lack of any inherent function and the nature of radical modern art as a denial of the rational society surrounding it (see Adorno, 1972). Views of this kind may seem strange and unfashionable nowadays, but it was evidently on the basis of these perspectives that critics set out later to question the attempts made to control art and culture, for example, in connection with the creation of images for localities and regions (see Ilmonen, 1994a, 1994b; also Ilmonen, 2003: 17–23).

In the troubled times of the economic recession in the early 1990s, the harnessing of culture, and particularly the field of the arts, for the purpose of local and regional image-building strategies was criticized above all by artists themselves, whose views on matters of cultural policy were chiefly grounded in a humanistic concept of art and the ideals of the welfare state, implying that culture and the arts should be assured of their autonomy and of support from society at large without any concrete utilitarian obligations. They were inclined to attach value primarily to the social and intellectual benefits accruing from culture and the arts rather than the regional economic benefits or associated image benefits that were expected in local and regional political and administrative circles in exchange for financial support. On the other hand, some measure of internal competition emerged within the field

of the arts, as reflected in the conflict of interests between the predominating cultural system that received support from society, including professional theatres and orchestras, and the marginalized amateur sector, since the former was committed to defending their existing positions and advantages, while the latter was demanding a reorganization of the cultural sector and a redistribution of funding and was ready, with certain reservations, to accept market ideals such as the supply and demand principle, image campaigns and cultural tourism (Ilmonen, 1994b, 1998). This was an interpretation that relied mainly on Bourdieu's conflict perspective, which is open to criticism on the grounds that it might lead to a paranoiac disregard for certain interesting community initiatives and development paths or cause them to be blocked for considerable lengths of time.

Purontaus (2008) continued research into these same problems in the same locality during the first decade of the 21st century, but based on a negotiation perspective, asking what kind of interaction arose between the administration and the world of the arts, and how joint planning worked out during the process of creating a cultural strategy. The aim of the process as such had been to test the efficacy of multi-party discussions on an equal footing aimed at achieving mutual understanding. Although some of the artists were critical of the competitive and attraction functions assigned to culture by the administrative authorities, preferring to lay emphasis on its social and health-related contributions, a certain movement towards mutual understanding and closer interaction could be detected. This may be attributed at least in part to a change in atmosphere within society and to the action research approach that had been adopted, in accordance with the communicative activity theory of Habermas (1981) and with the concrete strategy development efforts made by the researcher. It should also be noted that the researcher was himself a city council official in the cultural sector, whereas Ilmonen had at the time of his study been a member of the city's artistic community. Purontaus came to the conclusion that more time in the planning of public sector services should be set aside for listening to the opinions of interested parties and for discussions and negotiations, although the creation of a more open society cannot be expected to be a painless process (2008: 234). Communicative planning has been criticized, among other things, for the fact that the parties to it are only seemingly on an equal footing and that it is impossible to achieve full agreement and genuine understanding (Jauhiainen and Niemenmaa, 2006: 64).

## From economics to more open significations of culture

One international model and source of inspiration for the Finnish researchers who were particularly interested in the economic implications of culture in the early 1990s was the British economist John Myerscough's *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988). This analysis of the very substantial cash flows generated by the general public and the culture industry within arts organizations also aroused a certain amount of criticism among researchers later, on the grounds that not all the turnover generated by culture remains in the locality or region concerned, as most of it is distributed widely elsewhere (see Ilmonen, Kaipainen and Tohmo, 1995; cf. Cantell, 1993). There were also some doubts expressed as to the ability of economists to evaluate the impact of culture successfully (see Rydman and Sappinen, 1988; Valtonen, 1992). An empirical assessment of the primary economic impacts of culture, for example revenues from theatre ticket sales, together with the secondary impacts, for example, company incomes and tax revenues derived from a theatrical performance, clearly cannot recognize all aspects of the total impact of culture on a given area (see also Kainulainen, 2005).

Further important contributions to the discussion were provided by the reviews of German cultural research results and statements published by the Swedish-German journalist Lisbeth Lindeborg in her *Kultur som lokaliseringfaktor* and *Kulturens betydelse* (1991). Alongside the fact that these opinions served to crystallize the adage 'Culture is a good economic proposition' in Finland and the world in general, it is clear that Lindeborg wished to emphasize the intellectual and social significance of culture and the effect of major cultural investments in defining the image of a locality or region. Lindeborg encouraged closer partnership between culture and the economic sphere – on condition, of course, that culture was able to preserve its autonomy where content was concerned. In her opinion, society's support for culture could very well be filled out by company sponsorship, as an economically viable cultural life is of benefit in many ways to a locality or region and to its companies and inhabitants. From this ensued another saying that was widely bandied about in development strategies and cultural seminars in the 1990s, that 'Culture is worth investing in'. It was popular to claim, for instance, that every Finnish mark invested in culture would yield a certain number of marks in return.

There were admittedly some cultural economists at that time, such as Georg Arnestad (1992) and Trine Bille Hansen (1993), who regarded the justification of culture purely on local economic grounds as a slightly

dangerous pursuit, since it could even damage and constrain opportunities for cultural activities in the long run, for example, by generating a local or regional cultural policy that would begin to favour only those branches of culture which conspicuously contributed to employment, entrepreneurship and tourism in the area concerned and enhanced its image. This would represent a threat to the cultural democracy and the diversity of cultural services – not to mention the autonomy of the arts.

The aim of the Nordic research project entitled *Kultur og regional udvikling* (Cultural and regional development) in the early 1990s was to estimate the significance of culture for the sense of community that existed among the people in each area, the formation of their cultural identity and the development of the local economy. Particular attention was paid to signs of more determined instrumentalization of culture within development strategies and image campaigns. As market ideals became more firmly rooted in the ways in which people spoke of development, it seemed that the ways of speaking of culture, too, became all the more obviously transformed into discourses of economic profit. Simply the titles of the two reports that emerged from this project, *Kulturens spændetrøje* (The cultural straightjacket, 1992) and *Kulturens brug eller misbrug* (Use or abuse of culture, 1993), tell us something of the breadth and critical nature of the problems addressed when considering the logic of the harnessing of culture in the service of a local economy and administration. In addition, at least allusions were made to the desirability of a cultural policy of the kind found within the Nordic model of the welfare state, in which society's support and guidance for culture and the arts, without undermining their autonomy, remains essential, rather than motivating actors within culture and the arts – or forcing them outright – to venture onto the gaming board of market forces and values.

By the turn of the millennium, institutions in both research and administration were taking it upon themselves to construct a common ground for discourse between culture and the economy in accordance with international trends. Economic creativity, social creativity, well-being and cultural production were the themes that emerged in those discussions (Himanen, 2004; Wilenius, 2004; Koivunen, 2004). Even the report of the Policy Committee for the Arts and Artists (TAO 2002: 16–17) encouraged the integration of culture into administrative strategies and scenarios, stating that 'It is to the advantage of the arts, citizens in general and the whole of society that the significance of the arts as a factor in a creative welfare society should be recognised and taken into

account better in the decision-making processes within society, in the related documents and plans and in resourcing of the arts'.

At the same time, multidisciplinary cultural studies were beginning to examine the preconditions for the success of society and given regions, particularly from the perspectives of economic creativity, the symbolic economy or the culture industry. Greater sensitivity began to be exercised in studying how and on which dimensions the various functions implicated within culture were reflected in regional development, and attention was drawn not only to the primary and secondary economic repercussions of culture in a region but also to its processual and invisible (tertiary) effects. 'A hybrid relation [that] prevails between culture, the economy and regional development' was the basic thesis put forward by Kainulainen (2005: 437; see also 2004). In his opinion it was difficult, if not impossible, to measure the extent to which these fields were intertwined, but the resulting dynamic entity could be understood in the form of invisible processes and intersections that manifest themselves as enhancements of a region's non-material and material cultural capital, as if they were forces that nurtured and propelled each other. By non-material capital Kainulainen meant such things as the more creative atmosphere, stronger sense of local identity and higher level of know-how in the field of culture that could be generated in a given locality by the holding of a cultural festival there, while the material capital referred to structures set up for the purpose of such a festival, including financial resources and organizations supporting it or ancillary to it.

The empirical cases quoted by Kainulainen in his qualitative study based mainly on discourse analysis were festivals held either in cities or in rural areas, such as the Jyväskylä Festival and the Midnight Sun Film Festival in Sodankylä. His scheme for representing the relationship between the festival's gaining roots in the area, the cultural capital generated by it and its positive effect on the image and perceived attractiveness of the area was the following.

Human geography has also contributed to our understanding of the integration of culture into localities and regions, although the definition of culture is usually broader in this case, covering all symbolic and linguistic interpretations associated with the surface of the Earth. Luoto (2006, 2008) has been interested in rural localities that have fared substantially better than most, for example, in terms of demographic or economic development or tourism. One interesting finding was that such localities seemed to stand out from others in having a local spirit that could be confirmed from repeated references in the media. Luoto

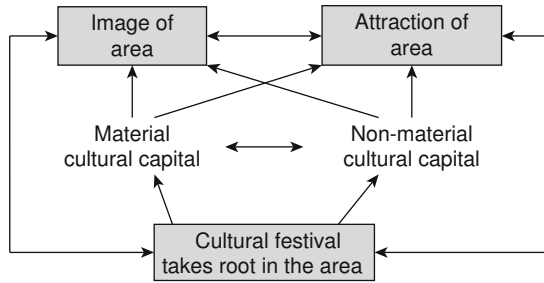


Figure 4.1 Regional image and attraction in relation to the cultural rooting of the region (Kainulainen 2005: 366)

examined three Finnish localities of this kind and three Scottish ones and considered their core narratives:

- Äkäslompolo → narrative of Arctic nature
- Fiskars → narrative of an old ironworks taken over by a community of artists and artisans
- Tuuri → success story of a local shopkeeper publicized in the media
- Drumnadrochit → tale of the mythical Loch Ness Monster
- Dufftown → narrative of the art of whisky distilling
- Baile Mór → narrative of religious beliefs with mythical elements

According to Luoto (2006), we are living in a new age of stories, with fresh significance attached to the expressiveness of language, an age which has opened up new strategies of visibility and marketing for small, remote places. He applies the term ‘neolocality’ to the different groups of users, that is, places that contain and are able to exploit intersecting semantic structures and local forms of narratives. The tourist trade has traditionally made use of, and continues to exploit to an increasing extent, the cultural texts that surround certain places, since extended leisure time has allowed people the space to seek more excitement in their lives, and it is characteristic of the age for meanings to be attached to spaces very much through fictive narratives that in turn gain elements from the factual space. In other words, truly interesting places are ones that suitably stimulate the imagination while at the same time are sufficiently real. Luoto points out, however, that the arousing of intensive experiences in observers and the possession of a spirit that is capable of radiating over a considerable distance both call for a historical foundation, a tradition, cultural know-how and participatory human activity.



On the final page of his doctoral thesis, Luoto (2008: 224) notes that 'The conscious striving after something exciting poses a challenge for rural developers in a moral sense, too. Spectacular performances make for quick publicity, but they do not necessarily contain the ingredients for the long-term development of a sense of place'.

### **Culturally sustainable development**

At a cultural seminar which the author attended in 1990, the social geographer Anssi Paasi gave a paper entitled 'Culture and Regional Development', in which he stated that if one wished to commercialize regional identities for some purpose such as the promotion of tourism, it would be morally correct 'for the image as created and projected to be based on genuine features of the area's natural environment and culture' (Paasi, 1990: 46). He also warned that in the heat of commercialization, by accentuating some features and excluding others one might very well end up neglecting the environment that provides the natural source of identity for the area and the local people. He also noted that 'local factors represent a more concrete foundation for regional development work as well than do identity clichés applied to whole provinces' (*idem.*). In fact, the scholars quoted above have clearly observed this ethical principle or come to the same conclusions themselves. The critical attitude towards market forces that prevailed at that time is also evident from the present author's remark:

When drawing up cultural strategies for municipalities and regions it is also possible to set out from the notion that a social community is an entity structured by its traditions (albeit attenuated and modified in some cases) and its culture. In order to ensure the continuity of these, it is necessary to achieve the broadest possible value and norm-based consensus regarding interpretations of the community's future....The images that may emerge from the commonly agreed principles of action and the ensuing creative work would not be reduced to short-term semantic values that can be exchanged indifferently on the open market but would become part of the content of the lives of the community and its individuals and would support their identity. (Ilmonen, 1994a: 34–35)

This same issue has more recently been formulated in a somewhat more stringent manner in terms of the concept of 'culturally

sustainable development', an application and contributory side path to the well-documented 'sustainable development', which originally referred to ecological sustainability and was later extended to social sustainability. In the words of Katriina Siivonen (2003: 9), culturally sustainable development can at best be identified from the fact that 'areas become more pleasant to live in through conscious efforts to preserve their folklore, various branches of the arts, their cultural environment and sites of especially value with respect to their cultural history'. Siivonen observes that products that are transfixed for the purposes of tourism may prove too static and homogeneous to conform to the heterogeneous everyday world of the locality itself, which will be in a state of constant change. Thus the local people may see in the tourist product something that alienates it from actual life.

Alongside the trend towards conformity with market forces within society and the regional strategies drawn up in attempts to control and even expedite this trend, the EU's cultural and regional policies encourage the production and support of regional identities that are viewed to be significant for augmenting the visibility, which is a precondition for sustainable regional economic development. In the opinion of Siivonen (2008), these macro-level goals originating from administrative sources may be inconsistent with the identities and processes of cultural interaction that exist at the micro-level. She puts forward two central principles which it would be wise to observe when undertaking culturally sustainable regional development work (Ibid., 355–356). Firstly, one should be aware of cultural processes at the micro-, intermediate and macro-levels and take these into account in the project activity. Especially if one is able to observe the everyday cultural realities at the micro-level and take these as a basis for project work at the intermediate level, it may be possible to achieve good regional development results that satisfy all the parties involved without any notable tensions or problems. Secondly, culturally sustainable regional development work requires that the project work at the intermediate level should take account of the heterogeneous mind-scape of the region to a broader extent than simply within the limits of the areas and groups targeted by the project organizations. Both of these principles are questions of the power of definition, as every effort should be made to prevent this power from accumulating in the hands of just a few dominant factors. Respect for these ethical principles also implies that any economic benefits arising from cultural activities should accrue to those whose intellectual, social and material capital was invested in the regional development work.

## Future issues

It may be noted in the spirit of the cultural turn in regional development that culture, with its numerous dimensions and forms of behaviour can produce material and intellectual well-being for the people and communities in a region, or conversely, that culture itself may be a charming outcome of comprehensive well-being in a community. The developmental rhetoric is naturally disinclined to foster romantic myths of artists who are on the verge of genius and whose creative powers will respond only to economic deprivation. Unfortunately, however, this is very much closer to the situation in reality for many artists – but without the romantic aspect.

The discourse of creative economics that has come into fashion recently maintains that regions which invest in creative environments and promote tolerance, pluralism and a creative ethos will also fare best economically (see Florida, 2005). Although Richard Florida's descriptions of the emergence of a creative class within society are highly optimistic and unrealistic when one considers the areas of Finland that lie outside the actual growth centres, there may be something challenging to be found in his perspective and something that obliges those responsible for regional development measures to take action. It would be interesting from a research point of view to find out whether the EU's regional projects or the local authority cultural strategies have actually established a new logic that allows artists and those engaged in creative work in general to make a living from this work and whether they have given rise to new value chains either in the growth centres or in the areas outside them.

Another issue that should be addressed is what branches of culture and the arts have cultural strategies and projects sought to support and promote – and what branches or ideas have they perhaps ruled out. There is also a further question of interest concerned with culturally sustainable development: how have its principles been understood and taken into account in cultural strategies and projects? The theories of Bourdieu, Habermas or Putnam could be used as a basis for examining not only communicatively fluent development processes but also instances of social friction, conflicts and cultural struggles. One should not be afraid of analysing power relations, either, even though there may not be much demand for such a study or much use to be made of its results in the context of administrative development work.

Although there are certain risks attached to the administration of cultural and creative fields, it is easy to agree with the observation of

Wilenius (2004: 68) regarding society's duty to guarantee the existence of adequate conditions for cultural and creative activities: 'Creativity cannot be forced to show itself by means of any programme, but it is possible to prepare the ground for it to arise of its own accord.' It is absolutely essential in regional development to be aware of the history, values, ways of speaking and future aspirations attached to the various social fields, and this calls for communicative activity, sensitivity to cultural pluralism and an awareness of the limitations and possibilities of systematic development work on the part of all those involved.

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## **Part II**

### **Individual Place Case Studies**

# 5

## Case A: Place Branding from the Bottom-up: Strengthening Cultural Identity through Small-Scaled Connectivity with Cultural Entrepreneurship

*Philip Speranza*

**Keywords:** cultural identity, place branding, small-scaled connectivity, 22@ district, Barcelona

### **Introduction**

It is useful in conceptualizing the branding of places to identify (1) what planning approaches are adapted and how they provide connectivity, (2) how these planning approaches recognize and support existing cultural features, and (3) how they strengthen newly emergent local identities. The branding of places can be approached in various ways, including through top-down planning that demolishes larger expanses of cities or generally ignores newly emergent identities in them or through bottom-up planning that retains urban infrastructure by selectively protecting the small-scale building fabric. Bottom-up planning makes it possible for interventions as frameworks in neighbourhoods to enhance existing cultural activities by supporting sensory experience using fine-grained material and small-scaled spatial opportunities tuned to networks of pedestrian-scaled activities.

The case of 22@ in Poblenou exemplifies this theoretical stance that planning does not need to occur top-down, but may provide a guiding force for culture to shift and emerge by establishing guidelines and a framework upon which small-scale materiality provides the experiential connectivity of the district. This planning method differs from the



tabula rasa top-down urban planning of the Olympic Village in 1992 that demolished large expanses of the city, severing past place and current selective view of Barcelona branding. The planning of 22@ protects the small and medium-sized historic industrial fabric with connective, block-by-block guidelines, including new strategies to provide public spaces for changes in food culture that are critical to an adaptive place brand in Barcelona and Catalan culture.

Can a strategy of connectivity depend on material and cultural features to weave public spaces together at the scale of pedestrian neighbourhoods, and, if so, what is the method of such a strategy? Design solutions that study cultural events and materiality in 22@ Poblenou demonstrate how a strategy of an emerging information district may use the foundations of a small-scaled industrial past to allow the existing place brand to evolve, connecting the new emergent culture with an underpinning of existing culture. It provides evidence that a strategy of material protection and bottom-up connectivity can provide a foundation for place branding in a neighbourhood and a city.

## **Conceptualizing place in branding and architecture in Barcelona**

### **Defining bottom-up planning: What planning approaches are adapted and how do they provide connectivity?**

A key criterion for urban planning and place branding is the ability to enhance the existing ethos of a place and provide open-endedness for that ethos to evolve. How do we design frameworks for this open-ended participation to occur? How do we create dynamic urban places and allow them to evolve?

#### *Contextualization*

It is 2:15 a.m. on 20 August at Carrer de Verdi in the hillside neighbourhood of Gràcia in Barcelona. Overhead are hung hundreds of illuminated forms that resemble yellow and orange beehives but also plants or hanging fruit. The objects are handmade from reused egg crates and recycled bottles. The streets are never more crowded with residents and visitors who socialize, eat, drink and dance together. The features of this block's theme give way to other themes in other blocks dispersed across the neighbourhood.

Les Festes de Gràcia in Barcelona is an event that uses an annual summertime festival to connect spaces and people. The agglomeration

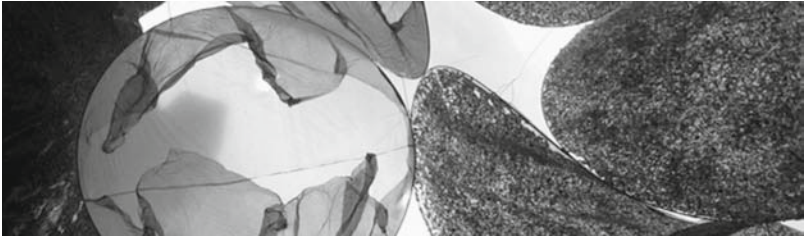


Figure 5.1 Festes de Gràcia, Barcelona: Blocks as Frameworks for Participation, Clouds

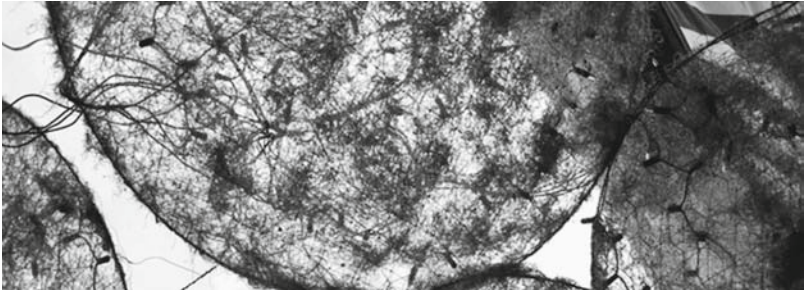
Source: author.



Figure 5.2 Festes de Gràcia, Barcelona: Blocks as Frameworks for Participation, Butterflies

Source: author.

of small non-continuous streets creates an organization of spaces calibrated to human scale, which becomes the place for new themes each year that represent changes in the cultural identity of neighbours of all ages coming together: many weeks before the festival to plan, collect materials and make decorations; days before the festival to install the decorations; and during the five days of the cultural event to activate the installations. Visitors and residents move from street to street among approximately 50 decorated blocks to experience a diversity of values that change each year. One is struck by the plurality of ideas, execution and celebration that emerges from the local residents upward and is supported by the city of Barcelona and the local town hall of the neighbourhood of Gràcia. The event, its memory and its anticipation,



*Figure 5.3* Festes de Gràcia, Barcelona: Blocks as Frameworks for Participation, Cells  
*Source:* author.

becomes the organizing brand of the neighbourhood throughout the year.

Urban planning strategies seek methods of organization that create connectivity – a literal connectivity of human interaction in space that addresses the scale of space and a cultural connectivity across time and place of generations of citizens. Some of these strategies, like Les Festes de Gràcia, have emerged from a grass-roots movement from bottom-up approaches and inherently manifest a plurality of collective values using small-scale materiality that is a texture of how a given set of people sees life.

It is clear from a number of place branding and architectural theorists that place branding should develop from the bottom-up perspective, enhance an existing condition, at the scale of the country, region, city, district and urban neighbourhood. ‘The important thing to realize about branding a country is that it must be an amplification of what it is already there and not a fabrication’ (Gilmore, 2002: 284). Anna Klingmann (2007: 253) adds that place making from the ‘inside-out’ is successful when ‘architects, urban planners, and politicians recognize architecture as an engine to reveal and accelerate a city’s inherent potentials’. These ideas of place branding from the bottom-up allow a genuine ethos of identity to evolve with the current culture of their time.

The example of Gràcia demonstrates the definition of bottom-up planning to connect the fine-grained materials chosen by local residents with an organizational system that is calibrated to the scale of social interactions that define a neighbourhood street. It is dispersed and serves as a non-hierarchical system (de Landa, 2000: 263; Jacobs, 2001: 265). Traditional urban planning is top-down, drawn from a kilometre

above the earth, connecting nodes and giving a fixed hierarchy and connections to places. The alternative strategy of bottom-up planning, as described above, organizationally is non-prescriptive across blocks and relies on inherently local differences to be manifested in materiality and use that is controlled by local agents – residents, workers and visitors.

*Place and phenomenology in urban planning and architecture*

‘Place’ in the context of urban planning, architectural theory and material experience today may be traced to the idea of phenomenology proposed by Martin Heidegger (Norberg-Schulz, 1976). Accordingly the word ‘place’ refers not only to the location but also the ‘thingly’ (Latour, 2008) nature of its material that allows an understanding of the environmental and atmospheric experience at a specific time, both natural and anthropological. In architecture and art, the very integration of the environment and the built form in the way of light (Ando, 1991; Holl, 1996) or wind (Kahn, 2004; Echelman, 2005) provide a sensory experience that is unique not only of physical location but human experience of the attenuated materials. More current studies in planning build on people’s experiencing the city through the visual experience (Lynch, 1960), the senses and currently includes information technology to connect people and places in cities via the senses (Nabien and Ratti, 2013).

**How do these planning approaches recognize and support existing cultural features? How do they allow the emergence of the current local identity?**

Bottom-up planning approaches that provide guidelines are open-ended to allow texture at the smallest scale, enhancing an inherent quality of a place. The identification and protection of a city’s texture via details and sensory experience can play an import role in how we recognize and remember a unique place (Vitiello and Willcocks, 2006). Jane Jacobs’ idea of ‘negative feedback’ may be seen as the forces of development that entirely remove layers of undesigned culture that have built up over many years (2001). This cultural texture may be the distinctive features of historic buildings. From the perspective of short-term private development, it may be more desirable to manufacture identity rather than work with the existing physical cultural meaning of a place—that may or may not be the desirable brand for future development plans. City planners need to balance short-term goals of facilitating private development with the long-term goals of supporting the emergent self-design

of a place from the 'inside-out' (Franck and Lepori, 2007). These physical features have a specific cultural meaning in terms of a place and time.

Specific cultural features may include music festivals, food culture, harvest holidays and other cultural holidays particular to a place. In Barcelona, these include Primavera Sound, Sonar, the calçot vegetable harvest, the cosecha grape harvest, annual holidays, St. Jordi's Day (similar to St. Valentine's, but men receive books and women receive roses), and Temps de les Flores in Girona. Food markets, both structured and open air in plazas, also provide a way to understand changes in food culture. Only within the last ten years have Argentine cuts of beef appeared in the market along with quinoa, sushi cuts of fish and prepared foods. In the physical architectural details we see histories of use and cultural craft (details used in literature and cinema): the 13th-century merchant class houses of Calle Montcada (*Catedral del Mar*, Ildefonso Falcones, 2006), houses on the outskirts of San Gervasi and Sarria (*La Sombra del Viento*, Carlos Ruiz Zafon, 2001), details of the Plaza del Duc de Medinaceli (*Todo Sobre Mi Madre*, Pedro Almodóvar, 1999) and Gaudi's signature *modernista* details (*Vicky Christina Barcelona*, Woody Allen, 2008). In Barcelona, local neighbourhood identities owe much to the previously unincorporated city halls that maintain links to previously autonomous residential and industrial uses. In the 22@ district, distinctive *modernista* multifamily dwellings have existed since before regulations were enforced un Francisco Franco to prohibit residential use in the 22a zone. Both cultural events and existing materials provide changing cultural conditions that need not be manufactured, but rather identified as 'events' and temporally and spatially mapped (Tschumi, 1996: 139). In Spain and Catalunya in particular, where social interaction is prevalent in outdoor public spaces, these areas operate as frameworks to support the experience and understanding of events.

Ignoring the opportunities which a bottom-up approach affords, may leave a place void of local identity. Under socialist mayor Pascual (1982–1997) and city architect Oriol Bohigas, Barcelona engaged in one of the most effective efforts at uncovering and enhancing the existing culture and rebranding a city in modern history (Bohigas, 1980; 2004). Following the death of dictator Francisco Franco in 1975 and a new Spanish constitution in 1978 cultural regions throughout the country received more autonomy, and Barcelona city planners embarked on a period of improving small neighbourhood spaces to touch the lives of many citizens on their way home from work – a bottom-up approach known as the Lapiz de Oro or 'Golden Pencil'. Planning was used as a



Figure 5.4 Temps de Flors, Girona: Cultural events

Source: author.

vehicle to awaken the branding of Catalan culture from the bottom-up within the smallest urban spaces of Barcelona (Moix, 1994).

However, in 1988 this approach shifted to a more hastened top-down Catalan nationalistic plan to redevelop the disused waterfront rail yard. The 1992 Summer Olympics would be the event that served as a platform for regional Catalan nationalism and place branding, which laid the groundwork for the next regional industry – tourism. Gaudi and the work of other *modernisme* masters such as Domenech I Montaner and Puig I Cadafalch became an unearthed quality that supported this place brand. The waterfront urban renewal and ring road of Ronda de Dalt y Ronda Litoral (Moix, 2010) served Catalan regional infrastructure needs and the city of Barcelona. An example of largely top-down

planning, the Olympic Village was built over a demolished area along the waterfront, leaving little traces of past culture except a number of industrial chimneys. The Olympic Village was successful in the short-term, because this project opened up Barcelona's waterfront, giving Catalunya's residents and visitors access to the sea. Television enabled millions across the world to tune in and watch the Games. Shortly after the Games were over, until today, the new neighbourhood has lacked the experiential quality of being connected across the temporal dimension to multiple eras of Barcelona culture – Brand Barcelona. Unfamiliar to gridded cities like Barcelona or New York, the Olympic Village planning broke from other Barcelona planning strategies by utilizing super-blocks that disrupted the 'order' of the grid (Koolhaas, 1994). Its axial hierarchies, from the top-down large-scale planning of the city, to the reinforcing of the structures of previous rail lines to a new Americanized air conditioned shopping mall that serves as the food market for the area all break from the traditions of Brand Barcelona. A visitor is unsure whether he or she is in Barcelona. The identity of the industrial past, previous *modernista* construction and self-organized *chavola* and other unplanned construction projects were lost forever. Planners achieved the short-term image at the regional scale of Catalunya rather than serve the long-term neighbourhood scale by patiently providing a framework in which culture could evolve. These were the same planners who had so successfully and patiently utilized the Lapiz de Oro bottom-up approach just years earlier.

The identification and support of existing cultural features is a valuable aspect of bottom-up planning, but it requires long-term planning that provides the necessary time in which to allow local forces to define the ethos of a place.

### **How bottom-up approaches strengthen newly emergent local identities**

Culture and use in districts and neighbourhoods change over time, with industrial use adapting to changes in technology and the flows of imports and export-driven activities (Jacobs, 2001: 255). The size of facilities may change from multiple and whole blocks to smaller-scale uses of individual lots within a block. The formal change of use from industrial to residential in a district necessitates infrastructure changes in the very fabric of the urban ecology, including public open space such as parks, playgrounds and pedestrian passages; supportive commercial uses; institutional uses such as schools, community centres, public health facilities, emergency services and government administrative centres; and

connective infrastructure such as metro, regional rail, bicycle lanes, vehicle parking and utility access. How do these changes in use support the emergent local identities of both residents and business activities?

The 22@ district demonstrates how a city's place branding strategy may work together with a bottom-up planning strategy that necessarily investigates how to regenerate a new urban ecology with current business and residential activities. The area was originally developed in the 18th-century nearby fishing village of Icaria (present-day Poblenou) as a centre of agriculture, textiles and manufacturing. As these uses shifted to other areas of the city, the area fell into disuse until 2000, when the 22@ plan began with the purpose of diversifying the tourism economy of Barcelona and Catalunya to include information activities. In his book *La Ciutat Digital*, 22@ director Miquel Barceló wrote about information activities districts in post-industrial neighbourhoods around the world, such as New York's Silicon Alley at the height of the dot-com bubble of the late 1990s (211). The 22@ plan would link emerging technologies within a pedestrian-scaled neighbourhood's post-industrial infrastructure (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010: 30). The plan is focused on a strategy of identity and branding, as well as abstract urban planning and business planning. Unlike the more top-down planning approach of the Olympic Village, 22@ organizers conceived of a bottom-up strategy for each individual block that proscribed new use minimums of 10% residential, 10% institutional, 10% open space and 22@ information activities; protected *moderniste* built fabric; and immediately repurposed industrial warehouses to enhance the existing trend of design offices in the area using richly textured wood, steel, brick and Catalan mosaic tile as a background for their uniquely Catalan design culture (22@ Barcelona.com). No overall hierarchy between the uses of these blocks was proscribed.

The example of 22@ demonstrates how a bottom-up approach can enhance an existing meshwork through the protection of distinctive existing materiality (*modernisme*) and be used in artists' lofts and music venues. Concentrations of design, telecommunications, energy and biomedical uses were designated according to already existing concentrations. 'It remains crucial for architects to consider the latent potential of local institutions in local situations in order to create the multiplicity necessary to maintain a balance between a city's origin and its potential for growth', states Anna Klingman (2007: 251) in *Brandscapes*. New industrial or business uses were not 'manufactured', but rather evolved to meet the new industry: information technology and design, allowing Brand Barcelona to evolve into the 21st century.





Figure 5.5 @ Poblenu: Modernisme as framework for new information technology and design uses

Source: author.

### *Open-endedness*

Bottom-up approaches to planning strengthen newly emergent local identities by maintaining an open-endedness of design that highlights rather than covers up newly emergent differences, which are urban mutations that allow urban ecologies to evolve. The Highline in New York City was a piece of urban infrastructure that through neglect provided a platform for natural ecosystems to occur in the urban context of Manhattan, what its landscape architect, James Corner, refers to as a 'framework' that 'propagates organizations' for anthropological and natural systems to be adopted over time (Corner, 2004: 2). Architecture theorist Stan Allen explains the need for an organizational system with precise and adaptive units that allows for 'not yet realized relationships' (Allen, 1999: 16). In the field of public art, cities such as Porto, Phoenix, Vancouver and San Francisco have recently commissioned sculptures that evoke open-ended

dialogues of identity that the artist Janet Echelman and design architect Philip Speranza intentionally layered into the design so that the subjective understanding of existing values is enhanced rather than manufactured.

Bottom-up approaches in planning allow place branding to develop and evolve over time. These approaches require the construction of open-ended frameworks so as to facilitate the participation of inhabitants to evolve over time.

### **Design method: Bottom-up planning at the scale of urban design that supports the evolution of current cultural identity within a city's overall place branding strategy**

The design method described here emerged from previous design research in architecture and public artwork using the effect created by materials to support an understanding of place. It evolved from professional architecture work in public infrastructure, including work the author completed at the offices of Steven Holl in New York and Carlos Ferrater in Barcelona, teaching architectural studio courses, individual design work with partner Larry Sassi and from years spent living in Barcelona since 1999. Special understanding of the use of materials to make a place visible and understandable to the human senses was gained by the author from architectural and design collaboration with artist Janet Echelman since 2001 for the public art works *She Changes* (Porto, Portugal, 2005), *Water Sky Garden* (Richmond, Canada, 2009), *Her Secret is Patience* (Phoenix, AZ, 2009) and *Every Beating Second* (San Francisco, CA, 2011).

The case studies below that demonstrate the design method described here were student projects done in collaboration with the 22@ urban planning department of the City of Barcelona and the Life City Adaptation: Barcelona Urban Design Program under the author's direction with students from the New Jersey Institute of Technology and the University of Oregon since 2010. Following this earlier research on materiality and connectivity of place, the author's later work has focused on the use of parametric design and urban design in small-scale, bottom-up urban design approaches (Speranza, 2012: 2013).

#### **Conceptual design method**

The block-by-block planning method does not alone explain an approach to using materiality and cultural events as a connective tissue within an urban ecology that supports changes in cultural identity. The second part of this chapter will explain the planning approach method,

which operates in urban spaces, from the smallest scale upward, as a bottom-up approach to planning a district. The method works at the scale of urban design and architectural interventions, and is intended to be open-ended so that inhabitants can participate in the emergence identity of neighbourhoods within a district.

### **Applying design method**

The bottom-up planning approach requires both an open-ended organization to enhance an existing condition and the synthesis of a real-scale material framework over which cultural events and existing material may be understood. The following outline of architectural scaled design procedures explains this method:

Documentation: Scaled drawings of district, neighbourhood and urban space use patterns

Analysis: Identify patterns of use

Mapping: Drawing existing cultural events in space, material and time collages

Generative diagram: Drawing a language of relationships of conditions and time as a design tool

Project objective: (1). Identifying a cultural condition to support why it is important and whom it serves; (2). What is the qualitative experience, or *affect*, for people to understand this cultural condition, abstractly explore three conditions of this affect; and (3). Choose a material assembly that will support people's experiencing the affect and carefully calibrate one operation of variation within that material assembly as a way of controlling the conditions of the affect.

### **Three examples of urban design frameworks for participation in 22@**

The method was tested in the Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona Urban Design Program, in conversation with the 22@ Barcelona planning department to assist in developing a finer grained approach to planning in the district, which enhances the existing cultural identity to support a dynamic urban ecology. Among the concerns that the 22@ district planners identified is the need to integrate the current different brands of business and residential activities. How can a bottom-up planning approach help create one integrated place brand for the 22@ district?

Sound Attenuation @22: Ida Yazdi

Student Ida Yazdi identified the existing patterns of musical events in the 22@ district and in Catalunya, namely the Temps de le Flors festival in Girona, the Festes de Gràcia and the music festivals of Primavera Sound and SONAR. Research on sound and public space led her to attend a Technology, Entertainment and Design, TED talk given by David Byrne titled, 'Music to Fit the Space' (Byrne, 2010), in which Byrne questioned whether musical artists adapt their genre of music to the types of acoustical settings in which they play. Yazdi's proposal would explore how to catalog the conditions of the effect of sound attenuation at musical events and use a limited palette of vegetation as a material that would calibrate sound attenuation.

The ability to carve out and adapt vegetation became an opportunity to craft a collection of small spaces by the local design and media offices/studios. By looking at the growth cycle of the vegetation over the year, and the need for it to be grown, designed, used for the music festival and then regrown, provided an opportunity for people to interact, namely residents and local business practices, which would otherwise not occur.

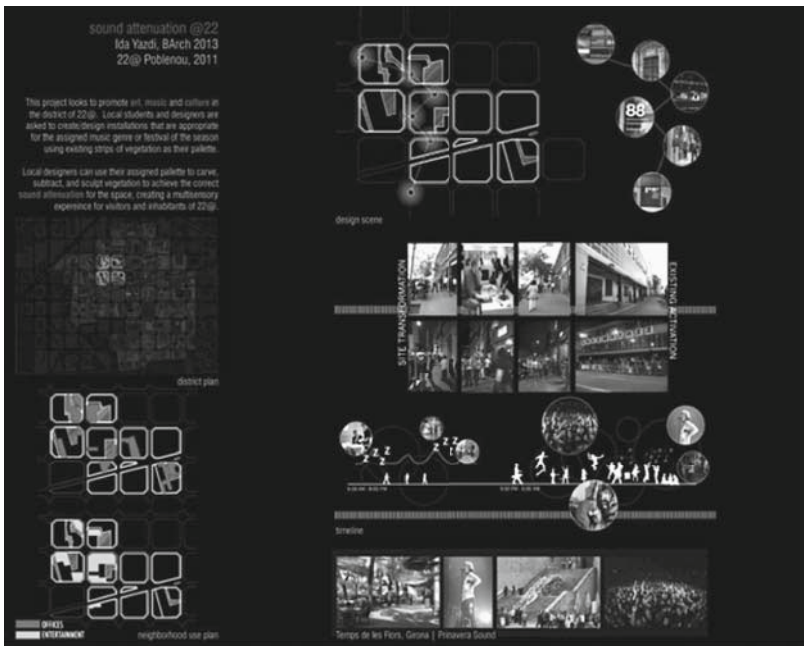


Figure 5.6 Sound Attenuation @22; Ida Yazdi; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, 22@ Poble Nou, Analysis

The project does not specify the exact types of venues and vegetation for any given space, but does provide a variety of possibilities that are uniquely crafted to sound attenuation.

The students are encouraged to develop a generative diagram as a means of mapping out the time and texture of this affect. The important aspect of this material affect is its ability to engage people through the experience of the space. Time is calibrated to either the time of day, week, and year, or across several years. While the identification of a multitude of existing cultural events is done, this does not limit the future possibilities of scenarios to these, but attempts to find patterns that exist in the place under study. Out of this often emerges a type of event or scenario that is grounded in the values and cultural craft of that place and time.

In addition to periodic cultural events, other students used the program of food culture as a way to provide a connective tissue in the district based on culture and materiality. Anton Mazyrko, focusing on the possibilities of a public food market network, proposed a relationship between design, media and telecommunication activities with particular concentration within his area of linked open spaces and local

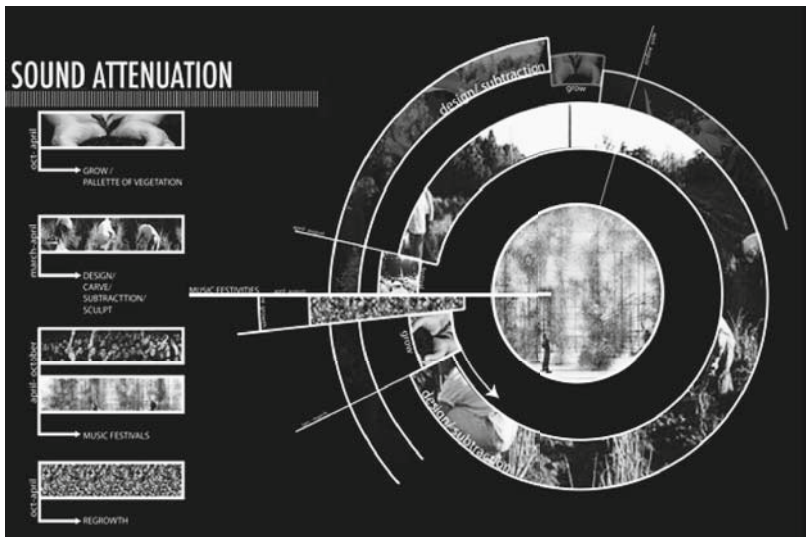


Figure 5.7 Sound Attenuation @22; Ida Yazdi; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, 22@ Poblenu, Annual Time-Based Diagram

Inter@ct 22: Anton Mazyrko

foods. Local businesses would take turns and choose various locations to design the interface of information using light as a material effect to provide connections between farmers, vendors and people who purchase food at the market.

The author intends for the project to enhance feedback loops that are present today in the digital and material world manifest by an influence that exists at the site. It also identifies the interest in local foods that is seen in the dialogue between the collective open food market format in Barcelona and the increasing number of supermarkets in the city and district. The city of Barcelona has 42 public food markets. Back in 2011, the author wondered what a public food market in the 22@ district might look like in the future. How can the culture of information technology support the existing place brand of food culture and values related to food that make up the ethos of Catalan culture?

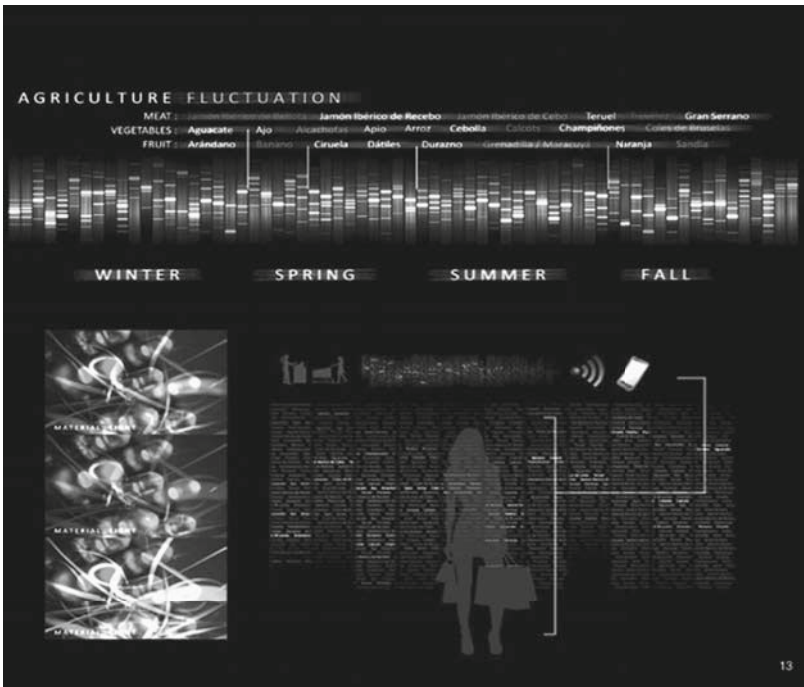


Figure 5.8 Inter@ct 22; Anton Mazyrko; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, Food Market Network 22@, Food Availability Diagrams



*Figure 5.9* Inter@ct 22; Anton Mazyrko; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, Food Market Network 22@, Market Visualization

The affect of the project is informing through the medium of light. The proposal visualizes live information is not as a physical architecture nor the actual place of food, but most importantly it provides the City of Barcelona and the 22@ district planning office with the programming analysis that a public food market could be a framework for new ideas of programming today and tomorrow's Barcelona, connecting physical presence and the opportunities of the virtual presence to make connections between residents and business activities in the 22@ district.

## Market Communication @22: Jose Estrada

A second project focused on a public food market network to create a connective meshwork within the 10% of open spaces within the blocks of the 22@ district. In particular, it used the physical space as a place where members of the community could congregate and encounter one another. Jose Estrada used the effects the social interactions of harvesting, exchanging and consuming local foods. This designer focused on a different perspective on the opportunities that a new public food market might address for the 22@ district today.

Barcelona and Spain have a traditional lunchtime between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m., giving people time to go home, prepare lunch, and eat lunch as the longest and most complete meal of the day, have a 20-minute siesta and then return to work. Current commuting patterns especially in the 22@ district make this cultural event increasingly more difficult to accomplish. What can be noticed in the 22@ district is that many workers eat at improvised eating areas such as low walls and from plastic food containers within a one-hour period of time. This was especially noticed in the area of the plaza that was studied, which is adjacent to Barcelona Televisio at Carrer de Badajoz.

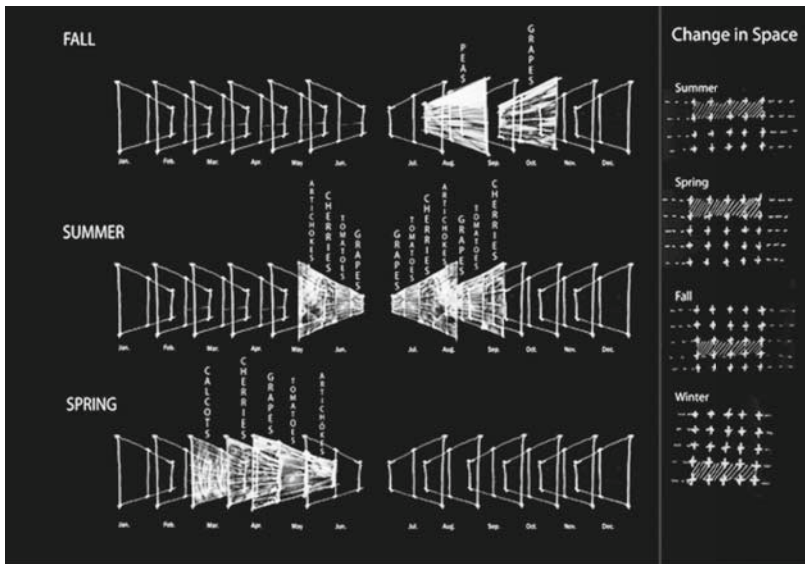


Figure 5.10 Market Communication; Jose Estrada; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, Food Market Network 22@, Seasonal Diagrams





*Figure 5.11* Market Communication; Jose Estrada; Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona, Food Market Network 22@, Street Level Perspective

Thus, the project's purpose was to provide a framework for this new food culture for a more comfortable experience and also to offer an open-ended identity for the network of otherwise isolated open spaces within the Cerdà blocks of this neighbourhood study. A framework of galvanized growing trellises would bring together residents and workers to tend the growing areas, and would make visible the seasonal accessibility of local foods. It seeks to have an impact on people in a public space in a way that is open-ended through a generative process that is more a framework for cultural phenomenon over time than a single-handed top-down design.

### **Findings: Bottom-up planning as open-ended and requiring long-term local goals**

Bottom-up planning approaches support the emergence of existing place branding over time, and as open-ended methods, they require time, reassessment and the participation of people. Simon Anholt's idea that place branding may enhance an existing identity if it is to successfully provide a unique understanding of place supports this conceptual work (Anholt, 2005: 117). If the method of creating frameworks for participation is to be followed, one should understand that creation from the bottom-up implies a new way of developing an experience similar to Vitiello and

Willcock's (2006: 254) assessment of Kevin Lynch's idea of experiencing the city as a series of sensory affects.

The material affects described in the case studies above, namely, (1) sound attenuation of vegetation; (2) the use of light to visualize the seasonal availability of produce; and (3) galvanized wire as a place both for urban farming and a food market, all engage the human senses over time. They await the human rituals and atmospheric affects of the natural environment as an open-ended system balancing the necessary prescriptiveness (Corner, 2004) with openness for participation. The use of the term 'bottom-up', which is often understood as the engagement of local residents and other stakeholders, is employed here to describe a systematic design method by architects and urban designers that requires the expertise of material investigation and attenuation implied by Corner, while being very much receptive to the observed activities of local people in a place.

Rather than prescribing top-down instances of design strategies for places, we should look to more systematic methods that consider a bottom-up perspective. These systems, if inclusive of local inputs of culture and materiality, will provide an emergence of possibilities that are not completely predictable (Allen, 1999). These open-ended systems, or frameworks as I have previously called them, are formulated by identifying local culture and considering scenarios of events in time and space that act as a storyboard of the life of a city. As the landscape theorist and architect of the High Line Park in New York City, Corner, suggests, 'Life scientists will tell you that a resilient system must be both robust and open' (1). It is essential that some features of this open-ended system exist, providing roots for the place brand in a way that is neither external nor manufactured. As demonstrated in the contrasting example of regional planning for the Olympic Village, the difference between the Olympic Village planning and 22@ planning is the difference in time-frames to await the slow integration of local users from the bottom up to influence long-term neighbourhood identity.

### **Political and market-driven limits: Slowness of space and time**

The research is limited in its evaluation of the top-down political and economic impact on bottom-up planning approaches. What truly drives a city's intentions behind place branding? The city must balance the long-term interests of its citizens with short-term political equity and create an economically effective short-term method of development at the scale of the region, city, district and neighbourhoods. Place branding objectives may inherently conflict with these scales of space and time.

The planning of the 1992 Olympic Village is an example of a strategy that served a region, but that may not have served the long-term purpose for the immediate neighbourhood. While bottom-up planning attempts to build up a brand from the bottom-up, in the case of Brand Barcelona, which was attentive to design and social behaviours, there is no assurance that the bottom-up cultural identities or social behaviours will meet the branding image that local businesses wish to have for that property. What happened to the working class residents living in a shanty, *chavola*, and unpermitted constructions (de Sola Morales, 2008), and to other residents and small-scale industries not related to the new information activities of the 22@ district? Was their displacement via gentrification and economic redevelopment ethically and ecologically necessary, and are the city's efforts in the areas of social housing and public amenities enough to create a balanced place of Brand Barcelona's city for the people?

The example above suggests the need to be comprehensive in documenting the existing cultural identity of a place in order to address the equity of a brand to its place (Anholt, 2003: 22). One must also ask how objective that assessment is regarding the stakeholders of redevelopment, including both city and private developers, and what timeline is available to assure the most robust and bottom-up community planning possible that responds to the local ethos.

### **Value, connectivity of people and place over time**

Bottom-up planning approaches are valuable tools for place branding stakeholders, including governments, business developers, urban planners, architects and local residents. The example of 22@ demonstrates how long-term collaboration between the city, the 22@ planning office and urban designers can build a place branding method that operates at the city scale of blocks and also at the urban design scale of detail and materials. The 22@ ten-year analysis identified needed changes in the guidelines. It suggests that a bottom-up planning process requires long-term attention and periodic re-evaluation (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010). While some experts have pointed out challenges that come with the public celebration of local culture in the form of accelerated gentrification and displacement (Zukin, 2011) and the rewards for the benefactors of neoliberal development (Smith, 2009) (Harvey and Smith, 2005), this research focuses on the challenge for architects and urban planners in using systematized design methods at the small-scale of material experience to serve as a way to connect people and place over time versus large-scale, top-down planning.



Figure 5.12 Framework + Participation = Life

Source: author.

The limits and pressures of encouraging private development in difficult economic times suggest that place branding methods will need to listen to social, economic and political concerns and adapt over time. What makes place branding from the bottom-up valuable is not only the systematic response it provides to existing local culture but also the open-endedness that allows that brand to evolve over time, to variations in culture with the maintenance of fundamental values. The urban design projects of the Life, City, Adaptation: Barcelona program suggest that a minimal infrastructure could evoke local culture and stimulate the participation of two groups of people that exist at the site.

Bottom-up planning approaches and place branding generate the ability to pass along values from one generation to the next without drastically changing the ethos of the culture. In Barcelona, the Catalan culture is more than a local story – it is an invaluable place brand.

*Anem a casa, la mare* (meaning 'lets go home, mother'), says a fair-skinned, Catalan five-year-old girl at the beach to her foreign-born parent. Like the open-ended, bottom-up planning and place branding strategy discussed in this chapter, the Catalans are eager for new citizens to learn Catalan, allowing the evolution of specific social patterns, while creating a clear unity of one advanced branding that, as suggested by Simon Anholt, 'define[s] a nation of people' (2003). It is the role of architects and planners to continue to use the best practices available, through phenomenological understanding of materials over time or the new use of information technology in everyday life, to support this connectivity of people and place over time.

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# 6

## Case B: Culture-led Urban Regeneration and Brand Building in Alpine Italian Cities

*Maria Della Lucia and Mariangela Franch*

**Keywords:** changes in urban identity, culture and tourism, culture-led urban regeneration, iconic buildings, image and brand, knowledge

### Introduction

In post-industrial societies the combination of knowledge (Scott, 2010), experience (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) and the digital economy (Zuboff and Maxmin, 2002) has made *intangibles* strategic assets for competitive advantage (Richards, 2011). The growing prevalence of immaterial and symbolic components in all forms of production meets the needs of complex individual personalities, thereby transforming consumption into patterns of experience and learning defined for, and participated in by, the user. The new Internet generation has defined a new capitalism that acts as a multiplier of these processes of dematerialization and symbolic value creation (Scott, 2000). This 'distributed capitalism' (Rifkin, 2011) allows organizations and individuals to interact widely and to participate in virtual communities (Funilkul and Chutimaskul, 2009) – in which interactions are not mediated solely by the market (Potts et al., 2008) – and to exchange and co-create knowledge-based resources on a global scale (Cooke and Buckley, 2008). The potential of technological infrastructure (its ubiquity and interactivity) combined with the characteristics of knowledge-based resources (non-rivalry and non-excludability) is increasingly blurring the boundaries between supply and demand in the co-creation of intangibles and multiplying the activities in which their transformation into economic and social

value for the sake of individuals, enterprises and places' growth and well-being can be experienced (Sacco, 2011; Sacco et al., 2013).

Culture is an intangible at the heart of this transition towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995) as it can drive innovation through the injection of creativity and knowledge into local economies and their outputs (KEA, 2009, 2012). The culture and creative industry (KEA, 2006) has positive externalities in almost all economic sectors owing to *smart specializations* (Smart Specialization Platform, 2012), that is, hybridizations of traditional sectors with the creative economy. Culture is an immaterial input into non-cultural sectors and productive clusters which are involved in the sensemaking of products (Cooke and Lazzarretti, 2008) and brands (Papadopoulos, 2002; Maheswaran and Chen, 2006); a strategic component of the tourism industry (Richards and Wilson, 2007) and an artefact whose consumption fosters human capital (Florida, 2002) and social identity and cohesion (Tavano et al., 2012).

Accordingly, culture is becoming a strategic issue on the political agenda at the European, national and local level (European Commission, 2001; OECD, 2005; CSES, 2010; Sacco, 2011, 2012). The repositioning of culture in the value chain and the development of new, culture-based approaches to place regeneration can allow post-industrial societies to move away from the vicious circles of traditional development models and towards economic and social recovery (Richards and Marques, 2012). Culture-led regeneration involves both continuity with local identity and/or significant, externally driven, change. The related processes of urban image-making, positioning and branding provide opportunities, but may also risk the commodification of local landscapes (Anholt, 2003). This chapter theorizes the mechanism through which culture transforms the socio-cultural and economic equilibrium in urban contexts and affects the image-making and branding strategies of cities. Examples of culture-led urban regeneration and brand building in the Alpine Italian cities of Trento and Rovereto are used to illustrate this process.

## Culture, creativity and city

The progressive shift from tangible to intangible competitive advantage in post-industrial societies (Evans, 2001) has made culture a major engine for the development, renewal and regeneration of cities (Castells, 2004; Hall, 2004; Hutton, 2009; Scott, 2010). This shift, which Sacco (2011) refers to as the transition from *Culture 1.0* to *Culture 2.0* to *Culture 3.0*, has transformed culture from a domain which absorbs public resources devoted to it for the benefit of society as a whole (*Culture 1.0*)



to a value generating activity. Culture 2.0 – the culture industries and the creativity-intensive non-cultural industries (architecture, fashion, design, advertising) – and the emerging Culture 3.0 – transversal linkages throughout economies and societies, fostered by culture-led creativity – are the drivers of this shift.

Growing inter-urban competition in a globalizing world increasingly forces cities to be creative in their attempts to foster urban development and to distinguish themselves in a crowded marketplace (Richards, 2013). The term *creative city* (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) has been introduced to identify both the source of creativity and the many processes which use creativity for urban development and competitiveness. The urban concentration of *talent* (Florida, 2002) and businesses which specialize in *cultural and creative industries* (Hall, 2000) are seen as creativity sources. Urban development driven by the creative class originates in the education, talent and vocations of individuals, and in their various occupations in knowledge-intensive sectors. *Amenities* (Florida, 2002) and cultural entertainment (Clark et al., 2002; Glaeser, 2005) play a strategic role in attracting the creative class to a particular city. However, the causal link between amenities, talents, and urban development has never been proven rigorously and has, in fact, been widely criticized (Peck, 2005). On the other hand, urban development associated with the cultural and creative industries results from their clustering (Maskell and Lorenzen, 2004), from the diversity of professions and economic sectors they encompass (Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2008) and from the innovations they produce through their interaction with other sectors (KEA, 2009; Scott, 2006). Tourism may be considered either a culture and creative industry or an important sector for smart specializations within the creative economy (Andersson and Thomsen, 2008).

The creativity that arises from these sources is used for the production of knowledge and technology-intensive outputs (Trullen and Boix, 2008) and of artefacts that meet the highly evolved experiential needs of contemporary societies (Hubbard, 2006). These processes define the creative city as – in the first case – a *knowledge city* and – in the second – a *consumer city* (Penco, 2012). In the knowledge city, knowledge and technology-intensive businesses develop synergies and interdependencies with other companies involved in the knowledge supply chain at local and global levels (including research and higher education centres, universities, public institutions) (Castells, 2004). In the consumer city, the supply of advanced immaterial products and leisure opportunities from cultural institutions, organizations and associations, and from the cultural and creative industries and service sector, results from the dense

urban population and the flexibility of post-industrial socio-economic structures. Consumer cities are, in fact, also called *cities of leisure and entertainment machines* (Clark et al., 2002). Creative cities – in various ways and to varying degrees – are both consumer and knowledge cities (Penco, 2012), since they provide the conditions for sustainable urban development (Sacco, 2011). An exclusively consumer city is likely to impoverish high added value urban services, to attract less investment and talent and to undermine the integrity of the cultural heritage itself due to the intensity of its use (e.g. tourist pressure), thus affecting the quality of cultural consumption and of urban life in general.

The development of creative cities is place specific and relies on the combining of urban heritage resources and traditional forms of production with innovative policymaking (Penco, 2012; Scott, 2006; Leslie and Rantisi, 2006). These policies can transform a city's 'genetic code' through imaginative investment and initiatives which enhance the positive traits of existing development models, overcome their weaknesses and equip them to face the challenges of emerging scenarios (Dwyer et al., 2009).

### **Culture-led regeneration, urban identity, image and brand**

*Regeneration* has been defined as the transformation of a place that has shown symptoms of environmental (physical), social and/or economic decline (Impact 08, 2007). Places that face intense and increasing competition, such as areas of urban expansion, renewal and transformation, and of which the development models are in crisis, need to reinvent themselves in order to retain or improve their positions (Hazime, 2011). Bilbao in Spain is one of the best-known examples of a city which has reinvented itself after the collapse of its economic base (Plaza and Haarich, 2010).

The models chosen to incorporate cultural activity into a regeneration process (DCMS, 2004) will affect the nature and range of urban transformation (Langen and García, 2009). *Culture-led regeneration* is the model in which culture – often with a high public profile – is the engine of widespread transformation. It catalyses the requalification of urban areas, the development of infrastructure and services, the animation of places with new attractions and the attraction of investment, human resource and visitor flows. The quality of life in the urban area is thus enhanced in ways recognized by both residents and visitors. In contrast, in the *cultural regeneration model* and in the *culture and regeneration model* the role of culture is less prevalent. In the former, culture is fully integrated into an area strategy, for example, culture planning, and complementarities with other policies are ignored, while in the latter, cultural

activities are often small scale and have not been fully integrated into the strategic development or city planning process.

*Culture-led regeneration* has *material* (structures, systems, services) and *intangible* (symbols, values, social capital) *legacies*, which mark the process of urban development over time. The Impacts 08 project (<http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08/>), developed and tested for Liverpool European Capital of Culture 2008, provides an innovative, holistic and longitudinal model which assesses the multidimensional impact of culture-led regeneration on urban development (economic, social, cultural, image and environmental) (Impact 08, 2007). This and other studies (Balsas, 2004; García, 2005, 2006) show that the most important long-term legacy of culture-led regeneration concerns changes in urban identity and image (Noordmann, 2004).

The transformation of urban identity can involve both continuity, through the fostering of local heritage, and profound change, driven by external agendas (Govers and Go, 2009). The related processes of urban image-making, positioning and branding are not unproblematic; putting a city on the global map successfully and enduringly is a considerable challenge (Anholt, 2003). Consumption-led and experience-based culture development strategies (Evans, 2003; Plaza, 2000; Richards and Wilson, 2006), in fact, have provided a plethora of possibilities for city branding, but have also led to complaints about the 'cloning' and serial reproduction of urban landscapes and increasing 'placelessness' (Smith, 2007).

Both *iconic buildings* and *iconic events* (Hall, 1994; Roche, 1992; Getz, 2008, 2010), which are currently among the main thematic branding strategies, can fall into this trap. Cities like New York, Bilbao and Shanghai have used architecture and *architourism* (Ockman and Fraust, 2007) to enhance their images, economic growth and positions in the global village (Klingmann, 2007; Richards, 2010), and have exported their model of urban development worldwide through 'policy tourism' (Gonzalez, 2010). In Abu Dhabi, for example, mega-investments have been made in landmark museums designed by world-renowned architects in an attempt to raise the Emirate's international profile and establish it as a global tourism destination (Hazime, 2010). However, the success of a particular model of culture-led regeneration in one place cannot be assumed to be replicable elsewhere, especially when the model is dependent on a unique set of place-based factors (Cox and O'Brien, 2012). On the other hand, culture and creative events provide a number of city branding advantages: flexibility in targeting markets, the attractiveness of creative lifestyles and the links between creativity and the media (Trueman et al., 2008; Zenker, 2009).

In order to avoid the commodification and loss of authenticity of urban atmospheres and consumer experiences, criticized as 'Dubaisation' (Al Rabadya, 2012) and 'festivalization' (Quinn, 2006), external and local agendas must be reconciled. This means basing culture-led urban regeneration and branding on a balanced mix of urban-specific creativity and embedded knowledge and innovation. A diverse combination of conditions is needed to achieve this balance – economic, cultural, civic and of place governance (Go and Trunfio, 2014; Go et al., 2013) – and to connect the 'software' and 'orgware' embedded in traditional urban culture, for example, social capital, culture and trust relationships, with innovation and cross-sectoral fertilization driven from the outside (Currid, 2007; Richards and Palmer, 2010).

### **The Alpine Italian cities of Trento and Rovereto: methodology**

Italy's cultural heritage and creative potential should put culture at the centre of national and local development policies, including urban policies (Sacco, 2012). However, in Italy the relationship between cultural heritage resources and policies has led to traditional development models in which the generation of value through culture is focused on cultural tourism and local products (Sacco, 2012). Although traditional cultural tourism promises development opportunities for both the great art cities and smaller urban centres, the sustainability and competitiveness of these cities could certainly benefit from complementarities with research and innovation, education and social inclusion policies and forms of smart specialization between cultural and traditional sectors (Sacco, 2012).

The city of Trento, the provincial capital of the autonomous province of Trento in the northeast of Italy, and the neighbouring city of Rovereto (Della Lucia, 2013), are bucking the general national trend of small and medium-size cities, which focus on cultural tourism as their main lever for urban development (Lazzeretti et al., 2008; Capone and Cinti, 2009). In fact, Trento (pop. 115,000) and Rovereto (pop. c. 40,000) are among the few urban systems experimenting with culture-led development paths combining tradition with knowledge and innovation. These cases are interesting for many reasons. Firstly, cities which specialize both in the cultural and creative sectors, like Milan and Turin, are usually large and have extensive heritage resources; secondly, cultural tourism in Trento and Rovereto is relatively recent and until ten years ago they were not tourist towns, although they are situated in a province which

is a competitive tourist destination; thirdly, Trentino is one of the few Italian regions which has invested in its culture infrastructure as a driver of sustainable local development rather than as a mere tourism marketing tool (Sacco, 2012).

A multiple case study design (Yin, 2003) is applied to Trento and Rovereto to provide insights into the mechanisms through which culture transforms the physical form and the semantic value of urban landscape, impacting on urban images and brands. Research into the evolution of Trentino's development model (Marcantoni et al., 2011) and desk analysis of the Provincial Development Plans (Autonomous Province of Trento, 2002, 2006, 2009) and the sectoral policy (Strategic Plan, Tourism and Cultural Plan) of the municipalities of Trento and Rovereto over the last 15 years (Municipality of Trento, 2004, 2013; eTourism, 2009) have been used to investigate the drivers of culture-led regeneration in these cities. Fifteen in-depth interviews with representatives of public policy (culture, education and scientific research), public and private cultural institutions (e.g. Muse and Mart) and incubators/promoters of local development were carried out between summer 2013 and winter 2014; these demonstrate the role of the two publicly funded iconic cultural buildings in the transformation of the traditional identity of these cities. The results are discussed with respect to the nature of culture-led urban regeneration and its impact on urban image and emerging brands envisioning gaps in urban brand building and their potential clash with the provincial destination brand.

### **Drivers of culture-led regeneration in Trentino**

In the Autonomous Province of Trento and in the cities of Trento and Rovereto, local government has played a crucial role in anticipating post-industrial development processes based on culture. Local heritage resources have determined the nature of these processes, both positively and negatively (Marcantoni et al., 2011). Since the sixties, the Province of Trento has invested in research facilities, funded exclusively by the province, in order to train, retain and attract qualified human resources. This knowledge-based investment was the fruit of a visionary public policy which inspired the provincial government to use its legislative and financial autonomy to tackle the limitations of a fragmented and traditional Alpine economy for which the road to traditional industrialization was not smooth. Its mountains, however, were also the determining factor in the endogenous development of a high-quality and successful tourist industry in this Alpine province, which has developed public policies

(sectoral, incentivization) and pioneering models of public destination governance and marketing in order to promote tourism.

The province's far-sighted investment laid the foundation for a knowledge economy which has led, over the years, to the gradual fertilization of the Alpine economy by the post-industrial economy. Although physically concentrated in the main urban centres of Trentino, in particular the capital, Trento, where local government bodies are located, this hybridization is evident in innovations throughout the local system. Sizable public investment has gone into the university, scientific and technological research centres, libraries and museums (also engaged in research and education), and a new policy to incentivize the innovation of local businesses has been introduced. New industrial clusters (e.g. Manifattura Tabacchi of Rovereto) have been set up, as have technological districts linked to traditional industries (sustainable building, wood, gravel and stone). A number of institutions, including the tourist-territorial marketing organization, have been reorganized and a new kind of entrepreneurship, in the culture and creative sectors, has developed through the transfer of knowledge and skills to the production system.

In the last decade, the municipalities of Trento and Rovereto have consolidated and built on the knowledge-based urban development driven by provincial policies (Autonomous Province of Trento, 2002, 2006, 2009), and have embarked on their qualification as cultural cities through sectoral policies in order to exploit their rich historical legacies (Municipality of Trento, 2004, 2013; eTourism, 2009). The history of these Alpine cities, a product of their geographical position on the border between Central Europe and the Mediterranean world, has produced a significant – religious and secular – artistic and cultural heritage. Their openness to intercultural exchange and long traditions of self-government have shaped the cities, their services and networks of cultural and research institutions and their standards of living. This legacy has been enhanced by innovative policies and considerable, given the cities' sizes, investments aimed at achieving a balance between tradition and change driven by new market trends (Go and Govers, 2010).

### **The nature of culture-led urban regeneration in Trento and Rovereto**

Provincial and municipal policies in combination with the cities' cultural heritage have qualified Trento and Rovereto as *knowledge cities* and *consumer cities*. Trento's and Rovereto's status as *knowledge cities* is

due to their internationally recognized network of institutions of scientific and technological research and higher education. Three public institutions have enabled the development of this system: the FBK Foundation, the Mach Foundation and the University of Trento. In addition to the research, training and knowledge transfer to the territory carried out by this network, it also attracts skilled human capital, students, innovative businesses, resources and investment from all over Italy and abroad. Trento, for example, is the only Italian partner of the European Institute for Innovation and Technology, and the Institute's collaboration with European ICT research and industry networks has promoted the creation of other international centres of research and higher education and enabled technology transfer to companies. Rovereto hosts the Centre for Computational and Systems Biology – a joint Microsoft-University of Trento research unit which specializes in the fields of operating systems, systems pharmacology and nutrition. The Center for Cognitive Sciences – a University of Trento interdisciplinary research center – is at the forefront of neuroscience research in Italy. The knowledge workers employed in this research network account for a major share of the demand for immaterial consumption, due to their high level of education and, often, their higher disposable income. In the academic year 2012–2013, for example, the university expressed a consumer demand for more than 1,200 people, including professors, researchers and technical and administrative staff, in addition to more than 16,000 students.

Trento and Rovereto owe their status as *consumer cities* to their cultural and artistic heritage and to the fact that the cultural and creative industries (e.g. publishing and audiovisual) and, most important, provincial cultural institutions are located in them. The cities combine popular culture and local tradition with innovation and the contemporary, the hosting of cultural events and the offering of services and amenities. Their services and cultural activities are used by residents, including knowledge workers, students, commuters and external users of advanced services (commercial, health), and by leisure and business tourists. The original investments made in the eighties in the restoration of historic buildings to house the cities' libraries, important collections of modern and contemporary art, and science museums, were designed to provide local communities with educational and leisure opportunities. Only later did these resources become tourism marketing tools and now, 20 years later, this choice has been consolidated by sizeable provincial investment in two museums – one in Trento, the other in Rovereto.

## The role of iconic buildings in culture-led urban regeneration

The Mart of Rovereto (<http://www.mart.trento.it/>), a gallery of modern and contemporary art designed by Mario Botta and inaugurated in 2002, and the Muse of Trento (<http://www.muse.it>), the science museum inaugurated in the summer of 2013 and designed by Renzo Piano, are the cornerstones of an urban qualification driven by knowledge and culture but entirely in keeping with the cities' pasts (Figure 6.1). These iconic cultural buildings are publicly owned and funded, and evolved from older local cultural organizations. The Mart is the leading modern and contemporary art gallery in the province, and one of the most important in Italy. It was established in Rovereto on the site of an old artisanal workshop; the Muse developed out of the Tridentine Museum of Natural Sciences, the oldest of the province's cultural organizations connected to its Alpine identity.

As the in-depth interviews with stakeholders revealed, the transformation of these organizations was intended to be, and, indeed, was, a cultural catalyst for the regeneration of disused and marginal city centre areas in Trento and Rovereto, providing them with new attractions, services and residential buildings. It was inspired by paradigmatic experiments in culture-led local regeneration through forms of policy tourism in cities like Bilbao, Madrid and Barcelona. Old museums were replaced by modern, eco-sustainable architectural structures which aim to reconcile tradition and innovation. This fusion of the past and the



Figure 6.1 Iconic cultural buildings in Trento and Rovereto



contemporary – creativity, innovation, sustainability – is evident in the mission of these institutions, which combine the traditional roles of museum/gallery with modern functions – as research centres and scientific and didactic/edutainment laboratories on specific topics (heart science, modern and contemporary art) – in addition to being important tourist attractions. Mart's mission states that the museum's artistic and architectural legacy is a tool of value co-creation with the community, promoting creativity and engagement with visitors, stimulating participation and sharing, interpreting and safeguarding the collection. Furthermore, it fosters collaboration with national and international museums in activities which interpret the complexity and the interconnectivity of contemporary society. It also engages in domains in which museums require innovation – market, economy, interactions, experiences and storytelling. The Muse aims to interpret nature, starting from its roots in the mountain landscape and using the approaches and tools of scientific research to face the challenges of the contemporary world, to promote creativity and knowledge and to encourage science, innovation and sustainability. Both institutions are members of international museum networks with similar cultural focuses. They are, however, still in the process of establishing the kind of trust-based relationships with other local stakeholders, both inside the culture sector and in other sectors, that would make it possible to create the critical mass of partnerships necessary for effective and systemic integration and culture-led regeneration.

## **Discussion**

The provincial and urban policies which have made knowledge and culture strategic assets for urban development have transformed the physical appearance of Trento and Rovereto, while remaining faithful to the cities' historical identity. Policies have attempted to avoid the consumption of place and to lever opportunities for the reuse, requalification or restoration of entire parts of the city according to criteria of formal quality (beauty), complexity of functions and environmental and social sustainability (quality of living). These criteria have prompted the restoration of the cities' traditional relationships with the river, by renewing historical and industrial areas along its banks, and siting functions/buildings/services related to advanced training, research and culture and new residential eco-sustainable areas near it. The old towns have been connected to old villages (which have been revitalized) and new suburbs, and access to the cities has been improved. This process

has raised the standard of living in Trento and Rovereto and meant that education, research, culture and forms of cultural tourism, which did not exist a few years ago, are now part of the range of urban consumption experiences.

The knowledge and culture-led transformation of the cities is changing their symbolic value and image, building emerging urban brands. This process, which is still in its early stages, is influenced by the overlapping of the multiple identities – historical, knowledge-based and cultural – of the two cities, and by a product offering consistent with these identities. It combines inherited resources – ancient castles, churches, and so forth – with sizable public investments and new attractions – research centres, libraries, iconic buildings, hallmark events, and so on. This multifaceted identity results in multiple projected or perceived images of the cities, which coexist and interface with the images of the strongest urban attractions and icons. Trento is thus known as the ‘City of the Council of Trent’ – the ecumenical reform council of the Catholic Church that was held in the city in the second half of the 16th century (historical identity). The city was designated ‘Alpine city in 2004’ by the International Commission for the Protection of the Alps’, for its role in Alpine cross-border cooperation (Alpine identity), and Trento’s participation in an international network of knowledge hubs has led to it being considered the ‘Italian capital of innovation’ (knowledge identity). Trento is also co-branded with the Muse, the iconic-building/museum of the city, and with the important events/festivals hosted in the city, like the Festival of Economics (9th edition in 2014) and the Trento Film Festival (62nd edition in 2014), both run in cooperation with the creative and cultural sectors (publishing and film). These annual festivals have become so closely associated with Trento’s urban identities that they are now drivers for the image-making and urban marketing of Trento as a knowledge and culture city. Rovereto shows the same complexity with respect to its status as a cultural city. As an important centre of silk manufacture in the 18th century, it used to be very wealthy and was called the ‘Athens of Tyrol’. The Maria Dolens bell – the second-largest swinging bell in the world – is also a part of Rovereto’s historical identity; it was cast to commemorate all who fall in war and is today a shrine to peace – hence Rovereto’s designation as the ‘City of Peace’. It is also the ‘City of Depero’, the Italian futurist painter, writer, sculptor and graphic designer. He founded the House of Futurist Art, where Futurist toys, tapestries and furniture were made, and first exhibited his work here. Rovereto is also co-branded with the brand Mart, the gallery of modern and contemporary art, and with the brands

of events such as the leading European contemporary dance festival *East West*, which aims to encourage cultural exchange and cross-fertilization between the genres and languages of the contemporary scene. Both Trento and Rovereto are also branded 'towns of culture' by the provincial Destination Management Organization. This is exemplified by the special tourist card which includes entry to all the museums and castles in the two cities, free public transport (in most cases) and discounts on purchases of some local products (e.g. Trentodoc sparkling wine).

### **Conclusions: opportunities and challenges**

This paper deals with culture and investments in cultural iconic catalysts as engines of urban regeneration in post-industrial societies. Although they provide manifold possibilities for city regeneration and branding, consumption-led and experience-based culture development strategies must be reconciled with local identities and needs in order to put an urban brand successfully and enduringly on the global map.

The Italian Alpine cities of Trento and Rovereto show how culture-led regeneration can be driven successfully from within. The transformed appearance and symbolic value of these cities are the results of the efforts of local public and private actors. They have remained faithful to the cities' heritage, while injecting creativity and knowledge into traditional urban development models and their outputs through imaginative policies (in the past) and sizable investments (in recent years), thus ensuring innovation in tandem with continuity. Investments in iconic catalysts have been inspired by paradigmatic international experiments in culture-led regeneration, but they have been adapted to the local context, and have strong links with previous visionary public investment in research centres, which laid the foundations for these culture-led development processes. If culture-led regeneration is shown to be place specific, this means, from a theoretical perspective, that the local (regional, national) dimension should be introduced to theorize how traditional urban culture can be successfully integrated with innovations, whether externally or internally driven. From the managerial perspective, a long-term integration process, led from within, can provide cities with a sustainable competitive advantage when the preservation and enhancing of their sense of place is levered to facilitate coherent urban culture-led brand building based on a strong local identity.

Despite these positive insights, the hybridization of local heritage (old) with the creative economy (new) is not unproblematic in the cases examined: gaps in urban brand building (Govers and Go, 2009) and their

potential clash with the provincial destination brand are observed. The historical, knowledge and cultural identities of these cities have not yet been integrated, and so they still do not have a clearly defined identity as creative cities due to the continued lack of a shared, informed, organic urban development plan combining knowledge, culture and tourism policies/strategies. The consequent fragmentation of product offer (gap 1) and of projected and perceived images (gap 2) may lead to failures in the implementation and delivery of place experience, if urban brands are subject to different expression and readings (gap 3). Provincial and municipal policies on research and culture are still limited by sectoral boundaries, and the partnerships and networks among public and private actors in each sector suffer from imbalances of power, resources, interests and aims. The related obstacles to collaboration, integration of product offer and multiple projected images and brand expression may impact negatively on visitors' intentions and preferences and their satisfaction with the urban experience.

Another challenge concerns the relationship between emerging urban brands and the nationally and internationally recognized Trentino destination brand – Trentino is one of the most tourism intensive and competitive destinations in the country (Cracolici et al., 2006). Natural resources are the most important tourist attractions, and hiking and sports, particularly winter sports, are the main attractions, supported by sizable public investment in winter infrastructure. It is clear from the core values of Trentino's brand identity, which focuses on reliability, environmental sustainability and Alpine identity, that culture is not considered to be a strategic asset for tourism destination development in the province. The knowledge and culture-led urban brand building of Trento and Rovereto might thus be seen as clashing with the Trentino destination brand as it challenges the provincial brand image as a non-cultural destination.

## **Future research**

The successful qualification and positioning of the emerging urban brands of Trento and Rovereto depends on the vision and power of the value-adding partnerships and public and private networks engaged in the process of culture-led regeneration at both the provincial and urban level. The related institutional, sectoral and social interdependence within a fragmented place domain raises important issues: how can the coordination and integration of knowledge, culture and tourism policies on both the horizontal and vertical axes be fostered? Will Trentino's

umbrella brand have a role in the development and the communication of the urban brands? What levers are needed to integrate heritage, knowledge, culture and tourism in a unique urban identity? Should these cities opt for a joint brand or should they differentiate both their identity and brand? What roles should/could Mart and Muse play in urban branding? How could social and sectoral interactions be encouraged to promote hybridizations between culture and creative activities, tourism and other sectors? What parts might the cultural institutions (Muse and Mart), the university, research centres and innovative industrial clusters play in the fostering of such interactions?

These and other issues can be investigated in future research addressing multilevel, multisectoral and multi-actor governance systems, such as Go and Trunfio's concept of embedded governance (2011), a relational and knowledge-sharing mechanism which can facilitate stakeholder engagement in urban brand design by leveraging social capital (Go et al., 2013). Social capital is crucial not only because it underpins stakeholder inclusion, engagement and capacity building but also because it introduces a place-specific dimension to the domain of urban culture-led regeneration and branding.

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# 7

## Case C: Place Branding and Cultural Entrepreneurship: “Edinburgh – Scotland’s Inspiring Capital and World Festival City”

*Kenneth Mcmillan Wardrop*

“This is a city of shifting light, of changing skies, of sudden vistas. A city so beautiful it breaks the heart again and again.” – Alexander McCall Smith, 2006

**Keywords:** collaboration, competitiveness, differentiate, experience, identity, place marketing

### **Introduction**

This case study of Edinburgh, Scotland’s capital city, is written from a practitioner perspective and sets out to illustrate and explore what differentiates Edinburgh’s approach to marketing and place branding. It aims to provide insights relevant to the themes explored in this book, and that will hopefully resonate with the experience in other destinations around the globe.

Over the past decade, Edinburgh has successfully repositioned itself as a ‘must see’ contemporary cultural capital city. It is also known as ‘the world’s festival city’, with the city’s population doubling during the summer festival season. The destination is attracting a growing number of visitors (1.3m international and 2.5m UK visitors in 2012 [ETAG, 2013]), placing the city as the UK’s second most popular destination for international visitors after London.

The whole of the city centre (the Medieval ‘Old Town’ with the 18th-century ‘New Town’) is a designated United Nations Educational,



*Figure 7.1* Edinburgh city skyline

*Source:* Edinburgh Inspiring Capital.

Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage site. This, coupled with a wealth of history, creates a powerful sense of place. In the 18th century, the Scottish Enlightenment, with great thinkers such as the economist Adam Smith and the philosopher David Hume, coupled with its classical architecture, led to the city's becoming known as the 'Athens of the North'. In 2004, the city was designated by UNESCO as the first 'World City of Literature' in recognition of its rich literary credentials past and present. The city has been the inspiration for many writers: *'This profusion of eccentricities, this dream in masonry and living rock is not a drop scene in a theatre, but a city in the world of reality'*. (Robert Louis Stevenson [1850–1894]).

However, the city is not a sleepy historic backwater, but a vibrant and dynamic 21st-century city with a growing population of half a million people. The city's four universities have a combined population of approximately 60, 000 students (14,000 international) (Source: City of Edinburgh Council). The city has a diverse and resilient economy, driven by dynamic business sectors and academic centres of excellence in areas such as financial services, creative and cultural industries, life and animal sciences, informatics, renewable energy technologies and

tourism – the city is home to ‘Dolly the Sheep’ (the world’s first cloned mammal) and Rockstar North (makers of *Grand Theft Auto*).

The city is regularly voted the UK’s favourite city break destination. For example, Trip Advisor’s 2014 Travellers Choice Destination Awards placed the destination second in the UK, while *Guardian/Observer* readers in 2012 voted Edinburgh ‘The UK’s Favourite City Break Destination’ (13th year in a row). The ICCA (International Congress and Convention Association) rankings (2012) placed the destination 33rd in the world for business tourism. In 2013/14, the *FT Foreign Direct Investment Magazine* identified Edinburgh as the ‘Best mid-sized European City for Foreign Direct Investment’.

## Culture dynamism and place marketing

### The importance of distinctive brand attributes in place branding

Based on the characteristics described above, and in relation to consideration of place marketing based on cultural dynamism, Edinburgh represents an excellent case study in relation to the themes explored in this book. Relevant dimensions of ‘the Edinburgh experience’, which will be explored in this case study, include the relationship between culture and destination branding, the cultural dynamic as a vehicle for place marketing, and how culture defines the visitor experience and acts as a draw.

Dinnie (2011) argues that in order to develop a strong brand, policymakers need to identify a clear set of brand attributes that the city possesses and that can form the basis for engendering positive perceptions of the city across multiple audiences. Such attributes are those that the city brand would wish to see evoked when relevant target groups are asked the question ‘*what comes to your mind when you think of this city?*’ The process of identifying and agreeing upon a relevant set of city brand attributes and distinct assets requires stakeholder engagement rather than top-down coercion. Imagination and an open mind are also necessary in the identification and selection of appropriate brand attributes that powerfully express the distinctive character of a destination. Edinburgh’s differentiation of the brand based on powerful cultural attributes, and especially the festival product, has created tangible differentiation and secured competitive advantage. Edinburgh’s place marketing positions culture as a primary differentiating aspect of the brand proposition for attracting the ‘*three T’s*’ (tourism, talent and trade) (a phrase coined by the steering committee in the city promotion body overseeing the drafting in 2008 of the destination promotion model).

### **The importance of collaboration**

Partner collaboration, the pooling of resources and the alignment of promotional messaging are all important characteristics of effective destination promotion. Edinburgh's innovative partnership models are based on a long history of effective public-private sector collaboration. This is exemplified in the influential and highly effective partnership organisation for the city's 12 major festivals – 'Festivals Edinburgh' ([www.festivalsedinburgh.com](http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com)). As we will explore more fully later on, Festival Edinburgh's strategic marketing effectively positions culture as a defining aspect of the city brand and image, attracting key target markets and acting as a conduit for the city to engage with the world.

A 'Team Edinburgh' approach is also exemplified in the Edinburgh Tourism Action Group (ETAG, [www.etag.org.uk](http://www.etag.org.uk)), which since 2000 has fostered collaboration across all sectors of the tourism industry (including the festival and cultural community, marketing agencies, local and national government, and key businesses). Consequently in strategic planning, for example, the 'Edinburgh 2020: The Edinburgh Tourism Strategy', the destination's cultural offer is strongly identified as a differentiating aspect of the visitor experience and destination proposition. This translates into the prioritisation of strategic investment decisions by local and national politicians, for example, the recent investment of over €170 million in cultural infrastructure, including the refurbishment of the National Museum of Scotland, the National Portrait Gallery, the Usher Hall, the Assembly Rooms, the Edinburgh International Conference Centre extension and new stands for the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo.

A place marketing approach has been adopted by the city, promoting the destination as a place in which to invest, live, work, study and visit (or addressing the agendas of tourism, talent and trade). With Marketing Edinburgh Ltd ([www.marketingedinburgh.org](http://www.marketingedinburgh.org)), the city promotion body acts as custodian of the city brand 'Edinburgh Inspiring Capital' ([www.edinburgh-inspiringcapital.com](http://www.edinburgh-inspiringcapital.com)), and focuses on raising Edinburgh's global profile, reputation management, shifting consumer perceptions to extend awareness of the destination.

A good example of the destination capitalising on culture in profile raising is the staging in 2010 of the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo in Sydney, Australia, with the Edinburgh City Council collaborating with the Tattoo to host special inward investment activity involving Australian businesses with an interest in Edinburgh and Scotland. Plans are in place to repeat this event and 'cross-selling' approach in 2016.

## Presenting a compelling narrative about the destination

Edinburgh's 'wow factor' as a destination is based on the juxtaposition and contrast of its history and heritage with a contemporary buzz and vibe. As Scotland's capital city, Edinburgh has many international cultural icons on which to build, including the tartan; whisky; golf; romantic castles; literature and music; history; dramatic landscape and scenery; and the world-renowned friendliness of the people. Capitalising on these traditional iconic images, the destination effectively draws on the evolving and cutting-edge nature of its cultural offer, overlaying a set of messages that challenge existing consumer perceptions, keeping the brand relevant and engaging.

Edinburgh's place marketing has for some years been focused on shifting consumer perceptions of the destination, and culture has been used effectively as part of the promotional narrative. Anholt (2007: 101) suggests that *'Culture can often play a critical role in moving the current image of a country towards a more useful one. Culture is the component that is absolutely necessary in order to make the image of any place properly satisfying, especially in the case of countries which...suffer from an image that is largely or exclusively based on tourism'* (emphasis added).

Edinburgh's festivals help constantly redefine the brand and create a powerful sense of place, assisting the city through the messaging it presents, in the strategic objective of positioning the destination as a contemporary 21st-century cultural capital city. Customer perceptions of the destination have shifted over the past decade from its being previously likened to other UK heritage destinations such as Bath, Chester or York to its being viewed today by consumers as similar to contemporary cultural destinations such as Prague, Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Barcelona (Source: Destination Edinburgh Marketing Alliance Ltd; Destination Promotion Strategy [2009]).

## Edinburgh's visitor (audience) profile

A consideration of the demographic profile and characteristics of visitors gives a sense of the nature of visitors to the destination and helps contextualise the role of the cultural offer in drawing visitors to the city. The Edinburgh Visitor Survey (EVS) has been undertaken on a consistent (at least biannual) basis over the past decade. It is important to recognise that Edinburgh's cultural offer is made up of the performing arts (including the major festivals) and a thriving theatre, dance, film, visual arts, music and club scene, as well as the cultural infrastructure of art

*Table 7.1* Main cultural activities undertaken by visitors to the city

Activity	%
Visiting Museums	48
Visiting Art Galleries	30
Visiting Exhibitions	25
Visit to the National Galleries of Scotland	29
Visit to the National Museum of Scotland	26

*Source:* Edinburg Visitor Survey 2009–10

*Table 7.2* Influence(s) in visiting the city

Influence(s) in Visiting the City	%
Historic City	71
Castle	52
A previous visit	27
Attractions	26
Personal recommendation	22
Museums	21
Friends / Relatives	21
Pubs / Bars	20
Shopping	18
World Heritage Status	17
Restaurants	15
Art Galleries	14
Specific event being held in the city	13
Nightlife	6
Outdoor activities/ sport	5
Art Exhibition	2
Work/ business trip	1
Other	11

*Source:* Edinburgh Visitor Survey 2009–10

galleries and museums, historic buildings and monuments, and visitor attractions.

Edinburgh Castle is Scotland's top paid visitor attraction, and it welcomed 1.4 million visitors in 2013.

The top influences stated by visitors for coming to the city in the Edinburgh Visitor Survey are set out below.

The survey clearly identifies cultural attractions, including Edinburgh's historic buildings, museums and art galleries, as major visitor draws. What is not so clear from these survey results is the power of Edinburgh's festivals and events product as a draw for visitors, although as an

Table 7.3 Origin of visitors to Edinburgh

Origin of Visitors	%
International	55
Domestic*	45
(* 27% of whom are from England)	

Source: Edinburgh Visitor Survey 2009–10

influencing factor with a rating of 13%, this represents a significant figure. The fact that the EVS is based on a sample of respondents drawn on an year-round basis, and that the majority of the festivals take place in a concentrated period in the summer months explains why this figure is not higher. The impact research undertaken by Festivals Edinburgh, and presented later in this case study, presents a compelling case for the power of the festivals in shaping the Edinburgh brand.

The origin of visitors to Edinburgh is set out in the table below.

The enduring appeal of the visitor experience is evidenced by the fact that 45% of visitors are repeat visitors, with 20% of overseas visitors compelled to return to the city after a previous visit, while overall 27% of visitors had been on a previous visit. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the ever-changing festivals offer is a key driver of repeat visits. Interestingly, Generation 'Y' (18- to 34-year-olds) accounted for 27% of visitors to the city (Source: Edinburgh Visitor Survey 2009–10), which was significantly higher than any other group (Gen 'Y' make up a major proportion of the Fringe and Hogmanay audience).

There is a powerful convergence between the predominant demographic profile of visitors and the city's festival audiences, who are predominantly 'metropolitans who are educated, affluent and middle class' (Source: Festivals Edinburgh [2010]), the existing local population, and the target demographic that the city is seeking to attract to live, work and study there.

### The 'Edinburgh festival experience'

Edinburgh's festival scene dates back to the post-Second World War period when, in 1947, the first Edinburgh International Festival took place. The objective was to provide a platform for the flowering of the human spirit and enrichment of the cultural life of Scotland, Britain and Europe. People commonly use the label 'the Edinburgh Festival' to describe the annual August and September festival calendar, but



in fact at this time there are seven concurrent festivals taking place (including the Edinburgh International Festival, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, the International Book Festival, the Jazz and Blues Festival, the Art Festival, Mela, and the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo). In a concentrated period this artistic firmament creates a critical mass and an intensity of visitor experience that defines the 'Edinburgh festival experience'.

In 2013, the International Festival attracted 2,200 artists from 35 countries, and an audience attendance of approximately 400,000 and 158,500 tickets sold, while close to 4 million people enjoyed Edinburgh's summer festivals (source: Festivals Edinburgh). The Edinburgh International Fringe Festival (The Fringe) is now the world's largest 'open access' arts event. The Fringe became established in a grass-roots way when in 1947 eight theatre groups turned up uninvited to perform at the International Festival. In 2013, the Fringe sold close to 2 million tickets for 45,464 performances of 2,871 shows involving 24,107 performers from 41 countries (source: Edinburgh Fringe Annual Report, 2013). The ethos of the Fringe Society remains that the festival will include in the programme '*anyone with a story to tell and a venue willing to host them*'. This philosophy of openness nurtures the 'cutting edge' nature of the 'Edinburgh festival experience', leading to a powerful engagement with audiences, that ensures that year on year the summer festivals continue to define the cultural zeitgeist and annually reinvent the brand identity of Edinburgh.

The significance of this experimental characteristic is also reflected in the fact that the Fringe is equally important as an industry showcase for spotting new talent, as it is about entertaining audiences. In 2013, there were 1,585 world premieres, 1,057 accredited arts industry professionals, and 1,022 accredited journalists from 41 countries (Source: Edinburgh Fringe Annual Review, 2013). Increasingly Edinburgh's prestigious cultural platform is identified by countries as an opportunity to raise their cultural and brand profile. This links to Edinburgh's festivals being a platform for 'cultural diplomacy', which is discussed later.

In addition to the high-profile summer festivals, there are five other major festivals at other times in the year: Edinburgh's Hogmanay (New Year/Edinburgh), the International Science Festival (April), the Imagine Festival (May), the International Film Festival (June), and the Scottish International Story Telling Festival (October). The main festivals have run now for over 60 years. These are evidently events that are creating their own market and displaying what Anholt (2007: 102) describes as '*mature pulling power*'.

## The 'Thundering Hooves'

### Impacts of Edinburgh's major festivals

Recognition of the economic, social and cultural importance of Edinburgh's festivals was clearly identified in the seminal piece of review work undertaken in 2006, which investigated threats to the competitive position of Edinburgh's festivals – the *'Thundering Hooves'* Report (2006). This report resulted in the adoption of a more strategic approach to the festivals in Edinburgh, the creation of a new collaborative framework of key stakeholders in the city with an interest in the festivals, and the creation of the partnership organisation 'Festivals Edinburgh' ([www.festivalsedinburgh.com](http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com)). This partnership encourages a convergence of strategic objectives between the 12 major festivals. It has also focused city marketing in relation to the festivals and a greater shared understanding of key target markets and the ability of the festivals to help attract these markets.

The context of this 2006 study was a growing awareness of competition for Edinburgh from UK cities such as Manchester, Liverpool and Brighton, and international cities such as Dubai, Montreal and Melbourne. It was the result of a concern amongst key players in Edinburgh that the continued capability of the festivals to deliver at a 'best-in-class' level was being taken for granted, and that there was potential complacency with regard to the need to support and invest in the festivals. The 'Thundering Hooves' Report created a major catalyst for change in Edinburgh's approach in recognition of the inherent value of the cultural offer and the global power of the brand. It highlighted the need to nurture this asset and not to take continued success for granted. The report heightened awareness amongst politicians at both a city and a Scottish government level of the contribution and importance of Edinburgh's festivals, and the real threats to the destination's position as market leader.

Outcomes also included initiatives such as the 'Festivals Expo Fund', which was created by the Scottish Government to provide the single largest showcase ever for Scottish companies and artists on the international platform of the Edinburgh festivals, extending opportunity and ambition nationally and internationally for the festivals and the artists they promote and support. The creation and presentation of this new artistic work at other international festivals continues to extend the reach of the Edinburgh (festivals) brand. The 'Made in Scotland' joint funding programme between Creative Scotland and the Edinburgh Fringe was another outcome. Developments have also included the festivals' first-ever joint marketing strategy and plan, supported by the Scottish government, the City of Edinburgh Council, VisitScotland, EventScotland and

Scottish Enterprise to innovatively and comprehensively promote the festivals to new, untapped markets regionally, nationally and globally.

Innovation has also been a significant strand of activity, for example, in the use of the media and new technologies for distribution of product and engagement with customers and audiences. Achieving extended media coverage for the festivals was a recommendation of the report and has led to greater proactive engagement with the UK and international media. Festivals Edinburgh acts as a catalyst for dynamism and cultural entrepreneurialism amongst the 12 festivals, fostering through collaboration a sharing of expertise and best practice. Festivals Edinburgh in June 2014 put out to tender a brief for an update of the 'Thundering Hooves' Report, scanning the global competitive environment in which the 'Festival City' operates and guarding against complacency.

### **Impacts of Edinburgh's major festivals**

An action arising out of the 'Thundering Hooves' Report was the commissioning in 2009 of the Edinburgh Festivals Impact Study (published in 2011). This impact report demonstrated that the 12 major Festivals generated over €297.5 (£245) million worth of additional tourism revenue for Edinburgh in 2010 (€317 [£261] million in total for Scotland), €72 (£59) million new income for Edinburgh (€100 [£82] million in new income for Scotland), and sustained 5,242 full-time equivalent jobs.

The study has provided insights into the wider impacts of the festivals and their relative competitive performance, and pointers on how to maintain global market positioning. The 2011 impact study went further than the previous 2005 study by considering the cultural, social, environmental and media aspects of the festivals, as well as the economic benefits that they generate. Kath Mainland, Chair of Festivals Edinburgh in the foreword to the study states, *'This substantial new report firmly establishes Edinburgh as the world's leading Festival city, and provides clear evidence that the most attractive aspect of the festivals for our audiences is the quality, range, and diversity that we offer. The combination of our distinctive world class festivals is key to attracting both local and visiting audiences. Without this unique offering the festivals could not make the much –envied economic, cultural and social contribution to Edinburgh and Scotland that we currently do'*. Of the €297.5 million economic benefit, 37% accrues to accommodation providers, 34% to food and drink establishments, 6% to retailers and 9% is spent on transport – demonstrating clearly the widespread reach of the economic benefit across the visitor economy.

The study provides compelling evidence to politicians and policy-makers of the wider impacts and benefits that are derived from the

festivals, and has provided Festivals Edinburgh and the individual festivals with compelling advocacy material in securing government support and funding.

The impact study did, however, highlight areas in which there was a lack of available data, for example, in environmental impact assessment, and the Festival Edinburgh Partners have taken this on board. An important initiative that has come out of this has been partnership support by Festivals Edinburgh of Creative Carbon Scotland ([www.creativecarbonscotland.com](http://www.creativecarbonscotland.com)), which is promoting sustainable practice in the arts in Scotland. Festivals Edinburgh undertakes an annual programme of impact assessment covering aspects such as economic, environmental, social, cultural, and technological impacts – this has been a powerful aspect of the work of the partnership.

### Pride in place

Local residents as champions and ambassadors of the destination brand are a critical success factor in place marketing. Morrison (2013: 222, 133) states that *'if DMO's ignore local residents, they do so at their own peril. Community resident support of tourism is essential'* and *'there is growing recognition that DMOs need to constantly pay attention to how the local people perceive the tourism sector'*. Edinburgh's festivals are an important factor in enhancing the quality of life for Edinburgh residents.

The juxtaposition of Scottish creative endeavours alongside artists and performers from the around the globe is an important element of festival programming. By enabling comparison it puts indigenous culture up to scrutiny, heightens cultural awareness and provides exposure for Scottish artists to a wider global audience. Support of Scottish productions to be staged as part of the International and Fringe Festival programmes has raised understanding of the value and quality of local cultural endeavours. The buzz created by the festivals, global media interest and the high standing and reputation of these events fosters both cultural engagement and experimentation, and 'pride in place'. This is also the case for performers and attendees, who all act as powerful advocates or ambassadors.

This is characterised by Anholt (2007) as 'Public Diplomacy', when a substantial part of the population is motivated and energized through a benign (national) ambition, which instinctively seizes every opportunity to tell the world about its country (or city). Effective nation branding, Anholt suggests, includes an element of people-to-people promotion.

*Table 7.4* Impacts of the Edinburgh festivals (residents' perspective)

<b>Perspective of Edinburgh Residents</b>	<b>%</b>
Festivals increase local pride in their home city	89
Festivals promote a confident, positive Scottish national identity (one of diversity and openness)	85
Festivals encourage and widen access to the arts – audiences saying that the festivals had enabled them to discover new talent and genres	77
Festivals encourage residents to take risks and see less well-known performances, events or films	66

*Source:* Festival Impact Study, 2001

*Table 7.5* Impacts of the Edinburgh festivals (visitors' perspective)

<b>Perspective of Visitors</b>	<b>%</b>
Festivals are part of what makes Edinburgh special as a city	96
Agree that the festivals make them more likely to revisit	82
Festivals were their sole or an important reason for coming to Scotland	82

*Source:* Festivals Impact Study, 2011

I believe this is a distinctive aspect of 'the Edinburgh experience', the enduring success of the Edinburgh festivals and why as a global brand Edinburgh 'punches above its weight'.

The Festivals Impact Study (2011) presents strong supportive evidence of the festivals' impact on enhancing the visitor experience and raising Edinburgh's local, national and international profile:

Anholt (2007) describes this effect as a '*magnetic attraction*'. Edinburgh undoubtedly has a powerful combination of a critical mass of creative and imaginative individuals, and a culturally literate resident population (who form the core audience for the city's festivals), and which underpins the city's cultural scene. This can be characterised as 'cultural capital', and is a defining aspect of the sustainability of Edinburgh's festival scene.

## Cultural diplomacy

The 'Thundering Hooves' Report raised awareness about the potential of the global reach of Edinburgh's major festivals: 'Edinburgh Festivals are Scotland's world-class cultural brand with an international reputation and appeal unmatched by any other cultural event on the globe' (Festivals Edinburgh, 2013). Edinburgh's festivals are an important vehicle for Scotland in advancing 'cultural diplomacy', which is often described as the use of 'soft power'. The festivals focus annually on major topical themes and create a platform to bring together thought leaders and influencers (many from the media) from around the world to debate and consider these universal issues.

In 2012, linked to the London Olympics and Paralympics, Edinburgh hosted the first biannual cultural summit under the title 'Culture as an International Dialogue', involving the Ministers of Culture of participating countries in the London Games. Ninety cultural leaders from 32 countries, together with prominent artists, thinkers and cultural policy-makers, participated in the summit.

The second summit was held in August 2014. Announcing the summit, Sir Jonathan Mills, Festival Director, Edinburgh International Festival, said, *'The success of the inaugural Edinburgh International Culture Summit continues to resonate in Scotland and around the world and I am delighted that we are able to build on those achievements with a second Summit in 2014. The Summit aspires to create a space in which artists and leaders from around the world can come together to discuss the role and value of culture [...]. We look forward to welcoming cultural delegations and leading thinkers from all corners of the world to join in a dialogue and debate between policy makers and artists. And of course there is no better context for this conversation than in the midst of the global cultural melting pot of Edinburgh in August'*. (Source: Scottish Government.)

A further example of the innovation emerging out of the Festivals Edinburgh partnership is the 'Momentum Programme': 'A new approach to the creation of a cultural diplomacy partnership also working with the Scottish Government, the City of Edinburgh Council to support the development of the Momentum International Delegate Programme and the work that evolves out of it' (Faith Liddell, Director, Festivals Edinburgh, 2013).

The 'Momentum Programme' offers a unique networking approach, providing a

- Scottish platform for international artists and an international platform for Scottish artists;

- for learning and exchange, for professional development and critical discourse,
- a melting pot where new collaborations and partnerships evolve.

(Source: Festivals Edinburgh, 2014.)

Festival Edinburgh's ambitions for this new initiative are to sustain and develop Edinburgh's position as the world's leading festival city, encouraging international producers and governments to showcase their work at Edinburgh's festivals, with the objective of fostering international cultural exchange and internationalising the work of Scottish artists, venues and cultural organisations. The programme also supports professional development and exchange of expertise on cultural policy and festival models (Source: Festivals Edinburgh, 2014).

The programme includes, for example, itinerary planning for delegations, high-level meetings between cultural figures and policymakers, direct engagement with the directors of Edinburgh's 12 major festivals, government to government bilateral discussions, supported networking, and information exchange and sharing of practice. The programme involves participation by a diverse range of leading cultural practitioners and policymakers. In 2013, the 'Momentum Programme' hosted 86 invited delegates from around the globe.

Collaborative initiatives such as the 'Cultural Summit' and the 'Momentum Programme', and projects such as the Scottish Government's 'Expo' and 'Made in Scotland' funds, described earlier, are positioning Edinburgh and Scotland as a global centre for cultural and intellectual exchange.

In the overview analysis in the Anholt-GfK Roper City Brand Index 2011 report commissioned by the City of Edinburgh Council (which is not publically available), it was stated that '*Edinburgh needs to address the*

*Table 7.6* Momentum programme impacts Scottish cultural sector

<b>Momentum Programme Impacts</b>	<b>%</b>
Enabled them to interact with international producers whom they would not normally get to meet	85.7
Enhances the reputation of the Scottish cultural sector	89.3
Helped make new contacts	82.1
Offered the opportunity to raise the profile of their work	78.6

*Source:* Festivals Edinburgh, 2014

Table 7.7 Momentum programme impacts international delegates

Momentum Programme Impacts	%
Delegates more likely to engage with the Edinburgh festivals	93.8
Delegates more likely to engage with the Edinburgh cultural sector	91.5
Delegates more likely to engage with the Scottish cultural sector	87
Better understand the Scottish cultural sector	89.1
More positive perception of Edinburgh's festivals	87.2
More positive perception of Scotland	87.5
Delegates felt they were introduced to relevant people from the Scottish cultural sector	95.5

Source: Festivals Edinburgh, 2014

*issue of universal appeal and relevance to new and distant audiences*'. Anholt (2007) argues that it is important that cities recognise they are in fact not marketing a city (after all, most countries already have their own important cities). What cities like Edinburgh need to sell is their current and distinctive contribution to and influence on key issues or endeavours pertinent to today's citizens of the world.

Edinburgh's history with regard to the Scottish Enlightenment and the strength of city-based institutions (that are operating globally), coupled with the educated and creative population, puts the city in a good position to build greater openness, engagement and influence in the wider world. The development of Edinburgh's 'soft power' assets by stakeholders has the potential to redefine Edinburgh's '*universal appeal*', and perception and reputation with emerging and important audiences across the world. A powerful platform now exists for genuine cultural innovation and exchange, providing a potential vehicle for defining Edinburgh's 21st-century appeal and relevance – creating a resonance with global thought leaders and influencers.

## Differentiation

Edinburgh's strong cultural offer, based especially on the festivals but also the range of diverse cultural assets, effectively realises a point of differentiation for the destination. Anholt (2007) suggests, culture plays



an essential role in the process of enriching a country's reputation, in driving public perceptions towards a fuller and more durable understanding of the country and its values. As he (99) states, *'In the mind of the consumer, culture also works in many different ways as a metaphor for personality, and people deduce a great deal about the inner qualities of a nation through its cultural enterprises'*. Culture is often uniquely linked to a place; it is enriching and dignifying, drawing on the distinctive 'spiritual and intellectual qualities' of the place, its people and institutions. It also defines the visitor experience, creates a genuine and compelling reason to visit, and shapes audience and consumer perceptions.

A strong cultural identity and offer creates for a destination the distinctiveness (and authenticity) sought by today's consumers in their quest for the experiential. Edinburgh is well placed, based on the combination of strong cultural and tourism assets, to maximise the opportunities from the growth of the 'experience economy'.

## Conclusions

As a case study, the 'Edinburgh experience' highlights the role and influence of culture in shaping city marketing and destination brands. Edinburgh's 'cultural dynamism' has enabled differentiation, creates a distinctive identity and defines the destination brand to raise the global profile in diverse and captivating ways. The longevity and reputation of Edinburgh's festivals as 'best in class', based on consistent investment in the cultural infrastructure, combined with the 'cultural capital' of those working in the cultural industries in the city and cultural engagement by citizens, ensures that culture is both a driver of the Edinburgh economy and that it defines quality of life, and at the same time positively shapes perceptions and awareness of the place. A critical factor is awareness amongst destination stakeholders (including politicians) of the need to guard against complacency, which potentially comes from being a mature brand and market leader, and the need to support continuous innovation to maintain competitive advantage.

The Edinburgh Festivals Impact Study (2011) has provided tangible evidence of the benefits of festivals, and powerful advocacy with politicians at a local and national level, to make the case for investment in the city's cultural infrastructure and product, and city promotion.

The 'Edinburgh experience' proves the 'value-add' and innovation that can be gained from collaborative working across the cultural and tourism sectors. The spirit of cultural entrepreneurship in the city is exemplified in the work of Festivals Edinburgh (and the 12 major

festivals), and the tourism sector through the Edinburgh Tourism Action Group, which helps maximise cultural tourism opportunities.

City stakeholders understand that a healthy cultural life in the city is equally as important for attracting visitors as it is for retaining and attracting talent, and for attracting inward investment, while the power of 'cultural diplomacy' based on the unique calling card provided by the festivals is being used to attract those who wish to invest, live, work, and study and visit there.

The cutting-edge nature of Edinburgh's cultural offer constantly redefines place identity and the visitor experience, and presents the brand afresh to consumers. Social media, linked to the rich content of Edinburgh's festivals, is creating exciting new ways to extend consumer awareness and the global reach of the brand.

In the final analysis of the critical success factors for Edinburgh that have secured sustainability of the major festivals, there is no one single defining element but rather a coming together of a number of mutually supporting characteristics – as a famous Edinburgh resident said, '*But a city is more than a place in space, it is a drama in time*' (Patrick Geddes, Town Planner, 1854–1932). The city acts as a natural stage and setting for a powerful and distinct cultural offer – one that most definitely defines and drives the Edinburgh brand: 'the World's Festival City'.

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# 8

## Case D: The Power of Soft Infrastructure in Influencing Regional Entrepreneurship and Innovativeness

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**Keywords:** regional, soft infrastructure, Tuscany, value co-creation, wine entrepreneurs

### **Introduction**

This chapter aims at framing ‘creativity, culture and taste’ as soft aspects of knowledge creation and accumulation, and as drivers of innovativeness, a ‘fertile ground’ for niche specializations for many regions (Camagni and Capello, 2013: 362). Creativity, culture and taste are, in fact, often overlooked in the discourse on innovation in Europe, despite their great potential in geographical contexts that are rich in cultural heritage and cultural diversity. There is a need to reflect on regional innovation and entrepreneurial innovativeness by considering ‘cultural inputs’ (Amin and Thrift, 2007) as impulses to economic value creation. This occurs in cultural industries that, inextricably based on cultural production and consumption, have an economic as well as a cultural presence in contemporary society (Pratt, 2008). As this chapter will show, beyond cultural industries, an enlarging set of entrepreneurs consciously appropriates and recombines cultural inputs in order to enrich and innovate their products and services. In so doing they produce cultural meanings, symbols and aesthetic values that, as we shall see below, may become part of regional cultural heritage.

Cultural inputs are the basis for those symbolic, aesthetic and experiential aspects playing a significant role, in some cases an even greater

role than technical and utilitarian aspects, in the process of product innovation and differentiation (Jansson and Power, 2010). This chapter engages with an interpretation of regional economies as networks of symbols and cultural values that – constantly produced by a network of firms, individuals, artefacts, places and spaces, and brokered through the practice of place branding – are conceptualized as *regional soft infrastructure* and empirically investigated in the case of *Maremma* in Tuscany, a central Italy region.

## **The Regional Soft Infrastructure**

The Regional Soft Infrastructure (RSOI) aims to trace a dynamic link between a cultural value system and a regional innovation capacity, assuming culture as a driver of innovation. We understand RSOI as the ‘set of values, beliefs and attitudes that, narrated through regional cultural heritage and reflected into images, influence innovative decisions at individual and collective levels’ (Bellini and Pasquinelli, forthcoming). The RSOI provides regional stakeholders with symbolic inputs for the creation of value propositions (Frow and Payne, 2011) and mobilizes symbols endorsing and legitimizing a ‘certain’ entrepreneurial culture. An important aspect of the RSOI is its evolutionary nature. Static notions of regional identity, the authenticity of which has to be preserved, are reinterpreted through the RSOI, which reflects the constant (re)construction of identities within social and cultural contexts (Jessop et al., 2008). Accordingly, what are the mechanisms enriching the RSOI? And to what extent does place branding have an impact on its evolution?

Place branding is here understood as an orchestrated and deliberate effort to give a strategic direction to the RSOI’s evolution. Place branding often consists in a ‘conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically designed place identity and promote it to identified markets’ (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2010: 1). The political nature of place branding explains both the potential and the limits of branding strategies, especially when an innovative brand message is sought (Pasquinelli and Teräs, 2013). Branding is said to tailor brand narratives by adopting a variety of discursive strategies, for instance, an emphasis on heroes, leaders or great events to represent the essence of the place, an emphasis on continuity and timeliness, the invention of traditions and the vehiculation of a foundational myth of a ‘pure, original people or folk’ (Govers and Go, 2009: 20). The ‘crafted’ narrative, however, does not automatically enrich the regional soft infrastructure. Rather, its impact is mediated by the use that regional stakeholders make of it. Even though place

branding plays a facilitating and legitimizing role, it remains only one mechanism of a complex process of symbols and values socialization enabling the evolution of the RSoI.

To assess the impact of place branding on the RSoI, there is a need to understand how and the extent to which the place brand becomes an 'image in use' (Czarniawska, 2002), that is, how and to which extent brand images, symbols and values are appropriated, circulated and exploited by regional stakeholders. In other words, beyond the interpretation of the place brand as collective brand (Pasquinelli, 2014), there is a need to draw more attention to those organizations, firms and individuals that, while building their own brands, do contribute to place brand building and, hence, to a constant 'update' of the RSoI. A network of stakeholders participates in co-creating the brand identity (Payne et al., 2009) so that the brand is not built (and owned) by one single organization. Owing to its relational nature, the place brand establishes relationships with a variety of stakeholders that, perceiving a good fit between brand's functional/symbolic attributes and their own self-image (Hankinson, 2004), end up participating in the place brand's constant construction.

## **Entrepreneurship and regional innovation capacity**

Regional innovation capacity implies continuous learning and product innovation (Lawson and Lorenz, 1999), which enable regional systems and their stakeholders to react in a timely manner to change and take the opportunity of innovative transformation. Knowledge creation, sharing and circulation are at the core of regional innovation, even though the symbolic category of 'knowing' as epistemological practice is largely overlooked (Manniche, 2012). Symbolic knowledge is, instead, part of 'differentiated knowledge bases' which contributes to regional innovation (Asheim et al., 2007). It refers to the creation and communication of cultural meanings, symbols and aesthetic values. This is a form of tacit knowledge rooted within specific socio-cultural contexts with little or no opportunity of transfer (Lawson and Lorenz, 1999). The RSoI is, thus, a platform that spills out symbolic knowledge that, inherited from history – but continuously becoming, as explained in the above section – is a fundamental input for innovative entrepreneurship.

While an extensive literature has analysed the role of entrepreneurs in producing, using and brokering analytical and synthetic knowledge, there is a need to reflect on how entrepreneurial practices boost symbolic knowledge flows and spillovers, thus contributing to regional

innovation. In line with the notion of cognitive proximity (Boschma, 2005; Amin and Roberts, 2008), we need to reflect on the notion of 'symbolic proximity' in order to explain how symbolic knowledge circulates, both in local buzz and through global pipelines (Bathelt et al., 2004). An epistemic community is based on the existence of a 'shared repertoire of communal resources' (Amin and Roberts, 2008) – which from our perspective includes symbolic resources – which enable not only local but also global ties to contribute to knowledge generation. The regional development platform analysed by Lazzeretti et al. (2010: 42) in the case of Tuscany, a central region in Italy (also analysed in this chapter, see the next section), helps clarify. A cross-fertilization among *cognitively* related industries, such as art and food, was identified, linking regional culture, tradition, design and agro-food products throughout 'unusual relations among apparently distant sectors'. From our perspective, *symbolic* proximity may explain the capacity of dialogue and exchange across businesses in different sectors since these share a repertoire of symbolic resources, aesthetic values, taste and cultural identities.

Symbolic knowledge and symbolic proximity play a special role for cultural entrepreneurs, as the value of their products and services resides in their symbolic content (Power and Scott, 2004). Cultural entrepreneurs tend to localize in contexts rich in 'local cultural symbologies' (Molotch 1996, cited in Power and Scott, 2004) in order to exploit them, while contributing to their evolution. As shown in the next sections, those entrepreneurs who appropriate and recombine 'cultural inputs' (Amin and Thrift, 2007) provide evidence of the 'creative capacity of culture' (Lazzeretti, 2009), which may boost innovativeness. It is worth mentioning that, in the context of a symbolic economy in which image-making and symbolic consumption become a priority at the expense of the material 'world of things' (Klein, 1999), a reflection on symbolic knowledge and, hence, on the regional soft infrastructure – here proposed – is needed well beyond the fields of the cultural and the creative industries.

Figure 8.1 summarizes the conceptualization presented so far. As noted, the RSoI is a repository of that symbolic knowledge that provides key inputs for entrepreneurial innovativeness. At the same time, the regional entrepreneurship participates in the evolutionary trajectory of the RSoI. This occurs throughout innovative processes, products and services that do introduce new symbols and values. Place branding acts as a broker of symbols and values, whereas its impact is highly mediated by regional stakeholders.

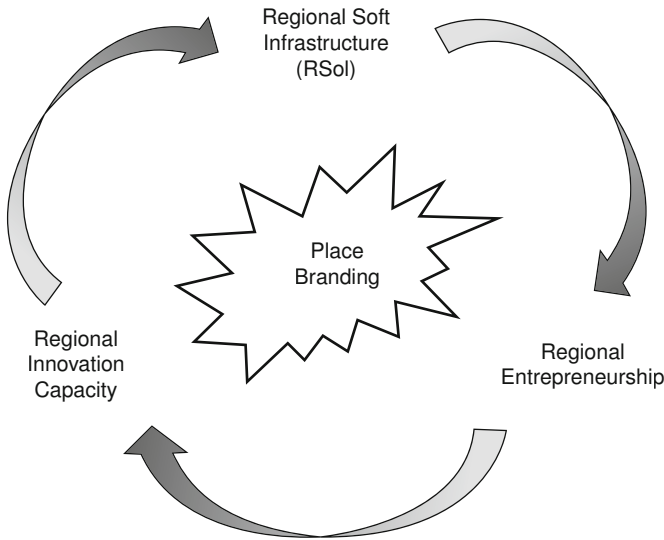


Figure 8.1 Evolutionary model of the RSoI: The brokering role of place branding

Three modes of ‘symbolic innovation’ triggered by entrepreneurs are identified: (i) symbolic recombination, (ii) symbolic connectivity and (iii) symbolic codification. The first mode consists in a *recombination of symbols and values* rooted in the regional soft infrastructure. The entrepreneur, being aware that no value can be created in isolation, takes an opportunity to co-create ‘value-in-context’, meaning within a relational context (Frow and Payne, 2011). This mode is viable for those entrepreneurs who have an ‘input-completing capacity’, according to which apparently disconnected – often vague or ill-defined – inputs are blended, so that an innovative output is produced (Beugelsdijk, 2007). Interactions within a community and a willingness to venture into unexplored territories produce novelty (Amin and Roberts, 2008). This is related to the second mode, *symbolic connectivity*, which refers to the concept of connectivity and networking within a region and across regions, a fundamental dimension of regional innovation (McCann and Ortega-Argilés, 2013). This mode complements the symbolic recombination as it refers to the ability of regional stakeholders to build a symbolic bridge across different geographical contexts. The third mode, *symbolic codification*, refers to a need to codify symbolic knowledge, a form of tacit knowledge. Codification of tacit knowledge is fundamental for



circulating knowledge in creative processes, since codified knowledge allows both proximate and distant actors to communicate with each other (Lawson and Lorenz, 1999; Amin and Roberts, 2008). Language (Lawson and Lorenz, 1999) and shared artefacts (Amin and Roberts, 2008), as forms of codification, play a vital role in fostering processes of innovation, even though a ubiquitousness of codifiable knowledge dilutes the regional competitive advantage (Benner, 2003).

### **Tuscany and the 'other' Tuscany: RSoI and place branding**

Tuscany is a region in central Italy, the international reputation of which is based on the symbolic and iconic appeal of cultural heritage and landscape. The regional image is rooted in a wealth of history, art and culture, this last including 'high culture' that marks the progress of human knowledge (think, for instance, of Dante Alighieri, Leonardo da Vinci and Giotto), but also 'low culture' such as folklore and local traditions. Timeless images entangle the 'authentic Tuscany', which causes visitors to be 'enchanted by the picturesque countryside and [feel to be] part of a rich historical fresco', and persuades regional policymakers and locals of the need for preservation (Certomá, 2011: 1012). Images of Tuscany are dominated by 'its glorious past, a sense of nobility, greatness and magnificence' and by a sense of 'aristocratic exclusiveness' (Bellini et al., 2010: 94), mainly embodied by the city of Florence, which is a dominant brand within the Tuscan context for the quality, centrality, excellence, art and traditions it has expressed (Bellini and Pasquinelli, 2007). The image of Florence as city of art is linked to the enlightened nobility of Medici family, a symbol of the Renaissance, as well as to the aesthetic and technological genius of personalities such as Filippo Brunelleschi, who, in designing the Dome of Santa Maria del Fiore, 'paved the way for the cultural and social revolutions of the Renaissance itself' (Mueller, 2014).

In 2009, the regional government (Tuscany Region) invested in a destination marketing campaign entitled *Voglio Vivere Così* (I want to live like this), echoing fairy-tale landscapes and sophisticated symbols of a timeless region. The promotional video represented a dream atmosphere in which less well-known places and monuments in Tuscany were shown, as well as artists and artisans in medieval suits, further suggesting a timeless Tuscany and its historical roots (Bellini, 2009). Exclusivity and sophisticated taste also emerge from this video, in which the protagonist is a fashion model dressed in *haute couture* fashion, drinks wine in fine glasses in sophisticated spaces and runs through the aisles of renaissance

villas and luxury restaurants in which the tables are elegantly furnished (Regione Toscana, 2009). In 2014, a new promotional campaign was launched, building on *Voglio Vivere Così* and its values of ‘exclusivity, excellence, style, creativity and beauty’, and further strengthening the ‘dreamlike, sophisticate and symbolic images’ (Toscana Promozione, 2013). This campaign, entitled ‘Divine Tuscany’, was suspended following protests over the graphic manipulation of Tuscan landscapes, in an attempt to emphasize the dreamlike outlook at the expense of the authentic beauty of regional landscapes. Despite the claim of a ‘scandal’, this was, instead, the continuation of a long-standing regional policy that dissociates the Tuscany image for tourist consumption from the authentic Tuscany that, through history and cultural heritage, might narrate a modern Renaissance (Bellini, 2014).

It is worth noticing that both campaigns – successfully or not (the aim of this chapter is not to assess the ‘success’ of Tuscan branding campaigns) – envision Tuscany as a sort of luxury brand. Even though there is no single definition, in the case of Tuscany, as a luxury brand it seems to match the five key features identified by Kapferer (2006): (1) beauty and excellence of the product (the historical roots and traditions of Tuscany guarantee aesthetic values, quality and excellence); (2) creativity (the creativity of Tuscan artists and artisans); (3) the ‘magic’ and ‘never [being] out of fashion’ (the dreamlike dimension of a timeless Tuscan lifestyle); (4) the feeling of ‘belonging to a minority’ and exclusivity (as a matter of the ability to understand the deep intellectual and emotional value of the Tuscan experience, which is more for niche tourism than for mass tourism); (5) a piece of art due to its uniqueness, prestige, aesthetic and artistic content. Tuscany seems to have become a symbolic commodity ready for postmodern consumers willing to ‘consume’ the brand as a way of producing a self-identity (Arnaud and Thompson, 2005) and appropriating a symbolic value in order to build their own distinctive identities (Karrh, 1998) and satisfy their need for ‘recognition, freedom and agency’ (Zwick et al., 2008). This is confirmed by *Toscana Promozione* (the regional economic development agency), which states that ‘*Tuscany is a place of the mind, a reference and certainty satisfying people’s dreams, needs and desires. Tuscany is a lifestyle, a way of thinking and of being; throughout its own identity, culture and traditions, it provides tourists the answer to all those needs.... Tuscany represents a lifestyle universally renown and sharable... Visiting Tuscany is not simply the affirmation of a destination, but is a choice of cultural and existential values*’ (Toscana Promozione, 2013: 3, authors’ translation).

Table 8.1 Tuscany and the 'Other' Tuscany

Tuscany	The 'Other' Tuscany
Artistic heritage	Wilderness
History	Unsophisticated genuineness
'High' and 'low' culture	'Low' culture (folklore and traditions)
Nobility, Aristocracy	Rurality
Magnificence	Human hard work facing wild nature
City image: Florence	City image: Grosseto
City of art	The 'cow town'
Quality and Excellence	Simple, small, isolated and unsophisticated
Dominating brand	(self-)perception of cultural peripherality

Source: Adapted from Bellini and Pasquinelli, 2007; Bellini et al. (2010)

Despite its strength, the Tuscany brand hardly represents those regional areas of which the 'otherness' has been analysed (Bellini et al., 2010). We now focus on *Maremma*, which, unlike the great and noble Tuscany, has been projecting images of wilderness and 'unsophisticated genuineness' (Bellini et al., 2010: 104), a place where nature dominates man, who can only try to face a wild nature through his hard work in a brave and respectful way. Grosseto, the main urban centre in the area, has for long time been perceived (also by its residents) as a 'cow town', a simple, small, isolated and unsophisticated town, a cultural periphery (Bellini and Pasquinelli, 2007), that is, 'nothing more distant from the standard Tuscany' (Bellini et al., 2010: 103).

We will argue that, even though not well represented by the Tuscany brand, Maremma has benefited from the regional soft infrastructure which has provided a symbolic platform to a group of entrepreneurs who have established their presence in this area.

### **RSOI and entrepreneurship in the 'other' Tuscany: an evolutionary perspective**

This section explores how the Tuscan soft infrastructure is a platform for entrepreneurs to co-create value propositions (Frow and Payne, 2011) in Maremma, a subregional brand historically perceived as the 'other' Tuscany. The focus is on wine entrepreneurs whose investments and presence in Maremma have played a role in the evolution of the regional soft infrastructure.

Wine is a 'strategic fragment of Tuscany image' (Pieraccini, 2013), and it represented 36% of food and beverage regional export in 2013, an

increase of 6.3% over the preceding year (Intoscana, 2014). Brands like Brunello di Montalcino, Nobile di Montepulciano and Classic Chianti, which lead international markets, come from regional areas with a strong and long-standing reputation, such as the Siena and Florence areas. These wine brands are intimately linked to Tuscany and 'it is common to believe that buying a bottle of Brunello means that you are actually buying a bit of authentic Tuscany' (Certomá, 2011: 1018).

In contrast, wine production in Maremma has been developing in more recent times, as it has become land of pioneering entrepreneurs willing to invest in less crowded areas. It is hard to identify Maremma from a geographical perspective: owing to its growing reputation, the brand 'Maremma' is expanding its geographical reach. In particular, we focus on those areas that have been experiencing waves of wine investments over the last two decades, as a consequence of increasing attention to a land which borders prestigious wine regions like Bolgheri in the north and Scansano (land of the Morellino di Scansano) to the south of Grosseto town. Part of this area has recently launched a new label, *Alta Maremma* (Northern Maremma), which involves 12 small towns and rural villages that are willing to promote themselves as a networked destination (Il Tirreno, 2014).

The area's reputation in wine production and its appeal for investors are linked to the effect of the regional brand image, which has proved to have a positive impact on consumers' quality perceptions and expectations about wines (Johnson and Bruwer, 2007). In addition to the regional image, Maremma has distinguished itself by becoming the regional 'pole of author wine cellars' (Wine News, 2005) since numerous 'wine cathedrals' were established in the area (Corriere della Sera, 2003). *Design Crave*, an online magazine that specializes in design, put *Petra* and *Collemassari* among the top ten best wineries in the world (Genta, undated). According to a Wine News and Vinitaly survey of a sample of 1,050 'wine lovers', *Petra* (number 1 in the ranking) and *Rocca di Frassinello* (number 3) are among the seven most beautiful wineries in Italy (Wine News, 2014). *Rocca di Frassinello*, *Petra* and *Cantina Pieve Vecchia* are among the top five design Italian wineries, according to *Swide* (Giovoni, 2014), which is the Dolce & Gabbana online magazine dedicated to style, food, art and culture. Moreover, three out of five wine cellars that host the *Melodia del Vino Festival*, a classic music event held in Tuscany, are located in Maremma. As part of this festival, in 2013 *Petra* hosted a concert by the internationally renowned pianist François René Duchable, who chose this location to perform for the first time after ten years away from the concert circuit. This festival is a cultural event that

merges international classic music, wine and cultural heritage. It was created by Marc Laforet and Michel Gotlib, who founded the French festival *Grand Crus Musicaux* in Bordeaux region, and it is supported by the Tuscan regional government and by regional wine entrepreneurs.

We now focus on two wineries, *Rocca di Frassinello* and *Petra*. *Rocca di Frassinello* is in Gavorrano town and is a joint venture of the Italian editor and winemaker (Castellare di Catellina, Classic Chianti) Paolo Panerai and the French holding Domains Baron de Rothschild, with the direct involvement of Eric de Rothschild, who is one of the main wine entrepreneurs in the Bordeaux region. The investors were willing 'to make a bet on not obvious and not well-known lands in Tuscany, and to find lands of equal or better quality than the ones in Bolgheri and in Scansano' at lower prices (Rocca di Frassinello, 2014). Inaugurated in 2007, the 10 million Euro winery was designed by the 'archistar' Renzo Piano, 'without any luxury or opulence, as evidenced by the choice of materials: exposed concrete in the interior and Maremma red plaster in the exterior' (Giovoni, 2014). The winery was designed, according to the architect, as a 'monument to itself' and as a 'noble factory' (Giovoni, 2014), hosting 2,500 barrels and surrounded by 500 hectares of vineyards. A common thread between *Rocca di Frassinello* and *Petra* is the attention to advanced technology so that not only beauty and design but also innovation and technological solutions are at the core of these wineries' design, as well as of their communication: that is, they succeed in giving 'a hi-tech touch to these Tuscan hills' (Panorama, 2003). *Rocca di Frassinello* is visible from a long distance because of its red colour and the red tower which contains all the technological equipment for production. A glassed pavilion is designed to host concerts and events. The winery was declared a 'site of public interest' by the Gavorrano town council, in order to make this a place for public events and for promotion of the territory. This was the goal in the mind of the architect who designed a space for public events, 'a laboratory of ideas', according to him (Sole 24 Ore, 2007).

*Petra* is in Suvereto, an area chosen as being 'a historical yet not fashionable place' in the Tuscan context (Petra, 2014). Inaugurated in 2003, the winery is owned by the holding company Terra Moretti, based in Erbusco (Lombardy), where the first investments in wine production were made by the Moretti family (who were mainly active in the fields of real estate, construction and prefabricated materials), with Bellavista in Franciacorta selling 1.4 million bottles per year of one of the most reputable sparkling wines in Italy (Sette, 2013). *Petra* is run by Vittorio Moretti's daughter, Francesca, and the vinification is led by Pascal

Chatonnet, a highly reputable French enologist. About 30,000–35,000 bottles are sold per year, of which 60% is exported mostly to the United States, Switzerland and Japan. The winery was signed by the ‘archistar’ Mario Botta, who designed a 8,000 sqm wine cellar as a modern and functional space, inspired by beauty and tradition. It was defined as a ‘work of art’ (Lucherini, 2014), a ‘flying saucer’ (Cernilli, 2012) and, due to its shape, an ‘Aztec temple’ (Corriere della Sera, 2003). It was said to ‘look like the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco’ (D’Vari, 2012) and to be a ‘symbol of the New Architecture’ in the wine world, according to a search of the harmony between aesthetics, technology and functionality (Tracce, undated). It was also criticized as ‘show-off architecture’, an excess of aesthetics for ‘just’ a winery (see Priewe, 2012). As Botta said, *Petra* was inspired by the French *chateaux* that were built to make the uniqueness of a wine and its territory evident, as well as by the Opus One winery in Napa Valley, California (Sette, 2003). *Petra* has not only an original external design but also a distinctive interior design, with the ‘Gallery in the Stones’ excavated in the hill stones: here wine bottles are stored, and it offers a special atmosphere for cultural events and visits.

In addition to the strong coupling of wine and architecture, *Petra* establishes symbolic connections with organizations in diverse sectors, within the region and beyond. Such connections are built through events, collaborations and an increasing engagement with communications, including social media. We discussed the participation of *Petra* in the *Melodia del Vino Festival*, constructing a connection between classical music and wine, but there are also other examples, such as the photographic exhibition *Cibo. Libertá. Umanitá* (Food. Freedom. Humanity) created by the Italian photographer Oliviero Toscani in collaboration with Slow Food The Ark of Taste (the project of the Slow Food Foundation, which collects various foods from all around the world) and hosted by the winery. Recently, a project titled ‘Petra. A Journey’ was developed in collaboration with the photographer Alberto Bregani, which tells about the winery and its territory through a series of pictures that are also shown in a dedicated website (Petra Un Viaggio, 2014). *Petra* is, then, an art studio as well as an art venue for artists, as in the case of Lisa Kellet, who makes temporary exhibitions at the winery by reusing materials available on-site (Priewe, 2012). An analysis of the contents posted on the *Petra* Facebook page<sup>1</sup> highlights multiple connections with organizations, people and spaces. The analysed posts were grouped into three main categories: art and culture (several posts contain poems, book passages, painters’ artworks), gastronomy (posts promoting local chefs,

quality food products, or speaking about the quality of raw ingredients, for example, olive oil) and farming (posts about the hard work in the vineyards). This last category tells about the essence of *Petra* 'life' by constructing a narrative of farming throughout the stages of vineyard care, from pruning to harvesting, and by exalting 'the expert hands of *Petra*' workers.

Vittorio Moretti further invested in Maremma in 2000 at the resort *Tenuta La Badiola* and established a joint venture with the French chef Alain Ducasse to open a five-star hotel. As the famous chef said, '*it was an unexpected but lucky meeting with Vittorio Moretti: I met him during a visit to our common friends. He told about this property in Maremma and how this was perfect to create something rare in the sector of hospitality of excellence*' (*Tenuta La Badiola*, undated). The official website of *La Badiola* stresses '*the story of enlightened men who were able to understand the potential of a land apparently bitter and rough, but in fact good and generous*' (*Tenuta La Badiola*, undated). This investment is part of what has been labelled as 'the pole of luxury and design' (Jadeluca, 2007) in Maremma. We spoke about the mix of wine, art and architecture, but other fragments of this 'pole' are worthy of notice, such as the thermal baths of Saturnia, which have upgraded their positioning as part of the lifestyle and well-being industry, and the *Marina di Scarlino*, a luxury real estate project built around a port with docking solutions for yachts. An elegant, sophisticated and exclusive scene, the glamour of which is guaranteed by the name of the investor, Leonardo Ferragamo, son of the famous Florentine shoemaker Salvatore Ferragamo, and a major stakeholder in Promomar, the firm that was granted rights over the marina. This embodies an idea of luxury that fits with Kapferer's definition, drawing particular attention to beauty, exclusivity and artistic content, as further proved by the opening of a 100 sqm exhibition centre of contemporary art in the marina, an initiative of Leonardo Ferragamo.

## Discussion

The RSoI of Tuscany is a repository of symbolic knowledge that provides entrepreneurs with inputs – cultural meanings, symbols and aesthetic values – boosting innovativeness in the 'other' Tuscany. The RSoI is a credible and solid platform to build upon: art and the high culture that Tuscany has historically been able to produce, a sense of magnificence and greatness that, not familiar to Maremma, emanate from the history of Tuscany and, especially, of the dominating brand of Florence. These values are expressed by the iconic wineries inserted in the Maremma

landscape, as ‘monument(s) to (themselves)’ and ‘noble factor(ies)’, alongside a process of ‘culturalization’ of wine that would have been harder – or simply different – in other regional contexts.

At the same time, emerging entrepreneurship in the ‘other’ Tuscany seems to participate in the evolutionary trajectory of the RSoI, through the introduction and socialization of both material, functional and symbolic innovations. Entrepreneurial dynamics in Maremma have been an opportunity to insert new and contemporary artefacts – rich in symbols – into the regional soft infrastructure. This subregion has, in fact, provided physical space but also legitimacy to those stakeholders that may have found less opportunity for innovation in more crowded areas in the region (for example, in the Chianti region, which is a well-established brand). Wineries have become new pieces of regional cultural heritage since being interpreted as ‘works of art’ with a similar dignity to monuments and museums, which are usually visited in urban contexts (‘like the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco’, it was said), and even as masterpieces of a ‘New Architecture’ emerging in the wine world. In fact, one of the wineries described here was declared a site of public interest.

Iconic wineries seem to introduce elements of novelty to the ‘preserved’ Tuscany, thus showing that the region is able to express creativity and innovation not only in the past but also nowadays with the production of contemporary aesthetic forms. Not only aesthetic values but a ‘new’ sense of aesthetics merge with functionality and technology: both wineries described here are presented in relation to their capacity to give a ‘hi-tech touch to the Tuscan hills’, thus evoking symbologies that enrich the Tuscany brand with the idea of a ‘modern Renaissance’, too often marginalized in the frame of the ‘preserved region’ which is usually perceived as low tech and ‘traditional’.

Regional branding has been mobilizing and brokering symbols and values by means of a crafted narrative based on ‘exclusivity, excellence, style, creativity and beauty’. This is the narrative endorsed by those wine entrepreneurs who chose Maremma as a ‘not fashionable place’, the ‘perfect (place) to create something rare’, a place well representing ‘the story of enlightened men who were able to understand the potential of a land apparently bitter and rough, but in fact good and generous’ (see above), that is, a place, the intellectual and emotional value of which can be understood only by a niche group of people. Regional branding may have facilitated and legitimized a certain type of entrepreneurship which conforms to these values. However, it is worth pointing out the timing of regional branding (2009 and 2014) and the timing of the wave



of wine investments in Maremma. It seems that entrepreneurs who were characterized by an innovative vision for this southern part of Tuscany marked a trajectory that was, then, confirmed by the regional branding campaigns. The role of regional branding is mediated – in this case mediated and anticipated – by those entrepreneurs who make use of the regional brand and participate in its socialization. In the case analysed here, it is important to stress the geographical origin of such entrepreneurs who are investing in Maremma. The exclusive, creative, stylish Tuscany was appropriated by newcomers, arriving from other parts of Tuscany (for example, from the Classic Chianti), from other Italian regions (for example, Lombardy, in the case of Moretti family) or from other countries (for example, France, in the case of Eric de Rothschild and Alain Ducasse). It seems that outsiders, rather than local entrepreneurs, found a way to build upon the symbolic ‘raw materials’ provided by the RSoI. Further research, however, should focus on how and the extent to which insiders have been exploiting the RSoI.

We now draw attention to the role of entrepreneurs in fostering regional innovation capacity and in influencing the RSoI’s evolutionary trajectory. The three modes of symbolic innovation presented above help explain this. First, wine entrepreneurs have carried out a symbolic recombination, that is, a recombination of symbols and values rooted in the RSoI in light of an opportunity to co-create ‘value-in-context’. That is, the wilderness, the ‘unsophisticated genuineness’ and the man-nature relationship characterizing Maremma are merged with culture (including high culture), art (think, for instance, of the photographic and contemporary art exhibitions) and literature (think of the poems and passages from books posted on *Petra’s* Facebook page), until they blend into a ‘cultivated wilderness’ that produces distinctive symbols and values for the area. Maremma has ended up becoming a sort of luxury brand *à la* Kapferer, just like in the case of the Tuscany brand, but in a different and original way. The recombination of symbols and values is also evident in the crafted narrative about agriculture and farming that nobilitates the hard work in the vineyards, through an exaltation of the ‘expert hands’ of the vineyard workers, who are almost represented as ‘artisans of grapes’ in the cultural frame of the winery. This marks an evolution in the representation of local farming traditions, which were originally related to the hard work of simple men bravely facing the wild nature of the Maremma lands.

Secondly, in Maremma wine entrepreneurs boost innovation through symbolic connectivity, by networking symbols and values while co-creating them. This seems to be enabled by a symbolic proximity across

different sectors such as wine, fashion, food, hospitality and tourism, design and art, architecture, sport and music, which increasingly share a 'repertoire of communal resources' (Amin and Roberts, 2008), that is, aesthetics, taste and aspirations. This is a sort of community that, in the case analysed here, not only resides in the local cultural buzz – wineries, resorts, restaurants, thermal baths, the marina and so on – but is also nurtured by global pipelines (international magazines, for example, *Design Crave* and *Swide*, the French festival *Grand Crus Musicaux* in Bordeaux which inspired *Melodie del Vino Festival*, the experience of the French chateaux and the Opus One winery in Napa Valley, California).

Finally, regarding the third mode of symbolic codification, the new values and symbols that emerge from the recombination and connectivity – as described above – are codified by the iconic wineries inserted into the natural landscape of Maremma, thus making abstract symbols that are materialized in physical artefacts. This turns the 'pole of author wine cellars' into a brand identity. This is a step forward in the process of the circulation of symbolic knowledge, since codification makes the communication, the sharing and the appropriation of symbols easier among both proximate and distant actors, a necessary condition for furthering regional innovativeness.

## Conclusion

The case of wineries in Maremma tells about the pivotal role of the regional symbolic infrastructure in the contemporary economy in which entrepreneurs need to exploit 'local cultural symbologies' to produce their cultural products, the symbolic content of which is a priority. This explains the agglomerative process that characterizes the 'pole of luxury and design' in Maremma, where symbolic knowledge has been shared and accumulated by an emerging cultural entrepreneurship. In the analytical framework presented here – composed of the regional soft infrastructure, regional entrepreneurship and regional innovation capacity – place branding was said to broker symbols and values, even though it is only one gear of the RSoI evolution.

Cultural entrepreneurs play a key role in the RSoI evolution, owing to their reliance on 'local cultural symbologies', as well as their propensity to produce, reuse, co-create and manipulate symbols. The case of Maremma also shows how cultural entrepreneurs can play a role from outside in any place branding strategic framework. Entrepreneurs – especially the newcomers – are the ones to boost a well-defined brand vision for Maremma within the frame of the regional soft infrastructure,

while local stakeholders, including public ones, seem not to lead a place branding process.

The analysed case introduces the topic of an evolution of the regional soft infrastructure ‘without branding’ (branding here means a ‘conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically designed place identity and promote it to identified markets’, Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2010). While often overlooked in the literature, such a topic deserves further attention, especially in relation to cultural entrepreneurship and its role in regional economies. The focus should be, for instance, on the extent to which market forces, which support symbols and values that are appealing (and marketable) in contemporary society, boost a strong alignment to global market dynamics that, over time, might imply a potential decrease in symbolic variety and reduce the innovative potential of the regional soft infrastructure.

## Note

1. The posts on the Petrawine Facebook page were analysed from 2010 – the year in which the webpage was set up – up to March 2014. The posts published by the page owner were categorized according to contents (text and pictures) and taken into consideration according to their frequency.

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# 9

## Case E: Cultural Diplomacy and Entrepreneurship as a Means for Image Restoration: The Case of Israel

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**Keywords:** cultural diplomacy, entrepreneurship, image restoration, Israel

Public diplomacy is a key tool in promoting the public and media images of countries in the international arena. One component of public diplomacy is cultural diplomacy, whereby state marketers use various elements of culture such as cinema, television, theatre, literature, sports and dance to promote a positive image of the country and its people among foreign audiences worldwide. It is natural to expect that a country that is involved in ongoing violent conflict would make extensive use of such techniques in order to restore its image and expand it 'beyond the conflict'. Yet few studies have dealt with this issue. Combining theoretical knowledge from the fields of image restoration and cultural diplomacy, this chapter aims to examine Israel's efforts to expand and restore its image using entrepreneurship and cultural diplomacy.

### **Theoretical background**

In order to improve both their international media and public images, nations apply the tool of public diplomacy, a term with many different definitions. Malon (1985, in Gilboa, 2006: 717) claims that policy-makers typically define public diplomacy as 'a direct communication with foreign people, with the aim of affecting their thinking and ultimately, that of their government'. In most cases, the goal is to create a favourable image of a nation's policies, actions, brands, and political

and economic systems (Gilboa, 2006). According to Hassman (2008), achieving this goal entails expanding dialogue among the nation's citizens, establishing relationships among different communities, and understanding their varied cultures and needs. This is typically done by harnessing the press, electronic media and the Internet, and takes the form of promoting cultural, educational, and scientific exchange and events. In other words, employing public diplomacy means using various tools such as international public relations, marketing, advertising and promotion. Cull (2008: 11) claims that public diplomacy is 'the attempt by a state or other player to shape the world through engagement with a foreign public'. Over the years, with the development of communication technologies, the discourse moved from 'public diplomacy' to 'new public diplomacy'. According to Cull (2009), the 'new public diplomacy' or 'soft power' includes five components: listening, advocacy, exchange, international broadcasting and cultural diplomacy.

## **Cultural diplomacy**

Cummings (in Schneider, 2003: 1) defines cultural diplomacy as 'the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding'. Schneider (2003) mentioned that America's greatest dancers, actors, writers, artists and musicians were sent abroad under the sponsorship of the US government to perform for various target audiences during which time they even spoke about the inequalities in their country. In their shows and performances, these artists communicated aspects of America's values, catered to the interests of the host country and offered pleasure, information or expertise in the spirit of exchange.

Cull (2008) distinguishes among four ways of using cultural diplomacy: (1) Cultural diplomacy as a prestigious gift – In this approach, a country gives a gift to another country in order to please foreign audiences. Usually this entails sending artists to perform in a foreign country. (2) Cultural diplomacy as cultural information – Cultural diplomacy is seen here as a way of shaping perceptions and information. Here Country A offers Country B a cultural product that contains certain values with which Country A seeks to be associated, such as democracy, religious freedom or cultural diversity. (3) Cultural diplomacy as dialogue – This approach is a mechanism for generating engagement between the country of origin and the target audience, and usually involves an element of cooperation between artists from both countries. (4) Cultural diplomacy and 'capacity building' – This approach stems from the desire to develop the



arts and the creative public sphere in the target country. Here the country of origin offers a cultural product that contains a certain message that might have an influence on the host country.

Public and cultural diplomacy are just some of the tools available to marketers who want to improve their country's image. These professionals can also use international public relations (PR) and place promotion/branding. It is important to note that it is recommended that all of these tools be used in parallel (Tilson and Stack, 1997; Avraham, 2013). Countries and governments have long been using the services of international public relations firms in order to improve their image among foreign audiences (Manheim and Albariton, 1984). Here PR companies are trying to promote a positive image of the country primarily by means of introducing positive stories in the global media. Another tool used by marketers to create a positive image for countries is 'place promotion/branding'. Govers and Go (2009: 16) assert that 'place branding' refers to 'building brand equity in relation to nations, regional and/or local (or city) identity'. The academic literature contains analyses of many case studies of countries and tourist destinations that have sought to rebrand themselves by creating cultural events, exhibitions, sport competitions, tourism attractions and a specific graphical language comprised of such elements as slogans, visual symbols and specific colours (Gilboa, 2006).

### **Image restoration and Israel image in the international arena**

In order to improve a country's negative image, marketers draw upon theoretical knowledge that was developed in the field of image restoration. Numerous models, definitions and concepts – 'reputation management', 'recovery marketing', and 'image repair' – are the results of research that focuses on organizations' image restoration. Several existing models provide suggestions on how organizations and countries can restore their images (for additional models, see Coombs and Holladay, 2010). Avraham and Ketter (2008: 188) proposed a model, 'the multi-step model for altering place image', which was designed and created expressly for helping localities alter negative destination images. One of the strategies they offer is 'expanding the image' through the use of cultural events. This strategy effectively connects to the field of public diplomacy, and we would like to use this chapter to analyse Israel's use of cultural events in order to improve and promote its image.

Israel's public and media images have undergone major changes since the state's establishment in 1948. In its first decades, Israel was perceived

as the David against the Goliath of the Arab countries, which failed to destroy it (Elizur, 1987). Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War shifted the power component to the centre of Israel's international image. Its control of the territories, the wars that followed with the Arab states (1973, 1982, 1991 and 2006), two Palestinian intifadas (1987 and 2000) and the three Gaza conflicts in 2009, 2011 and 2014 have reinforced the centrality of this component in the country's image. For several years, Israel has been searching for the right branding and the right way to promote itself and restore its image (Avraham, 2009). One strategy that has been used is to expand Israel's image by conveying the 'beyond the conflict' message, via the use of elements of culture such as sports, cinema, television, theatre, literature and dance. Our goal was to analyse how Israel tried to restore a positive image of the country and its people among audiences worldwide. The Department of Cultural and Scientific Relations (*Kastum*) in the Israeli Foreign Ministry is responsible for the country's 'cultural exports' in different fields, and it handles cultural and scientific cooperation agreements with other countries. In its operations, the department tries to promote concerts by Israeli artists, films and music and dance groups abroad, as well as international cooperation.

## Methodology

The main goal of this chapter is to analyse what fields and cultural events were promoted among which target audiences in order to expand Israel's image in the world. As part of the qualitative analysis, the study examined a number of variables, including type of fields (literature, cinema), type of events (lectures, exhibitions) geographical locations (city, country) and participants in cultural events (writers, dancers, musicians). The study is based on a qualitative content analysis of newsletters published in the years 2011–2013 by the Department of Cultural and Scientific Relations. These newsletters include information about events funded by the Cultural Department or Israeli embassies abroad, in addition to cultural events attended by Israeli artists, while emphasizing the public or media impact of these events among foreign audiences. We randomly sampled 20 newsletters as follows: six in 2011, eight in 2012 and six in 2013. The events were analysed using qualitative analysis, and when each event was mentioned in the chapter, we noted in parentheses in which newsletter the information about the events appeared.

This study relies on data and information transmitted by governmental and other institutional sources, and therefore should be taken with a degree of caution. Institutions have a tendency to exaggerate successes as

a result of their activity, and this needs to be taken somewhat into account when relying on such information to conduct academic research.

## Findings

We will use Cull's (2008) four methods to analyse the cultural events sponsored and promoted by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. As noted above, the four ways are cultural diplomacy as prestigious gift, as cultural information, as dialogue and as 'capacity building'.

**1. Cultural Diplomacy as a Prestigious Gift** – This is the most basic level of cultural diplomacy. A country that wants to promote its image offers audiences in foreign countries cultural events in a variety of fields, including music, theatre, literature and art. We found a variety of events sponsored or promoted by the Foreign Ministry in this category.

### Music

Naturally, music is a very popular field in cultural diplomacy due to its capacity to reach a wide variety of target audiences without the need for understanding a particular language. The activities by Israeli musicians were very extensive and included classical orchestras, rock bands, folk singers, indie performers, ethnic ensembles and choirs. These events took place all over the world, and were organized directly and indirectly by local Israeli embassies. For example, the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra held concerts in Seoul and Beijing (1/13); the Chamber Orchestra performed in Peru (30/12) and Montevideo (32/12); the rock bands *Balkan Beat Box*, *Kutiman* and *Boom-Pam* appeared in Tokyo (30/12); and a world music singer performed in St. Petersburg (26/13). At the same time, various musical bands appeared at different festivals dedicated to Israel, such as 'Israel Culture Day' or 'Jewish Culture Day'. These festivals included a variety of cultural events dedicated to Israel that were held in various places such as Zadar (26/12), Krakow (26/12), El Salvador (30/12) and Tokyo, Japan (32/12).

### Theatre

Unlike music, theatre is not an easy tool to use in cultural diplomacy due to the language barrier. Nevertheless, we found that the Israeli Foreign Ministry was involved in bringing Israeli theatre productions to many countries abroad. The Israeli Cameri Theater appeared in several plays in China (30/9, 12/13) and the Geshen Theater performed a number of plays in Beijing (9/13). Simultaneously, the Foreign Office was involved in promoting an Israeli show at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival (30/12) and

a play called *The Dybbuk* in a symposium at the University of Maryland near Washington, DC (37/12).

### Literature

At first glance, it seems that it would not be an easy task to hold literary events as ‘gifts’ – as part of cultural diplomacy – to audiences in foreign countries because of the language barrier. Hebrew is not spoken widely around the globe, as are English or French. However, we found information in the newsletters about events held to celebrate the publication of Hebrew books that were been translated into foreign languages. For example, we found several literary events related to Israeli authors whose books were translated into other languages. Among them were the launch of books written in German by Israeli authors (9/13); the launch of a book by Israeli author, Etgar Keret, that was published in Bulgarian (9/13); the launch of the book *Croc Attack* by Assaf Gavron, which was published in Greek (26/13); and the launch of a novel by Eran Katz, published in Korean (13/13). At the same time, we found that Israeli authors participated in the Jewish Book Week in London (9/13) and the World Book Fair in Leipzig (30/12).

### Cinema

Israeli cinema has been very successful around the world in recent years. Israeli films won awards in many international film festivals, so it would be only natural to use this medium in cultural diplomacy. In fact, we found that the Foreign Ministry promoted several Israeli films of different genres in places around the world. One popular method was to initiate an Israeli Film Festival, as was held in Ottawa (13/13), Senegal (23/13), El Salvador (30/12), Singapore (31/12), Athens (38/12) and Cyprus, where five Israeli films were screened (36/12). The Foreign Ministry also sponsored the participation of Israeli directors at film festivals, discussions and workshops around the world, such as the case in which Israeli directors were sent by the Foreign Ministry to the Educational Film Festival in Japan, where Israeli films won awards (23/13).

### Youth cultural events

In recent years, the city of Tel Aviv has become a world brand known among youth, the gay community and high-tech entrepreneurs. Today, the city is associated with parties, dancing, concerts, technology, entrepreneurship and fun. It would be only natural that the success of Tel Aviv’s branding would also be used to market Israel. Such marketing would include the production of a series of events about the city

abroad. For example, an event called 'Days of Tel Aviv' was held in St. Petersburg (13/3) and it included the exhibition 'White City', an architectural heritage symposium, a master class of Israeli architects, concerts performed by Israeli musicians and a local dance marathon, a Tel Aviv film festival and the 'Tel Aviv Beach' event, which offered music and dancing for the young crowd (13/13).

In addition, similar events were held in other places under a variety of names, for example, the 'Israeli Magic' event in Zadar, Croatia, which included the preparation of Israeli food, a swimwear display and folk dancing (26/12); the 'Israel Week' in the Netherlands, which included music concerts and other events (26/12); and the 'Days of Israeli Culture' event held near Belgrade that included dance performances, poetry and lectures on Israel's past and present (32/12). We also found that a dance party was held in Belgrade, called 'Tel-Aviv Beach' and featuring the Israeli DJ Nissan Larido, who made efforts to bring the vibrant atmosphere of Tel Aviv to Belgrade (30/12) and to Novi-Sade (7/11).

### **Dance**

Like music, dance is a field which is well suited for extensive use in cultural diplomacy. We found that the Batsheva Dance Company performed at the Minsk International Festival (23/13); the Cyprus Dance Festival presented three Israeli dance pieces (36/12); a dance show called 'An Hour with All-Eaters' was performed at the Berlin festival (1/13), and an Israeli dance festival was held in Bratislava, Slovakia (17/13). Israeli dance groups performed at the Czech Republic Folk Festival, conducted dance workshops and performed public dancing in the city of Telc (13/13), and an appearance by the Liat Dror and Nir Ben Gal dance group was arranged with the help of the Israeli embassy in Budapest, and they held master workshops in that city as well (6/11). In addition, the Israel Ballet appeared in Salzburg (6/11). The Israeli Yossi Berg and Oded Graf Dance Theatre performed at the International Festival of Theatre held in Santo Domingo with the assistance of the Foreign Affairs Ministry (7/11).

### **Exhibitions of art, photography and painting**

Exhibitions of the plastic arts are also relatively easy to use in cultural diplomacy, as there is no language barrier and the artist does not have to physically attend the exhibition abroad. In other words, an exhibition can travel the world and be displayed in many locations without the need of the Foreign Ministry to fund the travel costs of the artist from Israel, and unlike music or dance performances in which the artist's

presence is required. Here we found the promotion and funding by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of exhibitions in various fields, for example, a photography exhibition in Chelsea by the artist Elad Lasry (30/12), an exhibition of photography and painting in Madrid (31/12) and Prague (6/11), and a poster exhibition of Israeli fashion in St. Petersburg. At the same time, an exhibition on Jerusalem created by a group of 18 Israeli artists and photographers was held in Madrid, and sponsored by the Israeli embassy in Spain (32/12).

**2. Cultural diplomacy as cultural information** – Here the cultural events are used as a way of shaping perceptions and transforming information about a country. Israel has been trying to deal with its problematic image for several years now, which stems from its involvement in violent conflict and which is widely covered in the international media. In recent years, there has been a tendency among officials to market the country ‘beyond the conflict’ and fight stereotypical perceptions of it as ‘unsafe’, ‘threatening’ and ‘involved in perpetual conflict’. Attempts to restore Israel’s image include an emphasis on its multicultural society, that it is the only democracy in the Middle East, and that it is a high-tech innovative country (Avraham, 2009). Thus it was only natural to use cultural diplomacy to promote those components of the country’s image that its marketers seek to advance. In recent years, special attention has been given to promoting the value of multiculturalism, in other words, efforts to demonstrate that Israel’s residents belong to a variety of nationalities, religions, and ethnic groups, all of whom enjoy equal rights, freedom of expression and association.

We found that the Foreign Affairs office promoted concerts of bands and artists that can promote this image of multiculturalism. For example, the Jafara folk band (from the Arab village of I’billin) performed in Latvia (26/12); the Aliyev brothers played their ethnic music in Houston (30/12); and Idan Raichel and Esther Rada performed in Washington, DC, with their Ethiopian backup singers (13/13). Other examples include the performances of the Galil Multicultural (Jewish-Arab) Theatre in Barcelona (37/12), and a concert of the Shani Choir, comprised of young Jewish, Muslim and Christian girls, in Oslo (5/11) and a performance of a Jewish-Arab children’s choir from Jaffa in São Paulo (9/11). In addition, the Galil Theater performed *Neighbors* at a conference on Israeli-Arab dialogue at Brown University in Rhode Island (3/11), and the singer Galit Giat, accompanied by the Andalusian Orchestra (consisting mainly of immigrants from Morocco), appeared in Tallinn and Helsinki, with the assistance of the Foreign Ministry (3/11).

The analysis of the newsletters shows that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs promoted cultural products containing the message 'Israel beyond the conflict' in diverse ways. Some examples include the 'Vibrant Israel' exhibit in Peru (5/11), as well as participation in international book fairs in Lima and Mexico, which was used to introduce the achievements of Israel in many areas (26/12). Efforts to promote the message of 'Israel beyond the conflict' were also made in Israel. For example, the Foreign Office was involved in promoting cooperation between the Cameri Theatre and the Tokyo Metropolitan Theatre in producing the play *The Trojan Women*, under the direction of Yukio Ninagawa. Actors from Japan and Israel participated in the show, in which three languages were used: Japanese, Hebrew and Arabic. The event was a part of the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Japan-Israel relations (1/13).

In recent years, the culinary field has become a legitimate tool to communicate the message of multiculturalism. Ruth Russo, an Israeli chef, and the journalist Michal Ansky, an Israeli gastronomy expert, participated in several culinary events in Vietnam and Manila. These events involved holding cooking classes in order to create a dialogue on the subject of 'the melting pot of Israeli cuisine' (9/11).

**3. Cultural Diplomacy as Dialogue** – This approach refers to a mechanism for generating engagement between a country and a foreign target audience. In other words, this method includes artists or institutions from the country which is being promoted in cooperation with artists and institutions in a foreign country on a common topic or interest. Here we found mainly musical collaborations between Israeli and foreign artists. Among them were a workshop between Israeli and Chinese pianists (1/13), a collaboration between viola players from Tel Aviv and Tokyo (31/12), a meeting of Israeli and French filmmakers (38/12), and a meeting between Israeli and Spanish artists in Madrid (7/11). We also found information about a joint exhibit of museums in Israel and Hungary (13/13), a cooperative photo exhibit in India of photographers from both countries (26/13) and collaboration between pianists from Israel and Vietnam (37/12). The viola player Avri Levitan appeared at a joint concert with Chinese artists and gave piano master classes and a music recital for students in Beijing (9/13). A joint exhibit called 'Impressionism and Post-Impressionism' was held at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem with the Hungarian National Gallery (13/13). Violinist Shlomo Mintz performed a concert in Istanbul with the Young Philharmonic Orchestra of Istanbul (17/13); The Israeli band Balkan Beat Box produced a joint show with a Japanese band during the 'Israel Day' Jazz Festival in Tokyo (32/12), and a discussion

on 'Women in Theater: Singapore and Israel', held during 'Woman's Week' in Singapore, was attended by female playwrights from both countries (3/11).

The analysis of the newsletters also showed that the Foreign Ministry assists Israeli artists with travel abroad in order to cooperate with and contribute to orchestras or local dance bands. For example, the Israeli conductor Doron Solomon went to Uruguay to work with two symphony orchestras (32/12), and dancer Ido Tadmor travelled to Luanda, Angola, to collaborate with a dance troupe and a theatre (38/12). From the information that was analysed, we learned that the Foreign Ministry not only helps send Israeli artists to performances abroad but also brings foreign artists to Israel in order to strengthen their relation to Israeli culture. For example, the Foreign Ministry helped host theatre groups from Europe for an international festival dedicated to Hanoach Levin (1/13), a famous Israeli playwright. Similarly, the Foreign Ministry assisted with the funding of a conference in Israel of the Asian Union of Composers and an accompanying festival, at which works were performed by contemporary composers from Israel and some of the Asian guests (34/12). In addition, the Foreign Ministry sponsored the arrival of a delegation of scholars from China to Israel consisting of writers and poets who met with Israeli intellectuals and held a joint discussion on the similarities and differences in literature and poetry between the two countries (1/13).

**4. Cultural Diplomacy and 'Capacity Building'** – This approach, which appears in the literature, was less popular among the methods used by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. It appears that this category may be more suitable for use by Western countries that do not have to deal with image problems in the international arena but that believe they can contribute to promoting democratic values around the world. We also found a number of events organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that can be seen as a kind of 'capacity building'. For example, an Israeli Film Festival held in Chandigarh, India, focused on empowering women (17/13), as did six Israeli films on the status of women in modern society that were screened in India (26/13). When viewed in light of the criticism of the lenient policy of the Indian judiciary toward several high-profile rapists, these events can be seen as 'capacity building'.

### **Beyond the four ways: 'exposure events' and their effect**

In recent years it has been found that the centre of activity of the Foreign Ministry's Cultural Department has moved to what they call 'exposure events'. As part of this exposure, managers of cultural institutions from



all over the world are invited to Israeli museums, theatres, galleries and cultural centres and exposed to plays, musicians, dance and movies. The managers are then invited to decide which events or artists are best suited to perform in the cultural institutions they run in their countries. In many cases, the Foreign Ministry then funds the travel of the Israeli artists who are invited abroad to these cultural institutions, helping ease the economic burden of foreign travel. 'Exposure events' is an interesting and innovative initiative in cultural diplomacy, which was given very little coverage in the academic literature. The newsletters indicate the number of exposure events promoted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2011–2013. Among them was a delegation of curators and museum directors from the American Southeast who were hosted in Israel in order to become familiar with a contemporary art tour. They visited museums, galleries, artists' studios and studio sessions with cultural managers from around Israel (23/13). A similar tour was conducted for curators from different countries who came to be exposed to the cultural event offerings of Israel (34/12) and for managers of film festivals around the world (34/12).

An additional 'exposure event' was held for bands and artists in the fields of jazz, world music, rock and indie music in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. This event drew some 90 guests from 50 countries, including festival directors, directors of international cultural institutions, agents and journalists (38/12). Another event held in 2013 provided international exposure for managers of youth theatres (9/13). It is important to mention that in addition to hosting directors of cultural institutions, the Foreign Ministry also hosted cultural journalists from Latin America and Berlin, who were exposed to Israeli culture during their visit to Israel (6/11).

The question arises whether these 'exposure events' had an impact on the booking of Israeli cultural performances abroad. The analysis of the newsletters shows that such events do have a considerable influence. For example, the invitation to the appearance of Inbal Pinto and Avshalom Pollak Dance Company at the Barcelona Dance Festival noted that guests were invited following the participation of the festival's director at a recent dance and theatre exposure event held in Israel. The invitation of this dance troupe to the festival in Malta came also following the festival director's exposure events in Israel (26/12). The Vertigo band's appearance at Duke University also followed the visit of a local festival director to an exposure event, after which she stated that 'Israel is a place that has influenced her more than any other place she visited during her professional career' (26/12). Similarly, the Israeli Dance Festival held at a dance school in Bratislava occurred in the wake of the school's director

attending an exposure event in Israel; she expressed her desire to return to the next exposure event in order to select artists to visit her school again the following year (17/13).

At first glance, it seems that these exposure events contain the possibility of cultivating personal contacts between Israeli artists and administrators of cultural institutions abroad, as well as exposing Israeli artists to local audiences. Israel's image is being promoted, and the aim of the Foreign Ministry of presenting the state 'beyond the conflict' is being achieved. But this exposure can have other effects. In many cases, participants at such events are official representatives of the host country, and cultural events help expand Israel's image beyond politics and business, such as the concert by the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra in Beijing that was attended by many diplomats and Chinese officials from the Ministries of Foreign and Culture Affairs (1/13). Another performance by this orchestra in Seoul was attended by the Foreign Minister of Korea, the deputy speaker of parliament and several ambassadors; it also received a great deal of media coverage. The Jafara folklore ensemble's performance in Latvia was attended by the host country's president and minister of culture (26/12). The Israeli Film Festival held in Senegal was attended by that country's Minister of Culture and other officials (23/13), and a performance by the Chamber Orchestra in Montevideo was attended by the president, the minister of culture, the president of parliament, a former president, and many people from the media and cultural industries (32/12).

## **Summary**

Combining theoretical knowledge from the fields of image restoration and cultural diplomacy, this chapter aimed to examine Israel's efforts to expand and restore its image using entrepreneurship and cultural diplomacy. We employed Cull's (2008) four ways to analyse the cultural events sponsored and promoted by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. The four ways are cultural diplomacy as a prestigious gift, as cultural information, as dialogue and as 'capacity building'. Our goal was to analyse how Israel tried to restore a positive image of the country and its people among audiences worldwide. Nevertheless, it was found that in recent years the centre of activity of the Cultural Department at the Foreign Ministry moved to what they call 'exposure events', which have a tremendous impact on Israel's efforts to expand its image 'beyond the conflict'. The idea of letting representatives of foreign audiences be part of the decision-making process to determine which Israeli artists will be sent abroad is a best practice for successful public diplomacy. Cull (2010)

claims that successful public diplomacy includes listening, two-way communication, no government involvement in the selection of which artists will travel abroad and cooperation with foreigners. It appears as if 'exposure events' have all of these elements.

In any case, we need to remember that sometimes success in cultural diplomacy is achieved without the assistance of the Foreign Ministry. For example, the Cannes Film Festival dedicated a special event on television formats, with a focus on Israeli television. Its goal was to explore the international success of Israeli TV series such as *Prisoners of War* (remade in the United States as *Homeland*), *Rising Star*, *I Can Do That* and many others, and to understand why so many international shows have been created based on the Israeli format.

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# 10

## Case F: The City of Ostrava – From Industrial Image to Industrial Image 2.0

*Jan Suchacek and Pavel Herot*

**Keywords:** city image, cultural entrepreneurship, industrial heritage, industrial transition, media coverage, Ostrava

### **Introduction**

The case of the Ostrava City in the Czech Republic provides unique experience of an area, which was always too remote from all the centres of political power, that is, from Vienna in Austro-Hungarian Empire era, as well as Prague in the era of Czechoslovakia. This distance may be perceived not just in its simple geographical meaning but also in its abundant psychological connotations too. The importance of the Ostrava region on the agenda of central politics was always rather marginal and focused strictly on economics. This was primarily about the utilization of Ostrava's resources in favour of the well-being of the whole nation. The crucial attribute which turned the spotlight on Ostrava in this way was the development of coalmining and the related steelworks in the 19th century.

The lack of focus on the other aspects of regional life gave rise to the area's unique regional identity. This identity reflected the feeling that the region must rely on itself, albeit it works hard for the rest of the country. Ostrava's cultural life thus always was a sort of alternative.

The Velvet Revolution in the Czech Republic during 1989 transformed its societal paradigm. The Ostrava region, formerly considered as an important economic centre, was facing new problems such as the declining competitiveness of its traditional industries, which, in turn, had a severe impact on its brand image. Ostrava and its surroundings found

themselves in pursuit of identity. As a consequence, Ostrava with its vicinity sought to reject the industrial heritage which rendered the territory distinct. This served as a basis for creating a new image based on sport, dynamics and other selected attributes.

However, these did not contribute to changing the positioning of the entire region. One of the reasons may be seen in the city officials' underestimation of the power of identity communicated through cultural production. Some of the ambassadors from the Ostrava cultural sphere became known countrywide and their cultural performances presented the city in a traditional way.

## **Ostrava City**

Old industrial towns and cities experienced their essential growth in the era of industrialization. Hence these municipalities came to be known as centres of heavy industry, that is, metallurgy or mining. In some cases, their industrial monoculture was based on the textile industry. Chaotic and spontaneous settlement and population growth are symptoms of such areas. From the geographical point of view, these spatial entities typically form agglomerations or conurbations.

The boom of traditional industries acted as the fuel for the growth of these urban areas. However, it ultimately became the bane of their development, since it skewed the orientation of their economies. Currently, many of these urban entities are forced to cope with a distinct shrinkage in both population and economic perspectives.

Old industrial towns and cities are also rather peculiar from an institutional perspective. Both their formal and informal institutional characteristics differentiate them substantially from other types of territories. The dominance of large enterprises creates a culture of dependency and weakens entrepreneurial activity. This is connected with the lack of an innovative milieu and certain inertia of deeply embedded habits, particularly among industrial workers. On the other hand, positive features include a higher level of solidarity, responsibility, and technical and organizational discipline derived from hard work. Put succinctly, a peculiar culture is typical for these kinds of areas, and there is neither room nor interest in scenarios including any reference to cultural entrepreneurship (see Suchacek, 2007 and 2010).

For a long time, traditional industrial urban areas enjoyed economic growth. However, the 1960s and 1970s turned out to be turning points. Technological advances and the subsequent process of globalization revealed the vulnerability of their economies. Heightened competition

in world markets, connected with the move from a Fordist 'industrial economy' to a post-Fordist 'information economy', forced transformation in these towns and cities (see also Suchacek, 2005).

There is little doubt that the decline of old industrial towns and cities in the post-communist countries differs substantially from that of their Western counterparts in terms of both the origin and the nature of their troubles. The specific legacy of socialism, which can be expressed as complex and interconnected social, economic and environmental deformations, is seriously hampering the transformation of these urban areas (Suchacek, 2008).

Ostrava, which is the subject of this chapter, is a specifically structured urban entity with complex and inconsistent development. Moreover, Ostrava's peculiarity is further intensified by the city's traditional industrial character as well as its location. The Moravian-Silesian region, which is located in the Czech Republic, shares a border with Poland and Slovakia. Not surprisingly, then, Ostrava, the metropolis of the Moravian-Silesian region, provides us with intriguing research material.

The discovery of coal deposits in 1763 and the foundation of an iron-works in the neighbouring small village of Vítkovice in 1828 mark the beginning of Ostrava's massive development. This was further strengthened by the utilization of Ostrava's favourable geographical location: the town was located at the midpoint of the Vienna-Krakow railway line which was built in 1847. Industrialization converted a town of artisans and agrarians into an industrial metropolis. This substantially influenced the mode of settlement, the construction of facilities and the composition of the population. Ostrava's architecture nowadays reflects a heritage of the past: valuable Art Nouveau or functionalistic complexes alongside industrial architecture.

The development of industry in connection with the growth of financial capital stimulated the construction of public facilities and brought about numerous remarkable edifices. From a cultural point of view, the city was transformed into a multicultural centre, as its wide offer of jobs in all categories lured people from all corners of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In spite of its significance, Ostrava has never been a favourite city of the Czechoslovak/Czech governments; the city was forced to deserve its existence and to fight for it. Hence, Ostrava's administrative and political importance was practically always qualitatively one step behind its importance in terms of industry and population. Ostrava's industrial vigour before World War II was largely constrained by its ill-fitting political-administrative context (Suchacek, 2007 and 2010).

Ostrava, formerly called the 'Steel Heart of Czechoslovakia', represents a typical victim of communist industrial megalomania. Wild industrial growth resulted in the inferior image of the city, which gained a reputation as an environmentally and socially unpleasant place to live, which was inhabited by rude people. From a spatial standpoint, the strictly guarded borders and subsequent lack of both material and intangible communication caused the general retardation of practically all socialist countries. Not surprisingly, Ostrava, as a frontier city, was hit rather severely by this semi-autarky, as the former Czechoslovakia was one of the most diligent pupils of the Soviet system. In 1989, the Ostrava agglomeration generated some 86% of Czechoslovak coal mining output, 82% of coke production and 70% of steel production. Approximately 52% of the city's inhabitants worked in the secondary economic sector, 7% in the primary sector and just 41% in the tertiary sector.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Czech Republic underwent shock therapy as a result of changes in the economic system. In 1990, the new post-communist government sharply reduced subsidies for coal mines and steelworks, and announced that the new enterprise executives were responsible for the further development of their companies. All large enterprises in the Ostrava region were badly hit by a dramatic reduction of demand in their traditional markets. The same applied to domestic demand, which shrank as a consequence of economic recession. The rate of unemployment remained at a negligible level mainly for the sake of quick, small privatization deals and the restitution of previously nationalised smaller production and service units.

The spontaneous and chaotic restructuring of large enterprises in combination with already limited absorbing capacity of the tertiary sector and national economic problems manifested themselves in a surge in unemployment in the second half of the 1990s. Rising unemployment can be ascribed also to the quantitative rather than qualitative development of entrepreneurship in Ostrava, as well as the whole Moravian-Silesian region. More importantly, in the whole period analysed here the unemployment rate in Ostrava and the surrounding Moravian-Silesian region was higher than the average unemployment rate in the Czech Republic (see also Suchacek, 2007 and 2010).

Unfavourable developments in the second half of the 1990s led to the establishment of the Department for Economic Development as part of the Ostrava city hall, of which the primary endeavour was to attract more investors to the city. The inflow of new foreign direct investments (such as Hyundai Motor Company etc.) was also supported by the Ministry of Industry and Trade, which provided massive investment incentives to

foreign investors. As a consequence, employment in Ostrava started to grow again. Unfortunately, these investments were very often of a low level and led to the re-industrialization of the whole agglomeration with a distinct orientation toward exports. One cannot omit some research and development investments which were located primarily in Ostrava itself and include for instance Science and Technology Park (Suchacek et al., 2012).

As to the changes in the branch structure of employment in Ostrava, we can contemplate a certain (albeit not intense) deindustrialization. It is also striking that progressive branches of the economy are still rather undernourished both in Ostrava and the Moravian-Silesian region (Ostrava as the third-largest city in the country has the same share in the banking, finance and insurance sectors as the country's average). The only exception seems to be information technology, which is developing promisingly in Ostrava. In contrast, there is growing pressure on social work activities in Ostrava and the region, which is salient compared to the country's average. Put succinctly, Ostrava's transformation trajectory turned out to be path-dependent (Suchacek and Malinovsky, 2012).

The long-term absence of self-government at the regional level hit the whole region hard and had a significant impact on the unsatisfactory course of its transformation. Central institutions proved to be too distant from real life in Ostrava and its surrounding areas. More importantly, they retained the competences that should normally belong to self-governing regions and municipalities. Since the establishment of self-governing regions in 2001, the situation has not improved, because regions often face operational and technical problems. Central authorities are obviously rather unwilling to give up their power.

In addition to the political-administrative context, the importance of communications is also undeniable. Both material and intangible communications play an important role in the development of any entity. The transportation infrastructure of the Ostrava agglomeration itself is of a relatively high standard, but its connections with neighbouring territories are much poorer, although the restoration of the railway corridor speeded up the connections with Vienna and Warsaw. The construction of a highway has been postponed many times, which has had a strongly retarding effect on the development of the whole region. Currently, the city eventually has a highway connection. The Oder River is not navigable, although there is enormous potential for the construction of a Danube-Oder-Elbe canal. In spite of the good technical parameters of the airport in Ostrava-Mošnov, there is a minimum of regular flight connections so far.



The intangible dimension of communication reflects the position of the area on mental maps. In spite of the gradual transformation of all its principal regional socio-economic structures and rising quality of life, Ostrava and its surroundings are still perceived as a heavy industry region plagued with socio-pathological and other problems. This negative image is very often magnified by the national media (see also Suchacek and Seda, 2011).

### **Quest for new image and identity**

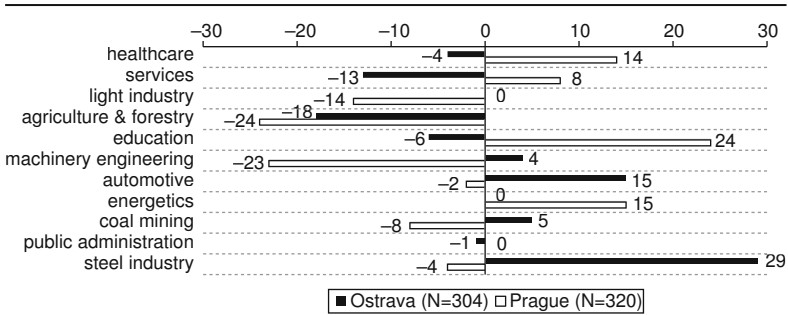
As already indicated, Ostrava is the heart of the Moravian-Silesian region, with some 1.2 million of inhabitants. According to Datamar (2006) and a TNS-AISA (2010) research report, Ostrava has a strong association with and symbolizes with Moravian-Silesian region. Industries such as mining, metallurgy and heavy industry in general are also linked with this region. As the TNS-AISA report further discloses, the Moravian-Silesian region is the third most rejected region to live in by respondents (among 14 Czech regions). On the other hand, it is also the sixthmost desired place in which to live. One may argue that people's rejection of the area can be mostly ascribed to industrial factors, while positive views of the region are based on the presence of the Beskydy and Jeseníky Mountains.

A study by Factum-Invenio (2011), which is one of leading marketing and information agencies in the country, revealed that the issue of polluted air is perceived to be the worst in Prague and Ostrava. While in case of the capital city there is a distinct connection between air pollution and intense transportation, the latter is also subject to air pollution that originates from local industry.

In spite of this, the inhabitants of Ostrava favour heavy industry and support its further growth, including traditional steel processing (34% Ostrava's residents prefer this, while the Czech Republic's average is a mere 6%). The same also applies to the automotive industry, which is supported by 32% of Ostrava's inhabitants, while in the whole Czech Republic, the support reaches just 17%. Factum-Invenio (2011) concludes that despite the fact that industry is perceived as a polluter of Ostrava's air, people still support long-established industrial branches in Ostrava as well as within the whole region. The preference for traditional industry is in consonance with the perception of enterprises that operate in these fields as being time-honoured job providers (see Table 10.1).

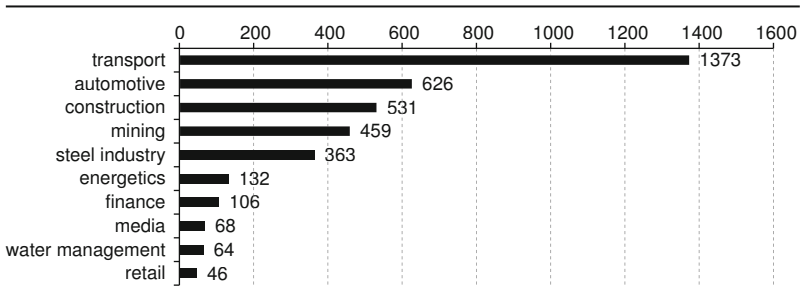
The findings of Factum-Invenio's report are in consonance with the media agenda (see Table 10.2). In the national television news coverage

Table 10.1 Preferences of economic branches as a subject of further development in the Czech Republic, Prague, and Ostrava; Variances of indexes 0–100, Czech Republic average in Point Zero



Source: Factum-Invenio.

Table 10.2 Coverage of corporate sector in national TV news with relation to Moravian-Silesian region in 2003–2012; number of statements



Source: Media Tenor data elaborated by authors.

of the corporate sector in relation to the Moravian-Silesian region in the past decade, the mining and steel industries are in fourth and fifth place, with still a serious number of statements. Unlike these two branches, which are perceived as permanent regional image drivers, the branches which scored among the top three within this study were broadly represented by what Dayan and Katz (1994) describe as *media events*.

Interpreting Media Tenor data succinctly, branch of transport was embodied by two serious transport accidents (frontal crash of two tram-cars in Ostrava in 2008 and even more a crash of EuroCity train hitting a bridge, which has fallen during construction works in 2008 in Studénka in Ostrava outskirts; both with death tolls). The automotive industry

received the spotlight due to the steps undertaken firstly to attract and later to receive large investments by Hyundai Motor Manufacturing Czech Company between 2006 and 2008. The construction sector was covered evenly throughout the period with reference to a construction of D1/D47 highway.

As described by Herot (2011), local industry plays a key role even in studies related to environmental issues – mostly air pollution. These reports frequently happen in implicit rather than explicit ways, for example, everyday television reports on air pollution with illustrative pictures of steelworks with smokestacks. The number of reports on the Moravian-Silesian region with regards to environmental issues rose significantly between 2009 and 2011 compared to the period 2000–2008 (Herot, 2011 and 2012).

Even more importantly, in spite of its size, Ostrava still is not a favourite tourist place. The *Lonely Planet* tour guide book by Dunford and Atkinson (2010) dedicates 412 pages to the Czech Republic and Slovakia. According to that guide, in the whole Moravian-Silesian region there are just three spots worth visiting – Štramberk, Kopřivnice and Český Těšín. Ostrava is treated as mere transportation hub necessary for reaching these destinations.

The current website content of the *Rough Guides* tourist guides does not say much about Ostrava either (roughguides.com, 2014): ‘The reality of Moravia is in stark contrast to its slightly grim industrial reputation (which is actually largely confined to Ostrava). And whether it’s picturesque villages, historical attractions, or its variety of dramatic landscapes to explore, there’s certainly more than enough on offer to lure you away from the charms of the capital...’.

Earlier content of the *Rough Guides* website, as of 2011 (Herot, 2011), described Ostrava in a more optimistic way. Ostrava was treated as a place which was better to avoid in past decades; however, it is now on the must-see list when tourists visit Moravia. The city was for a long period in the past condemned as a horrifying place of coal- and steelworks that was immersed in a decay of air pollution and that had almost undergone economic collapse. Nonetheless, the decline in the production of heavy industries led to immediate improvement of air quality. It was further described as a city which is in pursuit of rediscovering itself as a progressive postindustrial metropolis.

City officials had been aware of the unfavourable image of the city. Not surprisingly, the Strategic Plan for the Development of the City of Ostrava for the period 2005–2013 (2005) established as a cornerstone a vision of development that is expressed in the following



Figure 10.1 Jaromír Nohavica

Source: supermusic.sk.

sentence: ‘Green Ostrava – the city of active individuals, metropolis of education, industry, business and amusement’. This document was later updated in the form of a new document: Strategic Plan for the Development of the City of Ostrava 2009–2015 (2009). The document delivered a simple theme: ‘Ostrava: the second-fastest developing area of the Czech Republic’. However, the document takes into consideration the black legacy of the past as well as the city’s persistent image and does not distinctly recognize an opportunity for utilizing this heritage in other ways than historical sites to be opened to visitors (e.g. p. 30).

Another document on spatial development sees Ostrava as a ‘vivid and vibrant city serving all needs expected from metropolis. Citizens appreciate quality of life in the city, visitors are being attracted by a specific culture and other points of interest and inflow of investors is increasing what results in new options of employment’ (IPRM Ostrava – Magnet regionu, 2009).

Prior to all the development documents mentioned above, the city of Ostrava used a vision statement, 'City in motion', referring to a sport and dynamics in general. However, this vision remained a mere wish, which was in compliance neither with media image of the city nor the opinion of the wider public (see Herot, 2011; Suchacek, 2007).

We may conclude that all the visions are far beyond the current image of the territory or have embedded in them insufficiently the traditional perception of the territory. Nevertheless, signs of a rediscovery of the city's traditional image have become increasingly tangible in recent years. This is in contrast to the official policies of the last two decades when the city endeavoured to reject its industrial image.

## **Case studies**

Although the rejection of the city's traditional image was the subject of development documents in the past, and even nowadays the city is not truly sure about what shape its identity should take, these documents did not contribute to changing the positioning of the entire region. Aside from the media inertia or stereotyping of the regional image as described by Herot (2011), another crucial reason may be seen in the underestimation of the power of identity communicated through cultural production. Some of the ambassadors of the Ostrava cultural sphere have become known countrywide and their cultural performances present the city in a traditional way, in compliance with its nature and DNA.

All of the following case studies, which have much in common with cultural entrepreneurship, share an important feature: a strong accent on the Ostrava traditional image. Jaromír Nohavica, a popular folk singer, can be seen as a key ambassador of this stream. Other case studies of the Colours of Ostrava festival, the Ostrava City of Culture 2015 candidacy, or a Lower Area of Vítkovice are remarkable also for the involvement of the city itself. The city endeavoured to win the title of a European city of culture just under the management of the Ostrava municipal authority.

All this evidence indicates that the traditional perception of the city of Ostrava finally has found its ground again, and we are entitled to talk about the industrial image 2.0. It may be seen as an extraordinary asset, which could be utilized not only through cultural entrepreneurship but also in communications in general. Apart from the case studies presented here, there are several other artists of considerable popularity,

such as Ruda from Ostrava (radio speaker, singer), Ostravak (blogging storyteller) or Mallignant Tumor (hard-core band).

### Jaromír Nohavica

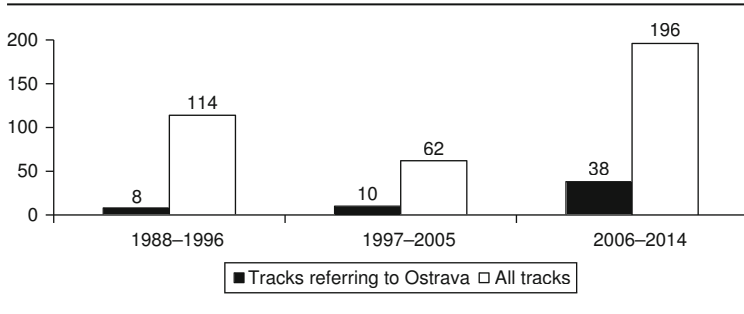
Jaromír Nohavica, is described by the *Czech Musical Dictionary of Persons and Personalities* (2014) and his personal website in English (Nohavica.cz, 2014) as follows: ‘singer, songwriter, translator, born 1953, Ostrava. He has worked at a wide variety of jobs, among other trades as a labourer and a librarian; since 1981 he has been able to support himself as a musician. He has no formal musical training, and in fact taught himself how to play the guitar, violin, flute and accordion.’

The musical dictionary (2014) and Nohavica’s biography(2014) summarize: ‘the strength of Nohavica’s expressive register can be found in his precise and disciplined service to the word. Emphasizing his testaments are the singer’s exceptional declamation, the choice of specific language (e.g. the jargon of a specific profession, Ostrava dialect etc.), the deliberate construction of melodies with frequent repetitions (in the manner of folk ballads) and suitable transformations of the musical form through arrangement – from the traditional chestnut to the modern chanson.... Clearly the most popular and most listened-to Czech singer-songwriter, Nohavica is a star personality of Czech songwriting, a many-talented artists and a highly specific figure in the Czech music scene. He has fully overcome the role of the ‘martyr of folk singing’ from the 1980s, and his popularity has not declined since 1989, but indeed the reverse: as a unique artist pursuing his own path, he has been able to come to terms with the radical post-Communist transformation of folk music within Czech society.’ Currently, he has many supporters also in neighbouring Poland and Slovakia.

Taking a closer look to Nohavica’s discography, we see a vast collection of 372 tracks on 23 albums in the period from 1988 to 2014. Although some of the tracks are repeated on several albums (concert albums), we still see an impressive number of 257 unique songs in the singer-songwriter’s discography.

To demonstrate author’s focus on Ostrava region, we need to distinguish the songs that somehow refer to Ostrava or its vicinity. This we have tested in three parameters. Firstly, if it was explicitly clear from the song lyrics that the story of the song is located in Ostrava or its surrounding area. Secondly, if any of Ostrava jargon elements were present. As a third aspect, we have tested whether any elements related to the traditional image of Ostrava were present in a song (mineworks, steelworks, life of labour, Baník Ostrava football club etc.).

Table 10.3 Number of tracks in Jaromír Nohavica's discography and those referring to the Ostrava region



Source: Elaborated by authors.

If any of the aspects were met, we considered a song to be referring to Ostrava. There were 56 tracks in total with references to Ostrava, and 33 of them were unique. In more detail, we may say,

- 43 songs were explicitly located to Ostrava or its vicinity (24 unique),
- 23 songs contained unmistakable Ostrava jargon (14 unique),
- 45 songs contained an element related to Ostrava's traditional image (28 unique).

We consider a total number of 56 tracks with a significant reference to the region out of 372 (or 33 out of 257 in unique expression) to be sufficient to state that Jaromír Nohavica is indisputably associated with Ostrava and thus should be considered as an iconic representative of the Ostrava image.

The presence of Ostrava in Nohavica's repertoire is also interesting from the perspective of time. If we divide the time period of his albums into three parts, we see that the most of the songs referring to Ostrava were released in the latest third of his career as Table 10.3 shows. This finding supports a hypothesis that after an era of a general rejection of the traditional image of the region, all have arrived at an understanding of this image and it is being positively accepted by the artist's audience. Additionally, we may notice that songs with references to Ostrava were repeated more on other albums than those without any reference (compare 33 unique songs referring to Ostrava being tracked 56 times with 257 songs in total being tracked 372 times).

We may conclude that Jaromír Nohavica to be a representative of a communication of the Ostrava industrial image 2.0.

### Colours of Ostrava festival

The festival is depicted on the festival website (colours.cz, 2014) as follows: 'A multi genre music festival held annually in the city of Ostrava. Since 2012, the event has been held in the impressive surroundings of Dolní Vítkovice (lower area of Vítkovice; remark by authors) – the site of former blast furnaces, mines and ironworks. The first festival took place in 2002. In 2005 and 2006, Colours of Ostrava scooped up the Czech Angel (Anděl) award for Music Event of the Year... The festival has brought a number of impressive headliners to Ostrava over the years (including Grinderman, Robert Plant, ZAZ, Alanis Morissette, Cranberries, Sinéad O'Connor, Bobby McFerrin, Mariza...) plus top names in jazz, world music, rock, pop as well as the alternative scene.'

From the very beginning, the concept of the festival has been based on a contrast of a grimy city (which is the general perception, connected with black and grey) and a variety of musical artists participating at the festival. This contrast has even been emphasized by moving the whole festival from the city centre to a nearby site of former industry



Figure 10.2 From the Colours of Ostrava Festival 2013

Source: PetrPiechowicz,colours.cz.



works. Of course, it is fair to state that the site had not been prepared to host a culture production before. However, looking at this annual and successful event with thousands of visitors, including international visitors, we see another argument, which is that establishing the region's industrial image/heritage as one of the communicated keystones is not a wrong step and may add this festival as another example of industrial image 2.0 being exercised.

### 2.3 Ostrava City of Culture 2015

In 2009, Ostrava City decided to stand for a prestigious title of European Capital of Culture and to take part in contest with another Czech city: Pilsen. The most remarkable feature of the entire project was the unprecedented integration of the traditional Ostrava image into the project and its communications.

Even former president Václav Havel supported Ostrava in its candidacy. The project website ([ostrava2015.cz](http://ostrava2015.cz), 2014) contains quotes from his speech about the Ostrava candidacy: 'Ostrava, always too far from



Figure 10.3 Ostrava 2015 candidacy logo

Source: [ostrava2015.cz](http://ostrava2015.cz)

the capital, has created its unique *genius loci*, which is basically relying just on itself. As almost a synonym to Ostrava is still heavy industry and coal mining rather than culture or education. Finally the drawbacks from the past deliver new hopes to revitalize the places, which resisted attempts of social engineering, collectivization or globalization pressures. Thus I am happy and endorse the candidacy of the City of Ostrava for the title of European culture capital 2015 as a commitment to recognize, appreciate and expand the beauty of Czech landscape and cities which is not to be recognized at a first sight. However I am sure, that more Czech cities would like to stand for the title of European culture capital and maybe they would deserve it, I appreciate Ostrava at most to be the choice'.

The city's claim of its industrial heritage and image was also clear from the official logo of the project in which a young miner turns his head up. Finally, this metaphor is quite evident even in the quote from Havel's speech. The motto of the Ostrava 2015 project was *A place for a happy life*, which means a city where we'd gladly stay, or to which we'd happily return, a place to which we're loyal – even in times of crisis (Ostrava, 2015.cz, 2014).

In 2010, Pilsen was announced as the European Capital of Culture 2015. The Ostrava 2015 project continues, however, in the form of a cultural initiative.

### Lower area of Vítkovice

On 9 December 1828, the ironworks named after the owner Rudolf's smelting plant was established in a small village of Vítkovice near Ostrava (today, it is one of the city's quarters). As described by Lower Area of Vítkovice (2014) 'The end of the 20th century brought a fundamental change. Not even the technological development and the largest modernization of blastfurnaces in the 1980s and 1990s were sufficient to prevent a political decision of the city of Ostrava and the government of the Czech Republic to close down the blastfurnaces in the Lower Area. Following the decision of the state institutions in 27 September 1998, and after 162 years of continuous production, the blastfurnaces in the area were shut down. The single purpose technological units of the metallurgical basic industry and the vast area of the Lower Area became a cultural monument in 2000, and a national cultural monument in 2002. In 2008, the monument became part of the European cultural heritage. Throughout the history of the Lower Area, the blastfurnaces produced a total of 90 million of tons of pigiron and 42 million tons of coke. A maximum of six blastfurnaces, including the so-called Žofin

smelting plant, were in operation here. The highest annual production output of pigiron reached 1.7 mil tons in 1977.'

Lower Vítkovice is planned to become an area offering apartments, shops, technology museum, research facilities, university students' dormitories and other facilities. The whole project is already well underway. The project consists of the utilization, for cultural, social and educational purposes, of key buildings and the overall industrial complex of the former Hlubina Mine and the blast furnaces and coking plant of the Vítkovice Ironworks.

The transformation of the most valuable industrial complex in Ostrava is today the largest urban renewal project in the Czech Republic. The goal of the project, in which important Czech architects, including Josef Pleskot and Zdeněk Fránek, are taking part, is to create a new identity for this site. The investor in the project is the Union of the Lower Area of Vítkovice, an association of corporate entities.

As pointed out by a prominent Czech architect, Josef Pleskot, 'I think the most important motivation was my desire to change this sad memento of the past industrial glory into a living city fully connected with the centre of Ostrava once again. I was repelled by the idea of using this historical heritage as a dead museum-like object or a tool of entertainment. When I was convinced the owner is a serious partner-venturer, I dropped my doubts of potential futility of my effort and my involvement was more than one hundred percent.... The value of the Lower Area of Vítkovice is immeasurable, because it is original and it is even historically connected with the whole city of Ostrava. It completely changes the image of the city. My first impression after my visit to Lower area of Vítkovice was universal helplessness. I was surprised by sudden death of what used to be market as the crown jewels by all the regimes. Frankly speaking, I do not quite understand it even today.... Yes, the Lower Area of Vítkovice has really become love coming right from my heart. It is because I have great respect to manual work which had been done there for nearly two hundred years. I also respect the human fortunes reflected in this amount of iron and I do not want to see them erased' (see *The Lower Area of Vítkovice*, 2014).

The Gas Container became in a way an emblematic building of the whole area. During 12 days in January 2011, the cover of the Gas Container was lifted by a symbolic 1492 cm, which helped the object to return to its original silhouette. The number 1492, apart from being the year in which America was discovered and being the altitude of Praděd mountain, the largest mountain in the region, is newly linked to the revival of the Lower Area of Vítkovice. The Gas Container was turned

into a complex where large cultural activities, such as concerts or theatre performance take place. The capacity reaches 1,500 visitors, and the whole building has become increasingly popular.

Jan Svetlik, who is the current owner of Vítkovice company and can be briefly called *the spiritusagens* of the whole project, says, 'Everything is related to everything. If you want to be successful on a global scale you need the top people to work for you. However, they are going to run away from us if Ostrava doesn't attract them in any other ways than by offering jobs to them. They must have a reason and they must fancy living here. We have already presented the overall solution of the national cultural monument with the Union of the Lower Area of Vítkovice, which administers these activities, and Mr. Pleskot, who is an architect and the author of the key projects. The fact that the changes, which have been prepared several years, are already living their own life is the result of our patience and daily hard work, as we had to and still have to overcome many obstacles and troubles. I think it is a huge step forward that after thirteen years since the blast-furnace production had been stopped, the cover of the Gas Container was lifted. It feels like the awareness of the people feeling that Ostrava and also the culture, education and creativity will go up and in the right direction together with the cover, and that together we will manage to make the Lower Area a place living at full pace.' (see The Lower Area of Vítkovice, 2014).

To sum it up, the Lower Area of Vítkovice, a place that is famous mainly due to the national monument Hlubina Mine, blast furnace and the coking plant of Vítkovice Ironworks, has been transformed in a profound way. Industrial gems of previous centuries are gaining a new face. The Gas Container was transformed into a multifunction auditorium, the 6th Energy Central Station is being reconstructed into an interactive museum, and a guided tour allows one to explore the Blast furnace No. 1. An overall solution for the national cultural monument has been introduced as well, including a unique link to the Hlubina Mine and the blast furnaces through the coking plant building, which will serve as space for a library and other activities. Not surprisingly, the previously mentioned music festival Colours of Ostrava already takes place in this same area.

The whole project called the New Vítkovice will occupy an area of 253 hectares and will require altogether approximately 60 billion Czech crowns. It is also worth noticing that the Lower area of Vítkovice is currently the most visited place by tourists in the Moravian-Silesian region and as to the number of visitors (680,000 in 2013), it occupies the fifth position in the whole country.

## Conclusions

This chapter shows convincing evidence about Ostrava's trajectory from an industrial image to an industrial image 2.0. Ostrava's economic and social decline after 1989 considerably differed from that of its Western counterparts. The city underwent a dual transformation. The specific processes of transformation from totalitarian to democratic political system and from centrally planned to market economies were the first change. These intended, government-directed transformations created the conditions for the more general processes of transition from Fordist societal structures to post-Fordist ones, similar to the internal transitions in the organization of developed countries before them. In contrast to their Western predecessors, their time for transformation was much shorter and somehow compressed.

As a traditional industrial area, Ostrava and its surroundings were badly prepared to cope with new socio-economic challenges. Naturally, apart from a traditionally bad position on mental maps, the image of the agglomeration substantially worsened too. Put succinctly, the regional brand image was hit severely.

As a consequence, local and regional authorities tried to introduce Ostrava agglomeration as a territory full of dynamic and active people, education, business, sport and entertainment, as well as a specific culture. However, this new, more optimistic branding strategy found itself in sharp contrast to both external (i.e. perception from outside) and internal (i.e. attitudes of Ostrava's inhabitants) images. This reflects the fact that the territory's image could not be transformed in the short run as it was a deeply embedded and almost inbuilt construction.

The case studies we presented demonstrate that a move towards industrial image 2.0, which matches the territory's DNA, has emerged. Ostrava's culture has turned out to be largely path dependent, and is intensely penetrated by an industrial philosophy. The city's culture can be briefly characterized as a non-obvious and contested one. Cultural entrepreneurship, which is emerging within agglomeration, has a genuine and historically conditioned character.

Jaromír Nohavica, who is rather popular singer even in neighbouring Poland, devotes an increasing amount of attention to the industrial spirit of the whole agglomeration. His activities bear the signs of a cultural entrepreneurship which is rooted in Ostrava. His songs are barely conceivable without his regional identity.

The Colours of Ostrava music festival concentrates upon world music, yet it remains a concept deeply interconnected with Ostrava. From the

very beginning, the festival has been based on the contrast between an old industrial area and a variety of musical artists who participate at the festival. These antipodes have been emphasized by moving the whole festival from the city centre to a nearby site of a former industry works. In this case, cultural entrepreneurship is already more sophisticated than in case of previous singer.

Lower Vítkovice is probably the most distinctive aspect of Ostrava's cultural entrepreneurship. This activity is largely connected with the strong leadership of Vítkovice company owner Jan Svetlík. The whole project can be called ambitious yet successful.

The Gas Container that was built by the Vítkovice ironworks in 1924 was recently converted into a multifunctional auditorium. The new unconventional centre was created as a sensitive, modern inbuilt construction inside the Gas Container, and it is frequently used for cultural events as well as conferences, congresses and exhibitions. This construction is unique in the whole of Europe, and the building became a sui generis symbol of the whole project, which rediscovered the territory's industrial foundation.

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## **Part III**

### **Particular Place Brand Themes**



# 11

## Coordinating Cooperative Cultural Networks: The Case of Culture Finland

*Arja Lemmetyinen*

**Keywords:** coordination, cooperative, cultural networks, creative clusters, value co-creation, Culture Finland

### Introduction

The overarching aim of the book at hand is to portray the elements at play in harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship. In the association between cultural entrepreneurship and place branding there exist discursive, political and other interdependencies that rest on complex, multifaceted relationships among multiple stakeholder relations which render coordination complicated (Kasabov, this volume). This chapter examines the coordination of cooperative cultural networks in greater detail. According to the network-based academic literature, firms and organizations do not act independently in the market (Håkansson and Snehota, 1989; Ford et al., 1998). In order to develop their activities, they have to interact with other firms and organizations (Grandori and Soda, 1995; Ritter and Gemünden, 2003). This agglomeration of interdependent organizations then forms an industrial network (Möller and Halinen, 1999; Wilkinson and Young, 2003; Batt and Purchase, 2004) or a cluster (Lorenzen and Foss, 2003; Novelli, Schmitz and Spencer, 2006), which in turn creates value as an entity (Lemmetyinen, 2010; Niu, Miles, Bach and Cinen, 2012).

According to Florén and Tell (2004: 292), learning in small-firm owner/manager networks is based on trust and has emergent prerequisites, which include reciprocity between the learning actors, the capacity to be receptive to and to confront problems, and transparency in the network dialogue. Over time these prerequisites develop and create better opportunities for value creation in the form of high-level

learning, for example. Lemmetyinen and Go (2009) refer to the ability to create joint knowledge as a critical success factor in coordinating cooperation in tourism business networks. Relation-specific knowledge among business counterparts is constantly updated and fed back in iterative cycles of learning. Niu et al. (2012), in turn, describe the local development of supporting facilities such as educational institutions, and a commonly shared culture and industrial atmosphere as the foundations of a successful network-based industrial system, which they refer to as an industrial cluster. Reflecting Porter (1998), they point out the dependence of regional competitive advantage on highly localized processes, which according to them come about through the accelerated globalization of economic activities. Laycock (2005) emphasizes the growing strategic importance of knowledge and knowledge sharing in organizations, and of the role of learning, particularly in networks. Focusing on the tourism context, Go and Williams (1993) suggest that simultaneous competition and cooperation in networks both enable and restrict participating individuals or organizations in that control of the network typically leads to destructive relationships because members wish to be treated as 'equals'. Nevertheless, cooperation in business networks promoting tourism provides better learning opportunities than individual entrepreneurs acting in isolation (Lemmetyinen, 2010).

There has been extensive research on cooperative networks and industrial clusters in the context of tourism during the past decade (e.g. Gnoth, 2003; Pavlovich, 2003; Saxena, 2005; Dredge, 2006; von Friedrichs Grängsjö and Gummesson, 2006; Novelli et al., 2006; Beritelli et al., 2007; Saxena and Ibery, 2008; Scott et al., 2008; March and Wilkinson, 2009; Lemmetyinen, 2010; Meriläinen and Lemmetyinen, 2011). In the cultural context, however, few studies have focused on the coordination of cooperative cultural networks. An early attempt to fill this research gap dates back to the 1970s, when Kadushin (1976) used the concept of network analysis to study the production of culture. In the main he concluded that there exists a relationship between the social structure and both the content and style of ideas given by members of the cultural circle or network.

The study discussed here concerns how cooperation in cultural networks adds value for small firms and other network actors, culminating in three research questions: (1) *How is cooperation in cultural networks organized?* (2) *What role does culture play in cooperative networks?* (3) *How can network cooperation contribute to cultural tourism branding, and vice versa?* Given the evident gap in the theoretical framework covering networks in the cultural context, the empirical findings gathered in the

national Culture Finland project in this research refer mainly to the existing academic literature on the tourism or cultural-tourism business. The author served as a participant observer over the past few years, studying the field not only theoretically but also in intensive interaction (cf. O' Donnell and Cummins, 1999) with actors representing a wide array of both private businesses and public organizations. Within this context a relevant question that arises concerns how to get these actors to cooperate and sustain their cooperative behaviour over time. The chance to follow the national Culture Finland project, which aims to promote value-cocreation processes in coordinating networks of actors in tourism and cultural businesses, is of special interest in this connection. This form of participant observation gave the author a perspective from which to study the epistemological foundations of harnessing cultural entrepreneurship for effective place branding. Taking an ethnographic approach, the researcher was able to 'enter into first-hand interaction with people in their everyday life' (Tedlock, 2000), and to observe cooperation in the field as a process: this is an approach that is used more sporadically in the research on business networks (Lemmetyinen, 2010). Earlier studies on the tourism business have predominantly focused on network structure (e.g., Saxena, 2005; Scott, Cooper and Bagglio, 2008; March and Wilkinson, 2009).

### **Coordinating cooperative cultural networks – who takes the lead?**

In the context of tourism research, Mattsson, Sundbo and Fussing-Jensen (2005) propose an attractor-based model of an innovation system. This concept differs from the general notion of such a system in that it identifies a clear originator (Mattsson et al., 2005). In a single case, this initiator or coordinator may be an innovative entrepreneur in the field of culture, or he or she may represent the municipality or another public organization. The initiating actors may represent the local, regional or national level of organizations in the field (see Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Riege and Perry, 2000; Pavlovich, 2003; Saxena, 2005; Dredge, 2006; Lemmetyinen, 2009), as well as the educational providers (see Nieminen and Lemmetyinen, forthcoming). All these options are discussed in the following sections wherein both theoretical and empirical parallels are drawn.

*Public-sector coordinators* of cooperative cultural networks may be local (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999), regional (Pavlovich, 2003; Saxena, 2005) or national (Riege and Perry, 2000) actors. A local municipality

may take a leading or coordinating role in the (most frequently European Union [EU]-based) funding projects (see Lemmetyinen, 2010), and search for strategic partnerships (Dredge, 2006). The municipality of Eura, in the province of Satakunta, Finland, has been active in developing its multilayered cultural heritage (see [www.aura.fi](http://www.aura.fi)) in cooperative relationships with elementary and secondary schools, as well as with higher education and research institutes. Its activities in seeking partnerships (see Selin and Chavez, 1995) and networking opportunities have included organizing thematic workshops for local entrepreneurs and other stakeholders, and initiating business activities. The municipality has succeeded in creating lively cooperative relations with several university departments in the Pori Unit of the University of Turku, supporting the developmental goals set by the municipality. The strength of the School of Economics in this cooperation is its expertise in areas of business knowledge such as brand and network management from both the customer and the entrepreneurial perspectives.

On the *regional level* (see Lorenzen and Foss, 2003), the coordination of cultural networks or creative clusters in Finland has been a legal obligation of regional councils since the beginning of 2014. This is also the case in the province of Satakunta ([www.satakuntaliitto.fi](http://www.satakuntaliitto.fi)). It implies that the provincial council is responsible for strategic regional development, in the province, and in conjunction with this role also for drawing up plans regarding the cultural coordination of developmental actions as a part of the provincial programme (The Finnish Law for regional development and administration of structural funding 17§, 7/2014). Work on the cultural strategy in Satakunta started in March 2014 with the organization of a cultural forum gathering, together a large number of actors engaged in cultural activities in the region. This seminar will be followed by workshops around the province, concentrating on heritage sites, art and museums as the source of dialogue and the target of developmental activities serving social, economic, political and environmental needs.

The current situation with the provincial counties as legally established coordinators is novel, and it will be interesting to follow whether this initiative will have a successful outcome. Culturally appealing heritage sites and other attractions are also taken into consideration in the tourism strategy as part of the regional rural-development strategy (2014–2020). In the area of Satakunta, for example, the national parks, architecture (especially designed by Alvar Aalto), manors, ironworks, the lake of Pyhäjärvi and the Kokemäki River are assumed to have great potential in terms of product and destination development to make

them national attractions as well. The synchronization of culture and history with the contemporary time frame requires expertise and cooperation among several actors.

On the level of the *national public sector*, cultural tourism is developed and coordinated through the Culture Finland (CF) national programme (see Riege and Perry, 2000). The programme is part of the national destination-management organization, Visit Finland, administrated by Finland Festivals and funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture and Visit Finland. The aim is to increase cultural tourism in Finland by enhancing cooperation among actors in the fields of tourism and culture, and thereby facilitating the development of new, attractive products and services. The most basic issue is to combine the resources of the scattered actors in both fields into a cohesive network. Another main goal of the programme is to exploit local strengths. The regional coordinators provide leadership directed at intensifying cooperation in the whole of the cluster, which empowers actors a means of enabling a community to guide their socio-economic destiny so that they become together more than just the arena for the random playing out of market forces.

Nieminen and Lemmetyinen (forthcoming) follow Mattsson et al. (2005) when discussing the roles of an *education provider in the context of cultural networks*. In the case of the higher education (HE) provider they add the roles not only of scene maker but also of matchmaker and a co-creator of the innovation system. This parallels the role of the learning broker – one with visible learning competences – that Kelliher (2011) views as elementary in the evolution from facilitated to independent tourism or (added by the author of this article) *cultural learning networks*. Kelliher (2011) points out that even though a broker or hub is needed in order to initiate a learning network, the optimum goal is a network of independent actors who aspire to develop their collective learning competency. The ultimate goal of this process is to accomplish the evolution of learning, which ideally results in a self-led community of practice (Kelliher, 2011). In their traditional role HE providers decide, to a certain extent, on the products or services they offer to their customers, and as customers updating their education, entrepreneurs have little or no role in the value creation (cf. Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). The innovative role of HE providers supports the co-creation of entrepreneurial opportunities through networks. Nieminen and Lemmetyinen (forthcoming) see the aim of an HE provider in this context as creating a social infrastructure that fosters network cooperation in cultural tourism, which, in turn, contributes to place branding.

Zhao et al. (2011) discuss the perceived benefits *entrepreneurs* running micro- and small enterprises in the cultural-tourism business derived from cooperation, point out that little attention has been given to the role of social capital in the development of regional and community tourism (cf. Nieminen and Lemmetyinen, forthcoming). Zhao et al. (2011, 1571) draw attention to an interesting finding in this regard that a large proportion of tourism entrepreneurs in Western countries are driven by life-style related benefits rather than profits. Mason (2012), in turn, suggests that the learning needs of small business can be better served by connecting them with networks and focusing on informal delivery methods.

According to the Industrial Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) school of thought, entrepreneurs in cultural tourism, as in any business, are seen not as independent entities acting on their own in the market, but as operating in interaction with the other actors in the network (Lemmetyinen, 2010). Hence, initiating or coordinating cooperation may be difficult, given that the actors represent their own sectors and fields, and that networking is not self-evident. It seems that the formalized coordination and control mechanisms that have been embedded in traditional thought by actors in tourism and culture-related businesses may not allow the relation-specific knowledge between business counterparts to be constantly updated and fed back in iterative cycles of learning. Hence, entrepreneurs running micro- and small-sized cultural-tourism businesses are impeded in their efforts to link their creativity within a network of relationships with clients, visitors and business partners.

### **Value co-creation as the outcome of coordinating cooperative cultural networks**

The IMP approach (cf. Ford et al., 2003) to network theory highlights the connection between network narratives and network outcomes. By adopting a polyvocal approach (see Buchanan and Dawson, 2007; Lemmetyinen and Go, 2010) to studying networks, we will be able to explore 'new' areas of potential interest, which have probably remained unstudied thus far for methodological reasons. Value co-creation stemming from the cultural heritage and specific local needs is the key element of the process of building a brand identity, particularly in the context of cultural entrepreneurship. Moreover, with regard to the creative turn (Richards, 2011) in the context of cultural clusters, an arena may be set up and a stage simulated (cf. Pine and Gilmore, 1999) in

which entrepreneurs, public-sector organizations, and universities and other education providers are able to interact intensively and engage in value co-creation (see also Watkins and Gnoth, 2011).

### **Building a brand identity**

A joint region or destination brand could be considered a tool of cooperation on the symbolic level that helps harness place branding through cultural entrepreneurship (see Lemmetyinen, 2010). What is relevant in committing to a joint brand is that the actors are able to share common values stemming, for example, from the heritage the place may represent for them. It is also important for actors to agree on a joint direction in which to target their activities under a joint brand umbrella. In her earlier studies (Lemmetyinen and Go, 2010; Lemmetyinen, 2010), the author analysed the brand-building process in the context of tourism business networks, and how it integrated the views of the network members. Analogical questions in the context of cultural cooperative networks can be raised. What are the views of the network actors in building a brand identity? How might these views be integrated so as to ensure a more coherent brand-building process? The following analysis reveals the evolving nature of the brand-identity-building process in the context of cultural cooperative networks. Reference is made to empirical findings from the national Culture Finland project, specifically from the perspective of the province of Satakunta. This case permitted the author to follow the development of a cooperative cultural network from two approaches, first, in her role as an education provider and, secondly, as a researcher.

On the basic or functional level of building a brand identity (see Lemmetyinen, 2010; Lemmetyinen and Go, 2010) in cooperative cultural networks, intensifying the strategic partnerships among municipal and other regional actors fosters new kinds of forums for cooperation and co-creation. The idea is to bring the actors together so that they can form *'a value-creating, intentional or strategic network of firms, organizations and facilities set up to serve the specific needs and desires of [customers] and consisting of actors engaged in activities and controlling resources in connection with other actors'* (Lemmetyinen, 2010). Pryor and Grossbart (2007: 291) argue that the social and the cultural are embedded in place brands. Bianchini and Ghilardi (2007: 285), in turn, call for a more holistic, interdisciplinary and lateral view on place branding, according to which policymakers in the field should engage in collaboration with, for example, urban historians, sociologists, anthropologists, environmentalists, artists, political scientists and psychologists.

On the functional level, the role of coordination is crucial, as evidenced in the following statement by a municipal actor: 'The regional Culture Finland project functions in specific municipal target areas, such as Kauttua in Eura in the province of Satakunta, and this may have an effect on how nationally developed modes of action will be taken into common practice in these areas. Given the quality of services in the region, together with its product development and sales, there is a need for continuing efforts to capitalize on the integral elements of its own strengths, its culture, history and events. Coordination will be necessary in the future, too, because the actors have to be aware not only of what is going on in the network but also of what is in the air in the discussions' (HR manager, municipality of Eura).

On the relational level, as Bianchini and Ghilardi (2007: 285) note, those responsible for branding a place should be aware not only of the traditions of its cultural heritage but also of the contemporary socio-economic reality and the cultural life and representations of the locality. Cooperating in networks helps actors see the benefits of cooperation, and recognize and develop their capabilities for network management. These capabilities include the building up of the brand identity of the region or network, learning and value creation, and network management and orchestration. Developing the cultural business and utilizing cultural tourism in order to exert a positive influence on the regional economy, culture and environment require resources. The coordination of cooperative cultural networks facilitates the use of cultural elements not only in tourism but also in other fields of the creative cultural cluster.

The focus of regional cooperation in Culture Finland is on identifying resources in order to intensify the coordination of service provision and to develop new products in the field of cultural tourism. On a wider scale the coordination facilitates the more efficient and effective integration of scattered activities, which in turn benefits both residents and tourists in a region. In cooperation with the national coordinator, the regional actors may reach international distribution channels. Of particular interest in this respect is the targeting of independent travellers, which enhances national awareness of the region. Regional activities have started well, and the joint perception of strengths has created a basis for cooperation, but there is still a need for further development. In the province of Satakunta, for example, there should be more opportunities for cooperative actions that would mutually benefit culture and tourism, thereby contributing to enhancing well-being in the region. It would be useful to identify the synergies among different projects and to



know how to give support to and obtain it from others. In other words, local actors should be informed about what is going on and connect the activities more closely to the national Culture Finland umbrella organization, thereby also intensifying relations with the other regions. It is important that the development work concretely supports and follows both provincial and national strategies and their objectives.

On the symbolic level of cooperation the mental structures and processes refer to the common values of the actors, which are represented in the brand identity. As Schroeder (2009), a brand theorist, notes, in order to understand the deep meaning of a network's brand identity, it is necessary to study the *culture, ideology and politics* behind it in conjunction with more typical branding concepts such as strategy and value. The mental structure of coordinated cooperation rests on the common values of the actors, which are manifest in the joint *place* brand. Thus the need for external coordination is diminishing on this level in relation to the more basic levels. What is important is for the actors to feel an affinity that, according to Lemmetyinen and Go's (2010) interpretation, reflects how the network-based community commits to its joint values, awareness of cultural aspects, shared vision and brand performance.

### **Cultural creative clusters: a polyvocal perspective on coordinating cooperative cultural networks and a paradigm shift?**

Firms and organizations which network across boundaries form an industrial cluster in which they may be able to leverage resources and capabilities that might not otherwise be available (Niu et al., 2012). Creative clusters have an important role in building the local creative economy and stimulating cultural diversity and cultural democracy, as well as adding to the attractiveness of places (Richards, 2011; Mommaas, 2004). Cultural creative clusters not only stimulate continuing rounds of innovation and creativity (Niu et al., 2012) but also promote a more 'entrepreneurial' approach to the arts and culture, finding new uses for old buildings and derelict sites (Richards, 2011; Mommaas, 2004), for example, and strengthening the identity, power of attraction and market position of places and regions. Consequently, on the symbolic level of cooperation in the cooperative cultural network, or the cultural creative cluster, the role of value co-creation as an outcome expands in terms of affinity, and that of external coordination diminishes. The ontological question of who should take the lead in managing or coordinating the network still remains, however. In the context of an industrial cluster or network, there will inevitably be several options. This has led us to take

a polyvocal approach and to discuss coordinative activities and processes of value co-creation from several angles.

Buchanan and Dawson (2007: 682) emphasize the value of observational data as a source in combining the narrative and the process approaches when discussing organizational change as a multistory construction. Richards and Munsters (2010) refer to the involvement of multiple stakeholders in the evolution of research on cultural tourism. Beesley (2005), in turn, points out that those participating in collaborative knowledge production in a cultural-tourism setting need to be aware of the concept of emotional contagion, which means that the moods and emotions expressed by the actors in the network influence the moods and emotions of others. In short, it is a question of managing emotional strategies in a way that blend with rational, aesthetic communication strategies (Rindova, 2007) within social collaborative cultural-network settings. Watkins and Gnoth (2011) point to the relevance of the value-orientation approach in understanding culture. The aim in analysing forms of cooperation and development practices in the context of Culture Finland, for example, has been to produce novel knowledge and understanding for the actors in the cultural cluster, and to conceptualize models of action that, in the end, will deepen the feeling of brand affinity among all actors in the region.

Micro- and small firms, which have continued to boom in number in the cultural industries, are essentially too small to have formalized control or coordination and consequently tend to operate in networks with other companies (Hesmondalgh, 2013). These cultural-tourism business networks are, according to Boje (2010), part of the creative economy. Davis and Scase (2000) were among the first scholars to recognize the change in the way cultural industries are organized, whereas Richards (2011) notes that traditional research on cultural tourism has met a paradigm shift from a tangible heritage towards a more intangible culture, which must be rendered 'visible'. In turn, this means that the destination's stakeholders must adapt new ways of coordinating the production of creative culture, which blend the diverse communication strategies. Rindova refers to enabling cultural entrepreneurs, for instance, to 'build multiplex identities, i.e., identities with many facets that engage stakeholders in different ways – cognitively, emotionally, and aesthetically' (Rindova, 2007:169).

The stakeholders in the destination become involved in a new way in the 'production' of creative culture in their everyday lives (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), thereby getting 'on the stage'. Local authenticity becomes increasingly involved in cultural production (Wang, 1999;

Zeng, Go and de Vries, 2012), and is simultaneously explored in the process of value co-creation (Wing Sun Tun and Ritchie, 2011). The epistemological foundations of the study are grounded in the idea of representational realism distinguishing the physical/object viewpoint of the historical sites per se (naïve realism) in contrast to the cultural turn's stress on the intangibility the cultural heritage symbolically *represents*, in other words, how it is *perceived* by members of the community (BonJour, L., 2007; <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/perception-episprob/>).

## Discussion and conclusions

This study provides a framework within which to address the epistemological research problem of *how the coordination of cooperation in cultural business networks adds value for small firms and other network actors*. The perspective is ethnographic, focusing on *how cooperation in cultural networks is organized* and challenging the traditional view of public-sector networks as impediments to network formation. The 'creative turn' in cultural networks means that actors become involved in a new way in the 'production' of the creative culture. This does not mean, however, that there would be no need for coordination. On the contrary, the coordinative roles of actors in cultural business networks may act as a bridge in combining policy (cf. Dredge, 2006) and business (cf. Tinsley and Lynch, 2001) networks.

The paradigm shift promotes cooperation in networks that adds value for the actors, offering better opportunities for higher-level learning than small firms and other network actors can organize on their own. The creative turn in the context of cultural tourism also catalyses the change in the role of the HE provider to set up an arena and simulate a stage in which entrepreneurs, public-sector organizations and universities are able to interact intensively and engage in co-creation, thus initiating the emotional and mental processes that promote entrepreneurial learning and openness to networking.

With regard to *the role that culture plays in cooperative networks*, cultural proximity seems to be a critical success factor. Culturally creative clusters promote a more 'entrepreneurial' approach to the arts and culture, and strengthen the identity, power of attraction and market position of places and regions. Consequently, the role of value co-creation as an outcome expands in terms of affinity, and that of external coordination diminishes. In other words, the actors are more 'equal' in terms of taking initiatives to co-create value in Cultural Creative Clusters, which represents a polyvocal perspective on coordinating cooperative cultural networks.

The outcome of coordinating cooperation in cultural business culminates in the question of *how network cooperation can contribute to cultural tourism, and vice versa*. The analysis focuses on the value co-creation stemming from the cultural heritage and specific local needs as the key element in the process of building a brand identity, in the particular context of cultural entrepreneurship. Strengthening the market position of the network actors enhances the attractiveness of the region. Building the brand through cooperation among local firms results in the diversification of business activities, which in turn will sharpen the competitive edge of the region and the firms by strengthening the sense of community in the creative clusters. On the symbolic level of cooperation in the cooperative cultural network, or the cultural creative cluster, too, the role of value co-creation expands in terms of affinity, and that of external coordination diminishes.

Arts management and cultural production could be considered one aspect of international business in which the managing of international relationships and networks is a major part. International business knowledge is essential on the local, regional and national levels. The paradigm shift also challenges higher education in terms of organizing entrepreneurship-development programmes for cultural tourism, and thereby encouraging entrepreneurial issues associated with starting and running an enterprise to be debated in business schools. The findings of this multivoiced study reveal the complex nature of learning in networks of small and micro-scaled entrepreneurial organizations, compared to investigations which concentrate on large-scale firms. Moreover, targeting value co-creation, which activates all actors equally and allows the role of the initiator to circulate, appeared as an end result of the 'creative turn', the paradigm shift from a tangible heritage towards a more intangible culture.

The analysis reflects the views of multivoiced network actors representing the local culture and local politics, both separately and as an element of an established relationship among (supra-[EU]) national, provincial and local government. The findings are reasonable and relevant, given the aim of keeping alive the 'voices' representing the culture of the region (fine-grained knowledge) so as to provide a basis on which learning can take place. Even so, this claim presumes that the actors are empowered to make retrospective sense of their situation, which, according to Weick (1995), 'is an activity in which many possible meanings may need to be synthesized'. Weick refers to the issue of equivocality as an imminent core problem for sense making. What the actors need in order to overcome the problem is the clarity of values, priorities,

and preferences in their coordinated cooperative activities around place branding. Nonetheless, new analytical approaches are required that go beyond comparative, benchmark-oriented methods to justify narrative storytelling as a systematic framework for research. It would be an interesting avenue in future studies to explore learning spaces from a branding perspective. Would it be possible to build a community in which cultural entrepreneurs want to stay, and not only to visit and to establish a community of practice within which learning takes place?

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# 12

## Tracing for One Voice – The 5Cs of Communication in Place Branding

*Ulla Hakala*

**Keywords:** 5Cs of communication, integrated communications, place branding, stakeholders

### **Introduction**

What makes a brand successful? The question has been covered extensively from the perspective of consumer goods, but do the same rules apply to place brands? One of the challenges in the branding of places is the excessive number of stakeholders and too little management control (Skinner, 2005). The aim in this chapter is, from an integrative analytical perspective, to design a strategic communications framework that will enable cultural entrepreneurs to deal effectively with the problem of maintaining two-way communication in good times and bad. It is worth pointing out here that there are various rational, social, emotional and aesthetic strategies that cultural entrepreneurs can use to build a multiplex of identities, in other words identities with many facets that engage stakeholders in different ways cognitively, emotionally and aesthetically (Rindova, 2007: 169). This is where integrated communication (IC) may be of use. As compared to the familiar concept of integrated marketing communication (IMC), IC covers all strategic organizational communications (see e.g., Niemann-Struweg, 2014). This chapter discusses five key strategic requirements for communication – consistency, continuity, commitment, coordination and content – from the perspective of place branding. The assumption is that the strategic control and integration of the branding and IC processes via the 5Cs foster synergy, one-voice benefits and profitability. On the other hand, a lack of integration may

result in counterproductive communications. A key aspect of IC is its management and organization. (Pickton and Broderick, 2001)

There has been a fundamental change in the post-2000 communicational environment, largely attributable to technological developments and the Internet – the backbone of the Digital Revolution – and the prevalence of social media. Customers are increasingly controlling the flow of information as they shut out interruptive messages. Social media require a new organizational culture and a new mindset: less shouting and more listening (Smith and Zook, 2011). Communication is no longer from one to many, vertical and targeted on the masses. It has become multifaceted, multi-step and horizontal, resembling a web of conversations among different actors. At best, businesses create customers who create other customers (Tuten and Solomon, 2013). These changes, as well as the massive growth in information and the globalization of markets have changed the way organizations should think about, plan, implement and measure marketing and communications programmes.

Places, like any organization, should take these changes into serious consideration. The approaches used in the last millennium need to be reconsidered. According to Schultz (2002), the best way to ensure the transition in marketing and communications to the new era is to integrate the processes and consider all communications holistically. IC thus requires a strategic orientation on the part of the organization: strategists have to manage and drive the total brand experience (Niemann-Struweg, 2014), and a strategic intent should drive all organizational communication. In light of this need, the aim in this chapter is to formulate a 5Cs strategic communications framework for place branding in the digital age.

### **Branding places**

Before delving more deeply into place branding as a concept, I should clarify what I mean by ‘place’ in this context. ‘Place’ can refer to different entities depending on the field of research. Definitions in the marketing literature focus on the physicality of the location or the stimulus-response aspects of the retail environment (Clarke and Schmidt, 1995). In disciplines such as geography, history and sociology on the other hand, a place is considered in terms of its spatial, temporal and social dimensions (Johnstone, 2012), and thus can refer to a geographical location (a place on a map), an artefact of historical and spatial significance (Stonehenge) and a social construct (servicescape, i.e. the environment in which the service is assembled and in which seller and customer interact; Booms and Bitner, 1982). Researchers in the field of tourism, referring to places,

talk about destinations, often interchangeably (e.g. Hankinson, 2012). In fact, according to Campelo, Aitken, Thyne and Gnoth (2013), it is not possible to separate a destination from a place. They argue, further, that destinations are embedded in places, and that the place – with all its networks, relationships and shared experiences – determines the nature of the destination. In onomastics, that is, the study of names, the term place falls into two groups: natural and cultural. As the name implies, examples of natural places include seas, mountains and forests, whereas cultural places are built or formed by humans (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom, 2012). According to Johnstone (2012), the physical setting, objects and activities give meaning to a place, but it is the human intentions and experiences that are its property. As mentioned above, a place is a social construction, moulded by the people who occupy it. Human engagement connects materiality to meaning in an ongoing process, bringing together the place's social, cultural and natural dimensions. (Campelo et al., 2013)

The concept of places as *brands* has been attracting the interest of academics and practitioners alike since the 1990s. 'Places' in the context of place branding normally refer to nations, countries, regions, cities, towns and villages (see e.g., Boisen, Terlouw and van Gorp, 2011). For the present purposes, places mean physical locations, in other words towns or cities. However, if one accepts the notion put forward by Boisen et al. (2011) that places constitute part of a scalar hierarchy selectively layers identities within different scales, one could extend the concept. Smaller entities such as enterprises can build up their spatial identity in the layering process using the existing identities of bigger entities such as cities or regions (see Boisen et al., 2011). Thus, the suggested 5Cs framework could also be considered from the perspective of cultural entrepreneurs and their working environment or facility (servicescape). The servicescape includes the facility's exterior (landscape, exterior design, signage, parking facilities and environment) as well as its interior (design and decor, equipment, signage, layout, air quality, temperature and ambiance). Visual richness, ornamentation, order, clarity and unity have been found to enhance consistency and coordination (Booms and Bitner, 1982).

One subject of discussion in the literature on place branding focuses on whether places in general can be branded on the one hand (see e.g., Anholt, 2008; Kerr and Balakrishnan, 2012), and assuming they can be, on the extent of the branding on the other. What, then, is a brand? In brief, it is indicative of value. According to Lynch and de Chernatony (2004), it represents a cluster of values that promise a unique and

welcome experience between buyer and seller. With regard to places, the aim of branding is to give added value and specific meanings to a place through the conscious orchestration and management of the brand (Boisen et al., 2011). The creation of a brand requires a distinctive brand essence or DNA, as well successful communications. Various commercial and non-commercial actors are becoming more confident that a coherent, strong and attractive place brand will help promote economic development. In the first place, communications are needed in order to make the 'product' – whether it is a commodity, a person or a place – known: in other words the aim is to create awareness. No brand is created if no one is aware of its existence. Second, communications are needed in order to create an image of quality that is based on authenticity. As Kavaratzis (2004: 69) states, there simply needs to be something to communicate about; promotion happens only when there is something to promote. Paradoxically and referring to an old adage '*You cannot not communicate*' (Burnett and Moriarty, 1998: 55), everything that happens in a place communicates something in relation to its brand. It is therefore impossible fully to control the process of communicating a specific place brand. (Boisen et al., 2011)

Moreover, following the Digital Revolution, traditional means of communication do not necessarily apply anymore. Brands are increasingly co-created by organizations and their stakeholders, which gives cultural entrepreneurs the opportunity to develop value propositions collaboratively. This participatory trend leads to reverse communication. In other words respondents to messages become producers of information. The participatory approach has been mentioned as one of the most influential trends in branding (see e.g., Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Ind and Bjerke, 2007), highlighting the significance of stakeholders as the branding process becomes a dialogue between them and the organization.

Place branding has benefitted from the research on conventional branding, and corporate branding in particular (Kavaratzis and Schultz, 2013). However, some things are specific to places and their branding. Dinnie (2009) refers to a place brand as a unique, multidimensional blend of elements that constitute culturally grounded differentiation. The incorporation of location, landscape and social relations, combined with the dynamic relationships that connect people to physical space and developing networks, make places relational and contextual (Campelo et al., 2013). According to Roig, Pritchard and Morgan (2010), places have multiple personalities and can engender a high degree of emotional attachment. Thus, the objectives of place branding are

manifold: to attract tourism and other businesses, stimulate investment, foster pride in the community, and create positive perceptions and attitudes in the target markets (Baker, 2012; Fetscherin, 2010). A favourable brand is vital given the growing competition between places (Avraham, 2004).

Symbolic-level brand intangibles, in other words elements that have no physical, tangible attributes, play a significant role in place branding (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Covering a wide range of associations including imagery and history (Keller and Lehmann, 2006), they symbolize the abstract attributes of identity and affinity, and are manifest in symbols such as the place's name, its coat of arms, logo, sign or slogan, or a combination of these. According to de Chernatony (2007), these symbols are largely about bringing the brand's values to life through association. Brand associations refer to people's ability to identify and evaluate the attributes and benefits (Fuchs, Chekalina and Lexhagen, 2012). Of the above-mentioned symbols, the place's name is the principle reference, and is traditionally fixed. Some places have names that help to market them, whereas others may have names associated with negative stereotypes. Logos and slogans are easier to amend, even though a successful slogan may be used for several years and in different campaigns ('I ♥ New York' is an example) (Avraham, 2004).

Multiple stakeholders, a lack of unity of purpose and of a central authority, and a relative lack of marketing experience constitute challenges in place branding (Pryor and Grossbart, 2007; see also e.g., Hankinson, 2007). Every place is different, with its own history and competences. Albeit a tremendous resource, a centuries-long history can result in stagnation: as Anholt (2010) states, place images are difficult to change because they are so robust, and many are built on stereotypes and prejudices (Avraham, 2004). In fact, an image is created either by default or as a result of proactive management. It is not uncommon to hear that a place has 'an image problem' when in fact there may be 'a reality problem' that those in authority prefer not to recognize: the image has to match the reality (Hankinson, 2012). If public authorities wish to influence the image, they have to take strategic control over it and align the brand promises with the reality. What is projected to outside audiences must be true to who and what the place is. However, given the diversity of audiences, a one-size-fits-all branding approach is inadvisable (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Baker, 2012; Avraham, 2004).

Indeed, the number and versatility of stakeholders are challenges in the process of place branding and communication. Interestingly, according to Niemann-Struweg (2014; see also Zenker and Beckmann,

2012), organizations are operating in the century of the stakeholder when customers are not the only focal actors on the road to success. Merrilees, Miller and Herington (2012) emphasize the need to understand the multiplicity of stakeholders as a critical component of communication, underlining the importance of tailoring communications to typical groups and incorporating diverse strategies beyond the strictly rational ‘to develop multiplex identities to connect with their stakeholders in more diverse and meaningful ways’ (Rindova 2007, 170).

Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) list the core stakeholder groups in place branding as follows: (1) visitors, (2) residents and workers, and (3) business and industry. Hankinson (2005) further distinguishes between business and leisure-time visitors, and between internal (current) residents and an external target group (potential residents). Specific target segments such as students and the so-called creative class are also to be found in the latter groups (Braun, 2008; Florida, 2002). Zenker and Beckmann (2012) divide the third group into public services, private business and non-governmental organizations such as environmental and grass-roots groups. Merrilees et al. (2012) also mention investors and supporters of the environment, and Avraham (2004) refers to the media as one stakeholder group. Jegere and Zemite (2013) list the most important stakeholder groups specifically from the perspective of cultural institutions: artists, consumers, critics, partners and financial supporters.

All these groups differ not only in their perceptions of a place but also in their needs and demands. It is thus predictable that both conflicts and synergies arise among the different stakeholders, and brand communications should be developed with these diverse expectations in mind (Zenker and Beckmann, 2012). Integrated communication – both vertical and horizontal – is therefore needed in order to manage stakeholder relationships. The integration should come about through interaction between the organization and its stakeholders, as well as at the brand touchpoints. However, this is not easy to achieve. The 5Cs framework incorporating consistency, continuity, commitment, coordination and content may help. The framework and the separate components are discussed in detail below.

## **The 5Cs strategic framework**

### **Consistency**

Given the excess number of messages in general as well as evidence from research in the area of human memory that people forget easily, it

is clear that consistency matters. All branding efforts should follow in the same direction, should not conflict with each other, and should be designed to ensure that the effects are mutually reinforcing (Pelsmacker, Geuens and Van Den Bergh, 2013). In the context of communications, consistency implies a 'one voice' approach, integrating the organization's strategy and creative actions over the long term (Hakala, Lätti and Sandberg, 2011). Indeed, consistency should come from the strategy and values, not the executional similarity. A promotional campaign is not enough in itself to create an authentic brand: the place's real-life situation is more important than any campaigning (Hankinson, 2012; Dahlén, Lange and Smith, 2010; Avraham, 2004).

### **Continuity**

As mentioned above, people forget, and research has shown at what interval things fade from the memory. Forgetting seems to follow a mathematical pattern, and is thus often referred to as the forgetting function (Semenik, Allen, O'Guinn and Kaufmann, 2012), which is where the need for continuity comes into play. Continuity in the marketing context is defined in the literature (see e.g., De Pelsmacker, Geuens and Van Den Bergh, 2013) as the pattern of advertisement placement in a media schedule, with three strategic alternatives being offered: continuous, flighting and pulsing. Whatever alternative is chosen, the communications should be connected over time. Focusing on a certain period of time without any repetition may be detrimental, which again brings into play the above-mentioned consistency: brand engagement must be strategically consistent over time. The organization should engage stakeholders in continuing dialogue (Niemann-Struweg, 2014).

### **Commitment**

A challenge in any communication, and particularly in the case of places, is to secure commitment. No matter how much effort and money are put into place-branding campaigns, it is all in vain if the people involved are not committed to the message strategy. The brand promises and the lived experiences have to be aligned (Baker, 2012; Hankinson, 2012). Problems arise if the reality differs very much from what the place projects to the outside world. Every detail and brand touchpoint counts. Even the degree of friendliness in local people's attitudes could be a crucial element. In fact, according to Freire (2009), local people could be considered part of an effective service-delivery process and, in that sense, a manageable asset in place branding.

Commitment is associated with taking responsibility and being helpful. It is management's task to build both commitment and trust, which is another important element in any relationship, among the employees who then pass on the message to visitors, for instance. The development of trust and commitment serves to limit the development of conflict (Fill and Fill, 2005). This does not happen overnight, however: trust and commitment are forged and maintained through effective communication, all of which play a key role in implementing a strategic brand vision of the place.

### **Coordination**

One of the key issues in branding is reaching the target segment. In order to do so – and to ensure coherence – it is essential to coordinate the messages, the brand touchpoints and the overall image (Hankinson, 2012; Semenik, Allen, O'Guinn and Kaufmann, 2012). The high number of actors involved in place branding tends to complicate the coordination if there is a lack of alignment with regard to who is responsible for the whole. The responsibilities of various functions may be divided among several people in big cities, for instance, and thus branding is not implemented as a process but as a set of fragmented actions (Kavaratzis, 2009). After all, the objective underlying need for coordination is to achieve synergy.

Cornelissen (2003) offers what he calls a process perspective on coordination. He emphasizes the structural realignment of the communication disciplines within organizations, even consolidating all communications in a single department. Kavaratzis (2009) also underlines the need for coordination and for implementing marketing and communication as a process instead of sporadic or fragmented activities. He further recommends the establishment of a body that brings all stakeholders together and coordinates their actions in order to integrate the different policy areas and promote inter-organizational cooperation. According to Avraham (2004), all brand messages should emphasize the image chosen by all the participating bodies.

### **Content**

As stated above, all place branding should be based on authenticity and the reality of the place. This is where content marketing – the creation and distribution of compelling and relevant content to attract and retain customers – comes into play. It is a question of creating and distributing relevant, interesting and valuable content to a clearly defined and understood audience. Relevant content educates the audience, helps them



solve problems, and invites them to engage and become committed. (Ravim and Clemens, 2012) The notion of content marketing fits well with place branding, in which the focus should be on distributing relevant information and communicating with the stakeholders rather than selling the place and looking at the bottom line.

### **Channels of communication**

In order to get the message through, place marketers need to find the correct channels of communication. Organizations have traditionally relied on the mass media to drive brand awareness and customer engagement. However, today's successful marketing and communications require them to connect with customers in new, innovative and interactive ways. Technological advancements and the Internet have transformed the way target audiences are approached and reached (Rahim and Clemens, 2013). At the same time, perceptions of a place can be influenced by the virtual world. Dynamic online relationships between places and stakeholders allow transactions to take place outside of physical confines (Trueman, Cornelius and Wallace, 2012). At the same time, the need has arisen to categorize the media anew. Although broadcast, print, radio and outdoor media are still present, social media have changed the picture, hence the new categories (1) paid, (2) owned and (3) earned. All these forms should be fully considered in the branding of places.

As the name implies, paid media refers to the placement, at a price, of promotional messages in channels capable of reaching a mass audience, such as television, radio, print and Internet display ads, as well as search engine marketing (SEM). Brand-controlled media such as websites and organization-based blogs belong to the second category, owned media. Earned media include messages that are earned, in other words WOM (word-of-mouth), eWOM and 'free' publicity in general (Tuten and Solomon, 2013).

The Internet and new technologies are also playing an ever-increasing role in place communication (Roig et al., 2010). Apart from providing information about the place and its offerings, the Internet can open up a new range of opportunities upon delivering services to stakeholders (Sargeant, 2009). This is an area in which cities could really produce added value for residents, as social transactions are increasingly moving onto the Web.

According to Kavaratzis (2004), who has published several articles on place branding, place communications comprise (1) *primary communication*, which concerns the architecture and infrastructural elements,

thereby constituting the material aspects; (2) *secondary communication*, including formal, intentional messaging through advertising, public relations, graphic design and the use of the logo; and (3) *tertiary communication*, referring to WOM and eWOM. The first two are controllable, the aim being to evoke and reinforce positive tertiary communication. Kavartzis introduced his categorization a decade ago, but there seem to be certain equivalences with the above-mentioned new categorization, as shown in Figure 12.1 below.

These categorizations show the wide array of communication tools and media that needs to be controlled and coordinated. When considering the hierarchy presented by Kavartzis (2004), the knee-jerk reaction of managers might be to place more emphasis on control in the communication process. However, this appears increasingly less fruitful for two reasons. First, the decentralization continuum propelled by the application of social media, among other things, has shifted the centre of gravity towards social-communication strategies wherein values, relationships and standards which dominate the cultural landscape require greater emphasis on the coordination mechanism. Second, the findings unearthed by Tuten and Solomon (2013) suggest that the migration in the media world will continue unabatedly from owned and paid towards ‘earned media’. This implies that the mind-set of decision-makers and

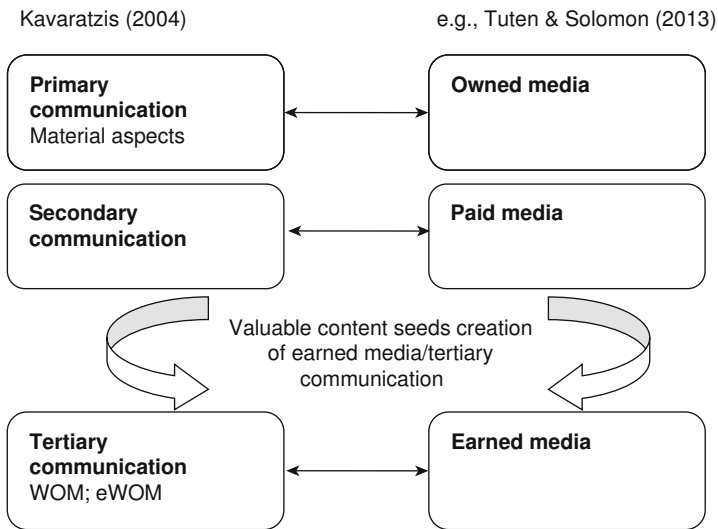


Figure 12.1 Types of communication

researchers alike must begin to be cultivated to approach brands through the cultural lens. This would be a prerequisite to being informed, gaining a more realistic picture of contemporary brand management and meeting the business challenges which are reshaped by digital technologies, globalization and other forces of change.

## Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the role of IC in place branding. The strategic control and coordination of branding and IC processes were suggested as strategies for tackling the challenge of equivocality arising from the number of stakeholders and the lack of management control. Five key requirements for integrated communication were introduced: consistency, continuity, commitment, coordination and content.

In spite of its importance, communication alone does not create a successful place brand. The premise behind any brand is the true, authentic value perceived by its stakeholders. The foundation must be the reality. Thereafter, it is the task of communication to create a coherent picture of the place. With the continuing expansion of digitalization, it is essential to follow technological developments and the online availability of communication tools, as well as the media behaviour of different stakeholder groups. The prediction that, in future, brands will be formed through co-creation rather than traditional communications makes this even more important (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Indeed, digitalization may lead to so-called participatory branding and reverse communication, meaning that the branding process is seen as a dialogue between city leaders and the stakeholders. The participatory view of branding and co-creation has thus far received little attention in the research on place branding, and thus is an avenue for future research. Furthermore, Illia and Lurati (2006; see also Merrilees et al., 2012) suggest that future studies could incorporate stakeholder theory and assess the relevance of stakeholders in specific situations. The notion of situational specificity suggests a dynamic rather than a static or linear approach to linking stakeholders and the brand. The 5Cs framework could then be applied to the findings, engaging stakeholders in various ways with the aim of co-creating a multiplex of brand identities.

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# 13

## E-governance-based Smart Place Branding: Challenges and Implications for Local Identity and Cultural Entrepreneurship

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**Keywords:** cultural entrepreneurship, e-governance, local identity, place branding, smart places, Web 2.0

### Introduction

This chapter theorizes how the ‘conceptual spaces’ created by the emerging Web 2.0-based tourism scenarios might be leveraged for harnessing cultural entrepreneurship within an e-governance framework for the systematic construction of smart, inclusive, sustainable place branding (Go and Govers, 2012). The genealogy of place harbours diverse ideas, the most salient ones being that place represents a particular perspective, that is, a path to the sacred place, often recreating the pilgrim’s journey and its three components of preparation, separation and return on the one hand, and its built form symbolizing the rite of passage and spiritual transformation on the other.

Traditionally, the analysis of the material realm and the symbolic realm were considered strictly separate knowledge domains. However, pervasive technologies are bringing about a fusion between the material and the symbolic. This enables relationships between humans, machines and places to emerge and become more interdependent.

Theorizing the interlocking realms of social, technological and geographical sciences beyond earlier conceptions prescribed by social identity meets up with the links between organizational identities and images, with new theory concerning how reflection embeds identity

in organizational culture and how identity 'expresses cultural understanding through symbols' (Hatch and Schultz, 2002: 989). This chapter focuses on the 'smart place' as an expression of cultural understanding of brand identity through symbolic place associations. Here, we define the 'smart place' as a part of space, both its physical and virtual dimensions, on which researchers and practitioners draw to explore and exploit, respectively, the co-creative resources, stakeholders' interactions and knowledge infrastructure (Trunfio et al., 2012: 467). In other words, place can be understood as a knowledge destination (Höpken et al., 2011) where, for example, policymakers intervene to revitalize the local community nowadays, making use of platforms which draw on physical and digital streams of information. In turn, the information thus gathered has as its source a wide array of cultures from different backgrounds, often with interests and objectives that conflict. However, if the areas of conflict can be deciphered, they might yield valuable, new ideas that can be used to develop solutions for reconnecting the community with its sense of cultural identity.

The basic thesis of this chapter is that culture, understood in its broadest sense, represents the basis for identity formation in modern society. But due to the heterogeneity of society and internal tensions and conflicts, in particular, it is becoming hard to refer to the single, unique 'identities' of places. For example, Massey (1997) illustrates how the London Docklands were defined by conflict over the nature of the heritage of this area, conflict over the developmental trajectory that should be followed and conflict about where this locality should be headed in future.

Today, communities are challenged to be socially and culturally robust, economically viable and ecologically sustainable in order to mobilize the resources that are needed to deliver on their brand promise and build better lives for their residents, visitors, investors and adjacent stakeholders. This implies that communities must apply a holistic approach to building capabilities – not unlike governance in general – to overcome the narrow focus of special interest groups, which leads to unproductive internal rivalry and renders local community goal setting difficult. An effective place branding strategy for a community requires leadership which can be institutionalized so that its long-term continuity is assured and will be valued and embedded in the local community. A leadership with a workable vision which emerges from a participatory process engages the stakeholders' imaginations with what the community would like to be in the future. The stakeholders must consider in particular, the specific role that the community's cultural



assets (performing arts, creative entrepreneurs, etc.) could play to implement short-and medium-term milestones to attain long term goals.

The theme of this chapter is framed in the overlap between three inter-dependent perspectives (Go and Trunfio, 2014). Firstly, the 'outside-in' or demand perspective (Ayeh et al., 2012; Munar and Jacobsen, 2013), examines places from a consumer-perceived image approach (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1998; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Anholt, 2005) and draws on the role of ICTs and social media in networks of consumers and destination stakeholders for joint-value creation (Yoo et al., 2011: 526). Secondly, the 'inside-in' perspective, anchored in the place identity, depends on bringing together diverse stakeholder groups with different needs for the good of the tourism destinations. In most cases a host community that nurtures all its stakeholders is a community that preserves place associations, history and tradition (Taylor, 2001), thereby nurturing its authenticity of place, which is relevant for government intervention to revitalize the local economy and which in turn serves as a building block of experiential co-creation. Thirdly, the 'inside-out' perspective addresses how to engage tourism stakeholders in collaborative decision-making processes aimed at place marketing (Hays et al., 2012; Munar, 2011–2012)

Three research questions drive the analysis. These are, first, what are the possible roles of ICTs and Web 2.0 in supporting 'community brand' and e-governance in achieving strategic coexistence objectives embraced by participative stakeholders' engagement? Second, how can the 'destination management organizations' (DMOs) leverage Web 2.0 technology to bring about a transition from a hierarchical strategy towards an interactive destination strategy based on e-democracy? Last but not least, how can the process of e-governance both support and contribute to supply and demand integration aimed at building sustainable, smart and inclusive community branding? Accordingly, the theoretical domain of the chapter combines three broad thematic issues – ICTs and smart places, e-governance and place branding. These theoretical constructs are analysed in the second part of this chapter, within a multiple case study design of selected Italian regional DMOs. The case of Trentino's governance elaborates how a strong local identity resulted over the years in an opportunity or threat to the process of e-community branding. Its primary aims were to valorize tangible and intangible heritage assets and enhance cultural entrepreneurship.

More specifically, the study reveals a framework for understanding the emerging interconnected physical, digital and human networks, which can be understood as the mantra of theorizing and practicing

community development. This context helps us engage critically with the literature on interdependences unleashed by the dynamic interaction between Web 2.0 and the local identity, expressed by cultural entrepreneurship-based place branding, as well as bringing together these hitherto separate strands of study within a governance theory.

## **Theoretical background**

### **ICTs and smart places**

'Distributed capitalism' (Zuboff and Maxmin, 2002) is a concept concerned with issues of user participation, openness and network efforts (O'Reilly, 2006; Funilkul and Chutimaskul, 2009), the reshaping of consumption and production processes (Ayeh et al., 2012) into dynamic co-experiences and, consequently, transforms the way in which destination management organizations (DMOs) interact with markets and stakeholders (Gursoy and Umbreit, 2004; Munar, 2012).

In our case the theorizing of place branding under conditions of distributed capitalism examines the aspects of e-governance on which destination management organizations draw to create knowledge rapidly and build new capabilities to face an increasingly uncertain future. In this respect, they are not alone. Therefore, it is relevant, firstly, to determine which priorities drive the agenda likely to benefit some stakeholders more than others. Secondly, we must identify those impediments which inhibit the coordination of public and private stakeholder resources, needed for the formation of collaborative activities (Sigala and Marinis, 2012). Thirdly, it is important to collect stakeholders' feedback, opinion and information in order to identify and prioritize problems and issues, and finally, it is necessary to facilitate dialogue and the exchange of expertise and information, which is essential to bringing about a sound process of tourism management and planning (Osimo, 2008).

The theoretical contributions and empirical analyses, which have examined the impact of Web 2.0 on DMOs' social media and marketing strategies (Munar, 2011; 2012; Hays et al., 2012), confirm that new technologies are transforming how DMOs engage stakeholders in collaborative decision-making processes, both on the supply and the demand side (Hays et al., 2012; Munar, 2011–2012).

From the co-creative perspective of Web 2.0, technology and social media tools may lead to a knowledge-based scenario whereby stakeholders empower tourists in co-creating their experience and enhance community participation in decision-making processes (Caragliu et al.,

2009; Florida, 2003; Hollands, 2008), fostering innovative products (Chen and Choi, 2004). Recently, Racherla et al. (2008: 412) introduced the concept of knowledge destination, focusing on the role of ICTs, innovation and knowledge in the social domain and referring to 'a social community that serves as an efficient vehicle for creating and transforming knowledge into economically rewarding products and services for its stakeholders in an innovative process that continually facilitates the growth of its regional economy'. This process results in the transition to becoming a smart place wherein the ICT infrastructure is exploited to foster the creative resources that evolves in interaction between stakeholders and the jointly derived knowledge for co-creating value manifest amongst others by improved users' service experiences (Trunfio et al., 2012).

### ***E-governance***

ICTs play a central role in the improvement and optimization of the innovational capability of e-democracy (Fuchs, 2006; Osimo, 2008; Sigala and Marinis, 2012) which is at the core of any local community's democratic e-governance model (Go and Trunfio, 2011) and, in turn, serves to support the competitive position of DMOs. Rhodes defines governance as 'the self-organizing inter-organizational network characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of game and autonomy from the state' (1997: 15).

Territorial governance research, a subset of governance studies, has grown progressively in the past 15 years (Kooiman et al., 2008; Rhodes, 1997; Go and Trunfio, 2011). Accordingly, several authors (Nordin and Svensson, 2007; Beritelli et al., 2007; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Go et al., 2013) have focused on rules and mechanisms that positively engage stakeholders in the aim of achieving effective governance.

The networked interactions among all the stakeholders (local authorities, government agencies, businesses, host communities, and travelers) typically trigger off a virtuous circle that allows the collection of consumers' feedback. Also, the dissemination of knowledge among a variety of destination stakeholders. The interaction between consumers and stakeholders nurtures the process of co-creative tourism innovation manifest in novel products, services and experiences. (Kyriakou, 1996; Kanellou, 2000)

Go and Trunfio (2011) introduced the embedded governance model, which links political-institutional governance with local community interests. Under conditions of distributed capitalism this model serves

three purposes, first, to understand where on the decentralization, continuum destination management organizations can be placed based on how much stakeholders participate in making decisions that matter to them; second, to establish a mechanism for coordinating efficient information sharing among the divergent interests of the market, government and civil society; and, third, to improve the decision-making capability of networked participants by intelligently integrating the disparate systems of codified linear knowledge salient in the hierarchical organizations and non-linear, culturally embedded, bottom-up, tacit derived knowledge from local creative entrepreneurs, among others.

The embedded governance model adheres to an inclusive approach. In particular, it draws on Web 2.0 tools to support relational processes that play a critical role in institutional development and are redefining the role and scope of governance of those institutions involved in promoting cohesive socio-economic development, based on co-creative place brand building and marketing activities (Go and Trunfio, 2014). To compete effectively in a domestic and global economic arena, it is imperative that researchers identify creative ways to link public sector initiatives and private resources derived from social, informational, material and cognitive contexts. Consequently, new institutional developments must foster the shift from centralized hierarchical power to networked stakeholders who share knowledge for the joint creation of value through social innovation (Go et al., 2013: 109) while nurturing positive government, academic and business relationships.

A long-term economic strategy supporting a customer-service orientation through trustworthy relationships and the formation of social capital is beneficial to all stakeholders concerned. Developing a successful smart e-democracy (Fuchs, 2006; Osimo, 2008) strategy implies the establishing of a delicate balance between the internal logic of the destination and collaboration with a variety of external stakeholders, including foreign boardroom interests.

### **Place branding**

Place branding is a profoundly complex subject characterized by fragmented debates across a wide range of disciplines and the 'applied sciences'. The branding of 'place' lacks an agreed 'language for the holistic or all-encompassing brand' (Hanna and Rowley, 2008) its associated vocabulary by appropriate frameworks, comprised of conceptual and empirical works that probe research issues such as (Go and Trunfio, 2014) place marketing communications in diverse sectors, country brand relationship (identity and reputation), consumer place perception

approach and tourism destination marketing designed to complement the nation's brand strategy.

The ambiguity of place tends to be ontologically conceptualized as objects, while humans use selected spatial elements to socially construct places (Boisen et al., 2011: 137), which is a knowledge perspective derived from the practice-based epistemology. Place branding involves three broad knowledge realms. These are cultural representation, business marketing, and government policymaking and intervention (Go and Govers, 2010). Their overlapping and diverse nature render the managing of knowledge complicated and risky. Marketing research typically draws data from the knowledge concentrated at the proverbial tip of the iceberg, thereby possibly overlooking identity linkages and narratives that can bring researchers closer to the location of powerful branding discourses (Van Assche and Lo, 2011: 117; Konecnik and Go, 2008).

The complexity of the place concept can be portrayed as consisting of a 'frontoffice' which provides easy access to 'outsiders', including tourists and media. Beyond this 'front office', represented by the logo facade, there exists a 'back office' of place brand, embedded in the social fabric and typically 'invisible' and 'offlimits' to most outsiders, which is a synthesis of stakeholders' material, mind, information and social spaces (Go and Fenema, 2007). The emphasis on the stakeholders' interdependencies not only represents an academic turn in place branding discourse (Go and Govers, 2010) but also creates a research space to address the conflicting new realities which are unleashed by the twin forces of globalization and ICTs.

Place brand building can be seen as a strategic value co-creation and innovation process in which destination stakeholders could be engaged through innovative tools (Go and Govers, 2010) which aim at developing smart, sustainable and inclusive places (European Commission, 2010) through community brand building (Merzet et al., 2009; Hatch and Schultz, 2010; Go and Govers, 2011). Merz et al. (2009) consider co-creation a brand logic for stakeholders' engagement, whereas Ind and Bjerke (2007) interpret brand logic as a brand governance issue. ICT and Web 2.0 play a central role in the improvement and optimization of the innovational capability of e-governance by creating new virtual opportunities for place brand building (Go and Trunfio, 2014). Emerging virtual communities and the e-branding of places (Govers and Go, 2010) not only represent an academic turn in place branding (Go and Govers, 2010) but also bring about fundamental changes in relational, boundary-spanning knowledge processes, public power and innovation dynamics.

Social networks, ICTs and social media enhance stakeholders' engagement, enabling the co-creative branding (Schultz and De Chernatony, 2002) and improving the process of place branding. These aim to instil in participants an appreciation for sharing information, building a sense of place and reinforcing the place identity manifest in a 'living brand' (Ind, 2004). This process helps destinations deal with the broad question 'who we are as an organization' and what distinguishes our identity (Lemmetynen and Go, 2010) from rival destinations.

### The case of Italian regional DMOs: methodology

A multiple case study design (Yin, 2003) was used to verify the extent to which DMOs Web 2.0 social media use impacts positively on the process of stakeholder engagement in regional tourism strategies and place branding. The empirical analysis of the regional level has been especially relevant since 2001, when Italy's national government decreed a transfer of both legislative and managerial powers from the national to the regional level. This decision led to the need to place Italy's regions on a continuum of decentralization, based on the criterion of to what extent stakeholders participate in decisions that matter to them.

The research comprises two phases. The first phase focuses on the only 8 out of 20 Italian regions which display the presence of DMOs as organizations separated from the political-institutional regional power (Liguria, Trentino e Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia-Romagna, Toscana e Puglia).

It analyses social media and Web 2.0 use by DMOs on both the supply and the demand side based on desk analysis of the DMOs' official tourist and institutional website. Three variables have been assessed: the tourists' social media use, the Web 2.0 use in destination strategy and the Web 2.0 use in stakeholders' engagement.

The *tourists' social media use* evaluates social media presence on the DMO official tourist website in numerical and brand-related terms. Their tourists' use is assessed by measuring criteria inspired by experiences of social media use evaluation made at a national level (<http://thinksocialmedia.com/2013/08/how-social-is-your-dmo-infographic/>). The findings were subsequently adapted to the regional level of analysis. Through a normalization process of these measures related to six social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, YouTube, Instagram, Pinterest), a social media index has been calculated for each DMO tourist website. Its value ranges from 0 to 100, and summarizes the scores for each social media measure, where the score of zero implies that the social media

available are not present on the DMO tourist website or not used by tourists.

The *intensity of Web 2.0 in DMOS strategies* and the Web 2.0 use in *stakeholders' engagement* are assessed by using archival records, particularly the official regional website, both the touristic and the institutional DMO's website, and the available documentation on touristic master plans concerning social media strategy for the period 2010–2015. The ordinal scale is used, ranging from low intensity (1) to high intensity (5).

Based on the results of the first phase, the second analyses in-depth the case of Trentino to verify the effectiveness of DMO social media and Web 2.0 use in managing relationships with both the tourist markets and the local stakeholders. An in-depth interview with the Trentino DMO's web marketing director has been carried out to investigate how this destination, firstly, is embarking on the transition towards a smart destination by investing in e-community-based branding and, secondly, is investing in knowledge and culture-led processes which envision opportunities, challenges or threats for place brand reshaping (Della Lucia and Franch, this book).

### **Social media intensity, Web 2.0 adoption and stakeholder's engagement in eight Italian regional DMOs**

The empirical analysis resulted in a comparative ranking of the eight Italian regional DMOs in terms of intensity of tourists' social media use and in Web 2.0 adoption in destination marketing strategy and stakeholders' engagement. These rankings serve to identify clusters of DMOs which are diverse in Web 2.0 use to manage both business-to-consumer and business-to-business relationships.

#### **Intensity of tourists' social media use**

Italian regional DMOs are highly heterogeneous in regard to the intensity of tourists' social media use, as shown in a social media index (Figure 13.1). Four clusters emerge: Emilia Romagna ranks highest (100); both Trentino and Toscana score a value of about 60; Alto Adige and Puglia attain an index score of about 33; and Friuli Venezia Giulia, Liguria and Basilicata receive the lowest scores on the index ranging from 10 to 15. Facebook and Twitter are the widely used social media and are present on the tourist websites of all eight DMOs. The value of the social media index is shown to be impacted by both the regional tourism trends – the higher tourist arrivals are, the higher DMO social media indexes are likely to be – and the widely used DMOs' social

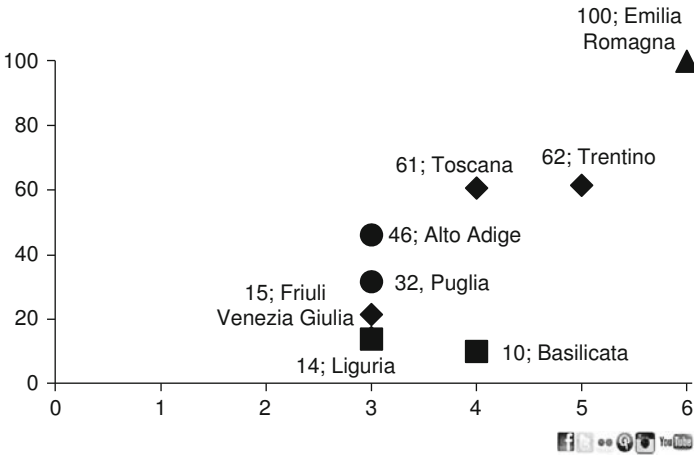


Figure 13.1 Intensity of tourists' social media use

media – the more intense Facebook use is, the higher DMO social media indexes are likely to be.

### DMO's Web 2.0 use in stakeholder engagement

The Web 2.0 matrix (Figure 13.1), built by combining the three variables investigated in the study ( $X$  = intensity of Web 2.0 use on the DMO institutional websites for strategic purposes. Ordinal scale 1–5;  $Y$  = intensity of Web 2.0 use in stakeholders' engagement. Ordinal scale 1–5;  $Z$  = intensity of tourists' social media use, i.e. social media index), shows that Italian regional DMOs are highly heterogeneous in regards to Web 2.0 use to destination marketing and stakeholders' engagement and the same is reflected in the following summary:

- Cluster 1 includes DMOs for which a high intensity of Web 2.0 use for both stakeholder engagement and destination strategy defines a bottom-up approach to stakeholder engagement supported by an innovative use of Web 2.0 tools. Emilia Romagna and Liguria's web communities ([www.travelemiliaromagna.it](http://www.travelemiliaromagna.it) and [liguria.ilturismochevorrei.it](http://liguria.ilturismochevorrei.it)) encourage stakeholder participation in e-democratic destination strategies and place brand building.
- Cluster 2 includes DMOs which have a low intensity of Web 2.0 use for both stakeholder engagement and web strategy. In Basilicata and Friuli Venezia Giulia, the Web serves as a basic institutional



information platform, primarily for graphic interface within the realm of DMO practice.

- Cluster 3 includes DMOs for which a medium intensity of Web 2.0 use for both stakeholder engagement and web strategy defines a transition towards a bottom-up approach to stakeholders' engagement supported by innovative Web 2.0 tools. Despite Trentino, Alto Adige and Puglia having a top-down approach to DMO strategy, the development of web brand communities seems to encourage e-democratic stakeholder engagement and place brand building.
- Cluster 4 includes Toscana, where stakeholder engagement is rather well developed but Web 2.0 applications are lacking, thus creating a 'silo position' with potential immeasurable impact on the bottom line.

DMOs in the transition of becoming 'smart places' show a bottom-up approach to stakeholder engagement and an intense use of Web 2.0 tools. Two out of four clusters (1 and 3), among which, for example, is Trentino, depicted in Figure 13.2, display these salient characteristics of stakeholder engagement within the destination.

### The case of Trentino: DMO place branding in smart places

Trentino's DMO draws on knowledge transfer between social networks and applies the public-private e-service governance model effectively

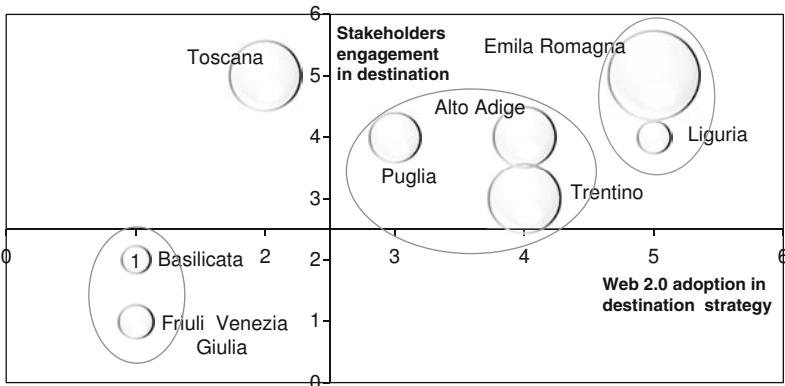


Figure 13.2 DMO's Web 2.0 use to destination strategy and stakeholder engagement

(Go and Trunfio, 2011). That is to say, it manages to *balance local heritage resources* and *innovation* as a means to an end: economic growth in a healthy provincial community (well-being). From a learning perspective, we know that how resources are managed does make a difference. It is important to consider these propositions through a creative entrepreneurial lens. P1. Sustainable natural landscapes are crucial tourist attractions for the socio-economic vitality of this province, and therefore are at the heart of place identity strategy. P2. Creative entrepreneurs must possess specific knowledge and skills related to Trentino's strong Alpine identity and the functions of managing its environmentally sustainable reputation. P3. Successful creative entrepreneurs are dependent on the support they receive from public-private infrastructures.

The critical aspect of resource development for economic growth which is aimed at well-being is that such resources can be allocated and exploited by other than those who are directly responsible for their development. For example, Trentino has erected iconic cultural buildings, which implies a structural shift towards innovation driven by scientific and technological research, higher education and culture activities. This dedication to knowledge-based cultural assets is reflected in the province's brand positioning and has significant consequences for Trentino's traditional, reliable brand identity (Della Lucia and Franch, this book).

Trentino reinforces its local identity, which serves as the foundation for harnessing community-based place branding through entrepreneurial entrepreneurship within a framework designed to demonstrate the links that must be established to develop and lever the e-governance model linked with the following: first, the tourism business networks of this Italian region aimed at competitiveness and quality of life; second, institutions that provide a special status under Italian law which grants the province autonomy in formulating development policies and support for all sectors, including tourism, that compose the infrastructure for economic growth, including the provision of public investments and economic incentives; third, support activities and entrepreneurial elements of innovation that enable Trentino to claim a leadership position in Italy's destination marketing and destination governance sector.

From a research perspective, the repositioning of Trentino creates many dilemmas: Does the autonomous region want to stand out for representing the utmost in modern science, or for Old World charm? What should future brand strategies accomplish? Should these attract more tourists? Or should they persuade professionals and researchers to come to Trentino?

An in-depth interview with the web marketing director of Trentino's DMO served to highlight both the strengths and weaknesses of Web 2.0 application based on interdependent supply and demand perspectives (Visit Trentino, 2012). From a *business-to-consumer perspective*, the strengths must be drawn from a social media marketing plan that enables the creation of a dynamic, online inclusive community of 'friends of Trentino'. Social media serve as 'mirroring and impressing' processes (Hatch and Schultz, 2002), which enable the linking of DMO identities featured on these tools and the fans' perceived images, thus creating conditions of 'trust' and 'share' on issues of mutual interest with stakeholders. Many DMO initiatives exemplify these processes. For example, 'You are Trentino' gives selected fans the expressive power to start Facebook conversations to elicit a DMO's information, interesting events, ideas and suggestions over the course of several days. This 'trust' depend to the grounding of fans in the symbols, values and assumptions that they hold and to some extent 'share' with the destination – i.e. this initiative reflects 'on identity in relation to cultural values', a process 'closely associated with the identity and its various manifestations' (Hatch and Schultz, 2002: 1000).

Identity expressed through social media communication leaves impressions on others (Hatch and Schultz, 2002) that can be monitored and estimated with the aid of different tools and approaches. One such tool used by the DMO is the fanpage named 'Karma', a website devoted to Facebook page analyses (<http://www.fanpagekarma.com/>). It enables the conversion of fun engagement on Facebook (e.g. like, share and comments) into the estimated monetary value per trimester of this viral marketing, assuming it to be equivalent to the cost savings for reaching the same results through a conventional online communication toolkit, including sales promotion and advertising (around 600,000 euros annually).

From a *business-to-business perspective*, the main strength concerns the implementation of Web 2.0 tools devoted to stakeholder engagement. Blogs focusing on specific roles, for example, DMOs' directors, web marketing directors and stakeholders participating in specific projects—and a web community devoted to brand management ([www.marchi-otrentino.it](http://www.marchi-otrentino.it)) have been created. However, the blogs have not been used for stakeholder interactions, and the destination brand web community is an online platform devoted to computerized administrative services, including information, forms and procedures for the use of destination brand and/or the quality brands.

The failure of the stakeholder blogs and the destination brand web community is accompanied by a set of other *weaknesses* on the demand

side: the limited budget assigned to web communication strategy and the lack of an appropriate international social media profile. Despite its high return on investment, the web communication budget is around the 5% to 8% of the whole budget. The traditional marketing and communication activities still play a strategic role in inspiring tourists to visit Trentino rather than rival destinations.

Although Trentino is visited by many European markets (Central and Eastern Europe), involving as many as nine languages, the social media activities of Trentino remain largely limited to the Italian market and language failing to bridge distances with the actual and potential markets. The development an effective interaction on social media pages devoted to foreign fans requires resources and linguistic and cultural skills.

### **Challenges and implications**

A distinctively top-down established legislative relationship among national, regional and local governments still plays an important role, but the deployment of Web 2.0 has contributed to the redrawing of boundaries and created challenges manifest in new forms of (self-)regulation. The same implies that the 'shaping' of place brand identity is increasingly embedded in organizational culture and cultural understandings expressed through power structures, control systems, routines, rituals and symbols. Theorizing cultural entrepreneurship can become overwhelming in its multitude of topics, concepts and examples. Therefore, the great need is to present the material in a systematic framework, in this case a smart destination governance system. Nevertheless our analysis suggests, as highlighted above, that research in this discipline is largely in an experimental stage. Some highlights emerged from the analysis of the case of Trentino:

- From a business-to-consumer perspective, the DMO use of social media and Web 2.0 impacts positively on the process of tourist engagement because the intensity of tourists' social media use suggests an increase in the effectiveness of DMO web marketing which, in turn, engages tourists in co-creative place experiences. In the international market context, one of the conflicts that arises because foreign languages create a cultural gap and the need for competency development to keep up with the speed of social media development.
- From a local community perspective, our case points out that Web 2.0 must be 'embraced' by the community of practice to support e-governance and place branding effectively. The findings point to several

barriers that have to be bridged. The task of successfully harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship depends on an e-governance model and new ways of thinking and acting, across boundaries, through persuasive strategies, local decision-making and social innovation.

- From the business-to-business perspective, it can be remarked that even in Italy's best-performing destinations, the DMO's use of social media and Web 2.0 encounters barriers in engaging stakeholders in destination value co-creation and innovation processes. Complex network relationships with stakeholders in a variety of roles can lead to tensions and conflicts. The effective harnessing of place branding lies, therefore, in articulating the entrepreneurial processes which link identity and culture with the interactive framework of the four processes of 'mirroring, reflecting, expressing and impressing' (Hatch and Schultz, 2002).

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# 14

## Making Space for Cultural Entrepreneurship

*Stephen Little*

**Keywords:** creative, cultural, entrepreneurship, landmark, space

### **Introduction**

To capture fully the value of cultural entrepreneurship in relation to place branding, cultural and creative activities requires an understanding of space in several senses. This volume argues that there should be appropriate space within place branding policies, but in addition to policy space, entrepreneurship itself requires both economic and physical space. Creative and cultural activity must also take place in social space in order to contribute fully to the project of place branding.

Trickett and Lee (2011) argue that physical space and place still matter in a globalized and interconnected world. Even the most advanced economies and globalized value chains require specific locations for their activities. While companies and organizations can occupy a global business space through current information and communication technologies, e-commerce still relies upon physical logistics systems to deliver the manufactured items to end customers. Even the prospect of a global manufacturing revolution through the application of additive layer manufacturing techniques – 3-D printing – still implies the physical supply of energy and raw materials to the point of production.

Trickett and Lee argue that the stakeholders engaging with different spatial scales and with different elements of emerging ‘knowledge-based economies’ must respond to the different demands on the networks of capital and labour. The rescaling of both living and working spaces in developed economies during the last 100 years has led to cities and regions which no longer fit easily into the new networks of production.

Due to these demographic and technological shifts, numerous cities of the First and Second Industrial Revolutions relegated by neoliberal narratives to the category of 'rust belt' are in fact the end product of complex sequences of migration, aggregation and innovation. 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), others see continuing value in the history and resources of older urban agglomerations.

### **Theories, models and policies**

Debates over the best policies to deploy in support of place branding and urban development reveal a growing appreciation of the contribution of the cultural and creative sectors of urban centres. These policies have been influenced by two widely diffused models covering respectively innovation and economic effectiveness and urban regeneration. The particular interpretation of clusters by Michael Porter (1996, 1998), coupled with the emphasis on the role of the creative component of the urban workforce by Florida (2002, 2004), have armed policymakers with a justification for the pursuit of high-technology and high-value entrepreneurship based around sector-specific clusters of firms and supporting resources.

Firstly, Porter (1998) argues that although the development of a global economy dependent on rapid transportation and high-speed communication could be expected to diminish the importance of location, clearly this is not the case. Instead competitive advantage relates to locality and is dependent upon specialized skills and knowledge, appropriate institutions, related businesses and sophisticated customers.

This interpretation of clusters builds on Alfred Marshall's (1890) description of local concentrations of specialized industries. Martin and Sunley (2003) argue that there are many other reinterpretations of Marshall's work from the discipline of economic geography and economics, but that Porter's model offers a simpler and more attractive (to policymakers) application to the problems facing developed and developing economies. Porter, it is argued, addresses directly the issue of business strategy. At the same time the term 'cluster' is applied in a very broad and generic manner. It could be argued that in large urban agglomerations any number of clusters might be identified at different levels with interlocking footprints drawing on many of the same infrastructural arrangements. Gordon and McCann (2000) identified three main cluster theories, the first an agglomeration model bringing Marshall into the

framework of modern urban economic theory, the second an industrial complex model emphasizing geographical concentration and interfirm trading links, and the third a social network model. Martin and Sunley suggest that all three are conflated within Porter's model.

The generic nature of this model allows policymakers at different levels of governance to identify different levels of cluster, from national innovation systems to localized and specific capacities. In very many instances, however, policies are directed at higher-value activities in new and emerging sectors almost caricatured as the desire for many locations to develop identical biotechnology and information technology (IT) clusters to promote regional development. Silicon Valley, the prime example for proponents of the value of industrial clusters, developed as a global technology centre along a very specific pathway. This led from well-funded Cold War research and well-endowed universities via a venture capital market which understood the nature of the start-up companies and their needs, with the city of San Francisco close by. Research has shown that attempts around the world to mimic this success through limited initiatives such as science parks have delivered only partial success, even when collocated with first-rate research-intensive universities. Trickett and Lee (2011) argue that to develop policies which reconnect with the altered economic landscapes of the 21st century, regional leaders and policymakers must take account of the historical path dependencies which created these places.

Secondly, cultural entrepreneurship has gained credibility as a key element of place identity and brand development in part through the success of Richard Florida's (2002) promotion of the 'creative class' as a key driver of economic regeneration in deindustrializing urban areas. The argument that the cultural and social richness of a location will promote the growth of this sector of an urban population has found favour with city administrations seeking to transform declining industrial economies into a higher value 'knowledge economy'.

The transformations sought through the adoption of the recommendations of Florida require the attraction of new, higher-skilled residents and the return migration of workers who have left to seek opportunities and acquire skills elsewhere. However, Florida's definition of creative workers as taken up by policymakers covers skilled workers in science and technology, business and management, arts, culture media and entertainment, as well as law and healthcare professions. However, cultural workers themselves are only a small component of the proportion of the urban workforce identified as creative, and in practice simplistic applications of Florida's prescription and interventions have become real-estate

driven and focussed on the provision of physical facilities rather than the promotion and the nurturing of cultural entrepreneurship.

Martin and Sunley (2003) suggest that there is a danger when such policy-friendly reductive models eclipse more solidly grounded theory from academic research.

The theoretical space occupied by cultural entrepreneurship in these models must coexist with the physical space necessary to the conduct of business. The physical urban improvement resulting from attempts to pursue Florida's agenda often leads to increased rents and less favourable cost environments for the very entrepreneurs charged with the task of urban regeneration. Residents of client cities, such as Cleveland, Ohio, now argue that, following the 'creative class' has produced both financial and opportunity costs for little substantive return (Piiparinen, 2013).

Markusen and King (2003) have demonstrated the measurable and clear contribution of the creative arts sector to the local economy of Minneapolis. However, if such assets are to be leveraged into a new or revitalized brand legacy, then the activities and events 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 sanitized or partial perspective is offered, there can be contestation over this brand narrative (Little, 2008). If adverse events undermine that narrative, proactive maintenance and adjustment are 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 consensus must be negotiated actively (Little, 2012).

MacNeill and Steiner (2011) argue that simple formulations of 'new economic geography', a '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 restructuring of industry clusters in the Austrian region of Styria/Steiermark, which led to increased specialism and higher added value in established sectors. Such 'smart specialization' 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.

Sotarauta and Pulkkinen (2011) argue that to pursue smart specialization effectively, the institutions within a geographical area must engage in a form of institutional entrepreneurship in order to create and support the relationships necessary to achieve sufficient synergy. Ebbekink and Lagendijka (2013) argue for the development of specific cluster governance

Sustainable creative entrepreneurship requires a balance between place and process and spatial diversity within a conurbation which is analogous to biological diversity in an ecosystem. A view of the process of urban growth, change and decay, likened by Weinstein (2007) to a biological life cycle, was first formalized by the Chicago school of urban sociology in the 1920s and 1930s (e.g. McKenzie, 1924). Subsequently Hoover and Vernon (1959) advanced the idea of a 'neighborhood life cycle' with a model describing stages of growth and decline for urban communities leading to renewal. Such changes were related to cycles of 50–100 years reflected in population density, economic function, commercial development, social class composition, type and condition of housing, and racial or ethnic composition. Population movement, seen in terms of invasion and succession in neighbourhoods and the six stages of the life cycle are described at length by Choldin (1985), who draws in turn on Birch (1971). Weinstein (2007) applies this framework to an analysis of the trajectory of the Coney Island suburb of New York City, a residential district famed for its leisure facilities, which suffered significant decline during the second half of the 20th century, but which is now undergoing renewed investment.

Jane Jacobs' (1961) criticism of the zonal single use-class view of conventional town and city planning still applies to current restrictions of the diversity and fluidity of use necessary to allow development of new activities within older spaces. Neglected areas are less rigorously monitored by the authorities, and older stock discarded and devalued until scarcity creates a reassessment of location and value, whether East London terraced working-class warehousing or Beijing hutongs.<sup>1</sup> Creative and cultural entrepreneurs often utilize such locations at the point in the cycle of decay and regeneration that makes them attractive to 'urban pioneers' who recognize the value of low-cost space in inner-city locations. Since the mid-20th century, the number of Beijing hutongs has dropped dramatically as they are demolished to make way for new roads and buildings. More recently, some hutongs have been designated as protected areas in an attempt to preserve this aspect of Chinese cultural history.

## **Branding places: building identity and authenticity**

The forms of connectivity and mobility delivered by newer ICTs and smarter transport systems means that cities and regions must capture their share of the global flows of people and resources described by Manuel Castells, either by attracting intellectual capital to their location or linking to it via information and communication technologies (Castells, 1989).

These technologies have impacted profoundly on the Western mercantile tradition developed around earlier technologies, which Hirst and Thompson (1996) argue reached their maturity at the turn of the 20th century with the steamship and electric telegraph. While these 19th century technologies enabled the development of global trade networks, the relationships supporting pre-First World War international trade differed significantly from current forms of transnational commerce. The 19th century spatial hierarchy involved resources, manufacturers and consumers with resources flowing from a colonized periphery to a developed core, and the distribution of goods and services in the reverse direction. By the beginning of the 21st century this had been replaced by a network of distributed, often complementary, production resources echoing strategic decision-making in the advanced industrial countries during the two World Wars of the 20th century. This has led in turn to a complex layering of labour and resource markets. Research and development, routine manufacturing, final assembly and after-market support may all be present in the same location, but each may be contributing to different product chains or industry sectors (Castells, 1996; Dicken, 2003).

Social and cultural activities have also benefited equally from an understanding of the opportunities to create virtual adjacency and virtual communities of practice. Miller and Slater (2000: 7) explore the question of local improvisations in the case of the Trinidadian diaspora: 'Indeed the significance of studying the Internet is the degree to which it transcends dualisms such as local against global and forces us to acknowledge a more complex dialectic through which specificity is a product of generality and vice versa'. Trinidadians undertake a distinctive set of social activities on the global Internet. What they experience are specific and local practices at a remote location. Malta, with a population of 420,000, the smallest of the nation-states of the EU, has a much bigger virtual presence as the centre of another diaspora, and the government of Estonia, a nation of fewer than two million people with a distinctive Finno-Ugric language, acted proactively to allow its

citizens public access to the Internet in their native language (Abbatte, 2000).

The organizational forms created by the merging of computer and communication technologies have facilitated new forms of networked organization and 'virtual workplaces' which are now widely available to both small and micro enterprises and to individuals. The speed of electronic exchange, together with the physical and virtual mobility now available to the formal and informal labour force, creates a two-way exchange, and the electronic access to and from the home redefines sphere of both production and consumption (Little, 2002). For many thousands of young enthusiasts social media transform the bedroom into a site of cultural production. The resulting virtual spaces can both support and frustrate traditional forms of reputational development and management. Cultural exchange, particularly youth culture can take place with great rapidity and over significant distances, as evidenced by the phenomenon of viral K-Pop global hits.

Such global visibility and accessibility has also had a transformative impact on cultural entrepreneurship, as described by Comoroff and Comoroff (2009). Florida points out correctly that the current form of globalization has not flattened cultural difference, but rather increased the access ability of the 'exotic' periphery from the core economies. This pressures communities dependent upon tourism and with distinctive cultural production to collaborate in the commodification of their own culture. Comoroff and Comoroff (2009) acknowledge and describe the pitfalls and the potential to devalue and alienate members of traditional communities through their reconstitution as individual entrepreneurs in a neo-liberal script. However, they also identify the paradox in that disengagement and re-evaluation of tradition as in some senses revitalized, albeit in an altered form, authentic cultural practices.

The examples used by Comoroff and Comoroff (2009) are drawn from indigenous communities in North America and South Africa and highlight the issue of authenticity, which is an essential component of effective branding whether in relation to tradition or experience.

Comoroff and Comoroff (2009) described grass-roots and relatively local attempts to engage in a global economy through cultural entrepreneurship. However, in order to gain visibility in the global economy, contemporary place branding conducted by city and regional stakeholders often involves the construction of landmark structures, frequently invoking cultural credentials – opera houses in Sydney and Guangzhou or dramatic symbols of technological advance – the Burj Khalifa and Canton Tower. There is an extensive literature on

the lengthy history of architectural symbolism in support of state and metropolitan status and legitimacy. Intervention in the built environment has been used to create or shift the image of place since the first human settlement. With the spread of the Western model of modernity, this has involved the importation of designs and often designers. In the 18th century, Peter the Great's creation of St. Petersburg employed western European architects; the adoption of classical architectural forms by the newly created United States referenced classical notions of democracy. In the 19th and the early 20th centuries, European building styles were adopted alongside institutional reform in 19th and 20th century China and Japan (Wu, 2005; Coaldrake, 1996). In the present century, landmark projects designed by global 'starchitects' are a routine component of the modernization and development of urban centres.

The importation of both designs and designers represents a challenge to the authenticity and identity of location, given the danger of the repetitive reproduction of a perceived and received modernity. The top-down imposition of imported spatial solutions could lead to institutional and spatial isomorphism. However, such landmark projects may instead be appropriated by the local population through informal renaming. In Beijing the Central China TV building has become 'the big underpants', the Swiss Re building in London the 'gherkin', indicating a form of reverse colonization and community co-option. Over a longer time frame such interventions can change in meaning as much as spaces can change in use. Symbols of colonization in Britain – Roman walls and Norman castles – became integrated into a broader historical narrative. The Haussmann boulevards of Paris, essentially a mechanism of social control, became globally identified with that city. Tiananmen in Beijing has been consciously reconstructed as a core symbol of the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949 (Wu, 2005), and in India, New Delhi, developed by the British as a colonial capital, was re-appropriated as the symbol of a newly independent nation, while Chennai, formerly Madras and an earlier centre of the British presence in India, has incorporated a rich variety of imported building styles into a national narrative (Kalpana and Schiffer, 2003).

### **Assessing creative entrepreneurship in practice**

Part II of this book reflects the growing portfolio of case studies that allow the identification of the range of interventions and the balance that they strike between place and process in emergent practice.



The Internet and Web offer smaller players and new entrants the ability to access resources from and to compete within global networks, and there are examples of successful initiatives both by individual enterprises and through collaboration. There are 'virtual villages' in which small enterprises are able to form and re-form alliances in order to provide high-technology services to larger companies. For example, physical co-location across a number of inner suburbs of Tokyo has been enhanced by electronic exchange (Inoue, 1998). Such electronic adjacency is stretched further by the London-based supporters of Sohonet ([www.sohonet.com](http://www.sohonet.com)), established by a consortium of post-production facilities in 1995 to provide high-speed connectivity between firms and clients. It is now a private provider of specialist high-capacity links between London, Los Angeles and Sydney. This success required both the technical insight of its developers and the commitment of a community of users who appreciated the potential growth of capacity through the digital distribution of tasks among widely separated companies. The high-speed digital exchange of film, video and sound enables post-production operations to be carried out in London, in direct competition with Californian companies. The open, networked nature of the entertainment industry of Southern California is a lower-tech version of the IT networks in Northern California. The rapidly increasing use of technologies such as computer-generated images (CGI) and the online promotion and delivery of content are allowing access to potential collaborators and customers for companies operating at significant distance.

Many of the advantages of the specialized, high-capacity infrastructure developed to support high-value mass cultural production are becoming available in simpler but equivalent form to individual cultural practitioners and artists. This communicative capacity not only assists the development of cultural enterprise but also creates larger catchment areas for each business. This raises the prospect of a much wider propagation of the brand and image of a location through grass-roots activities than might be achieved by top-down brand management planning.

Krätke's study of the network of global media cities, identified as alpha world media cities, is led by New York, London and Paris, followed by Los Angeles, Munich, Berlin and Amsterdam (Krätke 2003). The UK government is supporting an existing cluster of digital and creative companies in East London by promoting the Tech City brand, while in Salford and Manchester Media City, the United Kingdom is building on an existing cluster of media and creative companies using a model which draws on experience in Seoul and Dubai. Both these initiatives promise success

because they build on existing vibrant communities of practice with the support of responsive national and local government and neighbouring educational institutions, fulfilling the requirements of Leydesdorff's triple helix (Leydesdorff, 2000).

A report on investment opportunities in China identifies 274 cities with populations of more than one million (CBBC, 2008). The demand for differentiation and distinctiveness in place branding can only intensify over the coming years. Cultural entrepreneurship offers a contribution to both this process and to the wider quality of urban life.

Figure 14.1 (below) illustrates how the taxonomy of projects and policy interventions at both urban and regional levels can be mapped against two dimensions: the first representing the top-down versus bottom-up nature of initiatives and the second distinguishing between place focus and process focus. Policies and projects can be assessed against their declared objectives to develop a theory of policy options and consequences with which to explore the balance between place and process most appropriate to effective and beneficial cultural entrepreneurship.

	Place focus	Process focus
Top down	4.1 Beijing Olympic Park 5.1 Kekedela 5.2 Longgang	6.1 Øresund Region 4.2 Guangzhou Asian Games District 3.2 Tech City
Bottom up/ Grass roots	2.2 Northern Quarter 2.3 Independents district 1.2 Kaapelitendas 2.1 798 Zone 1.1 Salt's Mill	3.1 Digital Roundabout

Figure 14.1 Positioning case studies against policies

Such studies can be organized by type and scale of intervention to support the theoretical sampling that Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) argue is an appropriate response to multiple case studies.

1. Individuals and groups of cultural entrepreneurs have created significant centres out of obsolete industrial premises deemed worthy of preservation through change of use. Examples such as Salt's Mill in the United Kingdom (1.1), and Kaapelitehdas, a former Nokia cable factory in Helsinki (1.2), both with their own capital and with local government assistance, reflect grassroots entrepreneurship.
2. The sheer scale of the 798 Zone on the outskirts of Beijing (2.1), the reworking of an obsolete electronics manufacturing hub into an arts district, place it close to revamped inner-city districts such as the Northern Quarter of Manchester(2.2) and the Independents' District in Liverpool (2.3), where entrepreneurial networks have leveraged available property and resources. Over time the focus of such activity drifts from a process to a spatial focus
3. In London the 'Digital Roundabout' (3.1) east of the financial district became a grass-roots focus for high-tech communications and digital entertainment and gaming companies, partly due to the prior location of the London offices of Inmarsat, pioneers of private satellite communications. The city and the national government have built on this serendipity by linking an East London Tech City (3.2) to the 2012 Olympic park with input from the city's universities, drawing the activities further into a top-down policy framework.
4. The effectiveness of high-profile events in regenerating urban areas and stimulating higher-value activities is well studied and evident in Beijing and Guangzhou with the 2008 Olympics and (4.1) 2010 Asian Games venues (4.2) respectively. A 'Cultural Olympiad' is now a feature of hosting bids, but the Guangzhou infrastructure was integrated into the development of a new central business district, while in Beijing the Olympic facilities became a more stand-alone heritage facility.
5. In China's Xinjian province, the city of Keketala (5.1) has been expanded significantly as a regional centre, and emphasis on its multicultural context is one of the drivers of its brand identity, albeit in a post-facto exercise. Most cultural entrepreneurship takes place in existing contexts, but a different framework is demanded by the challenge of rapidly urbanizing Asian cities – small farming villages such as Longgang (5.2) in the Pearl River Delta have been transformed into industrial cities in the space of two decades, much faster than

even the creation of the 'Coketowns' and 'Cottonopolis' of the First Industrial Revolution. Here the sheer speed of development means that policymaking becomes almost retrospective

6. Larger-scale opportunities have been presented by the megaprojects created in pursuit of EU infrastructure policy. Regional policies supported by significant new physical connections have both revived historical cultural links and created new synergies. The Øresund cross-border region (6.1), inspired by the bridge/tunnel link between Sweden and Denmark, has used historical and cultural references to pursue an essentially economic regional development. However, while the creative 'moving image' sector is an important component of the high-technology portfolio, more traditional television representations of the region through detective series such as *Wallender* and *The Bridge* have created a far wider awareness of the location. While such regional initiatives within the EU fit within a high-level policy framework, they are directed at the creation of self-sustaining regional processes through spatial and other interventions.

The tension between place and process and between top-down and grass-roots initiatives creates a space within which to identify the policy mixes which could lead to synergy between the top-down interventions characterized by high-profile and high-prestige projects at urban and regional levels with the grass-roots entrepreneurialism.

### **Learning from theory and practice**

In both the commercial and cultural sectors, ab initio attempts to create new districts, whether in science parks related to local universities or in the case of the new city of Milton Keynes, United Kingdom, an entire theatre district development including a city art gallery and chain restaurants, completed as a single development, reflect the pressures on newly developing areas to catch up with established locations which bring greater dangers of commodification and inauthenticity.

Nevertheless, commonly applied solutions may still achieve authenticity and specificity in particular locations. For example, redundant waterfront property released by the development of container shipping has been incorporated into urban regeneration programmes from San Francisco to Liverpool. The-use of industrial or commercial river and waterfront locations for cultural landmarks dates back to the 1951 Festival of Britain and the Royal Festival Hall in London and continues via Copenhagen, Sydney and Oslo with opera houses. New landmark

buildings can be combined with reused building stock to make an authentic connection to their location as evidenced by the Slavery and Maritime Museums in Liverpool, United Kingdom. These utilise historic 19th century warehouses which are adjacent to new purpose built facilities.

In many contexts the study of extreme situations reveals or clearly processes and relationships may be present in less stressed circumstances. For example, the detailed analysis of the reconstruction of Japanese civil society following 1945 by Dower (1999), and a corresponding study of the post-war physical reconstruction of urban areas by Hein, Diefendorf and Ihida (2003) provide significant insights into current aspects of Japanese society. The rapidity of economic growth and urban development in China and other parts of East Asia is producing similar stresses. At the same time, the prolonged recession in many Western nations and decades of stagnation in Japan have produced a different set of pressures on entrepreneurial activity, including the cultural entrepreneurialism that should be contributing to the improvement of the current situation. The development and analysis of a substantial and diverse body of appropriate case material is therefore a priority for researchers in this area.

## Note

1. In Beijing, hutongs are alleys formed by lines of *siheyuan*, traditional courtyard residences. Many neighbourhoods were formed by joining one *siheyuan* to another to form a hutong, and then joining one hutong to another. The word hutong is also used to refer to such neighbourhoods.

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# Epilogue

'Generals may make good leaders of armies but few generals become skilled diplomats or successful politicians. Can your business deploy skills of political diplomacy or relational governance, or is it full of soldiers deep in analysis of competitors, practicing their skills in military deployment and the stratagems of the campaign?' (Roome, 2008) A cast of international authors investigated, in parallel to the issue which Roome addresses, 'Innovation for Survival and Competition.' The findings of the authors of the present book hit the core of our intellectual interest captured within the two major themes of this book – cultural entrepreneurship and place branding. The need for 'generals' to improve competitiveness, anchored in their internal, linear-oriented logic, and public diplomats who are capable of dealing with contradictions and tensions think and act beyond conflict (Avraham, this volume), which often flow from opposing commercial and public planning orientations. Throughout the world, the vision of places, that is, nations, urban and rural regions, is outdated, inadequate and fragmented. The authorities face an array of crises ranging from crumbling infrastructure, the threat of terrorism, and the increasing divide between the formal and the informal economy. This book features the perspectives of the key theories, cases and themes in 14 articles, authored by an array of scientists from ten countries and the Principality of Monaco. Their accounts have yielded both perspectives and areas of tensions that typically arise due to known dichotomies and from differing objectives that are often closely linked to accountability structures. These authors share the editors' view that harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship is a matter of public interest, because it is directed at designing appropriate cultural living environments for the billions of inhabitants of our planet. However, as the contributing authors point out, unanimously, there many areas and processes of tensions that are anchored in long-term cultural, infrastructural, and governance differences. These result in the gaps of social interaction which require bridging for bottom-up development to flourish. We are convinced that conducting research on cultural entrepreneurship in association with place branding aimed at generating a new social engagement is urgently needed in response to the cost crisis, changing labour markets and new technology that will turn old cultural and civic institutions upside down.



What are the *implications* of the above for the theorizing of place branding? From the theoretical perspective explored in Part I, there are three fundamental missing links. The lack of 'a more knowledge-based cultured approach', rooted in socio-economic realities, with respect for cultural life and cultural representations of a particular reality, resulting in a weakening of the actors' theoretical integration capability and disagreement on how to develop an approach to benefit from a revitalization strategy (Scaramanga, this book). As stated by Loy (this book), cultural entrepreneurs are the foundations of place brands and the cornerstone of successful and sustainable place making as well as place branding initiatives, but their role is largely 'invisible' Missing in the literature are the intellectual debates that challenge the focus in research on normative assessment, on producing tourism imagery and commodification to describe place brands as malleable and measurable through weighted indices (Kasabov, this book).

Though the areas of cultural entrepreneurship and place branding are linked in areas of conduct, the cases in the second part of the book each marked by their unique branding and marketing conditions, present evidence that is common to all: the two are managerially isolated from one another and therefore impede collaboration. Hence, the artistic ambition of individual cultural entrepreneurs should be to institutionalize the coordination of artistry as a mechanism to raise awareness among stakeholders that through co-creation they can build their identity and more effective relations with their environment; look at their world with 'new' eyes enabling them to use the tension between conflict and common sense as a source for stimulating the flow of creativity between parties; develop concepts which go hand in glove with place branding principles which serve as a foundation for urban and rural community partnerships alike.

The third part comprised papers on particular place-brand themes, which highlight the effects of the changes in the economic structures and the post-2000 environment, characterized by the globalization of symbols and signals, technological development, including the Internet, and the prevalence of social media. These have so far received little attention in place-branding research and can thus be seen as possible avenues for *future research*. The authors show, first, how cooperation in cultural networks adds value for small firms and other network actors, particularly, that the actors are more 'equal' in terms of taking initiatives to co-create value in Cultural Creative Clusters, which represents a polyvocal perspective on coordinating cooperative cultural networks (Lemmetyinen, this book). Second, the importance of strategic control

and integration in place branding with the aid of five key requirements for communication and an emphasis on the participatory view of branding and co-creation are underlined (Hakala, this book). Thirdly, the harnessing of place brands through cultural entrepreneurship emerging in the process of building an e-community brand aimed at valourizing tangible and intangible heritage assets requires the assessment of three elements: the commercial viability of cultural entrepreneurial capability to harness the local brand identity; the benefits accruing from the place brand cultural entrepreneurship association for stakeholders in the value chain; and the environmental implications in the value chain in terms of opportunities and threats (Go, Della Lucia, Trunfio and Presenza, this book). Fourth, appropriate space within place branding policies is needed to capture fully the value of cultural entrepreneurship in relation to place branding and cultural and creative activities. The development and analysis of a substantial and diverse body of appropriate case material is therefore a priority for researchers in this area (Little, this book).

All in all, this book has made an attempt at discussing how to harness place branding through cultural entrepreneurship by integrating a multitude of topics, theories and practical examples in a coherent whole. However, in this regard this process faces challenges in the readiness of its market and the lack of place traditions anchored in cultural entrepreneurial applications. The harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship association presents a unique opportunity of three fundamental characteristics. It takes a systems approach which underscores the relevance of developing analyses of interlocking arenas found at the multi-scalar levels. This is relevant because the layering process gives cultural enterprises affordance to build their spatial identity using the existing identities of the surrounding cities and regions (see Boisen et al., 2011).

It requires a platform design for purposes of coordination and integrated communication among stakeholders, strengthened by educating and supporting stakeholders in the building of trustworthy partner relationships. This helps partners reduce risk by spreading transaction costs and lower the likelihood of contradictions and confusion, which enhances in areas of conduct the fostering of corporate and community collaborative efforts, while nurturing positive partner network relationships. Finally, it focuses on two closely related outcomes: economic performance and well-being, supported by theories that are in turn are underpinned by research and evidence. Culture can be both a driver of the economy and a definer of the quality of life, and at the same

time positively shape perceptions and awareness of a place. According to Klamer (2003), cultural institutions will succeed financially when they master the rhetoric of the arts and the market, and when entrepreneurs know about their customers and have an understanding of concepts such as financing, marketing and branding. In so doing, they also need social capital, that is, relationships, networks and cooperation (Jegere and Zemite, 2013).

Earlier, we referred to the cost crisis, changing labour markets, and new technology that will turn old cultural and civic institutions on their head. The Nordic countries, although not entirely frictionless, have responded to such issues by successfully leveraging active citizenship with the aim of keeping the welfare state affordable. In a context of government retrenchment, a new space for actors like the cultural entrepreneur emerges in order to shape a value proposition focused on a shared creative and cultural economy through the co-optation and benefit of residents, investors, visitors, and other stakeholders. In this regard, findings in the context of the Netherlands, one of the leading music festival markets in the world, 'show that brand equity aspects such as image, festival atmosphere associations, and anticipated emotions are most important for loyalty' (Leenders, 2009: 291). Astute cultural entrepreneurs recognize that their internal knowledge is bounded, and that their future success will depend on collaboration with a variety of commercial and creative partners. Within the process of (re-)combining the platform building blocks of creation, production and distribution of cultural products and services, they should heed the call by UNESCO and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to take steps to protect their intellectual property rights (Russo and Segre, 2010). In closing, harnessing place branding through cultural entrepreneurship is a worthwhile research domain which must draw on the insights offered by disciplines beyond the marketing area. Particularly important topics for the future research agenda are the development of mechanisms aimed at ensuring 'accountability in the governance of brands and holistic and equitable measures of place brand performance' ethics (Insch, 2011) and redefining place branding through a communicative action framework with the aid of critical theory (Sevin, 2011) and integrating this theoretical approach with the practice of place branding. The convergence of the arts of public diplomacy and nation branding for the export of image (Cull, 2012) has relevance to safeguarding creative, entrepreneurial interventions based on the values of inclusion, freedom of expression, mutuality, legitimacy, consistency and sustainability.

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