PLACE BRANDING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL STUDY

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Abstract

The place branding field is typified by limited theoretical development, to ensure a robust theoretical basis for this study a discursive institutionalist approach has been employed leading to an investigation of place branding defined by the relationship between institutions and narrative. NewcastleGateshead was the core case for this study enabling a close investigation of the construction of a place branding campaign as it happened. This city also formed the basis for the selection of four subsidiary case studies: Leipzig, Malmö, Manchester and Torino. This comparative analysis can claim three key contributions to the field. First, place branding is inherently geographical and dependent on the institutional context of its location. The institutional environment in terms of leadership, cooperation and culture and the institutional arrangements in relation to scale and organisational forms; the strategic, narrating and animating organisations in a location, have an impact on the place branding activity that takes place. Second, place branding can be understood as an embedded historical process. The evolutionary concepts of path dependence, path creation and particularly path plasticity add to the analysis of the development of place branding activities in the cities. Finally, place branding's main contribution to urban development lies in its ability to enhance the strategic development and management of the city in three key ways. First, by increasing the self-awareness of actors in the city; second, by aiding in the coordination of actors in the city; and finally, through the opportunity to determine a brand geography, enabling city actors to construct the most advantageous geography to further urban development aims. These findings indicate the need for the field to more accurately explore place branding's potential contribution and to recognise place branding as historical and place specific in order to move beyond accounts which reduce it to a homogenous activity.

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1   Introduction

"In this highly competitive marketplace place branding has never been more important." (McCubbin, The Drum, 2012)

"[place branding, a] counterproductive exercise in collective egotism" (Zukin, The Guardian, 2014)

Place branding is a common urban development intervention; seen by some as an essential activity, others are highly sceptical of its basis and outcomes. Undoubtedly, a more substantive theoretical and empirical basis for activity would improve practice, manage expectations and provide a more unified basis for constructive criticism. Place branding is a field where academic analysis has followed rather than led practice (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011) despite receiving 'considerable attention' for the last two decades (Hankinson, 2004) and the development of a 'substantial' (Kavaratzis, 2009) body of literature.

It appears that academic research is still not providing compelling explanations about effective place branding activity as it is so fragmented (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011; Papadopoulos, 2004), uneven (Papadopoulos, 2004; Niedomyls, 2004) and polarised (Kaneva, 2011) that it is difficult to discern the underlying issues which have an impact on its practice (Sadler et al., 2015). As such, practitioners working for their cities report feelings of uncertainty around approaches and decision making (Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO), Operational, Manchester, 25/04/12; DMO, Operational, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12). More robust conclusions are required in order to develop the academic field and better inform the practice that is already taking place. To achieve this, empirical, comparative research, directly informed by the concerns of practitioners is required; that is why this research is so important.

A product of the ESRC's CASE Studentship Programme, this project is based upon a collaborative partnership with a non-academic organisation; in this case, the NewcastleGateshead Initiative (NGI). NGI is a destination marketing organisation

(DMO) which emerged from the cities' joint bid to become the 2008 European Capital of Culture; ultimately failing in this attempt the organisation carved an important niche for itself in supporting key aspects of the cities' emerging tourist economy. NGI is a partnership organisation, Newcastle and Gateshead Local Authorities (LAs) are key partners but many other organisations both public and private, large and small are partners, including many in the wider region. Generally, well respected by stakeholders interviewed in the city, NGI managed to weather the storm of post-crisis organisational flux and despite severe funding cuts remains the only organisation working at the NewcastleGateshead scale. The organisation has emerged from a difficult period with additional functions around inward investment and with some increase in autonomy.

The collaboration with NGI has been an asset in developing the conclusions of this research and at each stage of the process, through unique access and insight. Research questions were refined with practitioner insight and the methodology, particularly the comparative case study approach and methods selected, was influenced by collaboration with the partner. Most significantly I benefitted from access to a locally embedded place branding process as it happened. This empirical insight has been key to the understanding and approach subsequently employed in four subsidiary case study cities and ultimately in the study's findings. As a result of this collaboration the conclusions from this research should be well placed to enable development in place branding practice as well as a robust academic contribution.

An analysis of the literature shows that place branding lacks theoretical development and that this is undermining evaluation of place branding practice (Zenker, 2011). As such developing a strong theoretical foundation became a research aim. Early interactions with NGI and their stakeholders highlighted the importance of narrative and the agency of actors involved in place branding. The access to NGI and other local organisations also made an approach recognising the iterative relationship between organisations and local policy environments attractive. Discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2010), new to the study of place branding, is particularly well aligned to meet these needs. As more research questions were developed the ability to employ Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) concepts such as path plasticity (Strambach, 2010), path dependence (Martin, 2010) and path creation

(Dawley et al., 2015) within this perspective (MacKinnon, et.al., 2009) was also very useful. This approach provided the foundation for the analysis which has generated this thesis' contributions.

The empirical understanding of how place branding takes place is a key area where there is much left to be understood (Jannson and Powers, 2006: Therkelsten and Halkier, 2011). This is evident in the literature and NGI were keen to understand activities undertaken in other locations from which they could learn. This led to the development of the question: how does place branding take place, who undertakes these activities and what are the relationships and processes involved? Analysis of this question illuminated the local specificity of place branding activity based on the particular organisations and local cultures that are present and highlighted the different functions necessary to place branding which are played by different actors in different locations. Investigation of this question resulted in a key contribution for this study, that place branding is a fundamentally place specific activity, at odds with the assertion of homogeneity with which it is usually charged (Sadler et.al., 2015).

The importance of embedding and sustaining a place brand was an area of interest for NGI; another area important to local practitioners which had been somewhat neglected in the academic literature (Pallenbarg and Meester, 2009). This generated the second research question: how do place brands become embedded and sustained over time? Answering this question resulted in an understanding of place branding having shared yet distinctive paths. Instigated by crisis with an increased professionalization over time, often in response to competitive bidding, this shared trajectory also exhibited local distinctiveness, embedded (Granovetta, 1985) in local histories. This generated the further contribution that place branding is an embedded historical activity situated within local development trajectories.

At the heart of the polarised opinion around place branding, which hampers its development, are doubts around its outcomes (Turok, 2009) and the dominance of anecdotal success stories (Kaneva, 2011). This is an area that should be addressed by research through systematic, comparative analysis yet this is lacking in the literature (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009). Attempting to discern if place branding 'works' is clearly beyond the scope of this study and is rather a blunt question.

Instead: what can place branding contribute to urban development? And how can place branding best be assessed and evaluated? were identified as meaningful lines of enquiry. The former was developed in light of discussions observed about what the aims of NewcastleGateshead's place branding project should be. The latter was generated from the specific interests of the research partner, who wanted to assess the outcomes of their project.

As a result of the comparative investigation of these questions a number of contributions which could be attributed to place branding activity were identified and the problematic basis of place branding assessment was discerned. The result was illuminating in that the contributions that place branding can make are largely related to the strategic management and development of the city, rather than other aims more commonly associated with place branding. Furthermore, problematic place brand assessment is a result of interactive relationship between the practice and its context, yet much could be done to improve partial and fragmented assessment attempts.

The analysis in this thesis relies upon an understanding of place as constructed by narrative and place branding as an urban development intervention which has evolved over time (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009) entwined with economic and political contexts (Ward, 1994). The conclusions drawn depend on this foundation which has been developed from the literature and is set out in chapter two. Chapter two also lays out the four research questions as they have emerged from the place branding literature, illuminating the areas where there is the greatest opportunity to learn more and providing the starting point for this investigation. This research also relies on a number of theoretical perspectives and concepts from the literature primarily discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008, 2010) but also embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985), and from EEG, path plasticity (Strambach and Halkier, 2013), path dependence (Martin, 2010) and path creation (Dawley et al., 2015). These are also introduced in this chapter.

These concepts are taken a step further in chapter three which explains the methodological approach and analytical frameworks which have been used to generate findings and ultimately the contributions of this study. The theoretical

perspective which frames this research is institutionalism allied with narrative through discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008, 2010). Institutionalism recognises that "institutions are central to the socio-cultural construction of the economic" (Martin, 2000, p.77) with economic activity entwined with wider social, political and economic structures and conventions. From this perspective, the economy has cultural foundations and is socially regulated (Martin, 2000). This is an essential insight when elements of a city's 'sense of place' are being mobilised for economic means. The perspective is enhanced by the recognition of discourse and ideas which highlights the motivations of actors involved in the economic (Schmidt, 2008).

Discursive institutionalism has not yet been brought to the study of place branding but provides important guiding principles for this investigation and is the basis of useful analytical frameworks. Discursive institutionalism enables the combination of narrative, fundamental to place branding (Hjortegaard Hansen, 2010), particularly understanding place identity and motivation for activity, with the understanding of how place specific institutions; institutional arrangements and environment (Pike et. al., 2006), generate local norms for activity. This is especially useful to investigate how place branding takes place, and who is involved. In addition, institutional approaches are easily allied to EEG concepts (MacKinnon et.al., 2009) outlined above. Another new addition to the place branding field, they are particularly useful in understanding change over time, vital for the investigation of the sustainability and embeddedness of place brands.

There are many reasons why a comparative case study approach was most appropriate in generating the findings of the study. It allows the investigation of a phenomenon in context (Yin, 2009) recognising activity at different scales and allowing access to expressions of historical embeddedness. Both institutional (Gertler, 2010) and EEG approaches (Pike et. al. 2016) are ripe for more comparative case study work and it enhanced the opportunities offered and requirements of working with NGI. The importance of this methodology and the specific nature of the design selection process is also set out in chapter three. The design comprises a core case study and four subsidiary cases mediating the tension between depth and breadth in comparative studies (Kantors and Savich, 2006) and

enabling source triangulation, increasing credibility (Baxter and Eyles, 1997) and enhancing theoretical development (Barnes et al., 2007).

The international comparative analysis undertaken in this study and the resulting conclusions situate place branding as a locally specific historical process (a detailed account of the cities trajectories and timelines can be found in chapter four). NewcastleGateshead, as the core case acted as a template for the selection of the subsidiary cases. After the decline of their traditional industries, city leaders experimented with consumption and culture led regeneration and developed a joint identity for their place marketing and branding activity. The most recent place branding activity was designed to find some cohesion and certainty after a period of organisational flux and to tell an 'undertold and undersold' story of NewcastleGateshead as a business location.

Leipzig had a significant role in the peaceful revolution and had since had to adjust to the context of a reunified Germany. After a shift from a shrinking to a growing population, the city was looking to consolidate its many animating organisations. Its most recent orchestrating place brand was losing traction; however, less visible place branding activities were still successful. Malmö, after the loss of its traditional ship building industry reinvented itself as a gateway to Europe by being outward looking and developing cooperative relationships with near neighbours and significant infrastructure projects. With a robust approach to strategy entwined with branding the city had become known as an environmentally sustainable location, what actors next aimed to target was its social sustainability.

Manchester is an astute operator of its image with strong leadership and cohesive and consistent governance structures which enable it to maintain constancy in the dynamic UK governance context. With pragmatic approaches to central government and public private working, the city has a strong self-image of success which acts as a discipline creating norms of activity in the city. Its next task is to deal with some of the real challenges in the city which could undermine its narrative of success. Torino was the epitome of a one company town, dominated by FIAT, more recently fortuitously timed changes in governance enabled legitimate government actors to take back control of the city and reinvigorated civic society. The rediscovery of

historic traditions was encouraged in order to create a new more 'colourful' city and economy. More recently city actors were looking at ways to institutionalise a new metropolitan region and consolidate a positive future identify for the city.

The comparative approach required systematic collection methods, predominantly participant observation in the core case, enabling a deep engagement; accessing narrative constructions and actors' motivations and relationships. Semi-structured interviews, allowing access to actors' constructions of their own motivations (Hughes, 1999) and experiences while maintaining a broadly comparative approach, were employed throughout. The aim of systematic comparison was also enabled by comparative frameworks. These frameworks were generated from the data and then applied back. The aim of this approach was to develop frames of analysis which could speak to the experience of all of the cities. The result was comparative frameworks which enabled systematic comparison and rich empirical detail. The details of methods and comparative frameworks used are included in chapter three.

The first research question guiding analysis in this thesis is: how are place brands constructed, who does it and what are the relationships and processes involved? Chapter five addresses this question starting with the way the cities' encounters with place branding have been instigated by the experience of crisis. Then comparative frameworks set out in the methodology are applied to the cities in turn. First the institutional environment; the culture, cooperation and leadership in each city is examined. Next, with a focus on the iterative relationship between the two the institutional arrangements in the cities are investigated both their scale and their organisational forms.

The institutional approach provides a useful conceptual framework in order to analyse the way local economies are constructed in context; in this case, the way place branding activities have been integrated into both structures and conventions. Discursive institutionalism recognises institutions as "simultaneously structures and constructs internal to the agents themselves" (Schmidt, 2008, p.233) illustrating the way the actors interviewed were able to provide an insight into these structures while having agency within them. To adapt the institutional concepts for place branding in the cities the typology of narrative, strategic and animating organisations is

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introduced. This is included as a diagram of the organisational forms, as they pertain to place branding, in each city, enabling a visual representation of the comparative analysis.

The contribution yielded by the first research aim can broadly be described as the introduction of a fundamentally geographical and context-specific account of place branding in contrast to dominant accounts of the practice as homogenous (Sadler et.al., 2015). Using the perspective of discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2010) the impact of the institutional environment particularly culture, cooperation and leadership is explained as is the importance of the institutional arrangements; the organisational forms and the activities undertaken at different scales. These previously overlooked influences on place branding activity offer both theoretical and practical insight, suggesting that a 'one size fits all' approach to place branding is unsuitable. The organisations undertaking place branding activities are of vital importance and a location with strong leadership and aligned narrative, strategic and animating organisations is the most fruitful context for place branding activity.

The second research question is: 'How do place brands become embedded and sustained over time?' This is dealt with in chapter six where the concept of path plasticity (Strambach, 2010) is used to explain the way elements of the institutions of the city have been transformed through narrative to meet new economic aims. This is followed by the application of the concepts of path plasticity, path dependence and path creation to each of the case study cities. Next the cities experiences of competitive bidding are explored in order to illustrate the impact of this largely shared experience and the concept of embeddedness is used to illuminate the way place banding activity although shared is embedded in its location. Finally, the challenges encountered by actors in the cities, similar in theme but different in detail, are examined.

The overall contribution to the field engendered by analysis of this question is the nature of place branding as an embedded (Granovetter, 1985) historical process. Path plasticity (Strambach and Halkier, 2013) provides a way of interpreting and explaining place branding activities there is evolution within the dominant place branding path, with the narrative repurposing of elements of the cities' institutions

including the symbols, history, people, culture and the physical environment. Path dependence and path creation are also useful analytical concepts to explain place branding activities over time and to introduce these concepts to the field of place branding Martin's (2010) model of an evolving path dependence has been applied to each of the cities in turn.

As part of the shift in activities within the dominant path competitive bidding is highlighted as a turning point in the increased embeddedness, professionalization and institutionalisation of place branding as new possibilities and examples of success are provided for actors and opportunities for interaction and leadership are increased as is capacity in the cities' organisational forms. In addition, the iterative relationship between embeddedness and sustainability is explained with sustainability dependent on embeddedness and embeddedness dependent on sustainability. Threats to this iterative relationship are that there may be a real change in the city which is not reflected in the brand and that professionalization of activities may mean that the brand generated may not have been embedded in the first place or that approaches 'parachuted in' may not be adequately embedded in the context.

The third research question is: 'What contribution can place branding make to urban development?' The analysis provoked by this question is included in chapter seven. First the concept of brand geography is introduced, using evidence from the subsidiary cases, the way it can enable the borrowing of brand assets and the bridging of administrative divides are taken in turn. The concept is explained further by applying it to the core case study illuminating the way these features are entwined in a single case. Next the notion that place branding can contribute to the self-awareness of actors in the city is examined with reference to competitiveness, consistency and coherence and the ability to relate to actors at other scales. Finally, the idea that place branding can enable the coordination of actors in the city is illuminated through the issues of defining shared priorities, developing and communicating strategy and capitalising on opportunities.

The contribution offered to the field through this question is namely that place branding can best contribute to the strategic management and development of cities

rather than to aims more often attributed to place branding. It can contribute in three ways, first, through enhancing self-awareness in the cities by enabling actors in the cities to be more aware of their own competitive advantage and real strengths; it can facilitate actor's ability to present and undertake consistent and coherent messages and activities. It can also enable actors to be more adept at managing their relationships with actors at other scales. Second, place branding can help in the coordination of actors in the cities by those actors with strategic aims. This can be achieved by aiding in the setting and communication of priorities, by enabling the development and communication of strategies, by mobilising support, by invoking a shared vision and by ensuring actors are better able to notice and optimise opportunities.

Another contribution that analysis of this question yielded is the concept of brand geography. Place branding can allow the creation of an enabling geography in which the most useful geography for urban development is invoked. This is achieved by enabling the borrowing of brand assets such as population size and symbolic sites and by the borrowing of profile from higher to lower profile locations. This geography can be at once relational and territorial for example, selectively appropriating brand assets from within and without a territorial area while relying on that territory for population size. In addition, administrative divides which may be counterproductive for urban development means can be bridged by brand geography. The constructed nature of a brand geography means that just as place brands themselves can be contested, it is possible for the brand geography to be disputed and for multiple brand geographies to exist at once. This is a conceptual, analytical and practical contribution.

The fourth research question is: How can place branding best be assessed and evaluated?' To understand the way in which place branding can best be assessed it was essential to first understand the current state of place brand assessment to clarify why it is so problematic (Ashworth, 2008). This is dealt with in chapter eight, the assessment that has been undertaken in the cities is outlined and then the phenomenon and context in which it is found is examined. The result of this analysis, which illuminates place brand assessment as fragmented and uneven, are compared to a model assessment framework (Pike et al, 2016, p.201, adapted from McCallum,

2006) to determine the way assessment must develop in order to best assess and evaluate place branding.

The findings are that the interactive relationship between a place brand and its city is the basis of the problematic nature of place brand assessment. There are problems of a time frame which is longer than those usually used to monitor urban development initiatives. The issue of causation, how we can determine if an outcome is as a result of the place brand is difficult to discern. Also, attribution; if an outcome is related to the place brand how can we be sure that it is due to branding activity rather than other factors. The context is equally difficult with problems of financial restrictions and a competitive funding context in which many organisations are under pressure to claim influence. The many organisations involved also have different traditions of assessment all compounding to result in a lack of certainty around the assessment that is undertaken. Overall place branding assessment is fragmented and uneven making it difficult to link input to outcomes even where assessment is undertaken.

Throughout this thesis there are three main themes to which the empirical insight drawn from the research contributes. First, that place branding is fundamentally context-specific activity dependent on locally distinct institutions for the specific formation of its character and for which undertaking place branding can be understood as changing the 'rules of the game' (North, 1991). Second, that place branding is an embedded historical activity typified by an iterative relationship between its embeddedness and sustainability over time. Finally, that the contributions that place branding can make to urban development may not be the ones which are usually assumed and that branding should be understood as a complementary activity most effective at enabling the strategic management of a city and should be employed as such. These contributions and their further implications are explored in chapter nine.

The aim of this thesis is to provide an empirically rich yet robust, analytical and comparative account of how these conclusions have been reached. The place branding field demands new and exciting comparative empirical accounts to develop and enhance a potentially very fruitful field. NGI an open and astute collaborative

partner deserve some insightful conclusions which can be converted into useful practical learning points. The many interviewees in the five cities, who gave their time to contribute their knowledge and experience to this study, demand an insightful and thoughtful account of the recent history of the cities in which they work. I hope in examining this account that the reader will believe that these aims have been successfully achieved.

2   The Evolving Relationship between Place, Promotion and Urban Development

As a result of globalisation, economic restructuring and changes in governance structures there is a shared understanding that in the last 30 years, society has "changed in novel and speedy ways" (Jensen 2005 p.2). These changes have been significant not only for the nature of places but also for the type of interventions used for urban development and the vision of what urban development should be. Increasingly, immaterial factors such as a city's brand have become part of urban development strategies (Jansson and Powers, 2006). The aim of these strategies is to improve a place's competitive advantage in relation to the attraction and retention of inward investment, companies, skilled workers, citizens, visitors and the marketing of local goods and services (Jansson and Powers 2006). Not only are place branding activities increasing, these activities are becoming increasingly professionalised (Griffiths, 1998; Jensen 2005).

The aim of the first part of this literature review will be to examine the nature of place, how it is constructed and its relationship to real places. Then the history of place promotion from early place selling to place branding will be explained in light of the accompanying changes in the governance of place. The assertion is that the development of place promotion is intertwined with the political economy of the places in question. The aim of the second part of this literature review is two-fold. First to interrogate the literature to identify the most pertinent areas of research for this study; those areas where there is much to be illuminated and explored. And second to review the literature in order to develop an analytical framework suitable to address the research questions which emerge. Each of the research areas are examined in turn, followed by an overview of the analytical framework which has been derived from the literature.

2.1 The Meaning of Place

"Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power." (Cresswell, 2004, p.12). Place is what happens to the areas, volumes and coordinates of space when they are known named and imbued with meaning. The question is how do meanings that turn space into place, become attached in such a way, for Harvey place is a social construct (Harvey, 1996). This is the dominant approach of contemporary critical human geography particularly of those with a progressive political agenda at it shows the potential for change (Cresswell, 2004). The constructed nature of places means they are "always open to question and transformation" (Cresswell, 2009, p.174). Thus the social construction of place becomes an explanation not just of meanings of place but also of interventions to change those meanings.

The notion of place not having an essential ontology but being open to change, is also apparent in the power struggles that are central to place. For example, where new territories are created, their rulers "make concerted efforts to give these territories histories and identities in order to make them more place-like and therefore more intelligible to their designated populations" (Cresswell, 2004, P.102). The development of national identities relies on social constructions of place. Historical sites can be central to place and identity but may have different significance for different people, as such, different interests compete over what is to be remembered and forgotten and new places are born (Cresswell, 2004). Place is constructed through a struggle of interests.

Place is not constructed through the equitable struggle of interests but is dominated by the structural forces of capital (Harvey, 1996). Harvey (1996) asserts that these forces are integral to the way changes in the capitalist system change the meaning of and materiality of place; once thriving places become devalued "speculative boom towns or gentrified neighbourhoods arise on the frontier of capitalist development or out of the ashes of deindustrialised communities" (Harvey, 1996, p.296). Place is

socially constructed under the conditions of power; how does this construction takes place?

Narrative describes a way in which past events are selectively appropriated and 'emplotted' (Ricoeur, 1980) to provide a particular meaning to past, current and future events. This unity of time in narrative is explained by Ricoeur's notion of temporality, "temporality springs forth in the plural unity of future, past and present" (Ricoeur, 1980, p.171). Temporality is what allows narrative to be useful in the understanding of identity "our identities are made up from what we expect to be able to do in the future as well as what we can remember of ourselves in the past" (Williams, 2000, p.81). In the construction of identity, it is important to be able to change to fulfil different roles while still understanding ourselves as the same person. This is possible through the notion of 'temporality' rather than linear time, "an enduring though changeable identity is established through time" (Williams, 2000, P.83).

Borrowing from human identity, place also requires 'an enduring though changeable identity' as meaning is retained but shifts through the sort of material challenges addressed by Harvey (1996). A narrative version of social construction acknowledges this requirement, it is also compatible with the creation of place identities by powerful groups and contested place, addressing "the complex and multi-agent character of change" (Byrne and Uprichard, 2006, p.667). In addition, narratives allow actors to understand the meanings central to their own agency as they work to change places (Byrne and Uprichard, 2006). This recognises another aspect of the social construction of place; the notion of the ability to change place, and the meanings associated with interventions that aim to do that. To return to the work of Harvey, the ways in which place interventions take place are influenced by the 'political economy' just as the construction of place is.

Just as we see constructions of place changing in response to the political economy, place itself can be used for economic means. Advertisers attach the meanings associated with a particular place to the products or services they are advertising, making advertising a spatial practice (Jackson and Taylor 1996) not only in its use of spatial meaning and imagery but also in its wider impacts. The role of advertising in

the global economy means that advertising activities "create uneven patterns of demand across space;" (Jackson and Taylor, 1996, p.356). Spatial meaning and identity become a currency in promotional activities, the results of this have an impact on the economic development of real places.

The use of place for economic means and the resulting impact on real places is also apparent in the related field of branding. Pike (2009) tackles this complex relationship between place and the real economy in his work on brands and branding geographies, concluding that "Facets of brand equity are inseparable from geographical associations and meanings." (Pike, 2009, p.623). For Pike (2009) the meaning and value which branding practice seeks to imbue in products, services and places are bound up with geographical associations. This value and meaning is intertwined with social and economic inequalities; further compounded by its use in branding activity with impacts on the real places involved. Brands rely on sense of place and in turn places are affected by branding activities in real ways. For example Newcastle Brown Ale (Pike, 2009a), originally a Tyneside product, the brand's reliance on a particular image of Newcastle remains while its economic attachment in terms of market is much depleted and in terms of production is severed.

Not only is 'sense of place' employed for economic means it is also drawn on in overtly political ways. Joseph Nye's (2004) notion of 'soft power' has been linked to place branding (van Ham, 2008) in the field of public diplomacy. With place branding described as: "an effort to use strategies developed in the commercial sector to manage, if not necessarily wield, the soft power of a geographical location" (van Ham, 2008, p.127). This is echoed in Anholt's (2006) practice based notion of competitive identity, which synthesises the practices of brand management and public diplomacy.

Place is imbued with meaning without which it would be merely space. This meaning is constructed, changes over time and is inseparable from power relations. The inherent meaningfulness of place results in its use for economic and political means. Representation, real places and their uses are continually entwined. The evolving relationship between the management of one field of place representation and the context of those working to change real places are explored in the following section.

2.2 Place Promotion and Urban Development

Globalisation has led to urban areas being treated in increasingly 'commodity-like ways' (Griffiths, 1998, p.41) meaning that places are becoming implicated in practices usually associated with the promotion of goods and services. This evolution of place promotion is summed up by Moilanen and Rainisto, (2009) who describe a shift from place selling, to marketing and then branding. Ashworth and Voogd (1994) assert that this is not a new phenomenon with instances of place promotion apparent in the early development of nations such as the USA and Australia.

Skinner (2008) asserts that place marketing has a 'confused identity' with the terms 'place marketing' and 'place branding' often used interchangeably (Hospers, 2007 in Skinner, 2008). However, similarly to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), Lucarelli and Berg (2011) discover, in their analysis of place branding literature, a shift from the use of the term 'place marketing' to 'place branding' describing two distinct approaches. First, place marketing describes the technique of selling the city as a product or service (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011); developing the city to meet the requirements of target groups and then promoting the city to those groups. Second, 'place branding' refers to "the purposeful symbolic embodiment of all information connected to a city in order to create associations or expectations around it" (Berg 2009 in Lucarelli and Berg 2011). When examined over time the evolution of place promotion is bound up, not only with the evolution of academic literature and place promotion practices but also with changing economic contexts and urban development interventions.

Promotional activity in USA, Canada and Britain was instigated by both 'boosterist' and 'regenerative' aims to build growth or avoid decline (Ward, 1994). Ward (1994) found economic circumstances to be a significant factor in these activities always tempered by the political and institutional context of the place and time. For example, the USA and Canada used promotion in the early nineteenth century for boosterist means while they were peripheral areas. These activities did not emerge in Britain

until the economic problems of the 1920s and 30s, due to a stable industrial system, and were then overtaken by the Second World War and post-war boom (Ward, 1994). Even in its early years, place promotion was an urban development intervention bound up with specific urban development contexts. The shift from place marketing to place branding situated in a context of changing economic circumstances and development interventions is examined in the following two sections.

2.2.1 Place marketing and urban entrepreneurialism

From the 1970s onwards a shift from the place selling of earlier eras, to place marketing, has taken place, with place marketing defined by 'product development', that is by developing 'products' to appeal to 'customers'(Griffiths, 1998). This shift toward place marketing from the 1970s, even in countries which had previously stable urban systems such as Britain (Ward, 1994), is also illustrative of political and institutional changes, namely a shift away from the centralised procedural and planning approaches of post-war Western European governments (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). From the 1970s there was a general feeling that centralised public planning had failed, seemingly reinforced by economic recession in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). The result was openness to new approaches and right wing governments working to bring the market into local government.

This shift is best encompassed in Harvey's (1989) notion of urban entrepreneurialism; the transfer from managerial to entrepreneurial forms of action in urban governance which has occurred across national and political boundaries. For Harvey, this shift must be understood in a context of economic and political instability typified by deindustrialisation, unemployment, fiscal austerity and advocacy of market rationality and privatisation by neo-conservatives (Harvey, 1989). Urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989) is characterised by three facets: public private partnerships; speculative development initiatives rather than rational planning; often with much of the risk absorbed by the public sector, and a focus on the construction

of place rather than territory in which activity may have impacts beyond of over smaller areas than the relevant territory.

All three of the factors above are typical of place marketing activities furthermore, the consumerist strategy which Harvey (1989) outlines as one of four basic options for urban areas to respond to an entrepreneurial context shares features with what we have come to identify as place marketing activities. This includes gentrification, cultural innovation, upgrading of physical environments, heritage and urban spectacle (Harvey, 1989), the city must "appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or visit, to play or consume in" (Harvey, 1989, p.9). Urban entrepreneurialism is the context in which we see what we understand as place marketing emerge. Although the notion of a distinct starting point of urban entrepreneurialism in the case study cities is oversimplified, the start of this sort of response is possible to discern.

As a result of this shift in governance forms, the pressure on places to improve their competitive advantage (Oatley, 1998) gained prominence. This was engendered by supranational as well as national forces with European economic integration increasing interurban competition (Oatley, 1998). The increased prevalence of place promotion activities in this timeframe is part of this shift and the commodification of 'sense of place' (Musterd and Kovacs, 2013).

In the UK the New Right Government, elected in 1979, instigated a 'radical transformation' (Oatley 1998 p.4) in urban policy with a significant shift from a Keynesian to a post-Keynesian form of regulation (Oatley 1998a) characterised by "the subordination of social policy to the needs of labour market flexibility and/or the constraints of international competition" (Oatley, 1998a, p.26). Economic and governance changes are cited by Burgess (1981), writing in this timeframe, as a reason for the stimulus of place advertising in the 1970s due to the need to attract new opportunities to areas of decline, the material often featured repetition and limited differentiation (Burgess and Wood, 1988).

Sue Brownill's (1994) analysis of the London Docklands development, similarly situates place promotion activities as part of a shift towards market approaches to

urban development. Providing an example of property-led regeneration, which dominated urban policy between 1979 and 1991 (Oatley, 1998), place marketing typified a pump priming approach increasing land values and creating demand for the development. Property led regeneration was undermined by the slump at the end of the 1980s; the reassessment of approaches resulted in the introduction of competitive bidding through the Single Regeneration Budget (1991) and other initiatives (Oatley, 1998a). A market-led approach continued with strong controls on Local Government and "governance based on multi-sector partnerships within a contract culture" (Oatley, 1998a p.21).

In addition, culture-led regeneration (Griffiths, 2006) became prominent through the European Capital of Culture initiative which originally was awarded to established cultural cities. The designation of Glasgow, in 1990, provided a turning point (Griffiths, 2006) in which new possibilities for renewal through culture were recognised. It was also recognised that culture could be used to build social cohesion (Griffiths, 2006) in the increasingly fragmented cities that typify the entrepreneurial context.

Place marketing has been a significant characteristic of entrepreneurial urban governance that emerged in the 1970s (Griffiths, 1998). And it appears that place marketing activities evolved rather quickly, Ashworth and Voogd, writing in 1994, describe place marketing as employed "not just as an additional instrument for the solution of intractable planning problems but, increasingly, as a philosophy of place management" (p.39). According to Ashworth and Voogd (1994) changes to established marketing practice in this time-frame and immediately before were essential to the development of an integrated concept of place marketing.

From their (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994) analysis of marketing literature they assert that these changes were three-fold. First, the advent of marketing for non-profit and non-business organisations which lacks the traditional direct financial relationship between customer and firm (Fines, 1981, in Ashwort and Voogd, 1994) and requires the extension of the concept of a market (Capon, 1981 in Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). Second, the introduction of social marketing in which marketing practice is employed to further social wellbeing rather than to sell products (Kotler, 1986, in

Ashwort and Voogd, 1994) demonstrating the wider use of marketing and familiarising it to public agencies. And third, the use of images in marketing where the relationship to the good or service was increasingly vague, meaning many varied facets of a place could be attached to its general image.

Place marketing practice also emerged at a time where there was a great deal of opportunity for its use. The work of Power, Ploger and Winkler (2010) on 'phoenix cities' illustrates both the catalyst and consequences of this shift to market driven approaches through the experiences of European cities. From a history of rapid population growth and wealth creation as a result of industrial production, the decline of industry brought with it, population loss, political turmoil and social problems. This decline can be attributed to changes in the capitalist space economy (Short, 1999).

Not only did place marketing emerge in this entrepreneurial context this context has also shaped place marketing. Griffiths, (1998) identifies the use of public private partnerships together with a shift away from democratic institutional processes. This inevitably influences the type of organisations which undertake place marketing activities. Also, urban entrepreneurialism has resulted in inequalities both within and between places meaning that place marketing activities have had to appeal to external markets such as investors and visitors, and internal markets to increase civic pride and support for initiatives (Griffiths, 1998). Urban entrepreneurialism created the context for place marketing to thrive and has also shaped the nature of the place marketing that developed.

2.2.2 Place branding and distinctive cities

Place branding activities, the increasingly dominant term from the 2000's (Lucarelli and Berg 2011), are a feature of increased inter-urban competition and new forms of urban development, characteristic of Harvey's entrepreneurial urban governance. Place branding, the purposeful association of attributes and values with a place to increase its competitive advantage through differentiation (Ashworth, 2008) is cited as a feature of the post-industrial city emerging from the "protracted economic crisis of the 1970s associated with the collapse of social democracy" (Eisenchitz, 2010, p.2). The use of marketing to further social rather than profit driven aims (Ashworth

and Voogd,1994) and the separation of the financial relationship between customer and company in marketing (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994) can be said not just to have enabled place marketing but also allowed the development from place marketing to place branding. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) attribute this shift from place marketing to place branding not just to the success of product branding but also to the emergence of corporate branding.

Again, we see the development of place promotion activities and the requirements of place making interventions coalesce. The idea of a unique sense of place is apparent in Turock's (2009) work on distinctive cities in which places aim to promote their distinctiveness, as a way of increasing their prosperity by building "competitive advantage that other places cannot readily reproduce" (Turock, 2009, p.2). The notion that advantage can be built rather than being essential to the place's location or assets, increases the wealth of possible urban development interventions, with some aspects of place more "amenable to alteration" (Turock, 2009 p.22) than others. The promotion and management of 'sense of place', through place branding is one of Turock's (2009) four main sources for differentiation.

A brand can be described as "a product or service made distinctive by its positioning relative to competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values" (Hankinson and Cowking, 1993, in Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005, p.508). Branding is about actively encouraging associations around functional attributes and symbolic values. Place branding makes people's images and perceptions central to place making activities (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). It is here that the link between place branding and corporate branding becomes apparent in that the brand is expressed through the "company's mission, core values, beliefs, communication, culture and overall design" (Kavaratzis, 2009, p.27). Here, we see that for places, branding is not just about images of the place and its basic attributes but also about how it is managed, how it 'behaves' and how these things are perceived.

The difference between branding products and services and branding places is widely discussed, as is the need for specific approaches to place branding (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005, Ashworth and Voogd 1994). Examples of popular

approaches include, personality branding, signature building and design, events branding (Ashworth 2008) and signature districts (Ashworth, 2009). The popularity of place branding activities and fear of being left behind by places that are engaging in these activities (Short 1999), means that place branding activity is likely to continue, as is its increasing professionalization (Jensen, 2005).

Place branding takes place in a context in which the knowledge economy and experience economy are gaining in importance. In an attempt to sum up the increased significance of the knowledge economy, the rise of the creative class and the transformation process shaping cities, Jensen (2007) developed the concept of New Urban Management which is characterised by governance, public-private partnerships and a shift in urban development interventions to settings beyond democratic control. Place branding becomes a 'discipline' (Jensen, 2005) in this form of urban management as a manager and communicator of place in a wider set of economic and governance relations, in which place is becoming more prominent.

Power, Ploger and Winkler (2010) chart the decline and recovery of cities and the urban interventions employed in their transformation. They discovered that authorities identified "that rebuilding a 'sense of place' was a prerequisite for recovery" (p.33). The prominence of 'sense of place' in recovery efforts is apparent elsewhere. For example, the UK New Labour Government's policy statement *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) had a major influence on the development of many ex-industrial sites in Labour heartlands in the North of England as an attempt to revitalise urban areas. In this context design became essential to urban regeneration in the UK (Julier, 2011) and in Europe (Gospodini, 2002) more widely.

In the context of the knowledge and experience economies and a desire to build competitive advantage through distinctiveness, quality of life has become an important element in attracting skilled workers and business investment to places (Turock 2009, Jensen 2005). The consequence of this could be a change in migration motives (Neidomyls 2004) as such, place is likely to be mobilised to speak to the aspirations of decision makers around the incentive of quality of life.

There has been an increase in competition between cities and other sub-national territorial units (Begg, 1999), This 'obvious' assertion belies the extent to which competition is a "slippery concept" (Begg, 1999, p.796) with cities engaging in competition in self-aware ways (Lever, 1999) with increasing 'ideological conformity' (Malecki, 2004, P.1107). This context has some interesting implications in the context of place branding undermining "the traditional view of a trade-off between efficiency and equity" (Jensen- Butler, 1999, p.889) due to the importance of reputational factors and both economic and social functions implicit in the definition of place branding (Zenker and Martin, 2011).

There are also interesting implications for scale with European integration resulting in increased inter-territorial competition (Cheshire, 1999) and the creation of agencies at greater levels than city governments; these agencies may not represent economically functional geographies (Cheshire, 1999), and can result in wasteful competition (Begg, 1999). In response, metropolitan cooperation has become a new policy option in order to build scale, promote growth and avoid uncertainty (Heeg et al., 2003). These non-standard places are less reliant of 'territorial administrative hierarchies' and are often set up to manage cooperation for specific, functional and economic purposes (Boisen, et.al., 2011).

The Øresund Region, covering an area in both Sweden and Denmark, is an example of a non-standard place of this ilk; intended to "become a metropolis that would be able to compete with the Blue Banana" (Hospers, 2004, p.276). The branding of the Øresund is generally seen as a success story as it has experienced a higher growth of new firms than the rest of Sweden and Denmark (Hospers, 2004). Despite this, residents still feel more aligned to their national identity than that of the new 'Euregion' (Hospers, 2004). Much of the work on non-standard places deals with regional identity. Here place branding has some interesting effects. Zimmerbauer (2011) discovered that it was possible for regional promotion to enhance regional identity and Terlouw (2009) discovered that an organisation set up to promote a region for business was able to achieve a new 'thin' regional identity.

Place branding has grown out of place marketing just as the quest for distinctive cities has grown out of urban entrepreneurialism. Once again, the political economic

context instigates the use of place branding activities and shapes what those activities may be, even down to the types of place where branding is appropriate, such as regions and other non-standard places.

2.2.3 Expanding the Aims and Understanding of Place Branding

The notion of place branding as a form of place management had been mentioned in place branding literature (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Hankinson, 2004) but had not been fully explored or investigated empirically. More recently a fledgling literature is beginning to emerge which conceptualises place branding as an urban development intervention with a reach or remit beyond the usual aim to attract desirable audiences or investment through distinctive positioning; such as the assertion that place branding should be seen as a 'strategic spatial planning instrument' (Oliveira, 2015).

Examples of work in this vein are Eshuis and Edwards (2013) who after an empirical investigation of place branding in two Rotterdam neighbourhoods and conclude that "branding can theoretically enhance the functioning or urban democracy if it is embedded in a participatory process" (p.1081). Messely, Dessin and Rogge (2014) identify that the nature of regions is the basis upon which the selective nature of their place brands are based. In addition, Pasquinelli (2014) observed the case of place branding in NewcastleGateshead concluding that a place brand can become an 'organisational identity or capacity' (p.740) and an institution influencing the norms of local economic development. It seems that this expansion of aims is again an example of a shift in place promotion based on context, as place branding is expected to increase in effectiveness and scope in the aftermath of the economic crisis which started in 2008.

2.3 Characteristics of the Current Literature

Despite the increasing use of place branding activities and the relationship with the political economy of urban areas and interventions examined above, commentators have noted the lack of evaluative studies on the subject of place branding and urban development (Niedomysl, 2004; Alexander and Akehurst, 2004). As explained by Pierce and Richie (2007) although branding has been a feature of retail for years its recent application to places has not engendered a great deal of empirical research.

There are a number of areas where place branding practices and results are under explored, which require further explanation. First, place branding is under-theorised. Second, little is known of the actors who undertake place branding, how are place brands constructed and what are the relationships and processes involved? Third, place brands are recognised in the literature as being a long-term project (Jensen, 2005) but how do brands become embedded and sustained over time? Finally, the literature indicates that there is much to be explored in the assessment and evaluation of place brands which leads to questions about the contribution that place branding can make to urban development and how this can best be assessed. Although potential approaches to assessment is a growing area of literature, empirical investigation of the type of assessment that is taking place and the reasons why assessment is problematic in practice are far less prominent. The following sections will take these issues in turn; citing the nature of the limitation in the literature and in each case exploring the insights which have been garnered so far.

2.3.1 Theoretical development of place branding

Place branding for urban development is under-theorised; some of the major theories of place, image and identity have not been used to describe, understand or evaluate the practices, process and outcomes of place branding. It appears that an uneven dominance in certain areas of the literature limits theoretical development. Knowledge about place branding activities and outcomes are uneven and have "been researched intensively in some cases and almost not at all in others" (Papadopoulos, 2004) with researchers focusing on the place branding approaches

of a few cities while "profound questions are still unexplored" (Niedomysl, 2004, P.1993).

This uneven knowledge is the result of a fragmented research field, which inhibits theoretical development, reflected in Lucarelli and Berg's (2011) study of place branding literature in which they discovered a "fragmented theoretical foundation" (p.13). Alexander and Akehurst, (2003) argue for a reconciliation of nation and place branding literatures which are separate even though they rely on the same processes. Fragmentation is also apparent within place branding literature, in which there has been little interaction between disciplines (Hankinson, 2004) and between academia and practice (Hankinson, 2010).

In nation branding literature, there is a dominance of practice based approaches where critical voices are in the minority (Kaneva, 2011). These findings appear to be mirrored in the place branding literature, which is polarised between the less critical voices of professional practice (Anholt, 2007) and the reaction of an academic research community, which is fragmented by discipline; exhibiting varying levels of criticism. This does not provide a fertile context in which consistent theoretical approaches can grow. In turn, this limits the development of research which is well grounded on ontological and epistemological principles. Without this strong foundation, the ability of researchers to provide robust evaluative work is diminished.

If this continues it may have a profound effect on our ability to understand the relationship between place branding and urban development as a more defined theoretical basis would enable better comparison and evaluation of place brands (Zenker, 2011). The literature cited here and the limitations which result indicate the need for a theoretical framework which at once can explain the activity of and relationships between actors working to change the cities in which they are located and their use of sense of place to mobilise activity. Ideally it will be able to account for change over time and ensure strong yet rich comparisons between places experiencing the same forces in varying contexts.

In light of these demands an institutionalist approach is helpful in examining the relationship between place branding and urban development. To use the most

simple definition institutions can be understood as the "rules of the game" (North, 1991). Institutions are the "formal regulations, legislation, and economic systems as well as informal societal norms that regulate the behaviour of economic actors" Gertler 2004 in Gertler 2010, p.3). Collectively institutions define 'systems of rules' that create and recreate "conventions routines, habits and 'settled habits of thought' that together with attitudes, values and expectations" (Gertler 2004 in Gertler 2010 p.3) that influence the economic activity of actors. In addition, an institutional approach recognises both organisations and individual agency (Gertler 2010).

Interest in the role of institutions in economic development has "risen and intensified in the last decade" (Pike et al., 2015, p.1755) and in recent years authors (Pike et.al. 2015; Gertler, 2010; Tomaney, 2014; Farole, et al. 2011) have asserted its potential to enhance understanding. Schmidt (2008, 2010) advocates that a fourth new institutionalism, 'discursive institutionalism', should sit alongside the three new institutionalisms: rational choice, sociological and historical institutionalism. The dominance of which in the social sciences, Martin (2000) partly credits with what he calls an 'institutional turn' in economic geography. For Schmidt (2010) 'discursive institutionalism' is defined as the scholars "who have come to take ideas and discourse seriously" (p.2) having shifted from their previous 'new institutionalism' and sharing enough to form a 'fourth new institutionalism' (Schmidt, 2010).

'Discursive institutionalism', in contrast to the three other 'new institutionalisms' is particularly adept at explaining the agency of individuals and organisations and evolutionary, particularly endogenous, change over time (Schmidt, 2010). In this context discourse is understood in a generic manner "to encompass not only the substantive content of ideas but also the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed" (Schmidt, 2008, p.305). It is this approach to the ontology of discourse which renders this perspective so adept at explaining agency and change; the interactive nature of discourse allows actors to rationalise and discuss institutions while within them, enabling actors to change these institutions.

It is this form of institutionalism that can best recognise narrative which is so pertinent to place branding (Jensen, 2007). Jensen (2007) advocates the importance of power and representation for identity and place branding, leading him to assert

that "understanding the complex relationship between narrative, story and place is crucial" (p.217) to understanding place branding. Place branding can be described as selective story telling (Eckstein and Throgmorton, 2003 in Jensen, 2005a). Narrative involves the selective appropriation of events as such "urban branding is evocative storytelling aimed at educating its recipients to 'see the city in a particular way' (Selby, 2004 in Jensen, 2007, p.213). The use of narrative to explain place branding is particularly pertinent as it can explain not only the narratives of place which provide content for the brand but also the narratives of the interventions made (Jensen 2007).

In addition, an institutional perspective offers a number of useful concepts in the examination of local specificity, change over time and the relationships between actors. First, the interrelationship between local specificity and change over time is captured in the notions of embeddedness and path dependence. Hayter (2004) identifies that "real world economies are *embedded*, have *histories* (or evolve) and are *different.*" (p.97) from place to place. Granovetter (1985) established the term 'embedded' in his attempt to remedy limitations in the undersocialised neoclassical economic explanation of economic activity and the oversocialised sociological explanation of economic activity. He argues that "behaviour is closely embedded in networks of interpersonal relations" (Granovetter, 1985, p.504) rather than within individuals.

The assertion that place brands are initially embedded in their locations relies on the EEG principle of path dependency. As explained by Martin and Sunley (2006) "The economy inherits the legacy of its own past… the economy is an irreversible historical process on which future outcomes depend on past events" (p.400). In each of the cities, although aligned with larger scale discourses of urban regeneration after industrial decline, approaches to early attempts to change perceptions are grounded in the particular histories and institutional regimes of those cities. Situated within wider discourses the approaches are similar but different as they are embedded in their locations which have similar yet differing histories.

The institutionalist perspective, particularly that of discursive institutionalism, provides a useful framework to introduce to the concept of place branding to provide

the basis of a robust investigation of place branding in different cities. It recognises narrative; so fundamental to place branding (Hjortegaard Hansen, 2010) yet under-represented in the field (Clawson Hudak, 2015). It enables understanding of the actors at work in cities and change over time, offering useful concepts in this regard. It is also well aligned to comparative study, lacking in the place branding field. Discursive institutionalism as a framework of analysis and understanding is well placed to support the empirical investigation of place branding.

2.3.2 The actors, relationships and processes of place branding

The strategies of those undertaking place branding activities and the relationships between interested actors are under explored. Little research has been undertaken on how cities create their brands (Jannson and Powers, 2006) or the relationships between internal stakeholders (Therkelsten and Halkier, 2011). Place branding activities have been undertaken by various actors, sometimes with little or no coordination between them (Papadopoulos, 2004). It is also apparent that different governance contexts will have an impact on the implementation of place brands (Braun, 2012) yet there has been a tendency to ignore the context in which place brands are constructed (Harris, 2011). For example, there has been a tendency to ignore cooperation between places (Pasquinelli, 2011) and issues of scale in place branding (Giovanardi, 2015). Context is particularly important as city history is likely to result in a 'degree of determinism' for place brands (Pareja-Eastaway, 2013).

Institutionalism provides a particularly pertinent framework of understanding to develop theoretically robust empirical work on the actors of place branding. To use Dawley's representation (adapted from Martin,1999, Pike et.al. 2006, p.91) an 'institutional regime' is based on the interaction between the 'institutional environment' for example the customs, norms and routines of a location and the 'institutional arrangements' the organisational forms in a location such as local councils, firms and labour unions. Formal conventions, usually legally enforced rules, are formed by interplay between institutional arrangements and the institutional environment. Furthermore, discursive institutionalism ensures that the agency of

individuals is not excluded from this explanation as recognition of discourse enables individuals to rationalise and change institutions while within them (Schmidt, 2010).

The concept of institutional thickness, a feature of institutionalism, can provide a useful insight into the relationships between actors and the impact this has on urban development. Institutional thickness can be described as "a strong institutional presence locally, high levels of inter-institutional interaction, strong social structures and collective awareness of a common local and regional enterprise" (Pike et.al., 2006, p.94). Some potential results for local areas and development include persistent yet flexible institutions, shared knowledge, norms of trust and reciprocity, high innovative capacity and a common mobilising vision (Henry and Pinch, 2001).

In addition, an understanding of the strategies involved in place branding activities is essential to illuminate the relationship between place branding and urban development. Of interest here are the approaches taken, issues resulting from the nature of place, the actors involved and the influence of other interventions. Ashworth (2008) asserts place branding is "not (as many local branding policies seem to be suggesting) the same as creating a single catchy slogan, logo, house style design and the like" (p.1). Jannson and Powers' (2006) define three broad areas of activity which are most often integrated: branding through signature buildings and events; branding though planning and urban development strategies and branding though slogans and logos.

In order to understand the nature of place branding there are fundamental questions about the nature of place. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) assert that it is possible to argue that places are too complex to be branded and that the notion of place branding can only be meaningful if it is seen as distinct from other forms of branding. In identifying the specific issues of place promotion, they cite the work of Ashworth and Voogd (1990) who highlight "spatial scale, spatial hierarchies, resulting scale shadowing, the inherent multiplicity and vagueness of goals, product-user combinations and consumer utilities" (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005, p.518).

In addition, Jensen (2005) identifies challenges associated with branding places as distinct from other forms of branding. The four issues identified are, first, the number

and variety of stakeholders involved and their different interests. Second, the need to use legitimate local values, third, the need "to 'write on top' of existing notions of place and the historical place-based identities anchored in the location" (p.13) and fourth, the diverse audiences of these activities. Not only do place branders target external audiences, place branding activities can also be used to build local identities. As Jannson and Powers (2006) describe the use of both outward and inward branding is apparent in place branding strategies; providing additional complications for those involved.

Place branding has been cited as resulting in 'clone towns' (Eisenchitz 2010). Turok (2009) attributes this commonality between 'distinctive' places, namely "new industries, high-level occupations, signature buildings and consumer identities" (p.4), to risk aversion on the part of LAs. However, the relationships involved do not just remain in the place, the influence of the place branding profession is also of interest. For Ashworth (2008), the result for place branding activities is part of the development of place branding as a practice. Best practice examples promoted by commercial agencies end up "replicating not just the programmes but also the places to which they are applied" (p.10).

In light of the complexity of urban development interventions in post-industrial cities, this may not be the only explanation. Van Ham (2002) identifies that "products, services and locations have become so alike that they can no longer differentiate themselves by their quality" (cited in Jensen, 2005, p.14). This signifies the roll of other urban development interventions which may contribute to the similarity of places, and to which place branding may in fact be a reaction. The interaction between place branding and other interventions is also significant, illuminating the role of the wider political context in which these activities take place.

At the centre of an understanding of how a place brand can be constructed is the question of how the positive associations required to differentiate the place can be attached to that place. A useful concept here is Short's (1999) notion of 'urban representations' which include the naming, mapping and description of cities. These representations can be built to form 'regimes of representation' "these are discourses of meaning that include whole sets of ideas, words, concepts and practices" (Short,

1999, p.38). This concept recognises the role of power in these processes and that these regimes of representation are not stable (Short, 1999). Short (1999) explains that crises of representation occur when 'systems of meaning' are changing very rapidly, for him the shift towards urban entrepreneurism (Harvey, 1989) is an example of a crisis of representation.

In order to develop an understanding of how place branding takes place, an investigation of the actors involved, the approaches used, the complexity of the place and other interventions at work is required. It is also essential that the wider governance context is recognised so local specificity can be identified within the unified concept of place branding. The pertinent question here is how do actors construct place brands, what are the relationships and processes involved? Answering this question would provide a significant contribution to the place branding field.

2.3.3 Sustaining and embedding place brands

There is little understanding of the way in which place brands may be embedded and sustained over time. Understanding shifts in image over longer periods of time is important yet "information of this kind is scarce" (Pallenbarg and Meester, 2009, p.24). In an investigation of the Øresund region, Hospers (2004) concludes that "place marketing is a risky, difficult and long-term strategy that may pay off only after years" (p.279), and only where a careful consideration of context is undertaken and stakeholders are supportive. Another instructive example is that of Austin with the initial stages of visioning starting in the 1950s and developing into a contemporary branding strategy with some success (Jensen, 2005) including a basis in local identity. What is apparent here is that place branding is a long-term process, with some approaches more successful than others. Identifying how place brands can be embedded and sustained over time could reduce complications in this risky and difficult strategy (Hospers, 2004).

It does appear that sustaining and embedding a place brand is possible. The investigation of the case of Colbalt, Canada (Stern and Hall, 2010); a settlement which had traditionally relied on mining, more recently pursued heritage tourism, in

order to revitalise the economy. This approach was not yielding the desired results but the town continued on this development path. Stern and Hall (2010) attribute this to what could be termed 'lock-in' caused by place branding practices and a particular funding context, which had crowded "out alternative economic development visions" (p.212).

However, it is also apparent that place brands may fail to be sustainable if awareness of competitive position is not developed (Hannigan, 2004; Jannson and Powers, 2006). An understanding of brand positioning is essential for all branding activities but only in the case of place brands do branding practitioners have so little control of the pre-existing 'product' and the existing image and identity of that 'product'. Hannigan (2004) used the example of Flint Michigan to illustrate the importance of understanding the 'market'. In response to its collapsing car industry this city developed tourist attractions inappropriate to its location and climate and as such did not achieve the aim of urban revitalisation.

Place branding "is highly political even if its self-image is one of practice" (Eisenchitz, 2010, p.4). As we have seen, it belongs to a particular time and set of governance and economic relations; particularly post-industrial cities. The shift to a post-industrial city is a result of a particular class settlement (Eisenchitz, 2010). Place branding is feature of this system and is "linked to the dynamics of the neo-liberal settlement which strengthened capital and weakened the working class" (Eisenchitz, 2010, p.1) bound up with gentrification and a change in the class make up of cities (Eisenchitz, 2010). This context has an impact on both social cohesion and identity. Both of these things have an impact on a place brand's sustainability and embeddedness.

This shift to the post-industrial city is not just about changes in the economy but requires a shift in the identities of local people which are bound up in economic relations (Nayak, 2003). Identity is particularly pertinent to place branding activities and constructing distinctive places, which inevitably relies on local residents. In Nayak's (2003) ethnography of young men in Newcastle he found that young male working class identities had evolved. Whilst still revering and maintaining continuity with the traditional Geordie identity, associated with industrial work, it had shifted "being refashioned in two zones - football and the practice of going out drinking"

(Nayak, 2003, p.15). In effect the identity performed shifted from that of industrial work to new outlets in consumption offered by the post-industrial city; demonstrating how identities evolve to meet new contexts.

The constructed nature of place brands means they can become a battle ground with competing true stories of the city (Harris, 2011). As such, some groups do not accept the official narratives of place offered. In Randers, Denmark, a local newspaper introduced an alternative logo in protest against the official one, termed 'counter branding' (Jensen, 2005, 2005a). Julier (2011) identifies a radical movement of design activists which have been involved in counter branding in Leeds; offering an alternative brand slogan and philosophy of place management. In these cases of counter-branding those involved are not the groups usually excluded from the 'smart city' (Hollands, 2008) and in fact can be understood as the 'creative class'.

The potential for struggle is inherent in the constructed nature of place branding understood as selective story telling which aims to 'educate' people to understand a place through a narrative construction (Jensen, 2007). As Jensen (2007) asserts "power is added to the fundamentals of place and narrative. In fact, one could say that power is what links narrative and place" (p.216). As such, notions of social justice and inclusivity should be central to these representations of the city (Short, 1999) with top-down constructions likely to result in lower levels of identification by local communities (Aitken and Campello, 2011).

However, power is not only apparent in the representations of the post-industrial city but in the post-industrial city itself. The concept of 'splintering urbanism' can explain the social polarisation and fragmentation of 'smart' or neoliberal cities (Hollands, 2008). The characteristics of which often act to exclude groups which could contribute to the 'distinctive city' of city government's aspirations. Activities undertaken to exploit a place's unique selling point may actually promote internal conflict, divert resources from and undermine real diversity and vitality (Hannigan 2004).

These examples show the way that a place brand that does not tell an acceptable story of identity to local people, will not be recognised and the whole project and

potentially other related interventions will be undermined. Above all, these examples express the complexity of sustaining and embedding place brands and the need to examine these processes further. It is here that reference to institutionalism and allied EEG (MacKinnon et.al. 2009) concepts of evolution offer much to the investigation of sustaining and embedding place brands.

Path dependence has three interconnected versions (Martin and Sunley, 2006): technological 'lock in'; 'dynamic increasing returns' and institutional hysteresis. In the case of the cities in this study it appears that the explanation of dynamic increasing returns is the most appropriate. In the case of 'dynamic increasing returns' path dependency occurs as a particular trajectory becomes embedded due to the positive feedback to activity undertaken. As a result, more activity is undertaken resulting in more positive feedback resulting in a particular path being followed creating gradual change in institutions.

In the case of place brand and branding this positive feedback appears to be a feature as initial interventions in the brand of the city, often as a secondary aim of other developments, started to result in positive feedback more of these activities are then undertaken. However, institutionalism does not only offer us the concept of path dependence to explain the trajectory of place, there are other concepts in this paradigm which can explain place branding and its relationship to urban development. The notion of path creation (Dawley, et al.,2015) can explain the impact of new activities introduced to a location; for example, by professional place branding consultants.

In addition, the allied concept of path plasticity is particularly useful. Path plasticity is not intended to undermine path dependency or path creation instead it "describes a broad range of possibilities for the creation of innovation within a dominant path" (Strambach, 2010, p.407). Rather than the stability of path dependence or the 'creative destruction' of path creation, path plasticity allows for change within a dominant path due to the interrelation between economic structures and institutional regimes. As Strambach (2010) suggests institutions can be enabling, reinterpreted and converted by actors which "shape and form institutions and are themselves becoming influenced by the institutions" (p.413). The resulting institutions are not

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new but emerge from the rearrangement, by groups of actors, of previous institutions into new forms to meet new aims (Strambach, 2010).

Akin to the principle of 'path plasticity' is Martin's (2010) attempt to develop the 'canonical form' of the path dependence model into an account which more accurately describes change than the stability associated with 'lock in'. Similarly, he summarises three mechanisms by which path dependent institutional change can take place that of layering, recombination and conversion with conversion described as changing the function or form of an institution through the addition of new layers or the reorientation of institutions to meet new aims (Martin, 2010).

The notion of evolution within a dominant path and particularly of path plasticity where that evolution is due to the purposive (Dawley, 2014) actions of agents, allows an institutional study of policy interventions where it has rarely featured (Pike et.al.,2016). In this case, the evolution of place branding activities in a location would be the object of study. This approach also lends itself to the connection of different levels which is an area of concern in this perspective (Pike, et.al. 2016). For example, linking the evolution of a policy intervention and the evolution of the location to which the intervention applies. These concepts offer much to the investigation of the question how do place brands become embedded and sustained over time? This provides a worthwhile area of study where much could be contributed to the place branding field.

2.3.4 Assessment of the impact and value of place branding for urban development

There is limited systematic assessment of the impacts and value of place branding for places. Turok (2009) asserts that "there are doubts about the ability of place marketing activities to change perceptions and location decisions" (p.15). And, it appears that the research evidence is not instructive in this regard. Kaneva (2011) identifies a literature dominated by "anecdotal success stories" (p.121) which are lacking in analysis with empirical work usually taking the form of 'business-style case studies' (p.121). This is echoed by Ashworth (2008) who identifies Manchester, Barcelona, Glasgow, Dublin and Pittsburgh as those success stories often cited

while asserting that stories of failure are rarely told yet "likely to be at least as numerous and potentially more instructive" (p.11).

Not only do a small selection of case studies dominate, these cities are too often large former industrial locations "that may be exceptional in their experience" (Niedomysl, 2004, p.1994) offering limited learning in other cases (Jannson and Powers, 2010). The dominance of a small number of business style case studies reflects that the field itself is dominated by a 'technical economic' (Kaneva, 2011) category of literature, usually written by branding practitioners or marketing scholars adopting an uncritical functionalist perspective (Keneva, 2011). The result is that comparative studies are lacking (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011, Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009). The use of comparative approaches offers a significant opportunity to develop evaluative studies of place branding activities.

Although assessment of branding and of urban development takes place, the two are not convincingly integrated. Changes in urban development measures are not related back to place branding activities. In addition, there is often a variety of factors which have casual links with those indicators (Northover, 2010) and often assessment is not repeated regularly enough to be useful (Zenker and Martin, 2011). Dominant measures of place (Cresswell, 2004) particularly where these measures are to be used to support intervention, are those which surround traditional notions of urban development. These measures such as annual population change and Gross Value Added (GVA) are widely understood, have agreed definitions and conventions and are accepted as a robust way of comparing places and tracking change over time.

There are also a number of conventions in the measurement of brands around features such as brand recognition and loyalty; however, there are significant differences in the case of place branding. For goods and services the aim is to add value to the product through loyalty and awareness, which can be measured by monetary means. The measurement of the impact of a place brand is much more difficult when the aim is urban development. A successful place brand is not an end in itself "branding is only a means to an end and the attainment of that end may depend upon the operation of a much wider range of variables" (Ashworth, 2008,

p.8). The problem of place brand measurement means that branding activities and those who undertake these activities are "safely non-accountable" (Ashworth, 2008, p.10).

Zenker and Braun (2015) describe place brand assessment as fragmented with competing approaches which are largely untested. They typify three broad approaches to place brand measurement: around physical characteristics of the place often in the form of case studies and dependent on secondary data such as tourism figures (e.g. Vanolo, 2008); brand value driver measures which assess consumer response to the brand such as brand awareness (e.g. Keller 1993); and place brand equity based on the outcome variables from the customer brand relationship (e.g.Jacobsen, 2012).

There is a developing body of work on the assessment of place brands, however, to return to the observation by Ashworth (2008) success in place branding is not about creating a compelling brand but about affecting urban development. In the context of place branding, where the relationship between the brand and the outcomes is complex and multifaceted, measuring the strength of the brand and relating it to profits is not possible. Currently the place branding field of measurement focuses on the strength of the brand without reference to the aims or end which is urban development. Place branding and urban development sit in different fields of measurement, this is a severe hindrance to understanding the relationship between the two.

Further to this, lack of clarity about what place branding can actually contribute to urban development, essentially what we mean by urban development in this context, compounds problems of assessment. The literature reviewed in this chapter links place branding or marketing to inward investment attraction (Burgess, 1981), property-led regeneration (Brownill, 1994), culture-led regeneration (Griffiths, 2006), the development of regional identities (Zimmerbauer, 2011; Terlouw, 2009), the construction of scale (Boisen et.al., 2011), the use of participatory practices in urban democracy (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013) and the use of place branding as a means of place management (Ashworth, 2008; Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). Further to this

list Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) add supporting the tourism industry and export industries, promoting public diplomacy and strengthening local identities.

An increased empirical understanding of what place branding can claim to contribute to urban development, amongst this plethora of potential contributions, could offer a great deal to the field. Similarly, the empirical investigation of the assessment that is undertaken in cities pursuing place branding activity would offer much to the understanding of place brand evaluation. A useful starting point in order to develop place brand evaluation here would be to understand why place branding activity is problematic and then to identify the type of place branding assessment that does take place in the cities; offering suggestions for developments on this basis.

This observation from the literature; that place brand assessment needs further development to result in robust evaluation and that the impact of place branding on urban development, "the end" (Ashworth, 2008) in this equation, needs more attention leaves us with two pertinent questions. First, what does place branding contribute to urban development? What is the nature of the relationship between the two and does this match the aims of actors in places which employ place branding as an urban development intervention? Second, how can place branding best be assessed and evaluated? What sort of assessment is currently undertaken in places, why is it so problematic, can effective conclusions about cause and effect be drawn and if not what is required to improve the status quo? These questions provide a fertile area in which to contribute to this field.

2.4 Conclusion

Contrary to expectations about the impact of increased globalisation on the nature of place; place matters more than ever (Kovács and Musterd, 2013). As illustrated by the literature the notion of place is inseparable from meaning. Place is created through meaning and lends itself to narrative construction, as a result 'sense of place' is compelling and is inevitably able to instigate action. It is also particularly susceptible to use by actors to achieve political or economic aims; place branding depends upon the compelling nature of place and sits within this context.

The practice of place branding has developed from place selling or advertising to place marketing and then branding. This has emerged due to developments in the field of marketing such as social marketing (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994) and corporate branding (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005) but most significantly this has taken place in response to the demands of the urban development context. Place marketing emerged in the context of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989) and developed into place branding in the context of distinctive cities (Turok, 2009); as demonstrated by the literature, it seems that place branding and urban development are entwined.

This analysis of the literature recognises place branding as an evolving urban development intervention based on the compelling nature of place. It results in the identification of several pertinent questions and a theoretical framework through which to investigate them. The literature identifies a particular need for theoretical development in the field of place branding in order to enable empirical investigation. An institutionalist approach, particularly a discursive institutionalist approach, novel in the place branding field, has been identified as the most appropriate perspective to provide a framework of understanding, though which to investigate the research questions which are each taken in turn below.

First, there is clearly a need, expressed in the literature, to explore the way place branding actually takes place. The characteristics of place branding such as the varied interests and actors involved and many stakeholders are commented upon, as are the sort of activities which take place. However, there is much left to learn. An empirical investigation of a number of cities which aims to answer the question: 'How are place brands constructed, who undertakes these activities and what are the relationships and processes involved?' would make a contribution here and a discursive institutionalist (Schmidt, 2008; 2010) approach provides a framework to enable this.

The institutional environment and arrangements which make up an institutional regime provides a useful framework to investigate the actors at work in place branding and the relationships and processes involved. The concept of the institutional environment is a route to investigate the culture and norms of activity

and the institutional arrangements relate to the actors involved and their interaction with the institutional environment. The discursive element of this perspective enables the recognition of narrative, both as the content of the brand in terms of a story of local identity and also in terms of motivations to act (Jensen, 2007), factoring in individual agency. The situation of narratives in wider discourses enables the identification of broader motivations in the cities. Here we have a theoretically robust framework of concepts through which to investigate this question.

Next, the literature cites place branding as a long-term process, where embedding a brand is possible with potentially negative as well as positive effects. Real developments in the place, issues of social justice and their impact on this process are also touched upon. Nevertheless, there is much left to be understood about the way place brands can become embedded in places, the way place brands may become sustainable over time and the relationship between these two factors. An empirical study which aims to elucidate the question 'How do place brands become embedded and sustainable over time?' has much to offer the field and once again a discursive institutionalist perspective offers a useful framework of understanding.

A discursive institutionalist approach (Schmidt, 2008; 2010) accommodates the EEG concepts of path dependency, path creation and path plasticity (Strambach, 2010) which provide a useful set of ideas through which to investigate how place branding activities may become embedded and how this may be sustained over time. The discursive approach in institutionalism is particularly adept at recognising change both in response to wider discourses and individual agency. The recognition of narrative here seems particularly useful when allied to the notion of path plasticity; gradual change through agency within dominant paths where institutions are reimagined and repurposed to meet new aims. It seems in the case of place branding that narrative may be key to the reimaging of past institutions in order to mobilise actors around the place brand. Here discursive institutionalism offers a wealth of concepts to enable the empirical investigation of this question.

Finally, evaluation and assessment of place branding is much discussed in the literature and the difficulty of assessing place branding activities is acknowledged. The processes for brand evaluation may not be appropriate in the unique field of

place branding and the usual assessments that relate to place are not aligned to the notion of brand assessment. Further to this the element of urban development that place branding can enable is unclear with the practice being linked to many aspects of urban development. This results in two limitations in the field of place branding: first, a lack of awareness of what place branding actually contributes to urban development in places and second, underdeveloped theory and practice around place brand assessment. As such, an empirical investigation which aims to shed light on the questions 'What does place branding contribute to urban development?' and 'How can we best assess and evaluate place branding's contribution to urban development?' has the potential to make significant developments in the field.

Discursive institutionalism provides a framework through which to investigate these two complex questions. This approach enables access to actor's motivations and the context in which they act, that they shape and which shapes them through the notions of institutional arrangements and institutional environment. Similarly, understandings of change over time which recognises the importance of narrative and discourse in this change are enabled through the concepts of path dependence, path creation and path plasticity once again in a discursive institutionalist paradigm. This reading of the literature has generated a set of pertinent research questions and identified a robust set of conceptual and theoretical tools to enable the empirical investigation of these questions.

A last observation from the development of place branding literature is the recent emergence of a more nuanced interpretation of place branding and its potential to contribute to urban governance and management (Eshuis and Arthur, 2013; Messely, et al., 2014; Pasquinelli, 2014, Oliveira, 2015). This research aims to be situated in this emerging area. The following section will build on the discursive institutionalist approach introduced here, explain the methodology used and the way the cities were selected. An account of each of the case study cities follows. The next chapters will take each of the questions above in turn, demonstrating robust comparison and empirical richness. Finally, a conclusion will be reached about the unique contribution to the research field which the investigation of these questions has allowed.

3   Researching Place Branding Through Institutions and Narratives

As we have seen place branding is a phenomenon in which there is much left to be explored and understood, especially: Who are the actors undertaking the construction of place brands and what are the relationships and processes involved? How do place brands become embedded and sustainable over time? What can place branding contribute to urban development? And, how can place branding best be assessed and evaluated? A methodology was constructed which best enabled the investigation of these questions and place branding as a phenomenon. The collaborative nature of this research required further consideration in order to make best use of that opportunity while meeting additional demands.

Place branding as an activity and the research aims of the study required an understanding of two key elements of a city. First, the actors involved in managing a city and their motivations for action, in this account the institutions in a city; the rules of the game (North, 1991). Second, storytelling as a fundamental element of place branding (Jensen, 2007) with narrative as a key motivating factor for the actors involved and as content for the construction of the brand. This understanding of place branding has been the foundation of the research design of this project and is explored further in this section.

The research aims of this study and the account advocated, as outlined above, required a methodology which met five key demands. The first was a design which was able to generate context specific data, the second was a methodology which could recognise the impact of history and change over time. Third, the methodology had to be able to encompass activity undertaken at different scales. Fourth, it had to be sensitive to narrative construction and finally, in relation to the previous point, it had to maximise the opportunity to access an understanding of the agency and motivations of the actors involved.

It was also important to recognise the impact that the comparative nature of this study had on the decisions made. This CASE studentship is an exception to the

"dearth of UK initiatives" (Reid and McCormick, 2010, p.530) which provide doctoral students with the experience of bridging policy and practice divide. It provided a unique opportunity to access the construction of a place brand from the inside. Maximising this opportunity was a guiding principle of research design. Along with the opportunity to access actors and the process, and the need for results valuable beyond academia, there were other benefits. Research for policy and practice audiences may be associated with making 'awkward compromises' (Peck, 1999). However, it is as a result of these demands that research can be "legitimate, non-trivial and potentially creative" (Peck, 1999, p.131) this has been my experience of undertaking research for a policy and practice audience. The need to meet the additional needs of NGI resulted in a more insightful, creative and robust approach.

CASE studentships could be seen as part of a trend for academics, funders and administrators to advocate "more publicly engaged understandings or their professional missions" (Brewer, 2013). Brewer (2013), asserts that in geography this has comprised three broad traditions: decision support; activism and capacity building and development. This studentship can be said to lie within the decision support tradition with my partnering of NGI intended to support the decision making and implementation of their place branding activity.

The relationship with NGI was long-term, from the beginning of the project my engagement with the organisation enabled me to develop the research aims of the original proposal to ensure they were pertinent to the practice of place branding. The relationship enabled access to key actors in NewcastleGateshead and the place branding process to which I was a participant observer. The partner benefitted from the continual transfer of knowledge while they undertook their place branding project and my presence allowed them to demonstrate to stakeholders that wider knowledge in the field was being incorporated into the project. However, the primary purpose of this project remained the academic contribution to place branding; this was recognised by the non-academic partner who supported this distinction.

This chapter commences with an account of the investigation of place branding through institutions and narratives and how this relates to the research questions, resulting in five key demands which the research design must meet. An explanation

of the case study approach adopted; the suitability of this methodology for the phenomenon under study and the way this methodology met the demands generated from the research questions follows. This section is completed by an in-depth account of the case study selection process through which cities with shared similarities and evolution were selected with the cases within identified subsequently. Next the analytical framework is addressed to explain the way the framework was designed to maximise the quality of interpretations and constructions particularly through the use of one core and four subsidiary cases. This is followed by the data collection methods and analysis; including a detailed explanation of comparative frameworks. Finally, the ethical considerations necessary to this project are explored.

3.1 Institutions and Narratives

Examining place branding through an institutional perspective requires some clarification to be the basis of research design. A city's place branding activities as the cumulative activity of many organisations and individuals, primarily within the city, would sit partly within the institutional arrangements. However, in the absence of formal conventions to guide actors in the city to behave in 'on brand' ways, a place brand is the result of the establishment of informal conventions in the 'institutional environment,' which can guide actors in a city to behave in ways which allow a shift in representations. Essentially it is argued that the organisations in the cities have been able to construct city brands as conventions for activity which result in the ability to represent the city in new ways.

The development of a city's brand relies not only on orchestrated branding activities but also on the activity of all the organisations and individuals in the city. In order to engender the collective activity required to change perceptions through change in the city a place brand has to become part of informal conventions or the 'institutional environment.' It is argued that in order for the brand 'values' to become part of the institutional environment, organisations, the 'institutional arrangements' have started to operationalise local identity for urban development purpose and have to some extent shifted the 'institutional regime'. Institutions both shape and are shaped by the environment (Rodriguez-Pose, 2013) so the informal conventions then act to guide

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the behaviour of the organisational forms create a virtuous circle. Due to this iterative relationship between institutions and their environment, the brand values that organisations operationalise, must be grounded in the city's history or identity. As such, a different set of historic circumstances result in different institutional regime and identity formation.

The next question in this account must be how do organisations in a locality establish the informal conventions that are able to engender collective action, in a locally specific and historically grounded way, whilst still referencing common development concerns? To ground the account in the activities of the cities it seems that the use of history and symbols mediating that history have been central to the construction of place branding activities, through the selective appropriation of events which show the city in a particular light.

In order to speak to this aspect of the experiences of the cities within an institutionalist paradigm the use of 'discursive institutionalism' (Schmidt, 2008, 2010) is most appropriate. Schmidt (2010) identifies a number of discursive institutionalists who work within a constructionist epistemology. As Crotty (2005) explains "we do not create meaning. We construct meaning ... What we have to work with is the world and objects in the world" (pp.43-4). For an investigation which concerns cities, that are real and material but cannot be understood outside associated meaning, and the representations of cities which are not material but equally can be understood as 'real' and have both 'real' and material outcomes, this epistemology is particularly appropriate.

To relate discursive institutionalism to the place branding literature, where it has not yet featured, Jensen (2007) in his analysis of cultural urban branding suggests that "urban branding can be understood better when analysed through a spatially sensitive narrative frame" (p.215) using the work of Selby (2004) he suggests that "urban branding is evocative storytelling aimed at educating its recipients to 'see the city in a particular way'" (p.213). Jensen (2007) explains that the 'selective appropriation' of events and 'relational emplotment' result in stories that provide "causal, or even moral, lessons to be learned (p.215).

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The power of narrative is illustrated by its impact on reality in the choices we make and resulting actions (Jensen 2007). Sandercock (2003) suggests that narrative is an integral element of urban intervention outside of place branding activities, for example, in planning where story can be a "foundation, origin, identity" (p.17), "a catalyst for change" (p.18) and an integral element of policy formation understood as a competitive arena where "stories organise knowledge around our need to act and our moral concerns" (p.19). Sandercock's (2003) explanation of 'core identity' usually used to understand individual but more rarely collective identity, is illustrative of identity creation through narrative and the way it becomes part of a powerful identity formation over time. Citing that we emplot our past behaviour to understand ourselves and "become our stories" (p.16) reproducing ourselves by retelling powerful stories.

This narrative account illustrates the way in which the many stories told about cities construct the identity of the city, through the actions and expectations of organisations and individuals. It also provides space for competing accounts both within and outside the city which can lead to competition over who represents the city. What is important next is to identify how these stories are coordinated in a collective identity construction. This is particularly important in the case of an understanding of a place brand which is the cumulative activity of those primarily within the city and for which there is no formal regulation or enforcement.

The answer here is that narratives are situated within larger discourses sharing their fundamental logic and basic principles (Jensen, 2007). As asserted by Jessop (1998) "narratives are often linked to complementary discourses that are mobilised to conceptualise these changes and reinforce calls for action" (p.83). Not only words, discourses are also made up of "actions, institutions and infrastructures that are more or less logically coherent and produce regimes of truth" (Cresswell, 2009, p.211). Discourses do not describe reality but actually produce it through practice (Cresswell, 2009). Jessop (1998) outlines a close relationship between economic strategies and economic discourses centring on this notion of performativity.

To situate this in an institutional framework a discourse is an integral part of the institutional regime in which the institutional environment and institutional

arrangements feature. Narratives mobilised within this regime are guided by the discourse but also reinforce it. Narratives can also be mobilised to shift the discourse and the regime although only by changing the emplotment of events not by introducing meaning from entirely outside of the original discourse. For example, McCann (2004) describes interurban competition as a "hegemonic, normative discourse" (p.1912) which "sustains and encourages relative ideological conformity over large parts of the developed world" (p.1912). This is a discourse in which place branding sits, instigating activity, by local organisations, to promote the city's comparative advantage. This activity is rationalised and legitimised in local circumstances by emploting narratives which use local assets and history to situate the city in that competitive discourse. Mutual reinforcement of the narratives and resulting activities mean that cities do start to act in competitive ways. In the case of place branding it is argued that this results in an operationalization of narrative identity for urban development means.

This framework of understanding which situates a narrative approach in an institutional framework can be used to explain how local collective identity can become the basis of local urban development initiatives that are situated within global development concerns. It is able to access both the agency of actors and change over time, two of Gertler's (2010) demands for a 'reconstituted institutional economic geography' and two of the demands generated from the research questions. Discursive institutionalism can also access context specific knowledge, different scales and narrative construction; other demands generated by the research questions. It can explain change in continuity, and how the interplay between institutional arrangements and the institutional environment, mediated by local historical experience, can shift the institutional regime.

3.2 Embedded Case Studies

It was essential that the methodology chosen was aligned to the theoretical standpoint, demands generated from the research aims, the phenomenon of study, and the needs of the collaborative partner. In response to all of these considerations a case study approach was most suitable. This is largely for the reason that case studies present an opportunity to investigate "a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (Yin, 2009, p.18) particularly when the "boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p.18). The ability to access context specific data through this methodology firmly addresses the demands identified from the research aims.

First, in the case of the theoretical standpoint and the need to meet the demands generated by the research aims a case study approach is particularly appropriate. It can meet the third of Gertler's (2010) desirable features for a 'reconstituted institutional economic geography'. Namely that "it must account for interaction between institutional architectures at different scales" (p.11), the contextual nature of a case study approach enables an investigation of the impact of institutions at different scales on the phenomenon under study. The need to be able to recognise multiple scales is one of the five key demands instigated by the research aims of the study.

Furthermore, it lends itself to comparative methodologies, Gertler's (2010) final demand. Case study research is particularly useful when discursive institutionalism is used to guide methodological decision making based on its definition of discourse as "not just ideas or text but also context" (Schmidt, 2008, p.305) as case study research enables the investigation of phenomena in context. The context-specific nature of a case study methodology is also important to recognise embeddedness, an influential concept in institutional economic geography (Martin, 2000). The ability to access a phenomenon in context and to recognise embeddedness, essentially the importance of history, exactly aligns to two of the demands made by the study's research aims.

Second, the nature of place branding as a phenomenon and the current lack of theoretical development (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011) and comparative empirical frameworks (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009) renders a case study approach particularly valuable. The nature of place branding as an activity undertaken in the context of many stakeholders (Hankinson, 2010) which seeks to construct representations of distinctive cities (Turock, 2009) and simultaneously takes place at different scales, is particularly suited to a methodology which enables the study of phenomenon in context. The fact that case study research lends itself to comparative research design is also important here as this enables the resolution of limitations in the field, particularly as "corroboration, triangulation, and interrogation across comparative sites" (Barnes et al., 2007, p.22) enables theoretical development, already stated as a weakness of the field.

Last, the requirement and opportunity offered by my collaborative partner to have an intense engagement with an organisation and process of orchestrated place branding particularly lends itself to a case study approach. The case can be defined as the activities of organisations in a city which are working with varying degrees of orchestration to change perceptions of the place. The case presented in NewcastleGateshead required and resulted in an approach to case definition which was relational in the context of scale as constructed and dynamic (Ward, 2010). It has been based on those actors at different scales which engage with place branding rather than all organisations which exist in a territory. The aim of the collaborative partner to learn from the activities of other places also lends itself to a case study approach with its potential for comparison as part of what Ward (2010) describes as a "'comparative turn' in the imaginations of policy-makers, politicians and practitioners" (p.472). The suitability of this methodology is expanded upon in the following two sections which outline the research design detailing the comparative case study design and the case selection approach.

3.2.1 Comparing Embedded Cases

The research design chosen was that of a comparative international case study, with NewcastleGateshead as a core case and four other cities selected to be subsidiary

cases. The reason for the selection of this approach is based on the opportunities offered by this design; these are fourfold. First, to meet the demands generated by the research questions particularly the first three of those demands: that the design should enable context specific interpretation; that it should recognise the impact of history and change over time; and that it should encompass activity at different scales. Second, to enable the development of theory and to fill the gap in comparative international research which is lacking in the place branding field. Third, to match the design to the institutionalist perspective, for example Gertler's (2010) demand that institutional methodologies should be comparative and finally to meet the requirements of NGI to garner insight and learning from other cities.

Using McMichael's (1990) concept of 'incorporated comparison' in which cases are instances in the broader whole not distinct and different wholes in themselves "both the individual instances ('parts') and the 'whole' are historically and mutually constituted" (Robinson, 2011, p.8). The aim of this approach is to "develop historically grounded social theory through the comparative juxtaposition of elements of a dynamic self-forming whole" (McMichael, 1990, p.396). This approach also broadens the opportunities for comparative research (Robinson, 2011), and is particularly suited to an institutionalist perspective (Pike et al. 2015). The notion of place branding as a response to the international discourse of interurban competition means that the concept of comparative cases as instances within a broader system is particularly convincing. It is also well aligned to the need to recognise the impact of history and change over time as necessitated by the research aims.

In addition, there are a number of other features of a comparative case study approach which recommend this design. Multiple cases are usually considered "more compelling" (Yin, 2009, p.53). Comparative case designs allow learning from the experiences of others; particularly suited to "answering pragmatic 'what to do?' questions" (Denters and Mossberger, 2006, p.553) especially helpful for the collaborative element of this research. Comparative case designs are believed to enable "sustained theoretical development" (Barnes et.al. 2007, p.22) especially useful in this field where a lack of theoretical development has been highlighted (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011).

Despite pertinent benefits a number of authors have bemoaned the lack of comparative urban research (Dear, 2005; Pierre, 2005) particularly across national boundaries (Kantor and Savich, 2005). More recently there has been some revival in this area (McFarlane and Robinson, 2012) which Ward (2010) hopes will mark the beginning of a 'comparative turn' (p.483) with a 'relational comparative approach'. This approach would see cities as "open, embedded and relational" (Ward, 2010, p.481), with scale recognised as socially constructed and comparisons designed to enable theoretical development. Similarly, Flyvberg (2006) argues for a better understanding of case study citing that case studies are close to real life situations therefore more apt to develop a "nuanced view of reality" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.223), particularly valuable in their ability to generate "concrete, context- dependent knowledge" (Flyvberg, 2006, p.224). The context specific nature of case study design meets a key requirement in order to answer the research questions.

As outlined above there are clearly benefits to be garnered from both single and comparative case studies. In order to maximise these benefits a comparative case study design using a core case and four subsidiary cases was implemented. This design enabled me to make the most of the collaboration with NGI and the advantages of an intensive case study investigation with the added benefits of comparative analysis. This approach allowed me to mediate the tension between depth and breadth in comparative study (Kantors and Savich, 2005). Although the investigation of NewcastleGateshead was significantly more in depth than that of the other cases, the four subsidiary cases were treated consistently; the benefits of this approach will be returned to later in this chapter (Section 3.3).

The insights from Ward (2010) and Flyvberg (2006) also highlight important issues to consider in comparative case design. Chiefly what is the case to comprise and which cities should be selected as comparator cases for NewcastleGateshead? Dear (2005) suggests that establishing the first case provides a useful template for further comparative cases. That is most certainly the strategy employed here where the core case of NewcastleGateshead was essential to the nature of the research. Early engagement with this case and the case study partner was influential in the important decision of what the unit of analysis or case (Yin, 2009) would be.

The embedded nature of place branding activities means that the case is both the whole city in terms of an urban imaginary and a smaller collection of actors within it who work to develop the brand. It is also possible to include the varied stakeholders in the city (Hankinson, 2010) and various external audiences in this definition (Darchen and Greenop, 2015). However, in light of the research questions, the work programme of the core case and insight garnered from the case partner the most pertinent construction of the case was that of the diffuse group of organisations who could be said to act to mediate and modify the urban imaginary of the city.

These organisations are identified based on their activity in this area rather than geographical location or scale; enabling multi-scale analysis as required by the research aims. The aim was to capture the dynamic way that the urban imaginary of the city is mobilised in place branding activity, particularly to enable access to the agency of actors involved; again, as required by the research aims. This approach also matches Ward's (2010) desire that comparative cases should be "open, embedded and relational" (p.481) with city scale understood as "dynamically evolving" (p.482).

This approach with the case study a group of organisations and the urban imaginary they sit within and seek to influence, required an appropriate approach to selection. Here Flyvberg's (2006) support of the specific characteristics of case research rather than a quasi-scientific approach is helpful, allowing a selection approach which primarily met the needs of this project rather than common strategies. For this research similar contexts were selected but the cases within them proved rather different; the process by which these cases were selected is outlined below.

3.2.2 Selecting Embedded Cases

The resulting approach was generated by three things, first there is confusion over definitions of place branding (Skinner, 2008), I did not want to work with only one notion of what place branding is, for example very professionalised activities, but include other more varied approaches. Second, it was important to avoid over cited best practice examples; a limitation of the literature (Kaneva, 2011). Third it was vital

to the case partner that the comparator cities were similar to NewcastleGateshead maximising their opportunity to learn from peers. My response to these challenges was to select the cities in the first instance based on the similarities of the cities and their recent evolution. The cases were then identified in the cities once those cities had been selected. The cities share a common trajectory and current similarities, with the core case having suffered from deindustrialisation and made some progress in finding new economic activities.

The approach was essentially to identify cities where we could typically expect to find place branding activities (Neidomysl, 2004) and then identify the case within them. The case comprised the collection of organisations in a city which can be said to have contributed to place branding activities. The result was a variety of types of cases, which may not have been selected by other means, located in similar cities. This approach enabled me to identify a variety cases with a broad definition of place branding, avoided a tendency to select cases based on common examples and provided sensible comparator cases for the non-academic partner.

Sampling strategies are often under explained in studies with a small number of cases (Barnes et al., 2007) and as such it is important to detail the process by which these similar cities with comparable historical trajectories were selected. The robust approach designed gave the case partner confidence in the cities selected and enable timely progress through transparent decision making. The aim of the process was to select four comparator cities to NewcastleGateshead with that number identified as a suitable balance between opportunities to access the phenomenon without losing the richness of the cases which would be identified within those cities (Pierre, 2005; Kantors and Savich, 2005).

The first step in identifying similar cities was the need to find comparative data collected at the city scale. The data set used is the Urban Audit which is coordinated by the European Commission, it started in 1999 with the first large scale data collection in 2002. Two *State of European Cities Reports* (Ecotec, 2007; Schmidt et al., 2010) have been written using the data. One of the most significant elements of the reports is the creation of a typology of cities to enable the identification of cities facing similar economic development patterns and challenges (Ecotec, 2007).

One of the most important uses of Urban Audit Data collected by the EU is to provide a basis for future comparative work. In 2007, the Urban Audit collected data on 258 European cities allowing them to be compared for the first time. The report takes stock of the developments in these cities between 1996 and 2001. In the 2007 report Newcastle was identified as a 'transformational pole' sub-type in the 'specialised poles' type. The full extent of the cities selected as transformational poles is shown in the first box of Figure 3.1. In the second report Newcastle falls into the Regional Centres type more specifically the regional service centre sub-type. The second box in Figure 3.1 identifies those cities which have been in the same category as Newcastle in both the 2007 and 2010 analysis with the regional service centres identified in bold.

Perceptions research is also collected as part of Urban Audit; due to the nature of the project this data is a valuable resource and became a selecting factor for the case study cities. In the first instance only those cities that had perceptions research and were categorised in the sub-type Regional Service Centres were identified as shown in the bottom left box of Figure 3.1. However, this was too restricted a group for an international investigation, as such, the group was expanded to include the 2010 Regional Centres. This resulted in the selection of Dortmund, Leipzig, Torino, Malmö, Belfast, Lille, Cardiff and Manchester in addition to Newcastle; cities with perceptions research which had been in the same category as Newcastle in both of the reports.

This approach is not without limitations; the analysis includes Newcastle rather than NewcastleGateshead a short investigation into the difference the addition Gateshead would have made to the indicators and size suggested that this would have not changed the categorisation of Newcastle, in addition the availability of comparative data being limited to the EU is a feature of using this approach, however, the approach offered enough value to override these limitations. The data used to inform these reports is becoming out of date but the aim of city selection was to identify cities which have had similar experiences since place branding activities have emerged, in this sense the timing of the data collection was ideal.

FIGURE 3.1: CASE STUDY CITIES SELECTION FLOW CHART

Transformational Poles (2007 Report)		
Pleven	Nancy	Birmingham
Plzen	Nantes	Cardiff
Bochum	Saint-Etienne	Glasgow
Bremen	Torino	Leeds
Dortmund	Kaunas	Liverpool
Dresden	Enschede	Manchester
Essen	Heerlen	Newcastle upon Tyne
Leipzig	Oporto	
Monchengladbach	Rzeszow	
Mulheim a.d. Ruhr	Targu Mures	
Caen	Malmo	
Lille	Maribor	
Metz	Belfast	

Transformational Poles which are also Regional Centres in the 2010 Report (Regional Service Centres in Bold)		
Plzen	**Metz**	**Belfast**
Bochum	**Nancy**	**Birmingham**
Dortmund	**Nantes**	**Cardiff**
Dresden	**Saint-Etienne**	**Liverpool**
Leipzig	Torino	**Manchester**
Monchengladbach	**Enschede**	**Newcastle upon Tyne**
Mulheim a.d. Ruhr	Heerlen	
Caen	**Oporto**	
Lille	**Malmo**	

Regional Service Centres with Perceptions Research	
Malmo	Newcastle
Belfast	uponTyne
Cardiff	
Manchester	
Lille	

Regional Centres with Perceptions Research	
Dortmund	Lille
Leipzig	Cardiff
Torino	Manchester
Malmo	Newcastle upon Tyne
Belfast	

Source: Author's Own

In order to select four cases from the eight already identified competitiveness indicators were defined. The aim was to access the notion of competitiveness epitomised in the interurban competition discourse notwithstanding discussion about the real suitability of these indicators to assess competitiveness. A number of studies on competitiveness (Parkinson et.al. 2004; Huggins and Thompson 2010; Webber

and Swinney 2010; Ecotec, 2007; Schmidt, et al. 2010) were used to identify indicators and matched to available data. This resulted in the selection of indicators identified in the table below. The most recently available data was used to rank the cities for each indicator, with data for NewcastleGateshead included.

FIGURE 3.2: COMPETITIVENESS INDICATORS USED IN THE SELECTION PROCESS

Competitiveness Aspect	Indicators
Population	Total Population Total Population of working age % of Population under 16 and over retirement age
Productivity	Gross Domestic Product
Employment	Total Employment Employment Rate (proportion of working age residents in employment)
Human Capital	Qualifications (%working age population qualified to degree level) Students in Higher Education
Deprivation	Total number of people registered as unemployed ILO Unemployment rate
Connectedness	Airports (total passengers, terminal passengers)
Innovation	Number of patents registered Patents registered per head of workforce (Assessed using the Regional Innovation Scoreboard)
Entrepreneurialism	Residents in self-employment
Visitor Potential	Total annual tourist overnight stays in registered accommodation.

Source: Author's Adaption of reports by Parkinson et.al. 2004; Huggins and Thompson 2010; Webber and Swinney 2010; Ecotec 2007 and Schmidt, Bauer and Kösters 2010.

The four cities which ranked above NewcastleGateshead were chosen, namely Leipzig, Manchester, Malmö and Torino; providing an interesting group of cities with an international spread. The decision to choose those cities within the group which

performed more competitively than NewcastleGateshead aligned to the competitiveness discourse. This appealed to NGI as it was felt that these cities may offer the greatest learning opportunities within the group. It is also unlikely that in a group of such similar cities that the notion of successful and unsuccessful cities would offer much understanding.

The four cities which were selected as a result of this process were Leipzig, Manchester, Malmö and Torino. These four cities provide a useful selection of examples from both the UK and internationally. The aim of this approach was to find cities which the literature (Neidomysl, 2004) suggested would be typical places to find place branding activities rather than select cities based on the specific nature of place branding activity which was taking place. The cities that resulted from the process provided varied case study examples embedded in the historical contexts of the cities while sharing key similarities and an interesting selection though which to examine the phenomenon of place branding.

3.3 Collecting Data and Analysing Data

The research design must be steered by the need to develop "representations and constructions to describe the representations and constructions that take place within the social world" (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p.516) as demanded by the theoretical perspective, phenomenon under investigation and research aims. As such it is particularly important that the analytical framework is able to maximise the quality of interpretation and constructions. An analytical framework was developed in order to maximise opportunities for "construct-to-data matching" (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p.516). The concepts of credibility and transferability (Baxter and Eyles, 1997) are used here and in the following sections to illustrate how the analytical framework has been designed to meet this aim.

Opportunities for data to construct matching were maximised through the iterative testing of my interpretations of the data through the use of mixed methods within cases and by using the comparative cases to corroborate findings from the core case. This triangulation of methods and sources increases the credibility of the study

(Baxter and Eyles, 1997). In the core case, NewcastleGateshead, literature reviews and document and internet searches were undertaken alongside participant observation. These different methods were used as iterative internal tests to form a picture of the case. This picture was then used to inform the approach to interviews in terms of purposive sampling. It was also used to triangulate with my interpretation of the key themes that emerged from the interviews.

Similarly, in the supplementary cases literature reviews, document and internet searches were used to develop a picture of the case which was used to inform the interviews. These interviews then tested and expanded upon the initial interpretations of the case. The attention paid to discerning the nature of the case through a variety of methods resulted in detailed understandings and description which increases transferability through the ability to assess correspondence between instances (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). This is already strong in this study due to the case study selection process.

The choice of a comparative case study design with one core case and four subsidiary cases originated in the original proposal of the studentship and is one I was happy to continue as it enabled the strengthening of the analytical framework. I was able to achieve depth by studying one case intensively whilst still achieving the benefits of a comparative study, such as the increase in transferability achieved through a multi-site investigation (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). This depth enabled both prolonged engagement and persistent observation (Baxter and Eyles, 1997) increasing the credibility of the study; this would not have been possible had I treated the five cases equally as this level of depth for all cases would have been beyond the scope of the study.

Another benefit was to use the subsidiary cases for source triangulation to corroborate and expand upon the findings garnered through the intensive study of NewcastleGateshead. Bryman (1989) asserts that case studies can be used in an exploratory manner, to test theory and to confirm findings from other studies; all three of these features were employed in this analytical framework. As previously stated the use of 'incorporated comparison' (McMichael, 1990) can broaden opportunities for comparative research (Robinson, 2011). This understanding in

which cases are not distinct and separate lessens the usual hesitance around the transferability of findings between cases, enabling these interrelated instances of a phenomenon to be used to corroborate findings between cases. The limitations of this approach are that the four subsidiary cases have not been dealt with in great depth, particularly compared to the core case. However, the cases provided enough detail to enable triangulation from these cases to the core case, to add empirical weight to the conclusions drawn and to provide learning to the core case. This approach and the support it provided to the analytical framework outweigh limits to the approach.

The analytical framework outlined here is led by the logic of triangulation within cases using mixed methods and corroboration between cases with the aim of maximising the relationship between the data and the construction of interpretations and eventually theory; essential here due to the theoretical perspective and research questions. The methods of data collection and analysis are central to achieving this aim. How data has been collected and then analysed is the focus of the following two sections.

3.3.1 Collecting Data

Data collection broadly consisted of two parts one being an in-depth investigation of NewcastleGateshead and the other the investigation of the four subsidiary cases. The nature and timing of this case studentship enabled a deep investigation of an orchestrated place branding process in the core case. Case studentships have a relatively long -term collaboration built into the structure of the project (Macmillan and Scott, 2003) allowing the development of knowledge of the non-academic organisation involved and the context in which they work. It also allows personal relationships to develop which can be a key feature of successful transfers of knowledge (Reid and McCormick, 2010). This project was able to benefit from this.

The holistic nature of a case study methodology relies on the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2009). Table 3.3 illustrates the different data collection methods that were used to understand the context; that is the cities, and the case; the organisations which have been significantly involved in constructing place brands in

the cities. As demonstrated by the Table the main additional method used to collect data in the core case study was participant observation.

TABLE 3.3: RESEARCH METHODS USED IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES

	Newcastle Gateshead	**Leipzig**	**Malmö**	**Manchester**	**Torino**
Participant Observation	✓	X	X	X	X
Interviews	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Literature Search	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Policy Documents	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Internet Searches	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Author's Own

As a participant observer I was able to develop a close working relationship with the project manager of the place branding project. Working in the case partner's office for one day per week for over two years, I was party to discussions about the selection of a consultant to undertake work, attended meetings and workshops at different stages of the process and attended place brand steering group meetings. Table 3.4 outlines the meetings I attended and presentations I delivered as part of my work with NGI. Using Gans' (1968 cited in Bryman 2004) typology I moved between the role of total participant providing information from literature or conferences to enable the development of the brand to total researcher observing rather than contributing to meetings, with researcher participant the role most often adopted. This intense engagement with the core case through participant observation and a large number of semi-structured interviews, enabled access to narrative constructions and the agency of actors two of the demands generated from the research aims.

It is important to note the time scales involved in data collection, the comparative nature of this study, in which historical evolution is important, means this is rather complex. The Urban Audit data used to select the cities begins in 1996, the broad approach to the definition of place branding activities means that relevant urban development interventions start from the point where an urban entrepreneurial response can be seen in the cities. The starting points were identified using multiple research methods (starting points are identified on the time lines in chapter four). However, participant observation in NewcastleGateshead was undertaken from the end of 2010 to the beginning of 2013, and interviews in all of the cities were undertaken in 2012 when that period of field work was scheduled. This means that although starting points for the activities referenced in the cities are varied and gradual, the data collection was completed in 2012, subsequent to this was a period of leave and part time study due to personal circumstances.

TABLE 3.4: MEETINGS AND PRESENTATIONS ATTENDED IN NEWCASTLEGATESHEAD

Meeting or Presentation	Date
Place Brand Meeting with LA Chief Execs	09/12/10
Science Communications Meeting	09/02/11
Project Group Meeting	25/02/11
Project Group Meeting (Discussing Tender Process)	30/03/11
Brand Vista (Brand Alignment Consultants) Introduction	11/04/11
Place Brand Project Meeting	16/05/11
Place Brand Project Meeting	01/07/11
Presentation to NGI Senior Management Team	26/07/11
Place Brand Project Meeting with Presentation	27/07/11
Place Brand Visioning Session	31/08/11
Place Brand Project Meeting	15/09//11
Presentation to NGI Full Staff Meeting	27/09/11
Place Brand Testing Briefing	07/11/11
Place Brand Testing Sessions with Stakeholders	08/11/11
Place Brand Consolidation Meeting	16/11/11
Place Brand Consolidation Meeting	23/11/11
Position Testing Meeting	21/12/11

Briefing for Chief Executive Presentation	07/02/12
Final Brand Proposition Meeting	26/04/12
Place Brand Steering Group Meeting	02/05/12
Place Brand Steering Group Workshop	18/06/12
Place Branding Full Staff Briefing	17/07/12
Meeting with Cravens (Creative Consultants)	14/08/12
Meeting with Cravens	05/09/12
Culture Brand Workshop	09/09/12
Meeting with Cravens	20/09/12
Place Brand Steering Group Meeting	20/09/12
Marketing Communications Team Meeting	28/09/12
Place Branding Steering Group	14/11/12
Presentation to NGI Full Staff Meeting	20/11/12
Place Branding Steering Group with Presentation	20/02/13

Source: Author's Own

Overall 60 participants were interviewed in 58 interviews, with 25 undertaken in the core case and seven to ten undertaken in each of the case study cities. The mean length of the interviews was 50 minutes with the shortest being 17 minutes and the longest 89 minutes. A detailed summary of this is included in Table 3.5. The literature review, analysis of policy documents and internet searches to identify key organisations were used to understand the wider historical context of the cases. Interviewees were selected in the NewcastleGateshead case with the help of the case partner, who were able to identify those they perceived to be stakeholders, the existing literature was also used to identify those institutions whose involvement would be pertinent and representatives were approached. A purposive approach to sampling was used to maximise access to participants who could offer the most meaningful insight increasing the credibility of the study (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). The purposive selection of participants is particularly important in the case of semi-structured interviewing (Longhurst, 2010).

A semi-structured approach to interviewing was employed in order to ensure access to narrative construction and the motivations and agency of actors. It enabled consistent coverage of the key points by all interviewees in all locations whilst

allowing new topics to emerge. Semi-structured interviewing allowed a systematic approach necessary for robust comparison while giving space for interviewees to display common narratives or produce new ones (Czarniawska, 2004). Hughes (1999) suggests that this technique "allows the existing theories of the economy and its geographies to be continually reworked in the light of conversations with the people who actively transform what it means to be involved in 'the economic'" (p.365) in the case of place branding, a fledgling concept where empirical insight is relatively undeveloped, this was essential.

In the case of semi-structured interviews, it is important to prepare specifically for each interview (Longhurst, 2010; Hoggart and Lees, 2002) this was an integral feature of purposive sampling, however, additional preparation included research on a participant's work history in order understand their likely contribution. Questions in the interview schedule were developed from the initial research on literature, documents, internet searches and participant observation. Slightly different but comparable questions were developed for each case and in the core case for those participants who were part of the project group. The aim was to maximise opportunities to access meaningful responses in a consistent way (an interview guide is included in Appendix 1). Interviews were undertaken in the interviewee's place of work, recorded and transcribed for analysis. NVivo was used to enable the storing and management of the data. All participants were sent a short outline of the research in advance of the interview.

The assertion that most comparative cases start from the template of a single case (Dear, 2005) is particularly pertinent for the second part of the data collection; the investigation of the subsidiary cases. My empirical work in NewcastleGateshead established the nature of what the case consisted. This along with reviews of literature on the cities and internet searches to identify the important organisations in the city were used to identify interviewees and map key organisations. Investigating the internet footprint of the city with websites used as a source of data in their own right (Bryman, 2004) was a useful way of mapping the organisations in the cities and identifying interview participants.

Table 3.5 provides a list of the interview participants in these subsidiary cases. The level at which the interviewee works is illustrated in this Table, all respondents except academics had some management responsibility and therefore strategic insight; the label 'strategic' is to identify those participants who hold overarching responsibility in an organisation.

TABLE 3.5: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS IN THE CASE STUDY CITIES

Interviewee	Level	Date	Interview Length (mins)
NewcastleGateshead			
International Transport Provider	Strategic	02/03/12	34
University	Strategic	02/04/12	17
LA (local authority) Strategy	Operational	05/03/12	30
Business Park Private Landlord	Strategic	05/03/12	52
Business Park Private Landlord	Strategic	07/03/12	47
Place Brand Consultants (x 2)	Operational	08/02/12	53
LA	Strategic	08/03/12	34
Destination Marketing Organisation	Operational (Project Group)	10/02/12	70
Destination Marketing Organisation	Strategic	13/03/12	29
Retail Sector	Strategic	13/03/12	49
Culture Sector	Strategic	14/03/12	50
University Communications	Operational	15/03/12	43
LA Political	Former Strategic	17/02/12	56
Business Representative	Strategic	21/02/12	19
LA Strategy	Operational	23/02/12	49
Culture Sector	Strategic	23/03/12	53
LA Political	Former Strategic	24/02/12	33
LA Communications	Operational (Project Group)	27/02/12	39
University	Strategic	28/02/12	42

Local Media	Operational	29/02/12	39
Various Strategy and Development	Various Former Strategic	12/12/12	89
Various Strategy and Development	Various Strategic	13/12/12	70
LA Communications	Operational (Project Group)	14/12/12	51
Local Enterprise Partnership	Operational	21/12/12	60
Inward Investment Science Sector	Operational	11/01/13	46
Leipzig			
Conference Sector	Operational	17/09/12	63
LA Urban Regeneration	Operational	17/09/12	55
LA International Relations Academic	Operational	17/09/12	45
Regional Development Inward Investment Biomedical Sector	Strategic	18/09/12 01/10/12	59 53
Private Landlord, Culture Sector Academic	Strategic	01/10/12	50
Destination Marketing Organisation	Strategic	02/10/12 02/10/12	48 50
	Operational	02/10/12	51
Malmö			
LA Communication	Operational	15/05/12	42
LA Political	Strategic	15/05/12	62
LA Strategy	Operational	25/06/12	60
LA Planning	Strategic	26/06/12	49
Business Representative	Strategic	27/06/12	48
Regional Communication	Operational	26/06/12	39
LA Tourism	Operational	28/06/12	52
Manchester			
City Centre Management	Strategic	09/05/12	44
Academic		12/06/12	54

Business Representative	Operational	10/05/12	48
Inward Investment	Operational	10/05/12	52
Academic		16/04/12	68
LA Strategy	Operational	19/04/12	62
Urban Development and DMO Board Member	Strategic	20/04/12	56
Business Representative	Strategic	20/04/12	36
Culture Sector	Operational	23/05/12	21
Destination Marketing Organisation	Operational	25/04/12	44
Torino			
Metropolitan Development	Strategic	29/10/12	Joint interview
Former Political and Metropolitan Development	Strategic	29/10/12	74
Culture Sector	Operational	30/10/12	47
Academic		30/10/12	62
Former Political and Urban Planning	Former Strategic	30/10/12	58
Academic		31/10/12	62
Urban Environment	Operational	31/10/12	Joint interview
Urban Environment	Operational	31/10/12	60
Regional Inward Investment	Operational	31/10/12	63

Source: Author's Own

The selection of interviewees in the subsidiary cases was undertaken using the NewcastleGateshead case as a framework while using insight from the existing literature, internet searches and the advice of early interviewees to ensure that the organisations selected were broadly similar across the cities yet attuned to the characteristics of each case. Purposive sampling was particularly important in the case study cities due to lower numbers of participants. Interviewees were approached via email prior to travelling to the cities; those interviewed on my first trip to each city became useful sources of further interviewees for the second trip.

This approach did introduce some public-sector bias into the data, however, I was able to identify business representatives in most cases and collaborative relationships with the private sector characterised the working environment of many of the organisations accessed. The networked nature of expert interview participants (Bogner, et al., 2009) enabled the success of this approach. Bogner et.al. (2009) define other features of expert interviews such as the efficiency of the approach, the possibility for experts to act as surrogates for wider groups and increased motivation for experts to be involved in research. These features enhanced the opportunity to access meaningful data in the subsidiary cases.

Just as in NewcastleGateshead the participants were generally interviewed in their place of work, with interviews conducted in English. The challenge of accessing similar concepts in different international contexts (Kantor and Savich, 2006) is particularly pertinent; due to the four languages spoken across the cities. Different languages are not just a different set of words they "construct different ways of seeing social life" (Larkin, et al., 2007, p.468). As a single language speaker, this context entailed the making of "pragmatic compromises" (Mangen, 1999, p.113); it is likely that English is the only language in which this research could have been undertaken due to the variety of languages spoken and the commonality of English as a second language. To become proficient in the other languages would have demanded time, resources and abilities beyond the project and the researcher. In addition, if the more realistic possibility of learning one other language was undertaken this would introduce variation to the approach in the different case study cities meaning some participants were interviewed in their first language and others in English; probably their second language.

As I was undertaking 'expert' interviews the risk of distortion was smaller (Mangen, 1999); in many cases the professions in which the interviewees worked, meant that speaking in English is part of their working life. The semi-structured nature of the interviews was beneficial as concept equivalence across different languages is not straightforward (Larkin, et al., 2007) I suggest that in this case allowing people who are able language speakers to act as their own interpreters is preferable to employing interpreters. Furthermore, in the case of place branding the issue of concept equivalence is not only problematic across language and cultural settings. It

is a problematic concept within groups of language speakers. It is possible that the understandings of professionals working within these areas are at least as aligned as those who happen to share the same language. Although the wider governance context is defined largely at the national level, in absence of national policy place branding activity is locally specific and embedded within a wider professional and academic context in which national boundaries are unlikely to be key determinants.

Accessing similar data in different jurisdictions is another challenge of international comparison (Kantor and Savich, 2006) and it is certainly the case that my lack of international language proficiency limited the data I was able to access. In the first instance, Urban Audit data provided a sound foundation of comparable data an additional check on this issue was to ask interviewees to suggest key organisations and documents. When I was not able to access a document suggested, I looked for similar alternatives. In the case study cities in which English was not the first language, beyond academic literature, I was largely only party to those documents translated for international audiences as part of place branding and marketing activities.

Mangen (1999) suggests that it is harder to identify the impact of the purpose for which the document has been produced in international contexts, however, when the purpose of the document is part of place branding activities this becomes an illuminating feature of the research rather than a limitation. Similarly, the presence of international language buttons to translate all or parts of particular websites were illustrative of the place branding activities in the cities. To ameliorate the limitations my limited language skills imposed I aimed to be continually reflexive which is particularly important in international contexts (Mangen 1999; Larkin, at al, 2007).

The various methods of data collection to examine each case enabled me to build up a consistent picture of the experiences of the cities, the place branding activities undertaken and the actors involved. The methods used were selected to maximise the access to narrative construction and motivations and agency of actors, as demanded by the research aims and theoretical perspective. The next stage was to analyse this data in a similarly consistent way. This is addressed in the following section on analysis and comparative frameworks.

3.3.2 Analysing Data

Identifying tools for analysis which enable the best examination of the phenomenon at hand, the research aims and the collaborative nature of the project is equally important to that of data collection. Successful comparison is not just about the number of cases but also about strong comparative frameworks (Pierre, 2005) which are able to address similar meanings in a variety of contexts (Kantors and Savich, 2005). Tools for analysis had to be attuned to the investigation of place branding in different contexts. As such an iterative approach to deduction and induction has been used throughout the research process employing a continual awareness of the interplay between theories and concepts and their challenge and exploration using the experiences of the cities on the ground. This iterative approach is intended to enable the building of comparative frameworks which are attuned to assess the concept of place branding in different contexts (Kantor and Savich, 2005).

In order to maximise opportunities for construct to data matching, the ability to access narrative constructions and the agency of actors, it was important to select an approach to data analysis in which the first comparative framework was generated directly from the interviews and observation. In order to ground analysis very firmly in the data a grounded approach to coding was employed. Coding can be seen as a key tool of grounded theory (Bryman, 2004) creating a link between collecting data and developing theory (Charmaz, 2014). This approach to coding can be applied even where the project may not adhere to the perspective of grounded theory as it is a tool which can accommodate a range of perspectives (Bryman, 2004).

The first stage of the coding process was the 'initial phase' mining the data for analytical ideas and naming phenomenon (Charmaz, 2014). This was first applied to a sample of interviews including examples across all the case study cities. These codes were refined and applied to the rest of the interviews. The next phase, the focused selective phase (Charmaz, 2014), entailed using the most significant codes to sort and manage the data. This sorting was applied to the existing codes,

sometimes by grouping codes and sometimes by identifying a code as significant. This coding system shifted into an analytical framework as the codes were linked to the research questions (see Table 3.6) and then consistently applied to each case in order to understand place branding activities in a systematic way.

TABLE 3.6: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK GENERATED FROM INTERVIEW CODING

How place brands are constructed the relationships and processes involved?
Place Image (Current Image; Transformation of Image)
Branding Process
Governance (Organisations (public/private); Levels; Culture and Context; Cooperation)
Leadership
Brand Construction (Use of History; Physical Change; People; Culture; Symbols; Demographics)
Competitive bidding
Audiences (Internal; External; Different Audience Types)
Motivation
How does a place brand become sustained and embedded?
Sustained
Embedded
Challenges (Brand; Social; Economic Infrastructure, Changed Economic Circumstances)
What does place branding contribute to urban development?
Competition
Priorities
Strategy
Consistent and Coherent
Relationship to National Governments and EU
Opportunity
Geographies

(Brand Geography; Size; Governance; Cooperation; Location)	
How can it best be assessed and evaluated?	
Assess and Evaluate	

Source: Author's Own

The benefit of generating analytical frameworks from the data and then applying them back to the data is that it enables the design of conceptual tools to assess the same problem in different contexts; a key challenge for comparative analysis (Kantor and Savich, 2005). Essentially the aim was generating frameworks from the empirical landscape under investigation. This approach also has the benefit of being able to access narrative constructions and the agency of actors, and to maximise the opportunity for interpretations and constructions to accurately represent the data. This was not only the case for the overarching comparative framework which was used to link the emerging themes to the research questions. This was also the case for subsequent frameworks used to investigate the actors involved in place branding and to identify themes in the construction of the brands; these frameworks are expanded upon below.

3.3.2.1 The Role of Different Organisations

A typology of three different categories into which the organisations fall, from a branding point of view, was generated directly from the data has been used in chapter five. This typology was developed through inductive reasoning in the context of discursive institutionalism which highlights the concept of institutional arrangements, which this typology essentially describes. It is also attuned to the importance of discourse and narrative (Schmidt, 2010; 2008); the understanding of place branding practices which this typology depends on (Jensen, 2007).

This typology was generated through participant observation undertaken in NewcastleGateshead, during which there was the opportunity to witness the interaction of representatives of the different institutions at work in the city and how they related to the place branding process. The typology was then tested against the data from the interviews in NewcastleGateshead and in the subsidiary case study cities. This typology generated from bottom up reasoning was then related back to

the literature on discursive institutionalism with which it was found to be compatible. It provided a useful framework to systematically examine the institutional arrangements of the case study cities, from a place branding point of view.

The typology is based on the idea of Max Weber's ideal types in which concepts are abstracted from reality in order to aid analysis. As such these categories are not intended to fully explain the organisations in the cities but to illuminate their role in the cities' brand development for analytical purposes. It is recognised that this will at times reduce the complexity of the organisations. Although organisations are often varied the primary role in the creation of the place brand has been used for categorisation into 'strategic organisations', 'animating organisations' and 'narrating organisations'.

Strategic organisations are the organisations which manage the city, set the governance context, support particular economic activities, make investment decisions and influence other's investment decisions. They are the organisations which set the overall strategy for the city, such as LAs and other place management organisations. These organisations tend to be powerful in terms of their ability to set the agenda of city development. They are also able to control resources both their own and those of other organisations which are more likely to invest when clear local development strategies are evident and risk is minimised; a feature of the entrepreneurial context (Harvey, 1989). Their activities contribute to the brand and they may undertake or support orchestrated branding activities too.

Animating organisations are the majority of organisations in the city, they bring the brand to life and provide evidence which can either 'prove' or undermine the brand. They could be cultural organisations, education organisations and businesses. They are unlikely to undertake specific branding activities for the city but contribute to the brand and often have their own brands to manage. These organisations vary massively in terms of their power and access to resources; for example, they include large well-known companies whose actions can have a massive impact on the city economy, and they can include small businesses. Found in this type are organisations that provide 'frontline' services which reflect on the city brand through direct experience, for example, airports. The primary role of these actors is not city or

brand development; however, they may become positive active stakeholders when they start to see the fortunes of the city as synonymous with their own.

Narrating organisations are those organisations that overtly manage the brand undertaking the 'branding' of the city such as destination management and investment attraction organisations. These organisations may aim their activities at different audiences but use a narrative approach, selecting characteristics of the city and the other organisations and weaving them into broader narratives about what the city is like. The characteristics they are able to select are based on the activities of the strategic and animating organisations, such as new investments or new innovative or creative outputs. Narrating organisation's power and resources are likely to be relatively low compared to the strategic and some animating organisations and they are likely to depend on these organisations for funding and legitimacy which may limit their autonomy to act. Examples of these different types of organisations are included in table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7: EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF ORGANISATIONS

City	Strategic Organisations	Animating Organisations	Narrating Organisations
Newcastle Gateshead	LAs	Newcastle University	NGI
Leipzig	City of Leipzig	Baumwool Spinnerai (Art Factory)	Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing
Manchester	Combined Authority	Football Clubs	MIDAS
Malmö	City Planning Office	Max Lab ESS	Tourist Department
Torino	Torino International Association	Eataly (innovative retail)	Turismo Torino

Source: Author's Own

The different configuration and relative strength of these organisations is what has created the different types of branding in the different case study cities. This approach is particularly valuable to investigate the key actors involved in the construction of place brands and the relationships and process involved. This

analytical tool is also responsive to change as it recognises the way organisations can shift their role, become more or less prominent, or the way in which new organisations can be introduced. It is envisaged that some organisations could shift between the 'ideal types' and that the different types could vary in relative prominence over time.

Figure 3.8 has been used to apply the comparative framework to organisations in each of the case study cities; their category indicated by their location in the relevant segment of the diagram. The location of the organisation on the diagram also provides a judgement of if the organisation had a key or supporting role in the city's brand and branding. The bullet points provide additional information about the actor to demonstrate if they sit in the public, private, or voluntary sector, or if they are public private organisations. Using this approach, it has been possible to recognise the nature of the key organisations and the supporting organisations in each city and the sectors in which they sit. A diagram has been produced for each case study city with two produced for the NewcastleGateshead case to illustrate the level of organisational flux that had taken place in the institutional arrangements during the period of study.

FIGURE 3.8: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK DIAGRAM
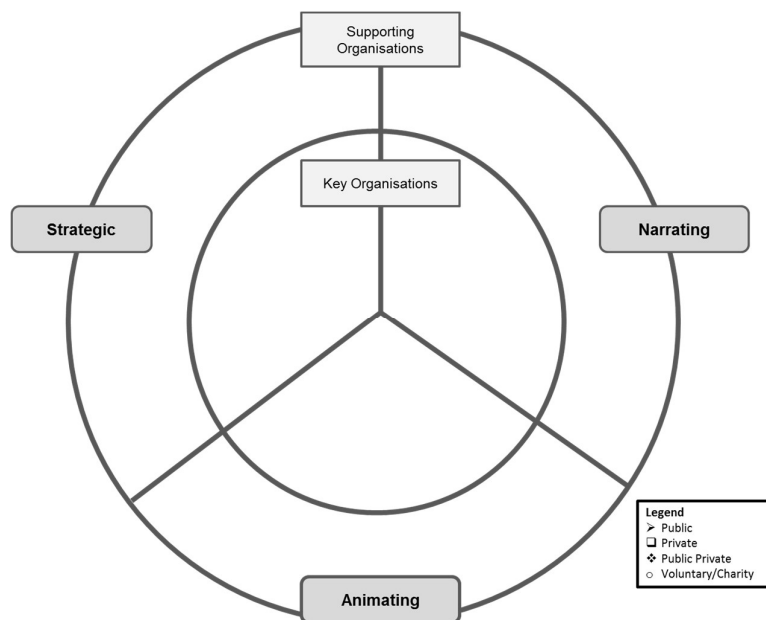
Source: Author's Own

This framework enabled an investigation of the actors at work in the cities, their role in place branding and the relationships involved. It enabled a comparison of the different cities with the cities displaying different visual representations of their place branding infrastructure in each case. Induced directly from the data and allowing the generation of concepts aligned to the context in all of the cities, the data was then used to further examine and expand upon the diagrams, illuminating not only the institutional arrangements but the institutional environments of the cities.

3.3.2.2 Constructing Embedded and Sustainable Place Brands

A framework of the key characteristics which were used in the construction of place brands and central to their embeddedness and sustainability was generated out of the data. Once this typology of symbols, history, culture, people and physical change was established from the data it was then applied to the cities, and expanded upon using the data.

Symbols are those identifying elements of the city which carry meaning and represent and embody more than is immediately apparent. History refers to the selective use of the city's past to add meaning to current representations of the city. Culture refers to the use of the culture sector, its buildings and its products in the cities as part of their brand construction. People refers to the way the cities' inhabitants, as a population, as key individuals or historical figures are used to embody the character of the city. Physical change in the city illustrates the way the physical regeneration of the city, through new housing areas, flagship buildings and improvements to the urban environment become a meaningful physical embodiment of a city's transformation.

These elements are used in the sense of an ideal type to aid comparison, in practice the categories interact, for example, symbols may also embody physical change or people may be hard to distinguish from historical events. These characteristics are purposefully selected through narrative in which elements are selectively appropriated and given meaning when emplotted together to make a compelling

story of the city. All of these elements were apparent in the cities but some were employed to a much greater extent in some cities than others.

The data suggested this typology. Generated from the data the aim of this approach is to identify concepts that speak to the experiences of the case study cities, the typology was then systematically applied to the data. The data was used to expand upon the insight garnered from systematic comparison. This typology recognises the similarity in the type of characteristics used while illuminating the unique nature of each city's brand construction, recognising both the unity of the phenomenon under investigation and the unique experience of each city.

3.3.2.3 Branding Activity

Most of the analytical frameworks used have been generated from the empirical data and then applied back to that data. However, in the case of defining the nature of place branding activities a more deductive approach was used. Existing literature was used to identify examples of place brand activity, which was categorised in order to recognise the processes at work. Some elements were added in response to the data from the cities to ensure it also spoke to their experiences. This is set out in Table 3.9 below.

'Direct experience' results from the real changes that have taken place in the cities. A link here could be made with 'experiential branding' (Schmitt, 1999). This direct experience can lead to 'reports from others' in which an audience's knowing of the city is indirect, this can come in various forms to various audiences and with different associated levels of trust. The final category 'representatives of the city' is used to refer to products or people who are associated with the city referred to as co-branding (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005) or personality association (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2015). They have been joined under a single category here as this forms an indirect way of knowing the city while not an actively report about the city. As autonomous representatives, their activities can have an impact on the brand of the city even when they are not referencing the city.

TABLE 3.9: PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES CATEGORISED BY COMMUNICATION ROUTE

Communication Route	Activities
Direct Experience	• Upgrading the public realm • Investment in cultural infrastructure • Investment in infrastructure • Developing visitor attractions • PR visits and exchanges • Promoting Tourism (including Leisure, business and events tourism) • Local population as ambassadors
Reports from Others	• Press reports • Traditional branding and marketing materials (including brochures, websites etc.) • Reporting at policy conferences • Interaction with national government and EU • Representation in measures stats, rankings • Cultural products e.g. novels (Brown, 2013)
Representatives of the City	• Products produced there (physical and cultural) • Using travelling cultural events as a platform to promote the city • Individuals linked to the place (both high profile and local residents) • Sports teams

Source: Author's Own

This framework was not used as a point of comparison but was used to define the type of activity that constitutes place branding. To develop the definition of the city brand espoused here, a city's brand is based on the way people know the city due to the activity of actors in and outside the city as a result of their impact on direct experience, reports from others and interaction with representatives of the city.

The city brand is based on the activities of organisations and individuals in the city and the way they are able to mediate these routes of communication. Place branding

describes actors working to modify these routes to knowing a city in an orchestrated way. This definition enables the differentiation between orchestrated place branding activities and place brand activity as the way actors have shaped the place brand though not necessarily through orchestrated place branding campaigns. This definition has been essential to enable the understanding of change in this activity over time.

3.4 Ethics

As for any investigation which entails working with 'live subjects' ethical approval was required from Newcastle University before any research was undertaken. This was achieved and the requirement to properly brief interview participants, obtain written consent and maintain confidentiality has been adhered to. Adhering to these requirements was met with a variety of responses in the different cities investigated. I did not request consent from those I encountered during meetings and in the NGI office as I did not increase risk to them and it would have been practically unworkable. I have however maintained confidentiality in these cases.

In the case of ethical consideration the collaborative and international nature of the research was particularly influential. In the case of the collaboration it was particularly important to ensure confidentiality (Reid and McCormck, 2010) so the views of those involved could be expressed without their confidentiality being broken by people they may regularly meet with in work settings. The issue of positionality, often under acknowledged by economic geographers (Mangen, 1999), was significant both for the collaborative and international (Mangen, 1999) nature of the study. In the case of the international nature of the research it was important to be reflexive about my nationality and assumptions I may make as a result of that, in the case of the collaboration and the close working relationship with the case partner it was important to recognise myself as a researcher maintaining a critical perspective rather than identifying too strongly with the place branding project.

Finally, in the case of the international nature of the study it is worth returning to the issue of language, with interviewee's in three of the case study cities speaking to me

at length in a second language which must undoubtedly be a strenuous experience. Mangen (1999) asserts that "linguistic onus should be on the researchers…who are gaining from the enterprise" (p.113). This was not the case in this instance, as some recompense for the participant's efforts I aim to disseminate a brief account of my findings to them with the hope that the insight offered may be of interest or use to them in their professional lives.

3.5 Conclusion

This international, comparative and collaborative research offered a number of challenges. The phenomenon under investigation has not been the subject of a great deal of empirical research. The research aims: illuminating the actors at work in constructing place brands and the relationships and processes involved; the way place brands become embedded and sustainable; what place branding can contribute to urban development and how it can best be assessed and evaluated are certainly perplexing. In addition the collaborative nature of the project added a layer of complexity and a number of opportunities.

The resulting research design employed an approach informed by the perspective of discursive institutionalism with a focus on narrative. The research aims of the study demanded that the methodology, research design and analytical framework were designed first to enable access to context specific data, second to recognise the importance of history and change over time, third to encompass multiple scales, fourth to access narrative construction and fifth the agency and motivations of the actors involved. The first three of these demands was largely dealt with through the choice of a case study methodology with a comparative research design. This was supported with the robust approach to comparative case selection.

The last two of the demands, while compatible with the case study methodology, were addressed through the analytical framework, the research methods and the approach to analysis. The aim was to maximise the opportunity for narratives to be accessed through participant observation and semi-structured interviewing while developing a framework and approach to analysis which maximised the opportunity to construct meaning which reflected the constructions of the actors involved. To

ensure the strength of data to construct matching, triangulation was employed within cases using mixed methods and between cases with subsidiary cases used to corroborate findings with the core case and each other.

Comparative frameworks for analysis were developed out of the data and applied back using an iterative approach to deduction and induction. Frameworks generated from the data were then applied to the data to test the framework and expand upon the insights developed through systematic comparison, allowing conclusions which recognise the unity of the concept of place branding across the cities while still illuminating the unique experiences of each. The result in terms of meeting the asserted research aims is articulated in the following chapters, starting with a narrative account of each city's recent history then addressing each research aim in turn.

4 Setting the Scene: The Stories of the Case Study Cities in Context

The desire to discover Place Branding in cities which could reasonably be expected to be candidates (Neidomysl, 2004) for place branding rather than targeting 'anecdotal success stories' (Kaneva, 2011), resulted in a selection process that garnered fascinating case study cities. NewcastleGateshead the core case formed the framework to which the other cases were purposefully aligned. These cities include Leipzig, a city significant for German reunification that was historically located in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Malmö, a city in southern Sweden and part of the cross border Øresund Region, Manchester a Northern City typifying an entrepreneurial approach to urban development (Quilley, 2000) and Torino a northern Italian city trying to cast off its historical experience as a one company town.

As hoped a set of activities aligned to the activities of place branding were in evidence in all of the case study cities. However, the specific nature of the place branding that occurred was distinctive to each city and embedded in their historical experience. The following section will take each of the cities in turn and narrate their unique yet similar historical experiences in order to provide context for the analysis of their place branding activities which follows in subsequent chapters.

4.1 NewcastleGateshead

"The angel [of the north] has three functions - firstly a historic one to remind us that
below this site coal miners worked in the dark for two hundred years, secondly to
grasp hold of the future, expressing our transition from the industrial to the
information age, and lastly to be a focus for our hopes and fears - a sculpture is an
evolving thing."

(Antony Gormley quoted on Gateshead Borough Council Website)

Industrialisation took place around Newcastle starting in the fourteenth century (Vall
2007) making it the oldest coal mining area in the country (Robinson, 1988).
Industries developed around the availability of coal; first glass and pottery. Later
these industries were replaced by shipbuilding and engineering; in economic terms
Tyneside's 'golden age' (Robinson, 1988). Newcastle became the controller of the
region's 'carboniferous capitalism' (Lancaster, 1992) and a 'workshop of the world'
(Hudson, 2005). Typified by a liberal mode of production (Hudson, 2005) Tyneside
became accustomed to painful fluctuation and the need for reinvention. By the end of
the nineteenth century Tyneside's narrow range of industries was already a liability
(Robinson, 1988) and decline had started.

In a region aware of its own distinctiveness (Vall, 2007) Newcastle has a history of
working class dominance (Lancaster, 1995 in Miles, 2005,) and the 'carnival' a
"culture of drinking linked to the oral culture of storytelling in pubs, and working-class
theatre" (Lancaster, 1995 in Obrien and Miles, 2010, p.5). Local inhabitants have a
"talent for cultural transformation as long as they can participate in the new"
(Lancaster, 1992, p63). Yet, institutional 'lock in' (Hudson, 2005) prevented the
development of new economic trajectories. Deindustrialisation occurred due to wider
forces and the incoming conservative government of 1979 (Vall, 2007), under which
the shift to the market as resource allocator became normative (Hudson, 2005).

Arguably the starting point of an urban entrepreneurial approach, Newcastle City
Council, in 1980, voted to invest £2.5 million in the Quayside. This development

included numerous bars and restaurants, largely overseen by the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation established in 1987 (Vall, 2007). The result was an increase in service sector jobs and Newcastle's reputation as the 'party city' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). The 'carnival' culture (Lancaster, 1992) emerged with new purpose as part of the tourist and night time economy (Obrien and Miles, 2010). As economic activities shifted so did the meaning of 'Geordie' from the arena of production to consumption (Nayak, 2003).

Gateshead Council had not participated in the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation and had taken a different route. Gateshead had a history of community arts programs and an interest in innovative approaches to cultural policy (Obrien and Miles 2010). This coincided with Northern Art's Case for Capital, which set out a manifesto for capital investment in arts in the region. The delivery of the iconic Angel of the North in 1998, demonstrated that the Council could deliver; increasing confidence and unlocking the potential of arts development of the Quayside (Bailey, et al., 2004). The arts led regeneration that followed has been understood as a world class example (Bailey, et al., 2004).

Arts led regeneration was a catalyst for the cooperation between Newcastle City Council and Gateshead Borough Council with the joint bid for the 2008 European Capital of Culture the turning point (Pasquinelli, 2014). Cooperation made sense in this context providing critical mass and coordinating Newcastle's cultural assets and Gateshead's success and expertise in arts (Pasquinelli, 2014).

NewcastleGateshead. largely a 'symbolic entity' (Warnaby and Medway 2008), was born, and a number of organisations, covering housing renewal, urban development and tourism were created on this scale; only NGI still exists. Established in 2000 to coordinate the bid for Capital of Culture, when the bid was lost, the organisation implemented the Culture Ten programme, and significantly improved the tourist economy. The longevity of the organisation demonstrates the confidence of its members; the two Councils established their Inward Investment Team in the organisation in 2012. NewcastleGateshead as an entity has survived for over ten years and it seems that it is seen as an appropriate space to develop a pro-business system to attract investment (Pasquinelli, 2014). In this conurbation, used to

fluctuation and reinvention, demand for a new business identity may be the focus of the next 'rebirth'.

TABLE 4.1 NEWCASTLEGATESHEAD PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

Activity	Approach
Overview	Recent place branding work developed without a logo and slogan. Brand pyramid for stakeholders intending to create a virtual marketing alliance of people in key organisations to animate the city as a business location. Past brand activity was orientated toward illustrating the city as a cultural tourist destination, cultural infrastructure and a bid for the European Capital of Culture were key elements.
Key Organisations and Relationships	NGI is the key organisation for recent place branding work and past place brand activity. A partnership organisation, its key partners are at the NewcastleGateshead scale particularly the LAs. It also has other partners across the region. The RDA undertook some place brand activity for the region.
Logos and slogans	A logo and slogan approach was avoided during the most recent branding work, however, 'genuinely inspiring' was mooted as an example to illustrate the approach to stakeholders. Slogans had been used in previous campaigns.
Marketing Campaigns	'Genuinely inspiring' was mooted as a campaign as part of recent place branding work to illustrate the approach to stakeholders. NewcastleGateshead Buzzin' and Culture10 were previous campaigns. RDA undertook the Passionate Places Passionate People campaign for the region targeting residents, visitors and businesses.
Events	Events to animate the city particularly as a cultural destination; events were a key element of Culture10.
Public Relations	Key area, particularly during earlier place brand work, with national press coverage targeted by both the RDA and NGI, intending to shift a largely negative media image.
Promotional Materials	Production of brochures and guides and key information on the city for external audiences. The most recent place branding work resulted in the production of a toolkit for local actors including a brand film, case studies and copywriting guidance.
Travelling Representation	Strategic actors take part in international networks. RDA attended MIPIN for the region.

Source: Author's Own

TABLE 4.2: NEWCASTLEGATESHEAD TIME LINE

Year	Event
1980	Newcastle City Council vote to invest £2.5 million in the Quayside and instigated a regeneration programme
1981	The first Great North Run
1982	
1983	
1984	
1985	
1986	Metro Centre opened in Gateshead Tall ships race hosted for the first time
1987	Tyne and Wear Development Corporation established (without Gateshead) and took over regeneration of the Quayside in Newcastle
1988	
1989	
1990	National Garden Festival in Gateshead Law Courts opened on the Quayside
1991	
1992	Report investigating arts use for the Baltic
1993	Discovery Museum relaunched
1994	Antony Gormley commissioned for Angel Sage feasibility study Government Office for the North East established
1995	Case for Capital
1996	Visual Arts UK
1997	Northern Rock Foundation established Grainger Town Project
1998	Angel of the North

	Leaders of Newcastle and Gateshead Council's appear in image in local paper, together and overlooking the Tyne, signalling a new era of cooperation
1999	One North East founded
2000	NGI

Millennium Bridge

Centre for life |
| 2001 | Millennium Bridge opened

NewcastleGateshead Buzzin' campaign |
| 2002 | Baltic opened

Capital of culture bid

Bridging NewcastleGateshead established as Housing Pathfinder |
| 2003 | Capital of Culture favourite but Liverpool wins

Start of Culture 10 |
| 2004 | Sage opened |
| 2005 | Newcastle designated as a Science City

Seven Stories opens

25th Anniversary of the Great North Run |
| 2006 | World summit on arts and culture at the Sage

Dance City opens

Northern Stage opens after refurbishment

OECD Report |
| 2007 | Northern Rock: first run on a bank for over a hundred years

Live Theatre and Theatre Royal open after improvements |
| 2008 | Tyneside Cinema opens after refurbishment

Northern Rock Nationalised |
| 2009 | NE1 BID company launched

Great North Museum opened after refurbishment

1NG established |
| 2010 | 1Plan (1NG) published |

2011	North East LEP established
	Government Office for the North East closed
	Bridging NewcastleGateshead closed
	1NG closed
2012	NGI Inward Investment Team established
	Promoting investment added to NGI mission.
	One North East closed

Source: Author's Own

4.2 Leipzig

"It was the day of decision, the day when fear was overcome. From this perspective,
the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November derived from this event. In Leipzig it was
about freedom and self-liberation, and – for the first time in German national history
– a dictatorship could be overthrown from within and without bloodshed."
(Rainer Eckert, Director of the Forum of Contemporary History Leipzig, 2009)

The shift to an urban entrepreneurial mode in Leipzig occurred with the fall of the
GDR and reunification of Germany, in which the city played a pivotal role with the
Monday Demonstrations. Massive economic, social and environmental challenges
became apparent due to the 'shock therapy' (Bontje, 2004) that was the post-
socialist experience of transformation. It is Leipzig's historical and more recent
experiences that imbue the city with a particular political culture (Garcia-Zamor,
2004), the character of its Local Authority (LA) and its population; described as one
of the city's greatest assets (Garcia-Zamor, 2004).

Early characteristics of the city are still significant today; the formation of Leipzig
University in 1409, the Imperial Fair Privilege in 1507 and the publishing industry in
1481. However, it was at the end of the nineteenth century that Leipzig really thrived
(Bontje. 2004) It was a publishing centre (Berg, Braun and Van Winden, 2001), a
financial centre, a manufacturing centre and an infrastructure node. At the end of this
period the city had over 700,000 inhabitants and was the fourth largest city in
Germany (Bontje, 2004).

After World War Two the city's diverse and thriving economy began to decline
(Bontje,2004). Leipzig was a second rank city for the new socialist government,
much of its economic diversity was lost (Bontje and Musterd, 2008) and the
architecture of the glorious past was left to decline (Bontje, 2004). Yet Leipzig still
had a diverse economy in a socialist context (Coles 2003) and formed part of the
'golden triangle' contributing 60 per cent of the GDRs productivity (Coles, 2003)
focusing on manufacturing, petrochemicals and opencast coal mining.

When the GDR fell optimism was followed by realisation of the massive challenges of restructuring the economy, improving the physical environment, rejuvenating the city core, dealing with environmental problems (Bontje, 2004). and a housing vacancy rate of 20 per cent. The number of industrial jobs plummeted by 90 per cent between 1989 and 1993 (Florentin, 2010), other sectors grew quickly (Bontje and Musterd, 2008) but unemployment still reached 20.5 per cent in 2004 (Urban Audit). Leipzig inherited a problematic city image; (Garcia-Zamor, 2004,) of political oppression and economic inefficiency (Coles, 2003) and the city lost 100,000 residents between 1989 and 1998 (Kabisch et al., 2010).

Despite this Leipzig has been described as a success story (Miljak and Heidenreich, 2004). This success has been attributed to the 'assertive policies' (Bontje and Musterd 2008) of the Leipzig City Government particularly their 'pioneering' mediation of their shrinking city status (Florentin, 2010) and their positioning of the city (Mijak and Heidenreich 2004). This is evident in the attraction of high profile investors such as BMW, Quelle, Porsche and DHL.

These investments are credited as having a significant impact on the City's image, and marketing and branding have been used by the local government throughout this period. For example, Boom Town Ost (East), Medienstadt (Media Town) Leipzig in 1990 and Messestadt (Congress Town) Leipzig in 1991 (Coles, 2003). The renewal of the Leipzig Trade Fair and Congress Centre, development of the railway station and the bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games (Bontje and Musterd 2008) also improved the image. The population has been growing since 2000 due to re-urbanisation of the inner-city (Kabisch et al., 2010).

Cultural institutions such as the Gwandhaus Orchestra, St Thomas Boys Choir and the Baumwool Spinnerai an 'art factory' housing internationally acclaimed artists known as the New Leipzig School, contribute to a layering of assets. This layering is compounded by high profile research centres at Leipzig University. The city administration's awareness of the importance of image is demonstrated by the development of city brands. Leipzig Kommt capturing the optimism of the immediate post-socialist period and accompanying public-private regeneration initiatives (Coles

2003). And Leipzigger Freiheit (Leipzig Freedom/Liberty) the city brand instigated by Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing, the city's DMO.

TABLE 4.3: LEIPZIG PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

Activity	Approach
Overview	Leipzigger Freiheit brand developed by consultants and put to public consultation. Also acts a badge for the activity of the organisation. Intended to be broad enough to narrate the many different animating organisations in the city.
Key Organisations and Relationships	Leipzigger Freiheit place promotion part of Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing.
Logos and slogans	Leipzigger Freiheit brand logo and organisation logo.
Marketing Campaigns	Leipzigger Freiheit advertising campaign on billboards and cinema.
Events	Festival of Lights to commemorate Peaceful Revolution. Other commemorative anniversaries.
Public Relations	Key area of work, effective in terms of resources, key to tourism coverage.
Promotional Materials	Production of brochures and guides, and key information on the city for external audiences. Also podcasts, magazines on trains.
Travelling Representation	Cultural delegations employed in promoting the city – key cultural offer.

Source: Author's Own

TABLE 4.4: LEIPZIG TIME LINE

Year	Leipzig Event
1989	Monday Demonstrations 9 October
1990	German Reunification Hinrich Lehmann-Grube becomes Mayor
1991	Lepzig Messe GmbH founded Leipzig book fair relaunched

	Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk large regional broadcasting corporation established
1992	
1993	**Leipzig Kommt! (Leipzig is coming)**
1994	
1995	Leipzig Tourism Service (or was it 1994) Max Planck Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience founded
1996	Leipzig Trade Fair new location opens Max Planck Institute of Mathematics founded
1997	Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology founded
1998	Wolfgang Tiefensee becomes Mayor Population lowest point since 1900 Railway station becomes one of the most modern in Germany (Garcia-Zamor 2004) City Government became aware of vacancy problem and started activity The City and University of Leipzig start cooperative working on biotechnology cluster
1999	
2000	Population starts to rise Porsche plant first turf dug Airport Northern runway opens (important for logistics) Saxony's 'Biotechnology Offensive' starts Strategy for managed shrinkage was summarized from 2000 in Leipzig's Integrative Urban Concept, the STEP (Stadtentwicklungsplan) or INSEK (integrative Stadtentwicklungskonzept), their main planning document.
2001	BMW announce move to Leipzig Spinnerai bought by current owners
2002	Porsche plant opens **Leipzigger Freiheit (Leipzig Freedom/Liberty)** Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing Neo Rauch wins Vincent Van Gough Prize

2003	Bio City Leipzig opens
	Selected as Olympic candidate for Germany
	Leipzig Halle airport enlarged and modernised (Garcia-Zamor 2004)
2004	Fails to make shortlist for 2012 Olympics
	Unemployment rate 20.5%
2005	BMW plant opens
	DHL announce move
	Spinnerai opening of relocated galleries
	IZI Fraunhoffer Institute for cell therapy founded
2006	Burkhard Jung becomes Mayor
	Amazon fulfilment centre
	Hosts Soccer World Cup matches (only city in former east Germany to be selected)
2007	Spinnerai Guardian "hottest place on earth"
2008	DHL hub opens
2009	First Festival of Lights on 20th Anniversary of Monday Demonstrations
	University of Leipzig's 600th Anniversary
	200th anniversary of Felix Mendelssohn
2010	New York Times Top 10 places to go
	2010 200th anniversary of Robert Schumann
2011	2011 100th Anniversary Gustav Mahler
2012	800th Anniversary St Thomas Boys Choir

Source: Author's Own

4.3 Malmö

"With the building of a bridge between Copenhagen, Denmark and Malmö, Sweden,
water ceased to be a barrier... New opportunities are opened. Two countries are
brought together in one region. Øresund is born."

(Øresund Committee, 1997)

Malmö industrialised in the twentieth rather than the nineteenth-century (Vall, 2007)
when it was a trading port returning from relative decline in the eighteenth-century
due to its incorporation into Sweden in 1658; turning it from a key Danish trading
town to a "relatively marginal one in Sweden" (Vall, 2007, p.18). Its recent recovery
can also be attributed to its geography as, with the building of the Øresund fixed link,
Malmö has been transformed "from a Swedish backwater into the country's
European gateway." (Thornley and Newman, 1996 p.581).

The form of the city's revival is also implicit in its history as the 'seedbed' of the
Swedish social-democratic model (Baeten, 2012) and its characteristic modernist
approach (Vall, 2007). The city expanded greatly between 1950 and 1970. Kockums
was the ninth largest shipyard in the world in 1950, however, by 1987 the last ship
had sailed and the city declined (Vall, 2007). From this point, an urban
entrepreneurial approach can be identified in Malmö. However, this has been
characterised by a variant of neoliberalism with a social democratic legacy
(Dannestram 2009); and the large infrastructure projects of a modernist approach
(Baeten, 2012).

The prospect of the Øresund fixed link came to fruition soon after the industrial crisis
when in 1991 the governments of Sweden and Denmark formally agreed to create a
16km fixed link between Copenhagen and Malmö. One of the biggest building
projects ever planned in Scandinavia (Thornley and Newman 1996) it became
concrete proof of the political commitment to develop the new cross-border Øresund
region (Berg, 2000). Malmö was active in maximising the benefits of the fixed link

from the beginning, ensuring that Malmö centre and key development area Hyllie would have access (Thornley and Newman, 1996).

Being part of the Øresund region has brought opportunities to Malmö, now part of "the biggest and most densely populated big city area in Scandinavia" (OECD, 2003, p.33) with increased competitiveness (OECD, 2003). There has been strong EU support for the region, Malmö has increased its autonomy in regard to the rest of Sweden (Dannestram, 2009), has one of the leading biomedical clusters in Europe (Collinge and Gibney 2010), has attracted company headquarters (Olshov, 2010) and the Copenhagen labour market has absorbed some of Malmö's industrial unemployment (OECD, 2003).

The Øresund region, branded as 'the human capital', emphasising the shared values of 'Scandinavian welfare-ism', has been criticised due to a lack of democratic coherence and representation (Pedersen, 2004). Additionally, the notion of an 'Orespectacle' (Baeten, 2012) where developments, such as the Western Harbour (Västra Hamnen) development, sited on the Kockums shipyard, at the forefront of sustainable development, form a network of 'superplaces' for elite lifestyles. However; Ilmar Reepalu, the city's Mayor between 1994 and 2013 used the vision of the Øresund region to shift the brand of Malmö from an industrial city to one with a knowledge and culture based future; the city's transformation would not have been possible without it (Olshov, 2010).

Malmö has faced a number of difficulties during its recent transformation. The Bo01 Housing Fair Company, located on the site of the Kockums Shipyard and crucial to transforming Malmö's identity (Jansson, 2005, p.1672); went bankrupt with implications for public money. Racially motivated shootings and violent street protests took place in Rosengård in 2009 and 2010; a symptom of ethnic segregation and inequality in this area. In 2012, 31 per cent of the city's population was born abroad. This has brought opportunities such as a youthful population (Malmö Snapshot 2013), however, it has also brought challenges which the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö (2010) is intended to address. Despite challenges the legacy of interventionist local democracy has resulted in a coordinated and planned approach to urban entrepreneurialism and place promotion;

enabling the city "to capitalise upon the very latest developments in the global marketing of place" (Vall, 2007, p.133).

TABLE 4.5: MALMÖ PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

Activity	Approach
Overview	Branding by doing, the brand is both employed to communicate the city strategy but also is communicated by the city. Very integrated and strategic approach about telling stories to actors to make things happen.
Key Organisations and Relationships	Place Branding undertaken by the LA located in the Executive Office with both a tourism and business function.
Logos and slogans	Malmö Town tourism logo.
Marketing Campaigns	Sustainable tourism work.
Events	Events to animate the city and to illustrate new scale and location in Europe.
Public Relations	Important area of work particularly nationally in response to challenges.
Promotional Materials	Production of brochures and guides, and key information on the city for external audiences. Also podcasts and case study coverage.
Travelling Representation	Travel for key figures to promote the cities work on sustainability and develop international work on this.

Source: Author's Own

TABLE 4.6: MALMÖ TIME LINE

Date	Event
1986	Thousands of workers laid off from Kockums Shipyard
1987	Final ship sails from Kockums Shipyard
1988	

1989	
1990	Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor Plan for the city including tunnel to ensure bridge links would go through Malmö centre
1991	Swedish and Danish governments agree to build 16km fixed link across the Øresund
	Øresundsbro Konsortiet established (independently responsible for the ownership and operation of the bridge)
1992	Malmö Stadsbyggnadskontor plan for the city including tunnel to ensure bridge links would go through Malmö centre and Hyllie
1993	Øresund Committee established
1994	Referendum on Sweden joining the EU
	Ilmar Reepalu elected Mayor of Malmö
1995	Øresund bridge started
	Sweden joined the EU
1996	
1997	Øresund University formed as a network of universities in the region
	Medicon City Alliance formed
1998	Malmö University founded
	Wolff Olins consultancy contracted to design brand (name and visual identity of what would become the Øresund Region)
1999	Øresund brand launched
2000	Øresund bridge opened
2001	Bo01 Housing Fair on Western Harbour (Västra Hamnen) creating a new post-industrial district (company bankrupt the same year)
	Turning Torso started
	Management of Malmö and Copenhagen Ports merged forming Copenhagen-Malmö Port
2002	Øresund Network set up to manage the Øresund brand
	Øresundsinstituttet established
2003	Kockums crane exported to Korea
2004	Fox News report 'Swedes Reach Muslim Breaking Point'

Year	Event
2005	Turning Torso completed
2006	
2007	Hyllie development started
2008	
2009	Shootings of people of immigrant backgrounds Riots in Rosengårde Won the prestigious UN Habitat Scroll of Honour Award for Sustainability European Spellation Source announced for Lund University, ESS Scandinavia, jointly hosted by Sweden and Denmark
2010	Shootings of people of immigrant backgrounds and man arrested Riots in Rosengårde City Tunnel completed Max IV Laboratory established in Lund (national laboratory attracting scientists internationally) Commission for Socially Sustainable Malmö appointed
2011	
2012	

Source: Author's Own

4.4 Manchester

"We do things differently here."
Anthony Wilson on Manchester

"It all comes from here"
Noel Gallagher on Manchester

"A City that thinks a table is for dancing on"
Mark Radcliffe on Manchester

(Manchester quotes available on pens, postcards and fridge magnets from tourist information, 2012.)

Described as "the first and greatest industrial city in the world" (Dicken, 2002, p.18) being first proved to be a 'double edged sword' for Manchester as it was also first to experience deindustrialisation (Peck and Ward, 2002). The decline was swift, the cotton industry nearly collapsed by the 1950s (Allen, 2007), and manufacturing jobs in Greater Manchester declined by 249,000 between 1971 and 1989 (Beynon et al., 1993). Predictably Manchester lost approximately a third of its population between 1975 and 1990 (Van Den Berg, et.al. 2001). Often cited as a provincial English city that has successfully regenerated itself, the nature of the recovery led Manchester to be described as the definitive Entrepreneurial City (Quilley 1999) with institutional development a key feature.

Greater Manchester was an influential scale from the beginning when the market town of Manchester became the centre of "an intricate metropolitan economic geography" (Deas and Ward, 2002, p.116). With the Local Government act of 1972 Greater Manchester became the county council in a two-tier system. This did not last long; the Council was swept away by the 1985 Government Act. However, the institutional arrangements put in place at that time proved unexpectedly durable (Hebbert and Deas 2000). The recovery of Manchester has depended on the way Greater Manchester has worked together under the AGMA (1986) and the Combined

Authority (2011); wielding 'influence and credibility' (Harding et al., 2010) with national governments.

In 1984 Graham Stringer became leader of Manchester City Council seen by the Conservative government as a 'lunatic' authority (Robson, 2002). With the third election of the Thatcher government in 1987 he moved away from local socialism packaging their new approach as `Making it happen'" (Cochrane, et al. 1996) with place marketing, arts-led regeneration and public-private partnerships 'an accommodation' between the Municipal left and market based strategies imposed by central government (Quilley, 2000, p.601). Manchester became particularly successful in partnership working (Robson, 2002), harvesting competitive funding (Hebbert and Deas, 2000; Quilley 2000) and arts and sports led regeneration.

A number of events and activities institutionalised partnership working, an entrepreneurial approach and the Greater Manchester scale. The city bid, unsuccessfully, for the 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games eventually leading to the hosting of the 2002 Commonwealth Games which had a significant impact on the city's economy (Van Den Berg et.al. 2005) communicating confidence and achievement (Hebbert and Deas, 2000). In 1994 the City Pride programme resulted in a 'manifesto for the city' (Van Den Berg, et al. 2001); encouraging neighbouring LAs to accept a Manchester centric approach and instigating the establishment of inward investment agency MIDAS and Marketing Manchester (Deas and Ward, 2002). The IRA bomb in 1996, although unfortunate was dealt with positively (Quilley, 2000) with the complex task of rebuilding the city achieved on target by the end of 1999 (Robson, 2002), reinforcing the city's increasingly positive image.

Marketing Manchester was to build on this momentum, with 'Manchester' synonymous with Greater Manchester from 1996 (Deas and Ward, 2002) its aim was to manage activity into the development of a 'brand' for the city (Ward 2000). Marketing Manchester's early work was controversial provoking an attack from the self-named McEnroe group, young business leaders who provided a counter branding alternative (Hebbert and Deas, 2000). The result was new slogans and reorganisation at Marketing Manchester (Ward 2000). Its current 'original modern' brand uses the strength of local governance and leadership to mobilise internal

actors around an identity of past industrial prowess and more recent assets, such as an internationally recognised popular music and sporting culture (Allen 2007). The city's assets and institutional development have led to the creation of a consistent 'Manchester script' in which "the city has been reborn as a postmodern, … cosmopolitan city, standing in Europe's 'premier league'" (Quilley, 2000, p.609).

TABLE 4.7: MANCHESTER PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

Activity	Approach
Overview	'Original modern' brand based on traditional place brand development process but then animated by creative director of the city. Intended to guide 'on brand' behaviour in the city rather than be outward facing.
Key Organisations and Relationships	Marketing Manchester place marketing organisation for Greater Manchester.
Logos and slogans	Manchester 'M' used when travelling abroad but trying to distance from this.
Marketing Campaigns	I Love Manchester grass roots instigated campaign after 2011 riots.
Events	Manchester International Festival, an exemplar of 'original modern'.
Public Relations	Important area of work.
Promotional Materials	Production of brochures and guides, and key information on the city for external audiences. Also, films, brand book, magazine.
Travelling Representation	Delegations based on international business and MIPIN attendance.

Source: Author's Own

TABLE 4.8: MANCHESTER TIME LINE

Year	
1984	Election of Graham Stringer, beginning of the rise of the New Urban Left (Quilley, 2000)

Year	Event
1985	
1986	Greater Manchester Council swept away (1985 Government Act) AGMA (Association of Greater Manchester Authorities) formed
1987	Third Term Thatcher government change in approach in Manchester. Change in Council Slogan (Defending jobs, improving services' to 'making it happen') (Quilley 2000) Hacienda becomes prominent in Rave Culture (founded 1982)
1988	
1989	
1990	Failed bid for the 1996 Olympic Games Period of success for Manchester United begins
1991	
1992	Metrolink tram system began operation
1993	Failed bid for the 2000 Olympic Games
1994	City Pride launched, 'City Pride Prospectus' published
1995	Decision to have a AGMA representative in Brussels
1996	IRA bomb Marketing Manchester set up to represent the 10 LAs
1997	Labour victory in general election MIDAS launched 'We're up and going' 'Greater Britain; Greater Manchester' campaigns launched McEnroe Group set up and launch and alternative campaign 'Revolution' and 'Made in Manchester' Graham Stringer replaced as leader by Richard Lees
1998	We're up and going campaign dropped Howard Bernstein becomes chief executive of Manchester City Council
1999	
2000	
2001	

Year	Events
2002	Commonwealth Games Marketing Manchester start work on establishing brand values
2003	
2004	Peter Saville appointed as creative director for the city and launches 'original modern' University of Manchester formed in merger
2005	
2006	
2007	First Manchester International Festival BBC move to Salford announced
2008	Manchester Independent Economic Review commissioned Manchester Transport Innovation Scheme Referendum 'No' vote Manchester City bought by the Abu Dhabi United Group
2009	Manchester Independent Economic Review published
2010	
2011	Combined Authority Peter Saville contract ended by Manchester City Council but post continues with alternative funding
2012	

Source: Author's Own

4.5 Torino

"“Passion lives here”, the simple but powerful three-word theme of Torino 2006, expressed the spirit and values of the XX Olympic Winter Games. The theme, visually depicted in the vibrant colour red, emphasised the passion that drives the Olympic athletes and characterises the people of Italy.”

<div align="right">(IOC Marketing Report – Torino 2006)</div>

In Torino, urban entrepreneurialism commenced in 1993 with the city's first directly elected Mayor. Prior to this the city's government was struggling to function (Winkler 2007) due to the city being "the Fordist world's most prototypical one-company town" (Whitford and Enrietti, 2005 p.771) dominated by FIAT (Fabbrica Italiana di Automobili Torino). Torino is still dependent on international auto markets but has become more plural with a functioning government which has managed to harness a 'collective' civic society in its urban development (Rosso, 2004).

Torino thrived in the nineteenth century (Winkler, 2007) becoming Italy's first capital between 1861 and 1865. The city declined when capital status was removed and civil society and municipality joined forces to "promote science and industry" (Winkler, 2007, p.7). FIAT was founded as a result. At 'its zenith' in 1963 (Bondonio and Guala, 2011) it was Italy's biggest manufacturer (Winkler, 2007). However, its 'monarchical' (Whitford and Enrietti, 2005) dominance resulted in other sectors becoming 'atrophied' and local politics 'emasculated' (Winkler, 2007).

Giovanni Agnelli regarded by many as "de facto boss of the city" (Winkler, 2007, p.10) dominated due to the importance of FIAT to the war effort in WW1 (Winkler, 2007) and a close relationship with Mussolini. FIAT was a steadying force on the city when anarchy took hold in 1943 (Winkler, 2007) and provided a welfare role, coming to be "known locally as 'La Mamma'" (Winkler, 2007, p.11). Its position was consolidated by a post war economic miracle with industrial output more than doubling between 1958 and 1963 (Winkler, 2007).

Despite this the dominance of the company has been broken. Globalisation, EU integration, the global oil shock of 1973 and loss of market share in the 1990s (Whitford and Enrietti, 2005) all contributed to FIAT's troubles. In the 1980s Torino's metropolitan area lost 100,000 industrial jobs mainly in Torino (Winkler 2007). There were strikes with 1969, 1980, 1993 and particularly 2001 and 2002 dark years for FIAT (Whitford and Enrietti, 2005).

A weakening of FIAT and a strengthened local leadership finally broke FIAT's dominance. The directly elected Mayor was vital for Torino which needed local actors to develop strategies for diversification and a politics not dominated by FIAT (Pinson, 2002). Local political parties had been discredited (Winkler, 2007) and "civil society stepped into the vacuum that remained." (Pinson, 2002, p.483) putting forward the winning candidate. He introduced a new style of governance (Rosso, 2004) and gave the administration a 'refreshing credibility' (Winkler, 2007).

A Strategic Plan was developed between 1998 and 2000 voluntarily bringing together 22 municipalities, to create a metropolitan entity involving the public and private sector. The political body Associazione Torino Internazionale was set up to oversee a common framework with the Torino International Agency to oversee 'operational projects' (Pinson, 2002). The process was highly participative (Winkler, 2007) enabling the city to "act as a system" (Pinson, 2002, p.484). A second plan was published in 2006.

The Plan states the need to improve the city's image and a 'unique opportunity' (Bottero, et al., 2012) arose with the 2006 Winter Olympics. The Games are considered a success (Dansero and Puttilli, 2010); developing the tourist industry (Bottero, at.al., 2012), improving resident's perceptions, bringing investment and repositioning the city's image (Bondonio and Guala, 2011). The Games resulted in debts but enabled the attraction of other high-profile events (Dansero and Puttilli, 2010). The city must continue the work of the Strategic Plans if momentum is to be maintained after the last big event; the 150th Anniversary of the Unification of Italy. The revival of the city's civil society means that the city has more capacity to respond to the new challenges.

TABLE 4.9: TORINO PLACE BRAND ACTIVITIES OVERVIEW

Activity	Approach
Overview	Branding set out as part to the strategic plan of the city, which named actors for delivery. Centred on the Olympic Games and creating new economic activity for the city to change its image. Negative brand primarily to distance from past image.
Key Organisations and Relationships	Communication Office located in the LA with Tourism Office, Turismo Torino and inward investment at the regional level. Coordinated by Associazione Torino Internazionale
Logos and slogans	A number of slogans used for marketing campaigns.
Marketing Campaigns	Torino Always on the Move Passion Lives here.
Events	Events illuminating new economic activity: Artissima-contemporary art, Torino Film Festival Salone Del Gusto Food Festival
Public Relations	Key feature of the work around the Olympic games international coverage; considered very successful.
Promotional Materials	Production of brochures and guides, and key information on the city for external audiences.
Travelling Representation	Not known.

Source: Author's Own

TABLE 4.10: TURIN TIME LINE

Date	Event
1990	
1991	Regional council presented draft for the metropolitan area but this did not become operative.
1992	National government dissolves Torino's elected council

1993	First directly elected Mayor (Valentino Castellani) (First Italian city to do so after national reform in the same year)
	Dark year for FIAT (Whitford and Enrietti, 2007)
	First Artissima contemporary art fair
1994	FIAT shift production to southern Italy
	Lingotto opened as an exhibition centre
1995	Approval of the General Zoning Plan (PRG) 50 years after the prior one
1996	Agencies for Tourism Promotion in Piemonte Region became open to private cooperation
1997	
1998	City Communications Office established
	Olympic bidding phase
	Forum for development (First stage of the Strategic Plan, university researchers were invited to 'diagnose' the city)
	First Salone del Gusto (taste fair) linked to Piemonte region's slow food movement
1999	Selected to host Winter Olympics
2000	Torino Internazionale established
	Strategic Plan published (the first in Italy)
	Alliance signed between Fiat and General Motors
2001	Second directly elected Mayor Sergio Chiamparino
	First advertising campaign in Italy for attracting FDI
2002	Torino "Always on the Move"
	FIAT's deepest crisis (Whitford and Enrietti, 2007)
	FIAT enters alliance with General Motors
2003	
2004	
2005	Alliance with General Motors dissolves
2006	Winter Olympic Games
	Paralympic Games
	Second Strategic Plan published

	FIAT announces return to profit
	Underground rail line opened
	World Book Capital
2007	Three existing tourism agencies were merged into Turismo Torino e Provincia
	International Architectural Congress
2008	French Michelin Green Guide awarded Torino three stars
	World Design Capital
	Torino Film Festival renamed and expanded
2009	
2010	
2011	150th Anniversary of the Unification of Italy
	Fassino third elected Mayor
2012	

Source: Author's Own

4.6 Conclusion

As a result of the selection process there are common trends in the history of all of the cities. All of the cities have industrial heritage and have undergone deindustrialisation, all of the cities have gone some way to identifying new economic trajectories. However, beyond these common trends each of the cities has a unique and rich heritage that renders their common experience unique. In NewcastleGateshead reinvention is a theme, Leipzig's role in the peaceful revolution is inspiring and embedded in its history, Malmö has an approach to governance and large-scale development still led by modernist principles, Manchester's assertively liberal and pragmatic approach is embedded in the city, as was Torino's rediscovery of its historical traditions quietened during the dominance of FIAT.

Similarly place branding activities are in evidence in all of the cities. All of the cities have worked to manage their image for different audiences and have people who work professionally in this area. Most of the cities have undertaken competitive

bidding for sporting or cultural events or titles, all of the cities have endeavoured to develop significant buildings and reinvigorate their public realm. All of the cities undertake marketing and stage events. The level of coordination of these things in the cities identifies the activity as place branding. However, within this unified experience of branding activity each city has taken a unique approach based on its institutions.

This place branding activity has emerged at a similar time in each of the cities. As charted in the literature review, this activity starts to emerge in an urban entrepreneurial context, the starting point for the time line in each of the cities, and become more professionalised with the rise of the distinctive cities and the cities' individual turning points. The following chapters will seek to understand how the institutions in these cities have engendered these forms of place branding, in line with the research aims, and seek to make broader conclusions about what place branding can contribute to the development of cities.

5 Place Brand and Branding: A Complex Interaction of Organisations and Storytelling

This chapter investigates the way in which place brands are constructed, the actors, relationships and processes involved. The first section will explore the motivations of the different cities for their place branding activities. Following this an institutionalist account of place branding will be presented in which an iterative relationship between the cities' institutional environment and institutional arrangements drives change in the city; with place branding associated with changing the 'rules of the game' (North, 1991).

First, the institutional environment of each of the cities is studied in turn with a particular focus on the impact culture, cooperation and leadership has had on place branding in the cities. Second, the institutional arrangements of the cities are examined in terms of the impact of scale and of the differing organisational forms active in place branding in the cities. These sections also provide the opportunity to reflect on the iterative relationship between the institutional arrangements and environment.

In order to investigate the impact of the institutional arrangements an analytical framework is employed to illuminate the actors involved in place branding in the cities and the relationships between them. This framework, comprising narrating, strategic and animating organisations, is systematically applied to evidence the locally specific nature of the institutional arrangements, which nevertheless are situated within the same discourses and undertake similar activities. What this framework displays is that the specific organisational forms in the cities result in different relationships between the strategic, narrating and animating organisations involved in place branding; this in turn results in a different approach to place branding. This will be illustrated by taking each of the case study cities in turn.

The institutional regime of a location is made up of the complex interplay between the institutional arrangements and institutional environment and as such they cannot

be clearly separated. However, while recognising this, for the purposes of analysis, the institutional environment and arrangements will each be examined in turn.

5.1 Place Branding Motivations: Mediating a Crisis of Representation

Place branding literature situates the development of place branding within the broader discourses of 'urban entrepreneurialism' (Harvey, 1989), the 'distinctive city' (Turok, 2009) and the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). These are wider discourses in which decisions are made and activities are understood. However, the cities' engagement with place branding should not be seen as the result of a proactive and empowered decision, rather the shift towards place branding activities seems to be orientated in their experiences of crisis.

The notion of place branding as a response to a crisis of representation instigated by rapid economic and social change is a convincing explanation of the experiences of the case study cities. In her experience of the I love New York Campaign Bendel (2011) cites crisis as an essential condition. Short (1999) asserts that space is turned into place through 'discursive representation', applied to cities he uses the term 'urban representations' which he situates in broader 'regimes of representation' which "are closely connected but cannot be entirely reduced to broader economic and social practices" (p.38). For Short (1999) urban representations are bound up with economic and social representations, as such, it follows that in periods of rapid change a 'crisis of representation' follows. Similarly, Goodwin (1994) asserts that new urban images and 'city myths' can be necessary to smooth the path to new urban economies.

This is illustrated well in Torino, where the crisis of representation can be linked to the need to assess their position as a one company town overly dependent on FIAT.

> *When Fiat started to have problems and the whole concept of being an industrial city a one company city started to decline that I think it was the place where you needed a brand revolution more than others (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level Torino, 29/10/12).*

Similarly, in Malmö the move to turn attention to the brand of the city was instigated by economic crisis.

> *the Place branding of Malmö as a municipal strategy started with the crisis when the industrial Malmö went into decline and this huge economic crisis that was a result of all the companies moving abroad and the deindustrialisation so that was the starting point I would say (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12)*

This is also true of Leipzig at the fall of the GDR and reunification of Germany and of Manchester's experience of the IRA bomb in 1996. It is apparent during these times that there is an impetus to tackle the crisis of representation for the outside world but also to instigate consensus and action internally around the material crisis and crisis of representation.

To reinforce this account the professionalization of place branding activity quite consistently occurred at similar moments across the cities to maximise momentum (see chapter 6). Furthermore, recent developments in place branding in the cities can also be linked to crisis. For example, as a result of shootings and riots in Malmö, the executive office undertook research on media representations of the city and their engagement with local businesses increased. In Torino, a need to reassess their branding activities as a result of the more recent economic crisis and the requirement to establish a formal metropolitan level of government was suggested.

Recent branding work in NewcastleGateshead could be understood as a response to the economic crisis and the impact of the resulting 'austerity policy' of central government. The results of which included the disbanding of the RDA, One North East, who had previously undertaken a high-profile place promotion campaign, and a context in which the Coalition Government's calls for 'rebalancing' saw Newcastle used as an exemplar of public sector dependence by national media. The concept of a 'crisis of representation', although a relatively minor one in the context of these cities' experience, is apparent in the aspirations interviewees had for the branding work in NewcastleGateshead. The motivations are primarily economic, and situated

within the discourse of territorial competition, but with clear overtones of a desire for a clearer place identity and strategic direction. As demonstrated below:

> *Having a clear vision for what we want the city to be, and a clear direction of travel is very much about having a real sense of place, a sense of the places' future not just its present, so what are our aspirations what's our ambition for Newcastle, and that will help shape and inform urban development as we go forward (LA Communication, Project Group, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 27/02/12)*

The notion of transformation is apparent for all of the cities, both of material conditions and the representations of the city. Arguably the notion of transformation is the defining feature of all the branding efforts of the cities. However, this transformation from industrial to post industrial cities is not achieved through the exclusion of historical industrial achievements with a tabula rasa (Jensen, 2007) approach. Rather, historical achievements are selectively emplotted in order to illustrate why the cities have evolved in the way they have. The notion of narrative identity is useful here to understand the nature of continuity in change which is so central to individual identity and the management of the identity of place.

Jensen (2007) develops this idea using the work of Czarniawska suggesting that "branding for identity construction also mean branding for alterity construction" (p.213) this means that branding is concerned not only with city's you would aspire to be associated with but also "those in whose company you would prefer not to be found!" (p.213). Here the 'other' against which the cities are constructing their preferred identity, through branding, is their former industrial selves. The use of storytelling allows them to maintain a legitimate identity, through selective references to the past while casting off recent negative economic experiences in order to develop new economic trajectories.

Torino is the best example of this; branding efforts in the city were not centred around a selection of assertions about what their identity is but about a demonstration that the city was no longer the 'grey' industrial one company town of

its recent history. Torino and Piemonte is still highly dependent on the automotive industry and manufacturing, with some impressive Research and Development statistics but this was not the image actors in Torino aimed to project. Instead there was support for and promotion of more 'colourful' industries such as film, contemporary art and food, in which Torino was active before FIAT dominated the city and which contribute to an image of Torino as a city with a diverse economy. Taking this further this interviewee suggests the need to move towards a more positive approach to branding:

> *We considered branding as a result of all the initiatives that had been taken and they generated a measurable change of what we call the brand of Torino but the branding was not the true target, the target was change the city, now what we have probably to do is to focus on the, on what might be the points of excellence the strengths and use them just to cast the brand of the city.*
> *(Public Private Strategic Organisation, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12)*

Despite the notion of transformation and an 'othering' of past industrial selves being evident in all cases, there are examples of positive branding campaigns such as Leipzigger Freiheit in Leipzig and 'original modern' in Manchester. The narrative approach to identity construction is also apparent here as elements of the cities' history were selectively appropriated to create a positive brand image.

The suggestion here is that the cities' engagement with branding as an urban intervention strategy has been grounded in their experiences of social and economic crisis which have led to crises of representation. Branding has been used to mediate these crises of representation, using narrative to rebuild new regimes of representation for the city, both negatively against their past selves and positively, based on their past and current strengths. The aim of the next section is to examine more closely how this has been achieved.

5.2 Institutional Environment: Culture, Cooperation and Leadership

The institutional environment refers to informal conventions such as traditions and customs in a location which inevitably interact with institutional arrangements or organisational forms (Pike et.al., 2006). In the case of place branding and the experiences of the case study cities, it is suggested that the issues of leadership, governance norms and cultures of cooperation are the most pertinent elements. Each of the cities is taken in turn to examine these elements of the institutional arrangements in order to understand the actors, relationships and processes involved in place branding. This section is particularly pertinent to the assertion that place branding can be enacted by changing the 'rules of the game' (North, 1991) essentially by generating new norms for activity in the city.

5.2.1 NewcastleGateshead: Cooperative Aims Limited by Leadership

Collaboration and cooperation is recognised as valuable in NewcastleGateshead, particularly that between the LAs in the wider region and that between the public and private sector. It is recognised as essential to the development of a strong brand message for the cities:

> *Actually, if the two LAs and the top ten businesses and the universities and colleges and you know the ten NGCV [NewcastleGateshead Cultural Venues] organisations really worked hard at pressing that message we would get a bit further I think, so its again about working together (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 23/03/12).*

It was seen as essential to the aims, circumstances and resulting strategy of the place branding process in which, partly due to limited resources, the strategy was to develop a 'virtual marketing alliance of volunteers' in order to engender place branding activity in the cities (DMO, Operational Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12). Another example is that, it was one of the key aims and the rationale for the organisational approach of the North East LEP (Local Enterprise Partnership, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/12/12).

However, it seems that this is an area which in practice is problematic and is seen as a key area for improvement in the cities:

> *I think there is still a lot of room for improvement in terms of how the organisations could generally work together and how the public and private organisations could work together (Inward Investment, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 11/01/13).*

In spite of this, collaboration was selected as a place brand value due to some key collaborative elements, such as the relationship between Newcastle and Gateshead and the perception that the city's private sector is collaborative "it's not a cut-throat

competitiveness it's a how can we all succeed what can we do for each other to make the city a success" (LA Communications, Project Group, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 27/02/12). There are other positive examples of collaboration in the city such as that of the NewcastleGateshead Cultural. However, there is disagreement about the prevalence of this, particularly from some in the private sector who question the extent of this collaboration and the inclusion of collaboration as a brand value.

This disagreement about the extent of cooperation in the cities is likely a result of the misalignment between the recognition of the need to collaborate and the reality of cooperative working in the city. The question is: why when cooperation is clearly recognised as a value is it not so apparent in reality? It seems that a lack of leadership in the cities and the region is a significant factor in this "it's that sort of lack of leadership and then the real challenge is the way that other cities and regions have, Manchester is a great example, of how they have pulled together" (University, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 02/04/12). This is particularly recognised in light of the loss of the Regional Development Agency (RDA). The potential impact of the lack of leadership and cooperation on the brand is not lost on city actors:

> *there are a lot of factions within the north east, the concern is how do you stop internal bickering creating negativity around the brand because actually some of the political machinations of, you know, four bids going in from this region for the Green Investment Bank have significant repercussions on how we're perceived (Business Representative, NewcastleGateshead, Strategic Level, 21/02/12).*

Some representatives identify the lack of a strong Newcastle leading the region, even though it is the obvious regional capital:

> *Newcastle I think for loads of years has never punched its weight, it hasn't punched its weight as an organisation and it hasn't punched its weight in terms of asserting itself, and by asserting itself, I mean even now, why does*

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Newcastle mess about pacifying Sunderland and not call itself the regional capital, (Various Strategy and Development, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 12/12/12).

This interviewee suggested that this resulted from local Labour politicians avoiding upsetting each other. It seems that there is some truth to this observation as demonstrated below by a LA Communications officer at the Operational Level talking about the belief that a strong Newcastle is good for the region:

we hope that we bring the wider region with us on the project as well, but that needs to be carefully handled and carefully managed as well, you know, a big headed regional capital is not going to be effective for the north east so we need to be careful about how we do that (Project Group, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 27/02/12).

It seems that the lack of leadership at the regional level and from LAs is particularly impactful for the brand due to the leadership of LAs on the place branding work. Although the private sector advocated this work it was recognised that the LAs were the leaders through their support of NGI. In addition, it was accepted that some of the strongest examples of leadership had been that of Gateshead, realistically the lower profile partner, with their arts led regeneration strategy. The result of public sector leadership and has been the continuation of the somewhat controversial NewcastleGateshead brand in the most recent branding work.

Although there is a desire to cooperate between the public and private sector and on a regional level, there is not the leadership required to provide the trust and certainty of outcome which would enable actors to make the compromises required to cooperate. As asserted by a university communications officer "you've got to be prepared to be magnanimous and say, you know what, that is the best brand but we'll all benefit because everybody will come, yeah that's the tricky bit" (Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 15/02/12). In this context, the loss of regional actors had been disquieting for local actors beyond the immediate administrative impact

and actors advocating the NewcastleGateshead scale, were having difficulty maintaining traction and reaching their aim of mobilising local actors around the most recent branding work; despite previous successes.

5.2.2 Leipzig: Strong Leadership and Engaged Population

In Leipzig, the Mayors were recognised as particularly valuable in the development of the city brand "I think the first key actor and the most important key actor" (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12). The decision to bid for the 2012 Olympics, which led to the city being recognised as the German candidate city significant in the development of branding in the city (see section 6.4), was cited as an example of this bold leadership.

Another valuable feature of this leadership context was a flexible and responsive approach to private sector actors as described by this private landlord of a key cultural asset mobilised in Leipzig's branding activity:

> *it is easy for private people to bring through their ideas because they are happy to have ideas carried up to them, and I think that's very good but, they kind of promote and accompany these developments in a nice way, (Strategic Level, Leipzig, 02/10/12).*

The administration's responsive flexibility is not reserved for actors in the private sector but is also a characteristic of public private working in the city as the example of cooperation in the development of organisational structures and collaborative working in the tourism sector demonstrates:

> *we were among the initiators of the structure… and throughout all these times there has been a very good cooperation I should say between Tourismus und Marketing, ourselves, the hoteliers, people are very reasonable also in terms of their policies it is a very good spirit of cooperation that has helped move the city forward (Conference sector, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

The potential impact on the place brand of this flexible responsiveness is not lost on actors in the city who believe that being a positive and active partner in a relationship can be a valuable asset for the brand:

let's ask my peers where they have had the best experiences and if they say
where there is a city where official approvals from the authorities may be just
a bit quicker or a bit more flexible of where people may be a bit more
welcoming or may just listen a little but more to what's your trouble at this
moment, so this may give us the edge (Conference Sector, Operational Level,
Leipzig, 17/09/12).

Another valuable asset for the brand is the engaged population, reinforcing the
centrality of the Peaceful Revolution to the Leipzigger Freiheit brand. As asserted "in
Leipzig the citizens take responsibility for their city and not just rely on the
municipality to do everything…I think that makes Leipzig a special place" (Private
Landlord, Culture Sector, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 02/10/12). This is particularly true
of the re-urbanisation that has taken place in Leipzig. Cheap and attractive
accommodation is seen as one of the key factors in bringing population growth to a
previously shrinking city; particularly among creative people and young families. This
attractive accommodation and vibrant neighbourhoods is referenced in the
Leipzigger Freiheit brand. This was partly instigated by the LA in order to deal with
abandoned neighbourhoods:

you cannot make anything in the city … without asking people, this is where
yeah, it's really a very different situation than twenty years ago now, it's really
a very normal process that first starts with consultation, or a participation, not
only the consultation (LA International Relations, Operational Level, Leipzig,
17/09/12).

This engaged population supported by the local administration has resulted in the
development of voluntary organisations at the district level. The urban regeneration
office (Stadterneuerung und Wohnungsbauförderung) which is more significant in
Leipzig than other cities has been a supporter of these organisations and working
with engaged populations:

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I think you will not find these organisations in every German district let's say, this is part of this civil society thing, and I will believe that our office plays a certain role because we are very much focused on, I think you call it community development and things like this (LA Urban Regeneration, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12)

This provides a clear example of the iterative relationship between the institutional environment and institutional arrangements as local culture and circumstances led to the development of a particular organisation which led to the enhancement of elements of that culture resulting in further organisational development. This reality is reflected in the brand through reference to the characteristics of the local population and the re-urbanised creative neighbourhoods as brand assets; imagery of these neighbourhoods has been utilised for the Leipzigger Freiheit brand.

In a similar way, the brand Leipzigger Freiheit reflects the different industries of the city, part of the cluster program of the LA and an asset for the brand; particularly the automotive industry. The brand has managed to reflect this variety but it is also a characteristic of the city's weakness, as explained:

Leipzig is characterised by the distant neighbour paradox so it is the situation that you're working with everyone in the world you have lots of linkages and you are very good at creating these kinds of external environments but you don't want to work with your neighbour and you don't want to have too much to do with the other people in Leipzig, … as I said this Leipziger Freedom thing is a nice idea which is connecting all of these different strands but they are actually not cooperating (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12)

From a place branding point of view, narrating varied interests and generating collective norms for activity, from organisations which do not interact at the local level and may not recognise a shared interest in the fortunes of the city is challenging. More broadly this lack of embeddedness in the local economy undermines not only the City's resilience to economic shocks, but also the city's

ability to adapt in the future. Adherence to development strategies could be problematic in light of businesses with independent interests and little loyalty to the city.

5.2.3 Malmö: Clear Alignment between Culture and Brand

Much of the transformation of Malmö is credited to the strong political leadership of the Mayor for much of this period, Illmar Reepalu, and politicians more broadly "I must say it has been the politicians because without them this wouldn't happen at all we needed their strong decisions" (LA Tourism, Operational Level, Malmö, 28/06/12). As well as the Mayor, the head of the planning department was identified as a strong and influential leader fulfilling a public role in a context where physical change was central to image change. Leadership is particularly important when a brand relies heavily on material transformation as is the case in Malmö. During the period of a left-wing coalition in the city key transformational issues were defined with broad consensus to ensure long term political stability:

> *we have to find strategies that we don't change after every election, … so that is how it was with the Malmö University, with the Western Harbour, what should we do with the ship wharf and so on, then we have politically a normal discussion between parties on other issues but we tried to find consensus in some very big areas, (Political, Strategic Level, Malmö, 15/05/12)*

This clarity of strategy was not only reserved for large image defining development issues but also operational approaches such as the sustainability approach defined as social, economic and environmental sustainability "we have the last years since 2000 almost, sorted everything on this sustainability model" (LA Planning, Strategic Level, Malmö, 26/06/12). Consistency offered by this leadership supported and was supported by branding activity.

The strong political leadership which has enabled long term strategic working through cross party agreement and clear strategy making is also credited with having shifted its own approach in recent years to be more outward orientated, particularly to Europe:

> *maybe before politicians weren't outward orientated but now they really are and I will say there is a big consensus in the need to be outward orientated*

*and Malmö has the city office in Brussels since many years for example and
we were working with Copenhagen since many years (LA Strategy,
Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).*

This outward orientation was key to and developed by cooperation with the Øresund
region and the building of the physical connection to Copenhagen; both important
elements of Malmö's brand. This cooperation is not reserved for the public sector
with companies such as the Copenhagen Malmö Port and people's private lives also
advocated as strong examples. This is no doubt enhanced by the pride which is
attached to being part of this international hub:

*you do have this very interesting international touch to it, plus the fact that
altogether it's sort of the Scandinavian hub here, whatever you say about
Oslo and Stockholm, in my view, this is where things are happening for the
time being (Business Representative, strategic level, Malmö, 27/06/12).*

It was commented that this more outward orientated approach, a feature of the
brand, was starting to be applied to regional working with near neighbours Lund, by
local politicians. A strategic approach was developing between the planning
departments in the two settlements with ambitious plans afoot demonstrating the
momentum that a brand supporting and supported by clear leadership and strategy
can engender.

Although a strong and cooperative public sector is advocated as being key to
success in Malmö it seems that one of the public sector's own strengths is the way it
collaborates with the private sector:

*compared to other cities there is a lot of cooperation with private and public
for being in Sweden there is quite a lot of cooperation, otherwise we couldn't
have grown so fast (LA Tourism, Operational Level, Malmö, 28/06/12).*

This has been particularly important in light of Malmö's branding being orientated around changes in the fabric of the city, of which private investment has been central. This has taken the form of regular meetings between politicians and business representatives and leaders. This is also enhanced by a particular approach to working where "morals of how we are working together" (LA Planning, Strategic Level, Malmö, 26/06/12) are important. In addition, the notion of selling a vision and narrating the place to private sector actors seems significant in Malmö "with this storytelling we got a lot of the business community on board" (Political, Malmö, 15/05/12). Demonstrating that the storytelling associated with the brand has engendered cooperation in the city both supporting and supported by material changes.

This strategically orientated leadership with an emphasis on cooperation, physical development and an outward looking approach is evident in the type of branding that has taken place, with significant and symbolic physical change. It seems that in Malmö particularly, the storytelling around the brand was key in developing the culture that enabled its own progression. The relationship between branding and organisational culture and leadership in Malmö is illustrated by a "structure that is both strategic and practical" (LA Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12). For example, frontline departments in the city, which are key to how people experience the city, meet monthly to relate their activities to the brand and have direct communication channels to strategic actors.

5.2.4 Manchester: Strong Leadership and Self-Aware Norms of Cooperation

The institutional thickness in Manchester, examined in section 5.3 on institutional arrangements, is both instrumental in shaping and shaped by the leadership and culture in the city. Manchester has a strong leadership which creates a clear direction of travel and an often-cited certainty around the development of the city, both in general and of urban development initiatives such as place branding:

> *the city has amazing leadership it's got a very, very strong chief executive with a very good vision and is very ambitious for the city and he works incredibly well with the elected leader so Howard Bernstein and Sir Richard Leese, … I think a lot of the recent successes post IRA bomb have been because of that close unison and you know they're ambitious on behalf of the city and they get things, they make things happen they bring people with them…they don't just talk about them forever, they talk, they plan and then it happens (Culture Sector, Operational Level, Manchester, 23/05/12)*

Manchester seems to be a city which is comfortable with the idea of strong leaders, as well as the strength of LA leadership in the city, interviewees referenced a number of individuals in the private sector who were seen as strong leading forces. This is also reflected in the approach to branding with Peter Saville the creative director of the city providing a similar leadership role for place branding activity.

This strong leadership has been instrumental in the cooperation that takes place in Greater Manchester:

> *I think there is that shared sense of mutual destiny really, that sort of rise and fall together I think, one of Manchester's key strengths and I think this very much comes from Richard Leas and Howard Bernstein (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).*

This has been combined with an inadequacy of other territorial arrangements such as the large North-West Region and the under bounded Manchester City boundaries. The result is strong cooperation at the scale of Greater Manchester, with a Manchester family of organisations: Manchester Investment Development Agency Service (MIDAS), Marketing Manchester, the marketing organisation for Greater Manchester, and New Economy, delivering policy strategy and research support for Greater Manchester; working at this scale. This cooperative block has also enabled the administration to remain aligned to its own strategic priorities rather than being side tracked by governance changes at other scales. For example, "the LEP in Manchester is probably just you know, a set of people in Howard's address book, who are used to working with the city on a whole set of different development issues" (Academic, Manchester, 16/04/12). This cooperation has enabled Greater Manchester to consistently be branded as Manchester maximising both profile and brand assets.

Not only is cooperation apparent between the LA actors in Greater Manchester but also between the public and private sector, it seems that 'through put' rather than 'procedural democracy' is operated (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013) where achieving the desired outcome for the city is prioritised:

> *there is no difference really between the operation of the public and the operation of the private sector, erm, that's a really important dynamic, that the public sector doesn't hide behind its governance requirements … it's interpretation of public procurement is, is, progressive, it doesn't get in the way of the right decision being reached (Urban Development, Strategic Level and DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).*

This cooperation is not just around economic development issues but has been a long-term feature of culture in the city:

> *the leaders of the Council would be quite happy speaking to the owners of factory records and the Hacienda, because it's just what happened here and*

there was a real mutual respect…Manchester has always been tolerant, it's always been liberal in its widest sense and that liberal attitude to culture has been really important in defining its identity (Urban Development, Strategic Level and DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).

Over time this strategic and cooperative working has become a norm in the city. As asserted by one interviewee it seems that "it's just always been like that so why wouldn't you work like that" (Business Representative, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12). 'Original modern' as an inward facing brand recognises and harnesses this norm creation. The embedding of these norms in the institutional environment has partly been generated by the perception and reality that this way of working has resulted in high profile successes:

I think the key part of that is that because we've had that success we have had some real significant events that we're not just fingers crossed and hope things'll happen we know we've made it happen in the past, so you've got that confidence and it's not sort of bravado or big headedness or anything like that, its confidence (Business Representative, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).

The strength of these norms has been generated by the shared narrative of the transformation of the city in which obstacles are overcome and success achieved through these ways of working. As explained by an academic talking about the early years of this narrative "clearly at the beginning they probably didn't have a plan but somewhere along the line the plan emerged and after that they rationalised what they had already done, and they carried it on into the future" (Academic, Manchester, 12/06/12).

The rejection of the Transport Innovation Fund (TIF) scheme provides a strong example of the way unforeseen and even negative events are integrated into the narrative in a positive way. A referendum on traffic charging in the city centre was held in 2009. The result was a 'no' vote and the decision to hold a referendum was

considered to be a significant breakdown in AGMA relations. This experience is cited as being instrumental in the establishment of the combined authority and statutory nature of this arrangement. What could have been seen as a melt-down in the system has instead been interpreted by interviewees as a step towards increasing the robustness of the arrangements. This event has been effectively integrated into the wider narrative of the transformation of Manchester "they no longer have to get full board support and start bargaining with the lagheads and that sort of stuff so there have been incremental improvements as a result of that TIF thing" (Academic, Manchester, 16/04/12).

Enforcing these norms of working, interviewees have a high level of self-awareness that this is part of Manchester's identity resulting in a form of self-discipline to maintain this activity and to "protect that way of working because Manchester is seen, I think by other parts of the country, as a bit of a place that has got it sorted" (Business Representative, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12). This discipline is extended to place branding activity and is at its most effective in the way the image of a cohesive Greater Manchester is projected to external audiences:

> if you do work as a family you keep your squabbles internally and don't parade them to the public, I'm not saying we avoid any disagreements, but where we have then we keep them private and try and sort them out, that's the Manchester ethos (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

This discipline is impressive due to the nature of political relations within the AGMA and more recently the Combined Authority, described by one interviewee "the sort of continual political dance between the boroughs is very, very complex" (City Centre Management, Strategic Level, Manchester, 09/05/12). Most suggested that the cohesive image was largely for the benefit of external and public audiences "for the internal world there's always the politics, there's always the wrangling" (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/15/12). However, it was cited that the cooperation was improving over time, for example, "the people who weren't in favour of changes have disappeared and been replaced by people who can see more

clearly that there's a benefit" (Urban Development, Strategic Level and DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).

In Manchester, it seems that the city's brand can eventually become its reality through the development of norms in the institutional environment both as a result of and an influence on the institutional arrangements. Leadership, cultural norms and cooperation create certainty around urban development interventions such as place branding, and Manchester's brand and orchestrated 'original modern' branding reflects this context through its leadership, normative self-aware narratives and effective mobilisation of the Manchester scale.

5.2.5 Torino: Re-Engaged Historical Elite

Leadership in Torino provides an insightful example of the iterative relationship between the organisational environment and organisational arrangements. The timing of the introduction of the directly elected Mayor, during a significant decline in the de facto authority of the city, FIAT, was very fortuitous for the city preventing a power vacuum. A historical, traditional elite in the city is credited with enabling the city to overcome their difficulties:

> *this is a city where the political economic elite work together, this is a place in Italy where the local cooperation is an important element, distinguishing the city from other cities in Italy, it's a city where the values like trust, cooperation, reciprocity are quite important and these are permitted in the past to overcome many difficulties, I think that the city has got over the industrial crisis not the current crisis but the crisis linked to the car sector thanks to these special qualities of the city (Academic, Torino, 30/10/12)*

This elite promoted the candidate who would become the first elected Mayor Valentino Castellani, his background, from beyond the discredited political actors in the city, was seen as central to his success "Valentino Castellani came from what we call the civic society, not a professional politician, he came from the university he was a professor of engineering so it's also something different" (Urban Environment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12).

This change in the organisational arrangements stimulated a change in the culture of the city with greater visibility and accountability "a face you choose and somebody you know is the one is doing something for your city so it is completely different from before in the imagination" (Urban Environment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12). The administrative changes also had an impact on the ability to work strategically; previously leadership would change every two years, the shift to a period of eighteen years with only two mayors introduced the possibility of working strategically (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12). This new leadership, strategic approach and

rediscovery of some of Torino's pre-FIAT characteristics has had an impact on the city's place brand activity.

The change in leadership was significant in the place branding of the city in two ways. First, because these new longer serving mayors were significant in promoting the city "our mayors have always been engaged in the promotion of Torino starting with Castellani and then Chiamparino and now Fassino," (Regional Inward Investment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12). Second, Torino adopted a strategic approach to place branding with its inclusion in their strategic plan "it's an instrument that you have to adapt to your own needs and as [colleague in interview] was saying the process is probably more important than the plan itself" (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

The nature of the strategic plan and importantly the process used to produce it is part of the iteration between arrangements and environment; the mayor that emerged from the culture of the city, to satisfy new organisational structures, took an approach which further developed the culture he emerged from, through the strategic plan and the voluntary membership organisation Associazione Torino Internazionale. The organisation and process acted as a "moral starter" (Academic, Torino, 30/10/12) with the core organisation acting as a facilitator; "the attempt to involve local companies and local stakeholders… has been true enough" (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12).

It seems the aim was to engage the strong historical elite which had been overshadowed by FIAT for many years "this idea to be international, Torino Internazionale was to open the governance of the city to other actors like I mean not only Fiat like before but also actors of the city" (Urban Environment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12). Place brand activity included in the plan such as the Winter Olympics and rediscovery of traditional economic activities garnered support from stakeholders included in the process.

Another way in which this active elite was central to the brand was through the existence of associations used as the basis for the rediscovery of past traditions. The enhancement of new economic activity around these revived traditions was a brand

as well as economic strategy employed to illustrate Torino as a vibrant, varied and colourful city rather than a one company town. For example, in the area of culture there are:

> *a lot lot lot of cultural associations in Turin we do everything we do cinema, theatre and cultural industry is very very developed and, so we try to work together will all these associations, all these realities in order to build, a culture system that can be strong and yet can be selled outside if you want, (Culture Sector, Operational Level, Torino, 30/10/12).*

The wealth of associations and established elite enhanced by the process of the strategic plan also resulted in cooperation between these traditional sectors, for example, product placement in the film industry and the use of local produce in cinema events through collaboration between the Film Commission and the Camera di Commercio:

> *we build some sponsorships to help us with some events so it's always, these are always relationships built in order to build and improve local industry, like a window shop because we go outside and cinema is always something really attractive so we just try to show what is local industry (Culture Sector, Operational Level, Torino, 30/10/12)*

The interactions between these rediscovered sectors better enabled the creation of cultural norms around the negative brand construction with the city distanced from its grey one company town image to that of a 'colourful' and varied economy. The relationships between sectors are also present in Torino's industrial research and development:

> *it's difficult to speak about only one key sector because in Torino we have a sort of diffused capacity of innovation and so it's a question not only of vertical sectors but also of metrics because you have innovation this way and you can have automotive, aerospace but also Nano technology for instance but all of*

these sectors are connected (Regional Inward investment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12)

This is a particularly strong sector for the region of Piemonte, however, it did not form a significant role in the branding of Torino, perhaps because inward investment was undertaken at a regional level and due to the city's aim to distance its image from industrial production. In any case, in Torino an iterative process between the institutional arrangements and environment is clear; driving development in the city with which branding was entwined. The construction of a negative brand, distancing the city from its grey industrial image and illustrating a new colourful Torino was enabled by the rediscovery of past industry and support for the Winter Olympics. This brand construction resulted from leadership and the revival of past cultural norms and cooperation instigated by the change in and harnessing of the institutional arrangements; the elected mayor and the strategic plan.

5.3 Institutional Arrangements

Institutional arrangements or the organisational forms (Pike et.al. 2006) are the subject of this section. Continually interacting with the institutional environment, the organisations in a location, which can be understood as place branding infrastructure, have a significant impact on place branding. The first part of this section will investigate scale. Each of the cities will be investigated in turn to elucidate the scale at which place branding for different audiences takes place, the level of organisational formality and the level of alignment between the narrating and strategic organisations.

Next the organisational forms in the city are examined using the typology of strategic, narrating and animating organisations (see section 3.3.2.1) to recognise the actors at work in the cities and the relationships and processes involved. What is argued here is that the differing organisational forms found in each city demonstrate a different relationship between strategic, narrating and animating organisations, and that the consequence of this is a different approach to developing place brands and undertaking place branding activities.

5.3.1 The Impact of Scale

For much of the period of study the institutional arrangements for NewcastleGateshead have been in a state of flux, with the removal of organisations at the regional level which had provided links to national government and business and tourism promotion for the region. These changes could be understood to have caused 'institutional thinness' in the location. In the intervening period the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) has been established including much of the area previously covered by the Region.

FIGURE 5.1: NEWCASTLEGATESHEAD SCALE IN RELATION TO PLACE BRANDING

European Union	
Great Britain	
North East Region (Regional Development Agency until 2012, Government Office until 2011)	
North East Local Enterprise Partnership (Since 2011)	
NewcastleGateshead Scale	
Newcastle City Council	**Gateshead** Borough Council

Source: Author's Own

This dismantling of the regional level led to concerns of fragmentation for interviewees in the cities both for the activities of strategic organisations generally and for place branding efforts:

> *I think there's a real danger that people will go off and do things differently with each LA marketing the area in a different way, and giving potential conflicting messages, so I think there is a need for somebody to get a grip of this and focus those thoughts and energies (University, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 02/04/12)*

NGI is the primary narrating organisation for NewcastleGateshead sitting at the scale of both of the LAs but with partners, strategic and animating organisations, across the North East region giving the organisation a regional interest. This is increasing as private sector partners become more important funders. For a period, since the establishment of the Inward Investment Team in 2012, branding activities for business, tourism and residents were aligned. However, there is limited alignment between strategic organisations and the narrating organisation. For example, the two LA areas covered can still act separately in an uncoordinated manner. Place branding at the NewcastleGateshead scale, different from key strategic organisations the LAs and the LEP, can be problematic for NGI, resulting in misalignment of their narrating role and frustrating their leadership of place branding efforts.

In Leipzig although there are a number of levels at work, interviewees agreed that the city scale was the most important one for branding: "I'm convinced that the city itself is the most important" (LA International Relations, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12). At this level, there is alignment between the narrating organisations and strategic organisation of branding for business, residents and tourism. This alignment is also the case for the State of Saxony which undertakes narration activities for branding aimed at both business and tourist audiences; it is also a strategic organisation:

> *In Germany we have a federal system and therefore its typical situation that the regional governments have a relatively strong position in economic development (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12).*

FIGURE 5.2: LEIPZIG SCALE IN RELATION TO PLACE BRANDING

European Union
Germany (Federal Government)
Magic Cities Germany (Network of 11 cities for tourism promotion)
Central German Metropolitan Region
Federal State of Saxony
Leipzig Urban District
Leipzig Stad (LA)
Informal organisations at the neighbourhood level (districts)

Source: Author's Own

Also, pertinent to place branding activities in Germany there is a strong relationship between different scales for tourism promotion through the Magic Cities Network, at a national scale, and between the local and state level with narrating and strategic activities taking place at each scale. One scale which appears to be more problematic is the Metropolitan region of Central Germany, which is trying to establish itself with limited success, largely due to its funding streams and competition between several similar sized cities within its states. What is most interesting at this scale is that although strategic activities are more problematic narration for place branding activities can still take place.

An interesting element of this case is the recognition of the significance of the district scale in Leipzig, this has had an impact on the city's branding activity. At this level, there is an alignment between strategic, animating and narrating aims as local people are involved in the reimaging of their own neighbourhoods. The reurbanisation (Buzar et.al., 2007) of abandoned districts within the city, often with vibrant and creative neighbourhoods, has been an important asset for the city's brand. Many credit the return to a growing population, significant in itself for the brand narrative, with attractive and cheap housing, included in the marketing literature of the Leipzigger Freiheit branding campaign by narrating organisations at the city scale.

In Malmö, there are fewer scales at work. Administratively the city scale is not subordinate to the regional level. The local and regional have different portfolios with the regional administration largely associated with healthcare. In the case of branding however, both the regional and the local level are responsible for branding to business, residential and tourist audiences. In both cases for branding there is alignment between strategic and narrative organisations as different parts of the same organisation occupy both roles. The context in Sweden is illustrated below:

> *In Sweden we have this tradition of local government and municipalities but the regional level has been almost exclusively associated with health care, and not any other issue and then a strong central government, there's been very much a relationship between the central and the local level but not very much on the regional level, and we have not like city region municipal or metropolitan governance level at all, so that is why we have to be active also on that level, so when it comes to the city region of Malmö Lund and so on (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).*

As such the cooperation between Malmö and Lund is not coordinated at a higher scale but between the LAs with Malmö Lund operating informally. This suggests strong institutions with good informal working. Another scale present in Malmö is the international region of Øresund, this too is informal with associations but no

administrative democratic organisation. The Øresund region is largely a brand directed to a business audience, however, it is considered to be a strong brand "when we do surveys we can see that the Øresund region is strong it is the name that many other cities actually mention" (LA Communications, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12). These informal scales significant for branding activity are supported by strategic organisations which also undertake a narrating role, the LAs in the case of Malmö Lund and the Øresund Committee; a group of local politicians who develop strategy and represent the region to actors at different scales.

FIGURE 5.3: MALMÖ SCALE IN RELATION TO PLACE BRANDING

European Union	
Sweden	
Øresund (International Region)	
Malmö (City)	Skane (Region)

Source: Author's Own

Reflected in its branding is Malmö's relationship to the EU scale "in Europe we talk more and more about strong regions, so we actually talk a lot with Hamburg and regions in Europe even more than we talk to Stockholm sometimes" (LA Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12) This is also illustrated by the vision to connect Malmö to the Copenhagen Metro system and to provide a fixed link between Øresund and Germany. It seems that development strategy in Malmö is determined by local strategy and vision, embodied in the alignment of strategic and narrating functions and characteristic of Malmö's branding activity, rather than national policy.

In Manchester, there is strong alignment of narrating and strategic organisations at the city region scale of Greater Manchester. Business, resident and tourist audiences are all dealt with at this scale and organisations cooperate as part of the 'greater Manchester family' even at a functional level. This is particularly the case since funding cuts and the removal of the RDA where functions such as marketing and research have increasingly been shared between organisations on the Greater Manchester scale.

European Union		
Great Britain		
North West Region (Until 2012)		
Greater Manchester Combined Authority	Association of Greater Manchester Authorities	Greater Manchester Local Enterprise Partnership
Manchester City Council		

Source: Author's Own

The strength of the institutional arrangements at the city region scale in Manchester, which became statutory in 2011, has allowed the city to deal robustly with the UK's recent institutional flux. The continuity offered by the city region scale is able to provide stability and confidence enabling new governance structures to be adopted quickly and without upsetting existing arrangements; leadership in the city is referenced once again:

> *the Councils see that as an opportunity to drive forward the agenda and secure funding from the central government…I think it came together quite quickly, there was a very clear identification of the kind of people the city council wanted to have in that space (Business Representative, Strategic Level, Manchester, 23/04/12)*

Branding takes place at the city region scale in Manchester, using the 'attack brand' of Manchester, institutional thickness and the alignment of narrating and strategic organisations at the city region scale has enabled this pragmatic approach.

In the case of Torino, scale provides a complex picture. Business and investment promotion takes place at the regional level through the Piemonte Agency using Torino as an attraction point:

> *The scale was regional really but most of the activities were focused on Torino because it is quite difficult to explain the complexity of a region abroad and so you need a sort of attraction point and then you can illustrate all the*

other opportunities but it is important to have one key point of entry (Regional Inward Investment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12)

The province of Torino largely deals with regulatory matters. In absence of a metropolitan level of government which is yet to be established, ideally at the provincial level by 2014, many other activities take place based on different aggregations of municipalities (Rosso, 2004) of which the City of Torino is the biggest in the area. The need to work at scales above the municipal level is outlined below:

> *You can't be restricted to a municipal territory otherwise… there is a micro competition process which you cannot have because all are losers in that game and in the win to win game you have to have a wider area which competes with the stronger competitors that are around Europe (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).*

FIGURE 5.5: TORINO SCALE IN RELATION TO PLACE BRANDING

European Union
Italy
Piemonte Region (Regional Department)
Province of Torino (Province Department)
Area covered by Strategic Plans (and other aggregations of Municipalities)
City of **Torino**

Source: Author's Own

Tourism promotion under Turismo Torino e Provincia, Torino's DMO, is an example of this aggregation as are the strategic plans along which most of the place branding activities in Torino were coordinated. This provides an example of coordination between strategic and narrative organisations creating a new scale where organisations undertaking these activities were aligned. Pinson (2002) suggests that the process of preparing the plan institutionalised the territory; the most effective metropolitan development so far. The strategic plans have been powerful in the branding of Torino, the timing of the plans coincided with the period of time when the

shift in Torino's brand was the most significant, suggesting that the alignment of strategic and narrating organisations enables place branding to be more effective.

For place branding activities, the separation of scale for business audiences at the regional level and resident and tourist audiences at the strategic plan scale has had interesting consequences. The brand articulated at the 'metropolitan' wider city level of the Strategic Plan was largely about demonstrating a shift from being a one company manufacturing city to a city with a varied and colourful cultural life and more creative industries such as film and contemporary art. However, Torino has a strong research and development record with a clustering and matrix approach which in recent years has attracted high profile international companies. This has been used as a key attractor and element of the brand of the city at the regional level but did not feature in explanations from interviewees at different scales which emphasised the more 'colourful' Torino.

The alignment of narrating and strategic organisations can be a strong basis for shifting a place brand, for example, in Manchester and Malmö in which the organisations are most strongly aligned. Similarly, in Torino which has a much lower level of alignment but managed to make significant shifts in its brand around the Strategic Plans, essentially creating another scale in which strategic and narrative activities could take place. The scales at which different audiences are targeted can provide differentiation between the types of branding for the city. In most of the cities all audiences are aligned providing a cohesive picture, however, this was not the case for Torino. In the case of moving from the industrial one company town brand it occupied this separation could serve a purpose for a period of time, however, it is suggested that a brand could be undermined through this separation and value could be lost.

The examples provided demonstrate the power of informal cooperation to create new scales for brand activity, for example the Øresund in the Malmö example and early attempts at developing Malmö Lund. This is also true of the NewcastleGateshead example, although recent organisational flux has resulted in fewer organisations working at this level, it still appears to be considered a useful scale for branding activity (Pasquinelli, 2014). Interviewees in the cities believed that

the most significant shifts in NewcastleGateshead's brand took place prior to the current economic crisis during the focus of regeneration on the NewcastleGateshead shared boundary along the Tyne; key to the collaboration between the authorities. This was a time with shared activity and shared organisations suggesting that strong strategic impetus and vision is required to realise new scales created by branding.
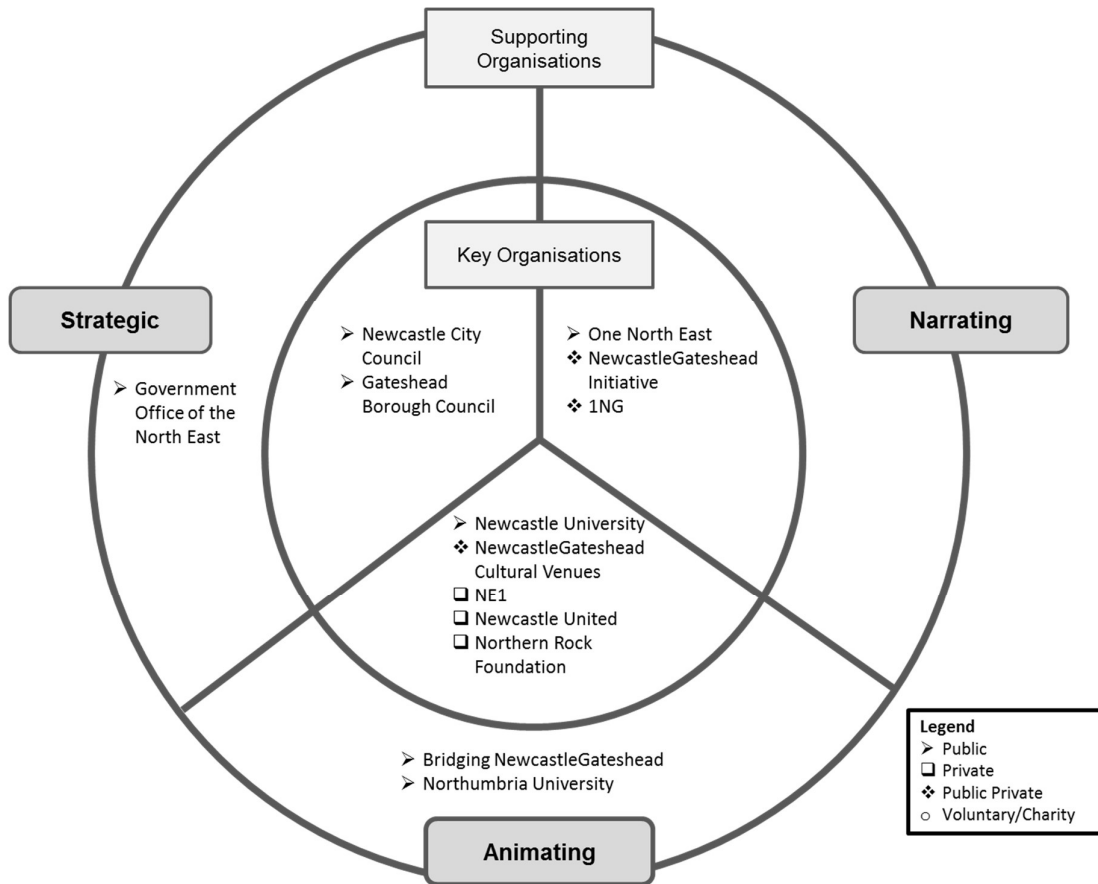
5.3.2 Organisational Forms

The following forms a systematic investigation of the organisational forms which make up the institutional arrangements in each of the cities and draws conclusions about the impact this has had on the place brand and branding that has occurred. Organisational diagrams are included using the typology of strategic, animating and narrating organisations, outlined in the methodology chapter (section 3.3.2.1) to identify the nature of the organisational forms in the cities and the impact on branding activity. A judgement has been made about whether organisations played a 'key' or 'supporting' role in the cities' brand. Whether the organisation is in the public, private, public private or voluntary sectors is also referenced.

5.3.2.1 NewcastleGateshead: Mediating Organisational Flux and Tensions of Scale

In NewcastleGateshead organisational flux and problems of scale have resulted in only partial alignment between strategic and narrating organisations meaning more recent place branding activities have struggled to gain traction. Animating organisations previously relied on are now less relevant to the business-friendly image that is the aim of recent branding work. Organisational flux over the period of the study is demonstrated in the two diagrams below: the first showing the organisational forms in 2010 and the second those forms in 2012. The first big change is the removal of the regional layer, which was generally positively regarded in the North East. In addition, One North East the RDA, which can be understood as a narrating organisation for the analysis of place branding, undertook significant narrating work for the region with the Passionate People Passionate Places campaign.

Source: Author's Own

The second change is the removal of organisations at the NewcastleGateshead scale including 1NG, a business development organisation which was responsible for producing the 1Plan a strategy at the NewcastleGateshead scale, it was strategic but also narrative to a business and developer audience, and Bridging NewcastleGateshead a housing market renewal organisation. NGI is now the only organisation working at that scale. Its narrative role has now developed to include an Inward Investment Team widening its audiences; representing a mark of confidence in the organisation. The only other narrative organisation is Science City primarily covering Newcastle, high profile cultural animating organisations appear to be underrepresented on the diagrams because they are included as the NewcastleGateshead Cultural Venues under which they cooperate.

FIGURE 5.7: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN NEWCASTLEGATESHEAD 2012
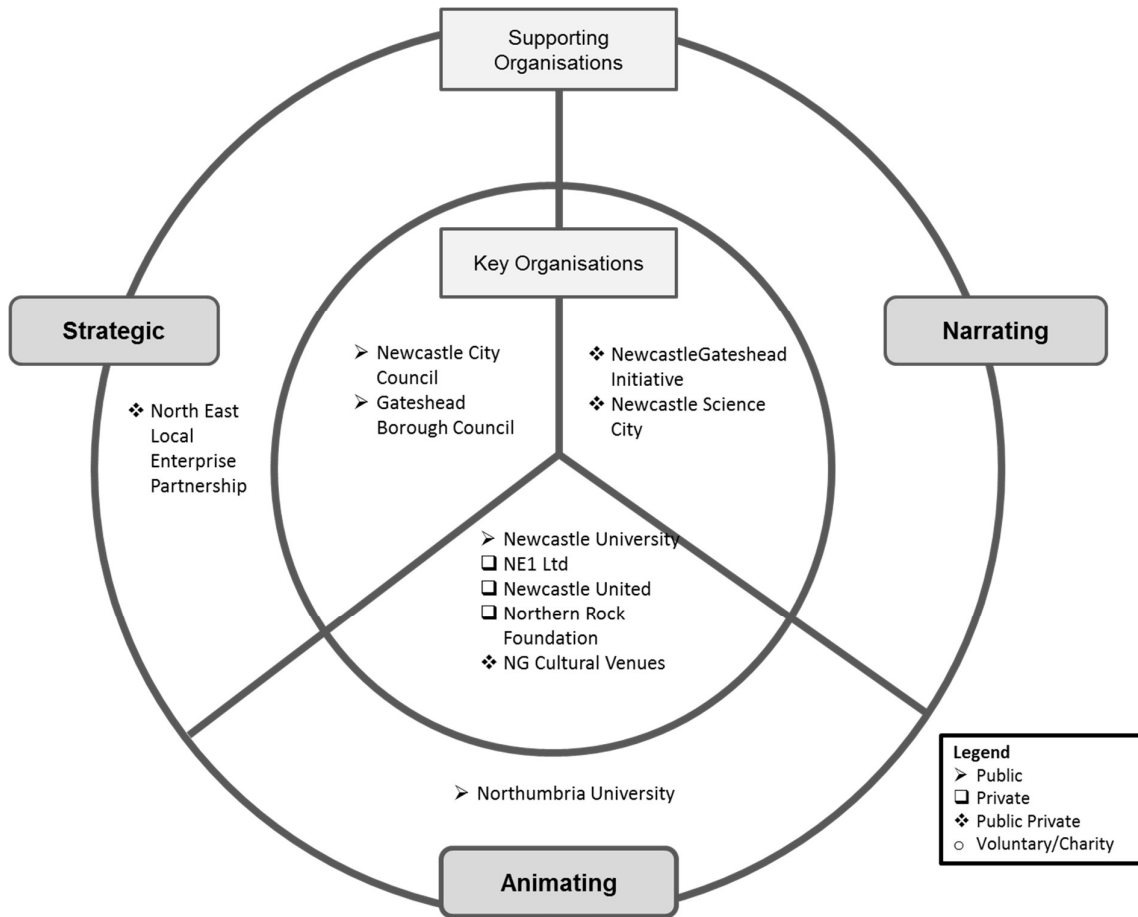
Source: Author's Own

The organisational flux in the NewcastleGateshead case seems to have resulted in uncertainty about the key strategic organisations beyond the LAs which are seen as the key drivers for the recent place branding work. For example, there is uncertainty about new organisations and leadership:

> the north east LEP is not yet articulating clearly enough its role although I absolutely accept their view that they shouldn't be making noise when there's nothing to make noise about, until there's a more positive story, but nonetheless there's uncertainly in peoples' minds about the role of the LEP (University, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 02/03/12)

In addition, there is uncertainty around the NewcastleGateshead scale due to the flux that has occurred. NGI are generally well respected due to their responsibility for the Capital of Culture Bid, their Culture 10 work, their public private status and partnership approach. As such they are seen as the natural leaders for the brand:

> *I think it's absolutely right that NGI are getting erm, have a firm hold of this because they've got a very good track record going back to the time when, well leading up to the bid for city of culture status all the work they did there to bring together the right people to speak with one voice really and they've maintained that sense of ownership with this work which I think is good (University, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 02/04/12).*

The organisation and its past work is considered to make it ideal to undertake branding activities as an 'official narrator' however the scale at which it operates is problematic particularly for local business audiences because "businesses don't see boundaries and therefore, NewcastleGateshead is an artificial creation and you can work very hard on NewcastleGateshead but most people will think Newcastle" (Business Representative, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/02/12). The scale at which the organisation works is a weakness for its branding activities. Many consider NewcastleGateshead to be counterproductive as a brand, even if it is a productive collaboration in other ways. In addition, it seems that, as with other organisations working at that scale, its existence is not considered inevitable by its funders:

> *I think the main drivers are the LAs and NGI as their instrument, as that's all it is really, it has a fair degree of operational freedom and it has private sector members…but ultimately it is the instrument of the LAs that put most of the funding in, and if it started doing things that the LAs felt were counter-productive then clearly they would have to, do something about that (LA Political, Former Strategic, NewcastleGateshead, 17/02/12).*

The more recent place branding work undertaken by NGI has been orientated towards being attractive to business and has been welcomed by businesses. However, the relationships between the public and private sectors in the cities could benefit from further development. This is illustrated, although at the scale of the LEP, in the quote below:

> *And the private sector sometimes find it difficult as well so you can imagine the leaders get very parochial and things and quite rightly that's what they do, they work for their area, and the private sector find that very hard to understand they think why work for their area rather than work for the benefit of everyone…and there's a little bit of tension there (LEP, Operation Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/12/12).*

The need to attract business as a way of instigating new narratives is apparent in the cities with the idea that a significant inward investment "would be the beginning of a great story" (Inward Investment, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 11/01/13). The diagram suggests that there is a lack of private sector animating organisations, essential to a brand which aims to be business friendly, or perhaps that they are yet to be more fully integrated into the narratives of the city.

It has been hard to establish more recent place branding work in NewcastleGateshead, it seems that a lack of alignment between strategic and narrating organisations coupled with a period of organisational flux has resulted in uncertainty around scale. In addition, more animating organisations need to be found and integrated into narratives. Strategic certainty, enhanced by aligned strategic and narrating organisations, would be needed to maximise the potential for narratives to develop into normative brand orientated behaviour. A greater number of influential animating organisations would also have to be integrated into branding for this to occur. More positively the cities have a strong identity and demand for branding is high.

5.3.2.2 Leipzig: A Wealth of Animating Organisations

FIGURE 5.8: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN LEIPZIG 2012
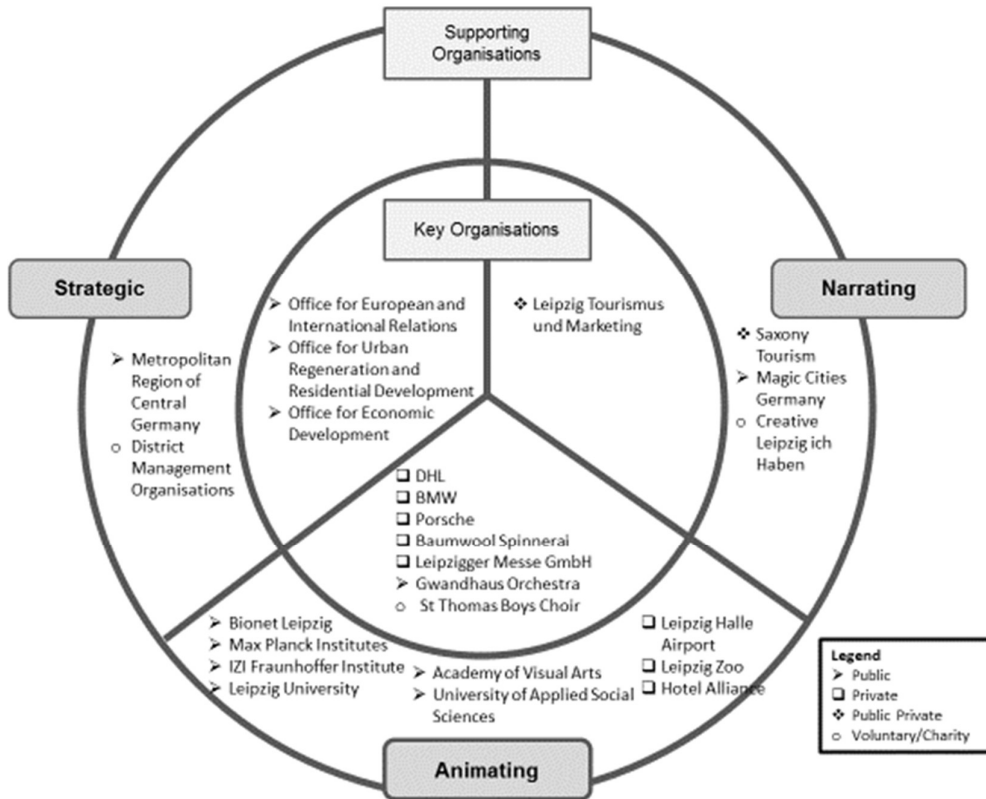
Source: Author's Own

The place brand in Leipzig is characterised by a wealth of animating organisations enabled by the activity of the strategic organisations. The narrative organisations enhance these activities but their role appears less important to stakeholders in this organisational context. Strategic organisations are situated in the public sector and were considered to be key to the transformation of the city:

> *The mayors together with the administration of the city of Leipzig, I think they were the most important factors because those are the people who really wanted to change something, in contrast to other cities in East Germany but also in West Germany when the administration is usually really organised or just keeps the current status, they don't have visions for the future they just*

want to survive for today, and tomorrow that was the big point for Leipzig
(Inward Investment, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12).

Leipzig's authorities took a realistic approach to urban shrinkage reacting in a creative way and "treating it as an opportunity" (Floretin, 2010, p.97). This was particularly impactful to the City's reputation and credibility as this was high on the German political and research agenda (Bontje, 2004). This demonstrates the way that in Leipzig the activity of the strategic organisations had a positive impact on the city's brand with them providing something of an animating role through their response to the challenges the city faced. The strategic organisations contained in the city authority are also credited with an entrepreneurial attitude which was influential in the location of the BMW car plant (Garcia-Zamor, 2004) near Leipzig:

> *it was very important decision to build a plant for Porsche here in Leipzig and*
> *it worked very good, the town hall were very good… and Porsche was very*
> *content and then BMW were looking for a city where they can construct a new*
> *factory and they could talk with Porsche and Porsche talked to BMW and it*
> *worked very, very easy and it was surely one point for the decision for Leipzig*
> *by BMW (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).*

What is apparent from the Leipzig diagram is the volume of varied animating organisations, the wealth of research institutes and cultural environment were often cited as strong influences of the place brand. Many of these sit in the private sector and are not the direct result of strategic intervention but benefit from the strategic organisation's flexible approach and provide strong animation for the brand of Leipzig:

> *There are some really important players in the private sector for example the*
> *development company which organised the transformation of Baumwool*
> *Spinnerai … from Cotton to Culture is their image, yeah because of the fact*
> *that they managed to be the home for these famous Leipzig painters they*
> *became very famous and this Baumwool Spinnerai I think is a very famous*

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example of this transformation process (LA Urban Regeneration, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12)

In this case the city's industrial heritage has been reimagined for new purposes, this reimaging and continuity with history is apparent in many of the animating organisations such as the St. Thomas Boys Choir established in 1212 and for which Johann Sebastian Bach was Cantor. In addition, the Leipzig Messe or trade fair has been reimagined to succeed in new contexts by creating a service network which can offer exhibition building, catering and other services to develop a competitive edge "which secured us a good position in the very competitive market now-a-days" (Conference Sector, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12). This enhances the authenticity of the brand.

Interviewees believed that it was not only the organisations at a city scale which animated the city but also those at the district level who had been particularly active in the regeneration of many of Leipzig's under occupied districts:

> *Nearly every district has a district organisation so a local NGO let's say, they play an important role and then there are some people who act as kind of speakers of certain districts so for example very often they are heads of these local NGOs and they, this kind of people, who in a positive sense always talks (LA Urban Regeneration, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

The animation of these attractive regenerated areas, offering reasonably priced housing in vibrant neighbourhoods, featured in orchestrated place branding activities and is partly credited with reversing negative population growth.

Leipzig's key narrating organisation, Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing, undertakes both tourism and location marketing activities and is responsible for the Leipzigger Freiheit brand. Leipzigger Freiheit was an attempt to create a brand which recognises the many animating elements in Leipzig and references the events of the Peaceful Revolution. The organisation focuses on tourism and events commemorating historic anniversaries and undertakes a lot of PR to maximise

resources. This is a sensible approach for a city with varied animating organisations; many with historic links. However, this may leave the organisation and place branding open to criticism as the place brand appears to be influenced more by animating organisations than the narrating one. For example; "They put this label on all their flyers and so on but my impression is they do not fill it with life" (LA Urban Regeneration, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).

In the Leipzig context, the strategic organisations appear to have worked to provide good conditions for other animating organisations, and even seem to have acted as animating organisations themselves, to add to the wealth of animating organisations in the city. The narrating organisation has used a sensible strategy in this context but the official place branding may not be recognised as central to the place brand that has emerged.

5.3.2.3 Malmö: Entwined Narrating and Strategic Organisations and Strong Collaboration

FIGURE 5.9: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN MALMÖ 2012
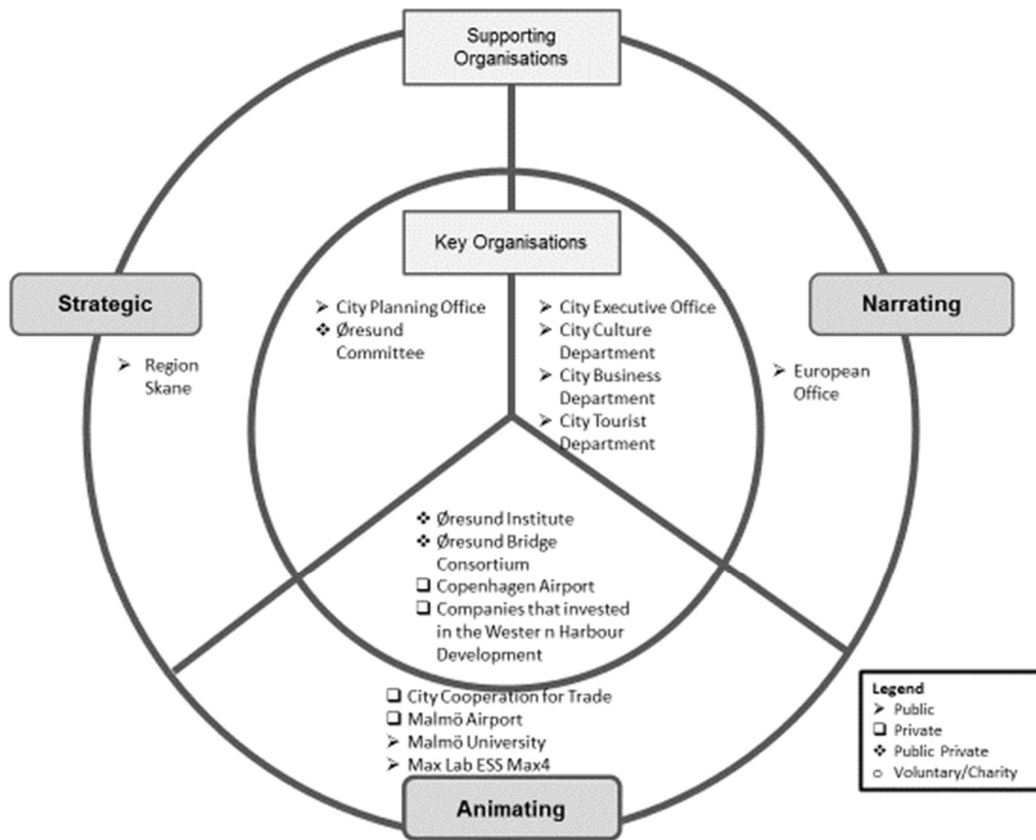
Source: Author's Own

The place brand in Malmö is characterised by the entwined nature of the strategic and narrating functions which sit within the same organisation. The result is branding by doing with changes both animating and facilitated by the brand. The City Executive Office has been classified as narrating here due to the focus on place brand but would usually be understood as a strategic organisation. In addition, the Planning Office which would usually only be thought of as strategic could in the case of Malmö be considered to have narrating functions due to the importance of physical change to the Malmö brand. As such narrating and strategic organisations work together in a way that provides animation for the brand. The Department of Information and Communication in the Executive Office manages the brand strategy

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and oversees the tourist office and business office which orientate activities toward different audiences. This organisational form means the branding activities are very integrated into the management of the city:

> *so we have one meeting per month and then we have from people here all the heads of the city office who are working in that area, but then we have from the building department and from the streets department because we need each other to make a good brand so every month we meet and every month we are offices who meet and we are actually putting issues ready for the head group so I think we have a structure that is both strategic and practical and that's really working well for us (LA Communication, Operational Level, Malmö 15/05/12).*

However, this focus on the public sector strategic and narrative functions should not be seen as exclusionary to private sector animating activities as clarified below:

> *your observation is correct that a lot of place branding is centred or is based on Malmö as the municipal organisation …of course if you talk to our organisation for tourism they will say that of course we are only one small actor and one of the main purpose of the municipal organisation is to be a link to other actors in the city that has an effect on the brand of Malmö in many ways, I mean we are not able in the municipality to steer that image all by ourselves, we have to cooperate with others and also acknowledge that we're not the only actor (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö 25/06/12)*

As such Dannestram (2009) draws attention to informal networks as central to governance in Malmö which should be recognised as a "new institutional layer of politics" (p.287). These networks comprise private actors and individuals within local government and at other scales. "Through these networks much of the entrepreneurial politics gets accomplished". (p.287).

Historically in Sweden there is a tradition of strong links between local politicians and business leaders, particularly in policy formation (Thornley and Newman 1996). This is not only the case in tourism as demonstrated by the quote above but also significantly in the case of Malmö between the Planning Office and development companies. This is expanded upon below; it seems that the role of the Planning Office is both to narrate a vision for developers to buy into and to provide the conditions in which this can be delivered:

> *we have done a lot of good things together with them so I think it's also important that I think it is a good climate to work together, we are not only the officials but we are also a good partner*
>
> *Me: how do you encourage that climate?*
>
> *Well I think we have morals of how we are working together but also trying to be visionary to show pictures and possibilities to them and also to create the possibilities (LA Planning, Strategic Level, Malmö 26/02/12).*

When the development companies respond to this narrated vision and suitable conditions the result is animation for the brand such as the development of Western Harbour.

In the case of Malmö, the strong municipal organisation which undertakes both narration and strategic functions allows a highly-integrated approach in which the city and the brand develop together. As demonstrated, the need to provide a narrative for the private sector which will deliver much of the animating activities means that the city becomes the brand due to the level of integration of these functions. The most illustrative example of this is that with the increased collaboration between Malmö and Lund; there are plans to physically build the two cities together.

5.3.2.4 Manchester: Institutional 'Thickness'

FIGURE 5.10: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN MANCHESTER 2012
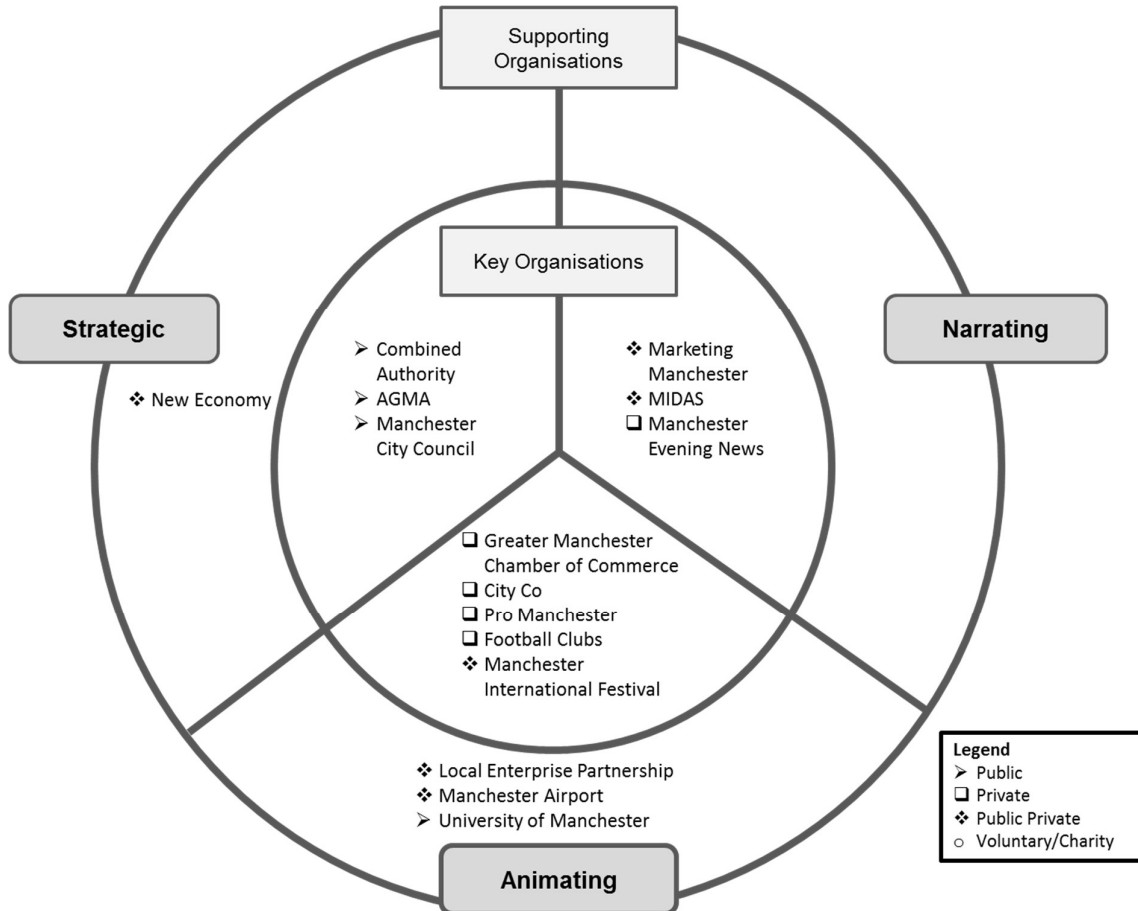
Source: Author's Own

Place branding in Manchester relies on clear shared norms engendered by narratives of success and enhanced by aligned strategic, narrative and animating organisations and functions, working at the most useful scale to build assets and profile. Manchester has strong strategic organisations in the public sector working at the Greater Manchester scale useful for local development, brand profile and communicating with national government. Implicit in this organisational form is the idea that the organisations are working for the good of Greater Manchester as a whole, which has become a persuasive narrative over time since the dissolution of the Greater Manchester Council:

the LAs decided to carry on working voluntarily together so that's where you get the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities and I think you know going back to that time and that was twenty odd or thirty years ago when that happened and I think since then there's been, they've made it work because there was a decision made at that time, … there is a bigger picture here, as greater Manchester there is a lot more that we can do together, rather than as ten individual areas competing with each other (Business Representative, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12)

This strong narrative and organisational form appears to increase the robustness of governance arrangements particularly in light of the recent organisational flux at the regional level and the introduction of LEPs. This strong narrative of working together appears to have become normative, at least for the public sector in the city:

Manchester is very good at bringing its public sector together because of its combined authority so we're used to working collaboratively…we are powerful in that sense in that we can bring people together and those who don't want to be brought in get brought in because of that combined power so I don't mean individuals are powerful it's sort of that whole peer pressure that goes with it really so the public sector is sort of easy (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).

There is a strong alignment between the strategic organisations and narrating organisations in the city, through the notion of belonging to the 'Manchester Family' working towards this greater good. These norms of activity have been instigated by branding, in the past by animating organisations and more recently by orchestrated place branding. The place branding 'original modern' is very much part of this creation of norms, it is aimed at those within the city with the purpose of 'raising their game' rather than as an attractor of external audiences, the resulting activities are intended to cover that.

In addition to the normalisation of a 'Manchester way' in strategic and narrative organisations, is the pragmatic working between the public sector and animating organisations in the private sector with a "Manchester image of sort of slightly edgy but still commercially savvy" (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12). These norms and values have been important in the strong working relationships in the city often resulting in alignment between strategic organisations in the public sector and animating organisations in the private sector:

> you had a number of private sector partners like Chris Ogglesby at Bruntwood, I've forgot the guy's name at Argent who owned much of the city's infrastructure and wanted to see that develop, had the capital to invest in that, recognised the value of working with the public sector, to be able to deliver growth of their businesses but also growth of the city economy, I think the public private sector dynamic has been pretty crucial (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

Favourably for place branding in the city, for which the alignment of strategic, narrative and animating functions is powerful, it seems that the persuasive narratives and resulting norms which are bound up with organisational forms, have resulted in a format in which animating and strategic organisations are happy to undertake a narrating function:

> we work a lot in the city with the bank of England, the Monetary Policy Committee, the Lord Mayor's office, the Mansion House the Institute of Economic and Social Research, the office of Budget responsibility, the Institute of Fiscal studies and so on, so we're very keen to push that Manchester image in London (Business Representative, Strategic Level, Manchester, 20/04/12)

Examples of this are New Economy, Pro Manchester, a business development organisation and the Chamber of Commerce.

This 'institutional thickness' is generated by the alignment and cooperation of public and private sector strategic, narrative and animating actors and narratives of success achieved through cooperation. This results in this approach becoming normative and guiding behaviour in the city. Strategic, narrating and animating functions become aligned as organisations undertake activities beyond their primary role, both demonstrating 'on brand' behaviour and narrating their actions as such. The approach to the place branding displayed by 'original modern', intended to engender a particular type of activity by actors in the city, could be understood as a way of recognising and mobilising these norms.

5.3.2.5 Torino: Strategic Animation to Change the City

FIGURE 5.11: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN TORINO 2012
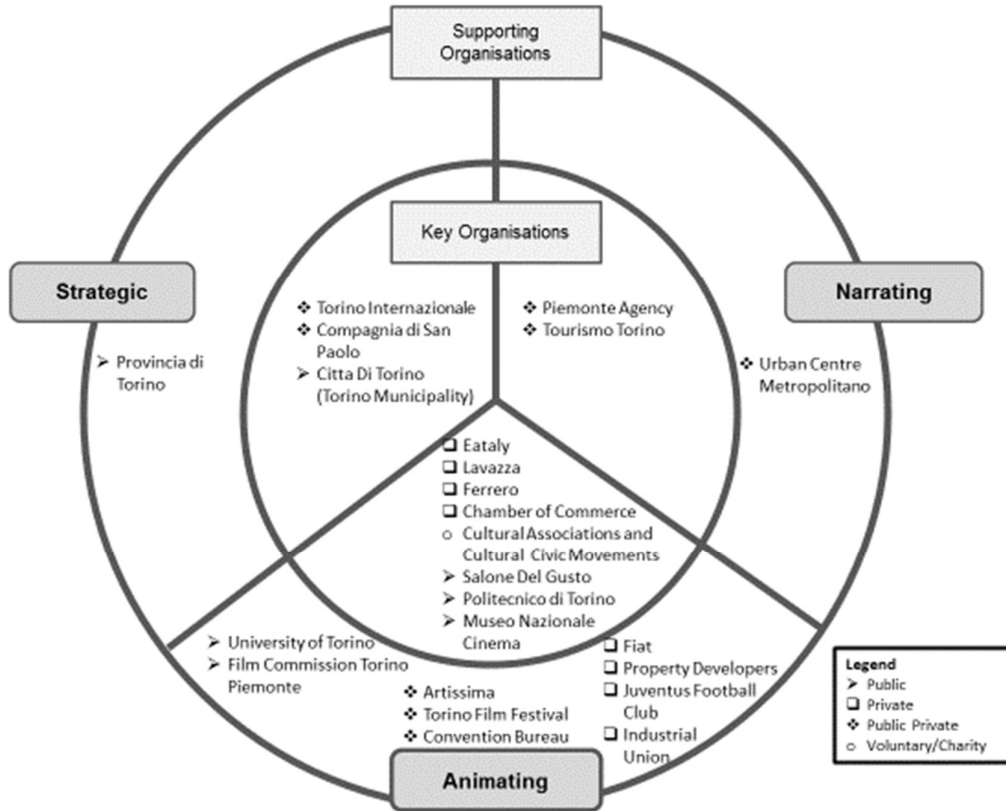
Source: Author's Own

The place brand of Torino is characterised by the relationship between the strategic and animating organisations and split in scale between narrating organisations and functions. Generally, the organisational forms have changed significantly in Torino in recent years due to the shift away from the dominance of FIAT, illustrated below:

> *in the past the leading role was that of Fiat, the decision was taken there and then everything followed*

> *well maybe not officially but*

> *no not officially but substantially, so now there is a true responsibility and leadership of the municipality, since I would say at least ten or fifteen years*

Torino was the first municipality to elect a Mayor and write a Strategic Plan. Invest Torino and Piemonte was the first Italian local regional development agency dedicated to attracting businesses and investment, so despite a problematic governance history the city has been at the forefront of developments in recent years.

The key strategic organisation in Torino is a public private organisation the Associazione Torino Internazionale which brings together 22 municipalities and many private sector actors, in a voluntary capacity, to implement the Strategic Plan which has been significant in the place brand and place branding of Torino. In Torino the place brand was a secondary consideration to transformation in the city; Torino's branding is an example of negative identity construction. This was achieved through the strategic organisation's support for the activities of animating organisations, many of which were involved in historical economic activities which had lost significance due to the dominance of the automotive industry. As illustrated here "I believe that you, you make a quality brand as soon as all these small pieces of excellence are put together shared in a systematic organisation" (Former Political and Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino,29/10/12).

An example of the revival of historic industries though this systemic organisation is demonstrated through support for animating organisations in the institutional arrangements such as the film industry with the establishment of the Film Commission Torino and Piemonte, the National Cinema Museum, the upgrading of the Torino Film Festival and the creation of a business park for the development of digital film technology. Another example of the significance of the relationship between strategic and animating organisations for Torino's brand is the development of the high-quality food industry, largely a private sector and voluntary initiative, which was enhanced through the international gastronomy event Salone del Gusto. As such a city identity based on its productive industry continues with a fordist approach to the promotion of a cultural face for the city (Vanolo, 2008).

However, the automotive industry is still central to the city economy and it seems that the split in scale between the strategic organisation Torino Internazionale, which coordinates animating and narrating organisation for tourist audiences Turismo Torino, and the narrating organisation for business and investors, the Piemonte Agency (referenced in section 5.3.1) may explain the lack of industrial or Research and Design references in the city brand. Another reason may be the negative construction of the brand. As the negative approach to branding is reassessed this type of activity may become integrated into positive branding. This is alluded to below by an actor in a strategic organisation referencing the Polytechnic, one of the most important animating organisations:

> *Of course, we still have a very strong automotive sector and generally high-tech sector, so ICT and Nano technology has grown by itself so everything that is connected to the Polytechnic so there is a link between the university and start-up company and the more established sector and this is definitely something we should not loose (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino,29/10/12).*

The narrative organisation at the regional level is much more aware of the potential animating organisations in the R and D work that takes place around Torino. Torino has a high proportion of private spending on R and D (Piemonte Agency for Investment, Export and Tourism, 2009) and has attracted high profile companies to the area recently based on a "diffused capacity of innovation" (Regional Inward Investment. Operational Level, Torino,31/10/12) in which sectors are not siloes but have strong horizontal links. However, this is an element of Torino that other interviewees at the city scale did not mention. As such they have not been included as animating organisations on the diagram, if they could be included the city's brand would have a greater mass of animating organisations to draw on for branding purposes.

Organisations included in this case which do not have comparators in the other cities are the Bank foundations Compagnia di San Paolo and Fondazione CRT:

the bank charities which are very uncommon in other countries, in other European countries, because they are sort of public private actors, philanthropic actors with a special orientation to welfare activities, sometimes replacing the role of public authorities which are officially in charge of these kind of sectors (Academic, Torino,30/10/12).

This provides another example of a strong strategic organisation which is public private, suggesting that although the city municipality has taken more control in recent years, that the private sector is still a strong force with a civic orientation.

The organisational forms in Torino result in a particular set of place branding characteristics with strategic organisations working to enhance the animating organisations in order to produce an identity based not on FIAT but on varied cultural production; mobilising a negative identity formation. The split across scale and by audience for the narrating and strategic organisations has resulted in a split in the mobilisation of different animating organisations for the brand. This is particularly influential in the Torino context where animating organisations dictate the flavour of the city's brand based on what they produce. This may have been a useful strategy for brand activity undertaken at the Torino scale when distancing the city from FIAT's dominance, however, if this continues a more positive brand formation could be undermined through the exclusion of key animating organisations from the narrative at the city scale.

5.4 Conclusion

This analysis illustrates the fundamentally geographical, place specific nature of place branding with place branding relationships and processes unfolding in the cities in varied ways. There are strong similarities between the cities with all following a similar place branding journey, starting with crisis and becoming more professionalised and more entrenched through further crisis. The discourses associated with place branding are shared and many of their branding activities share strong similarities. However, the processes and relationships between actors involved are distinctive in each city emerging from a particular relationship between the institutional arrangements and environment, concepts which illuminate activity in the cities.

The institutional environments in the cities display variety in leadership, culture and cooperation. NewcastleGateshead seemed unable to live up to its own values of collaboration due to limited leadership making the risk of compromise too high. Leipzig had a responsive approach and engaged population with questions over the embeddedness of its new industries. Manchester demonstrated the power of strong leadership to create norms of cooperation furthered by a self-aware identity. Malmö's particular pattern of leadership, cooperation and outward orientation seems to directly reflect its brand just as the physical change in the city does. In Torino, a historical elite was rediscovered and reinstated just as traditional sectors were in light of the decline of FIAT and the one company town. Leadership, culture and cooperation interact in the institutional arrangements with leadership important to enable shared culture and cooperation, facilitated by certainty over strategic direction.

The particular organisational forms in the cities result in a different relationship between strategic, narrating and animating organisations, which in turn results in a different approach to branding. In NewcastleGateshead recent organisational flux and problems of scale have resulted in only limited alignment between narrating and strategic organisations, meaning more recent branding activities have been difficult to integrate into the city. In Leipzig, a wealth of animating organisations makes narration a challenge. In Malmö, strategic and narrating organisations are so aligned

that place and place brand develop together. Manchester is able to mobilise its 'institutional thickness' resulting in a mix of strategic, animating and narrating functions in some organisations. Torino has strategically enhanced its animating organisations in order to create new forms of production to base the city's identity upon. In addition, a split in scale for different audiences means that the city's brand is not fully animated to all audiences. Each city's organisational forms have resulted in different approaches to their place brand and branding activities.

FIGURE 5.12 INSTITUTIONAL REGIME FOR PLACE BRANDING

Institutional Regime for Place Branding

Institutional Arrangements Strategic, Narrative and Animating Organisations

Place Brand Construction and Activity

Institutional Environment Culture, Cooperation and Leadership

Wider economic and institutional context including the discourse of interurban competition
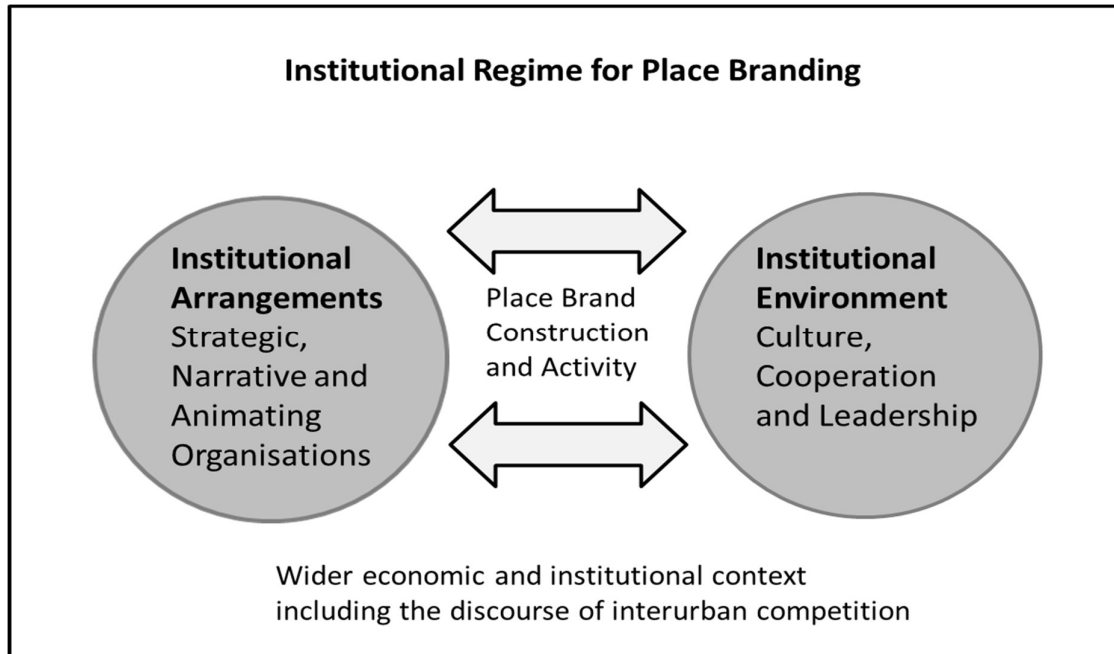
Source: Author's Own Adapted from Dawley 2003 in Pike et al. 2006

What all of the cities share is the iterative relationship between the institutional environment and institutional arrangements, creating a place specific yet recognisable approach to branding. The importance to branding of organisations and local cultures is apparent. The institutional approach linked, to narrative and discourse, inspired by the cities' experiences, allows a place specific, historically grounded, understanding of place brand development. The cities' brands develop through the interplay of organisational forms and culture and storytelling to guide action through meaning, with the potential to create normative behaviour; essentially changing the 'rules of the game' (North 1991).

6 From Place Brands to Place Branding: A Path Dependent and Embedded Activity

As demonstrated in the previous chapter place branding is place specific. There are key similarities between the cities and paths they have taken generated by overarching discourses which have shaped these paths. However, the place branding activity of the cities has resulted in locally specific paths with activity in each city motivated by their experiences and resulting narratives. In this sense, the activity is embedded. As noted by Granovetter (1985) economic activities cannot be seen as independent from the institutional context in which they sit. The aim of this chapter is to extend this notion and apply it to the case of the sustainability and embeddedness of place brands.

The preoccupation with place brand and eventually orchestrated place branding in the cities has evolved as a response to international urban development discourses. Concepts taken from Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) have been used as tools through which to conduct the analysis of the path of place branding activities in the cities. EEG has a synthesis with institutional approaches (Boschma and Frenken, 2009) with the distinction between these approaches described as artificial (MacKinnon et. al., 2009). There are commonalities between the experiences of the cities. The first engagement with place brand activity was motivated through a crisis in representation, followed by an increased professionalization of activity due to early successes or as part of local development strategies. The cities have experienced reorganisation of some elements of their institutional regimes allowing them to be repurposed to meet different economic aims. This has taken place in both the institutional arrangements with the creation of new organisations, and the institutional environment as embedded values and norms gain new meaning and uses in changed economic circumstances.

The EEG concepts of path dependence, path creation and path plasticity have been employed here as tools for analysis, in order to understand an institutional account of change over time. Path plasticity in particular is well aligned to accounts of change where institutions and the agency of actors are key (Strambach and Halkier, 2013);

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pertinent to the discursive institutionalist approach advocated here. The introduction of these concepts to the field of place branding is novel, not least because here the path being described is that of a rather diffuse urban development intervention, rather than an industry, sector, cluster or local, regional or urban economy (Pike et.al. 2016). Furthermore, cases have been selected due to their location in cities sharing similar paths at the city scale, introducing an element of multi-level analysis. It should be noted that the time frame is of a relatively recent urban development intervention not one of regional or industrial development, as such periods of path creation, development and plasticity are likely to be shorter. Also, interactions between the phases of paths are likely to take place more often, with smaller degrees of difference.

First, to illustrate this account of embedding and sustaining place brands, EEG concepts are used to examine the activities in the cities. Second, the cities' experience of competitive bidding will be used as a case in point to examine sustaining and embedding the brand; a key event on the route from brand to branding. Third, the embedded nature of orchestrated branding activities in NewcastleGateshead are examined. Finally, this argument will be applied to the varied but similar challenges which the cities face.

6.1 Repurposing the City: Embedding and Sustaining the City Brand

The aim of this section is to offer an account of the way in which place brands are embedded and path dependent employing the notion of path plasticity. Path plasticity focuses on the way actors can use the choices available in an institutional setting in novel ways to enable change without breaking out of the path (Strambach and Halkier, 2013). Similarly, to Martin's (2010) advocacy of a concept of path dependence which can recognise dynamism within a path, path plasticity focuses particularly on evolution within a path due to institutional change through the agency of actors rather than chance. This is a pertinent concept to bring to the investigation of a diffuse urban development intervention which aims to contribute to broader change within the city.

Using this concept, empirical investigation in the cities suggests that as the brands of the cities have become an increasingly important aspect of urban development strategies, instigated by global development discourses, the cities' brands have developed through the active repurposing of the existing institutional arrangements and environment. 'Institutional ambiguity' and the 'interpretive flexibility' (Strambach and Hallkier, 2013) of institutions allows for the use of institutions as a 'toolkit' (Strambach, 2010) actors use to meet new challenges. In the case of place banding in this empirical analysis it appears that this takes place through the use of narrative.

Elements of the institutional environment have been repurposed through narrative in order to provide new meanings pertinent to changed economic circumstances. As this has gained momentum narrating organisations have been added to the institutional arrangements, increasing orchestrated and professionalised place branding activity. This section will focus first on the aspects of the institutional environment that have been repurposed through narrative in order to develop the cities' brands.

6.2 Reimagining the Cities through Similar yet Distinct Features

The coding and sorting of interviewee responses highlighted five features through which place brands have been constructed; the use of history, symbols, people, physical change and cultural developments. Each of these aspects of the institutional environment will be taken in turn to examine the way their ambiguity and flexibility (Strambach, 2010) has been narrated and fashioned to influence the behaviour of individuals and organisations in the cities. Although many of these features relate to concrete features of the city the associated meanings which are key here can be understood as part of the institutional environment. Table 6.1 shows the use of these features in the brand and branding of the cities. As demonstrated there are similarities in the features of the city used to construct a brand. It is worth noting the categories below are for analytical purposes and in reality are entwined. As such, those cities which show a cross for a particular feature suggest it appeared to be comparatively less important, rather than absent, in that city.

TABLE 6.1: PROMINENT FEATURES FOR CONSTRUCTING PLACE BRANDS

	History	Symbols	People	Physical Change	Cultural Developments
Newcastle Gateshead	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Leipzig	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Malmö	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Manchester	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Torino	✓	✓	X	✓	✓

Source: Author's Own

6.2.1 Symbols

The use of symbols is the most illuminating instance of the way in which old institutions can be repurposed for new economic purposes. All of the cities provide examples of previous meanings being recast to create symbols pertinent to changed identities. There are three symbols from the cities where this is particularly apparent that is the case of the Turning Torso in Malmö, the Angel of the North in

NewcastleGateshead and the Lingotto in Torino. Malmö's Turning Torso, a residential high-rise building is located on the site of the Kockums Crane and dominates the city's skyline as the Crane once did. The Turning Torso now pinpoints the regenerated Western Harbour a showcase of environmentally sustainable residential design and home to many businesses.

> *the Turning Torso as the ultimate symbol of the transformed Malmö, it was very much in the beginning debated but then it became a symbol I would say that has been embraced among many inhabitants (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12)*

It appears that this building has been widely embraced making it a powerful symbol. Similarly, the Angel of the North initially met with controversy but was quickly embraced by residents. This public artwork was significant for its location on an old pithead representing and commemorating change in the region's economic identity. Along with providing the functions associated with public art it has fulfilled place brand aims:

> *It's a quite interesting thing about the Angel there was a long period during which stories about the north of England, stories about public art, stories about ambitious LAs were all referenced by references to the Angel, it became you know, a real emblem for the region, (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 23/3/12).*

Finally, in Torino the Lingotto, the old FIAT factory, provides an example of symbolic change. The:

> *Lingotto was the symbol of car factory…Ford when in Torino he said this is the real Fordist factory, … the building was created along with this idea and started from the ground level to build the car and at each level, and on the last level the car was finished and on the top the test track…real architectural innovation and beautiful architecture with fantasy because it was new, and a*

factory, they interpret a factory like a piece of art (Former Urban Environment, Strategic Level, Academic, Torino, 30/10/12).

The factory closed down in the early eighties and has become home to new commercial and cultural functions. This repurposing of the symbol of Fiat in the city is a turning point in the narrative of Torino's casting off of the one company town label. These symbols provide meaningful examples of the ways in which place brands and branding are embedded and path dependent as old symbols and institutions of identity are repurposed for new aims.

6.2.2 History

The use of history was particularly apparent in the cases of Manchester, Leipzig and Torino. In Manchester, the claim to be the 'original modern' city of the industrial revolution was a key aspect of their orchestrated branding activities, with the use of historical achievements as proof points to support assertions about the character of the city. In Leipzig anniversaries of historical events and figures were central to orchestrated place branding activities, particularly the commemoration of the Peaceful Revolution. This celebration of anniversaries was not only about illustrating the character of the city but also about attracting visitors to the city as part of the visitor economy. Part of the Leipzig approach to place branding was to have people experience the city.

In the case of Torino the use of history was through the rediscovery of past economic activities which could be used to distance the city from its one company town image. This provides both a rediscovery and repurposing of previous economic or cultural activities such as cinema, food and art, for both economic and branding purposes. In NewcastleGateshead the use of history was part of the debate about the features of the NewcastleGateshead identity which should be foregrounded in the construction of the brand narrative. This debate centred on including the positive aspects of historical identity such as inventiveness without being seen to 'hark back'

to a bygone era. Within this process the selective appropriation but also repurposing of history was incredibly apparent.

6.2.3 People

The people of NewcastleGateshead, Geordies, were a key part of this discussion about aspects of the local identity which could be employed in place branding as competitive points. The natural 'warmth' and 'spirit' of the local people was felt to be significant both locally and externally in the brand development that was undertaken. As such it was selected as a key element of the brand values. This is also true of Leipzig where the people are felt to be tolerant and proud active citizens reinforced by reference to the Peaceful Revolution. In Malmö the local identity is believed to be different to the rest of Sweden based on the fact that the region was part of Denmark and is much closer to the rest of Europe. In Manchester there is a strong belief in a Mancunian way of doing this which is 'can do' and savvy combined with a 'don't care what people think of us' cool.

People are used as a resource to draw on in the construction of place brands but they were also felt to provide the function of animators, making 'on brand' activity happen and as 'ambassadors' for the cities, embodying or communicating the brand. The notion of people as animators is particularly apparent in Leipzig where much of the urban regeneration of attractive historical neighbourhoods has been achieved though reurbanisation (Buzar et.al., 2007) often by young creative migrants. Another example in Leipzig are the artists of the influential New Leipzig School:

> *I think just having these characters actually, and these characters they stick to Leipzig, they have enough money to, they could live in New York or work in New York or London or Paris or wherever, but yeah they like Leipzig and they stay here and I think that's a good thing you don't have in all places (Culture Sector, Private Landlord, Strategic Level. Leipzig, 02/10/12).*

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In Manchester local people were also integrated into the generation of professional campaigns as inspired by the 'original modern' brand values with the 'I ❤ Manchester campaign' two days after the riots of 2011:

> *It was hoped that the riots would never reach Manchester and in actual fact on the morning of the riots somebody designed a t-shirt which said 'Manchester too cool to riot' and it didn't quite happen, so yeah it was basically a response to the riots, the day after… people were out with brooms helping with the clean-up…and people were wearing their I love Manchester t-shirts and that outpouring of Mancunian spirit and pride was quite affecting…we wanted that to be the Manchester that the world saw not the Manchester of the night before…it was a grassroots led campaign and we just tried to provide the platform to grow that feeling and show it to the rest of the world (DMO, Operational Level, Manchester, 25/04/12).*

People have been used to define and embody brand values, act as animators and ambassadors of the brand and introduce authentic brand activity to orchestrated campaigns.

6.2.4 Culture

All of the cities used culture as part of the construction of their brand. Here the repurposing of existing institutions is evident as culture is expected to provide new economic activities as well as contributing to the construction of the place brand. The embedded nature of the construction of place brands and branding is evident here, as is the potential for this embeddedness to be undermined by activity that may be perceived as 'out of place'. In the case of Leipzig, historical cultural institutions such as the St Thomas Boys Choir and Gwandhaus are a key to the cultural economy, even the New Leipzig School of artists has evolved from the Leipzig School. In Manchester, culture has a popular culture feel focusing on sport and with reference to the post punk era and the renowned Hacienda nightclub. This is enhanced by the appointment of Peter Saville as creative director of the city, who was of that scene.

In Manchester, the International Festival has been designed to embody the 'original modern' brand.

6.2.5 Physical Change

Physical change is apparent in all of the cities and has been central to the changes in their brands and branding. As seen with reference to some of the symbols above this physical change can often be seen as symbolic as old industrial buildings are literally repurposed for new uses, providing a physical representation of economic changes and narratives of transformation as well as fodder for orchestrated branding campaigns. The selective nature of what is regenerated, what is kept and what is discarded, provides a physical representation of the narrative process of identity formation which is key to place brands and branding, within wider discourses of regeneration. It also demonstrates this reconfiguration and conversion of embedded institutions, within the path plasticity principle, to meet the aims of new economic contexts. Table 6.2 provides examples of this in each of the case study cities.

TABLE 6.2: SYMBOLIC PHYSICAL CHANGE IN THE CITIES

	Key examples of physical change
Newcastle Gateshead	• Angel of the North • Millennium Bridge • Newcastle Quayside and Gateshead Quays • Grainger Town • Science city developments • Investment in existing cultural infrastructure
Leipzig	• New Messe (Trade Fair) Ground • Restoration of Neue Gründerzeit era Neighbourhoods • Baumwool Spinnerai 'From Cotton to Culture' • Restoration of historic city centre shopping arcades • Railway Station refurbishment
Manchester	• Post IRA bomb development

	• Commonwealth games infrastructure developments including City of Manchester now Etihad Stadium • Urban Splash style warehouse redevelopments generating city centre living • Salford Quays • Spinningfields • Metrolink and airport
Malmö	• Øresund Bridge and City Tunnel • Vastra Hamnen (Western Harbour) environmentally sustainable living and offices • Turning Torso
Torino	• Olympic Infrastructure • Redevelopment of Lingotto and other FIAT sites • Spina Centrale central boulevard created by burying railway which previously divided the city • Investment in cultural infrastructure • Mole Antonelliana, National Museum of Cinema • Underground carpark development allowed reclamation of major city squares and pedestrianisation

Source: Author's Own

This account demonstrates the embedded nature of place brand and branding activities, using the principle of path plasticity and an institutional perspective in which aspects of the institutional arrangements and institutional environment are repurposed by agents to generate a city image which meets new economic aims. Institutions associated with symbols, history, people, culture and physical changes have been repurposed to the extent that the cities' institutional regimes, their motives and forms of action, have shifted within their dominant path; generating economically useful place brands. The next section of this account turns to the ways in which this activity has evolved.

6.3 Different Cities Different Paths, Dependence, Creation and Plasticity

Path plasticity is a convincing account of the way in which institutions have been repurposed, through narrative, to meet new economic circumstances in all of the cities. This accounts for the repurposing of elements of the institutional environment, however, the notions of path creation and path dependence are also useful concepts to bring to the analysis of the accompanying iterative change in the institutional arrangements. They are particularly illuminating when employed to explain the way place brands and branding have become part of the urban development interventions in the cities.

When using the concepts of path dependence, creation and plasticity to understand the trajectory of place branding in their respective institutional regimes it is useful to turn to Martin's (2010) path dependence model in which he outlines the phases of path dependence which can be "both path dependent and path evolving" (Martin, 2010, p.21). The phases of interest here are the preformation phase, path creation phase, path development phase and path as a dynamic process, which can lead to adaptation and mutation within a path. In the case of this analysis it is argued that path plasticity can be used as a more suitable descriptor than 'path as a dynamic process' as it describes the impact of active agents in an institutional context. Here this allows for the "purposive or intentional experimentation and competition" (Martin, 2010, p.21) of Martin's path creation without the necessary feature of this resulting in a new path.

The following analysis uses the relevant phases from Martin's (2010) model in order to illuminate the trajectory of place branding as an urban development intervention in the cities. Table 6.3 provides an overview of the analysis, the time lines in Chapter Four provide more detail on events. Due to the relatively short time frames involved it is difficult to ascertain the divisions between the creation and development phases (Ma and Hassink, 2014) and this is in evidence in the table below. The rest of this section explores the way the path is bound up with the institutions in the cities.

TABLE 6.3: THE PATH OF PLACE BRANDING IN THE CITIES

	Preformation phase (Using the timelines in Chapter 4 as the starting point)	Path Creation Phase	Path Development Phase	Path Dependence Exhibiting Path Plasticity (path as a dynamic process due to the activity of agents)
Newcastle Gateshead	1980s and early 1990s	**Early to mid-1990s** Work which led to culture led regeneration was under way (Report on the Baltic 1992, Antony Gormley commissioned for the Angel, Sage feasibility study 1994, Case for Capital 1995)	**Late 1990s** Positive reinforcement gains pace with the Angel of the North (1998) and the Millennium Bridge (2000). Narrating organisations established (One North East, 1999, NGI, 2000)	**2000-2006 or 2009 (based on interview responses)** Repurposing institutions for new economic purposes in the dominant path (e.g. Baltic opens, 2002, Culture 10 starts, 2003, Newcastle Science City, 2005) **Path Creation Phase 2010-2012** Place Branding work starts against a backdrop of organisational flux and austerity politics
Manchester	1980s	**1990s (overlaps with development phase)** Start to undertake new types of activity designed to change the image of the city or/and its economic fortunes (Olympic bid,1990, City Pride prospectus, 1994), there is positive feed-back from this activity.	**1990s (overlaps with creation phase)** Repeat of some of the past activity (Olympic bid, 1993) resulting in further positive reinforcement to the Manchester brand particularly self-perception of actors in the city. A narrating organisation is set up to consolidate and further this. (Marketing Manchester, 1996). Unexpected event cements activity (IRA Bomb, 1996) and there is further positive reinforcement.	**2000 onwards** Positive reinforcement results in further activity in an established evolving path. What was once positive reinforcement to brand related activity now becomes path plasticity as agents are actively modifying institutions within the path to ensure the place branding path is sustainable. (Commonwealth Games, 2002, 'original modern' launched, 2004, first Manchester International Festival, 2007).
Leipzig	Late 1980s	**Early 1990s (overlaps with development phase)** New activities undertaken or relaunched for new circumstances which have an impact on the brand of the city (Leipzig Messe founded as GmbH, 1991) Book Fair Relaunch, 1991) Leipzig Kommt campaign (1993) captures the feeling of confidence.	**Late 1990s (overlaps with creation phase)** In response to positive reinforcement further activity takes place and the impact on the city's brand is recognised, (New trade fair location, 1996, Railway station improvements 1998, Porsche plant development starts, 2000). In particular, the city authorities' approach attracts positive reinforcement.	**2000 onwards** Positive reinforcement results in further activity in an evolving path of overt place branding (Leipzig Tourismus and Marketing 2002, Leipzigger Freiheit Brand, 2002). The purposeful activity of agents ensures the path is sustainable through evolution within the path. Narrating organisations start to introduce events (First Festival of lights, 2009), and work on PR (high profile press coverage, 2007, 2010).

Torino	1990s	**Late 1990s to 2000** Purposeful path creation (Dawley 2014) through social networking (Boschma and Frenken 2009 in Dawley 2014) City Communications office, 1998, Olymipic Bidding,1998, and selection 1999, Torino Internazionale 2000, Strategic plan, 2000.	**Early 2000s** In the run-up to the Olympic games lots of activity takes place on brand creating positive returns. Torino 'always on the move' campaign starts in 2002. Contemporary art and slow food festivals (started in 1990s) gain momentum as do these activities.	**Mid-2000s onwards** Lots of momentum immediately before and after the Olympic games, as the city hosts a variety of events (World Book Capital 2006, World Design Capital, 2008) and promotion of colourful industries continues with the relaunch of the Film Festival. **Path falters after 2011 and 150th Anniversary of the Unification of Italy**
Malmö	1980s	**Early 1990s** Purposeful path creation (Dawley, 2014) through plans to transform the city physically creating a new kind of city. Official Plan to ensure Malmo benefitted from Bridge Building 1990, 1992, Oresund Bridge started 1995.	**Late 1990s** Narration of the developments gains momentum reinforcing this activity, most significantly the launch of the Oresund brand in 1999. Malmo University is founded in 1998 after lobbying by local politicians in part trying to change the image of the city.	**2000 onwards** Imaging changing development continues and is narrated to change the brand of the city for example the Western Harbour (Vastra Hamnen 2001) symbolic Turning Torso (2005) and Hyllie development starts (2007). The commission for socially sustainable city is launched (2010) so social sustainability can be introduced into the city's sustainability branding.

Source: adapted from (Martin, 2010, p.21)

In the case of NewcastleGateshead the journey of the cities' engagement with the development of their brand and with more professionalised place branding activities can be understood as a short period of path dependent activity, exhibiting path plasticity, followed by path creation of professionalised place branding by NGI; the results of which are yet to be understood.

In this case, the introduction of orchestrated place branding is understood as an instance of path creation, by diversification (Martin and Sunley, 2006) through social networking (Boschma and Frenken, 2009 in Dawley, 2014), rather than accommodated by the concept of path plasticity within the dependent path. This is due to the momentum achieved in the initial path followed by its sudden decline due to organisational flux and austerity politics undermining the previous model. Place branding was introduced as a related activity which would use similar skills in NGI, it was understood by the key actors as a different activity, was aimed at a new audience and threw up new challenges.

The previous chapters illustrate NewcastleGateshead as a place of reinvention and organisational flux with a proud population and a strong local identity. The period between 2001 to 2006, or even to 2009 was described by interviewees as a period of strong development of the cities' brand if not orchestrated place branding, largely associated with the capital of culture bidding process and resulting Culture 10 programme. The interesting question is what happened in that particular period of time, how did it start and what caused it to end?

This adoption of place brand activities among local populations and organisations which occurred in the path creation phase was not inevitable. Illustrated here by an interviewee who had held a significant role in the Tyne and Wear Urban Development Corporation describing an earlier attempt:

> *we were not in a positon to drum up political support, anything we did created its own anti bodies,*
>
> *Me: I see because you were an imposed organisation*

Because Mrs Thatcher,

Me: I see, it's interesting because, one of the things I'm interested in is how a place brand can become embedded…

It needs to be something which the political institutions are comfortable to buy into, (Various roles, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 13/12/12)

The nature of the lead organisation in the process is key in acceptance of the brand. The more recent branding work of the RDA the Passionate People Passionate People Campaign similarly could have been unsuccessful. The RDA, opened in 1999, part of the path development phase, was at first seen as an imposition. Initially the marketing campaign was not well received; however, small companies saw the benefit of being able to associate themselves with something bigger. The campaign then gained the momentum of bottom up adoption, if not a bottom up campaign, which the bigger players then found hard to resist.

The Passionate People Passionate Places campaign was part of the momentum of the path dependent period starting in 2001. However, this is also characterised by a number of ambitious cultural developments and the establishment of NGI which was developed out of the ambitions of the LAs rather than the national government. This organisation was associated with activity and momentum from the beginning:

> *we were really at the forefront of promoting all of the changes that were going on at that time, you've got nigh on a billion pounds of investment in the quayside alone,… and things like the buzzing campaign that NGI developed linking the capital of culture bid … I still get even now people quoting back to me the success of campaigns like that that NGI did around the cultural changes that have happened, how fantastic it was, how it inspired people, (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12)*

Along with the reputation of this organisation there are two other points which are illustrative of that period in time, first, the power of real change in the cities; the

transformation of the Gateshead side of the Tyne Gorge with iconic cultural buildings was significant in embedding this path. Similarly, the material change, due to the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation's activities on the Newcastle side of the Tyne resulted in the brand of Newcastle as the Party City which has endured for some audiences.

The second illustrative point is that of the recognition of the success of the organisation's activity, even though the Capital of Culture bid was not won the positive marketing campaigns and PR activity is recognised as positively contributing to the image of NewcastleGateshead with powerful results:

> *there was a sense of constantly and ambitious and assertive communications coming out of Newcastle and Gateshead really quite skilful national and international media communications which produced a constant stream of national and international media attention which itself encourage particularly… in LAs where constant validations of their, as they would see them quite risky cultural investment being validated in the international media was a very strong encouragement to go on doing them, the management of the relations with the national media having become significantly less effective (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 23/03/12)*

The success of brand activity is clearly recognised as having embedded that activity. The positive momentum and shift in image that occurred in the noughties in NewcastleGateshead can be described as a short period of path dependent activity in which a well-received organisation was quickly associated with activity and then with success; positively reinforcing both their message and the path. The way institutions were repurposed by actors as part of that path can be explained as path plasticity within a dominant path.

What caused this relatively short period of positive path dependent activity to end? A number of interviewees cited that there had been a loss of momentum from roughly 2009, in which it was felt that progress was being lost with the cities missing "out on a fantastic background of opportunity that we have created ourselves, we're lagging

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behind and we should be in the vanguard" (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 14/03/12). The answer is the economic crash and the resulting austerity politics. With a path so dependent on the positive reinforcement of large cultural infrastructure projects the success was part of a funding rich period.

The cities' still have a tourist industry and culture sector but in the context of austerity the notion of developing image and pride around culture seems frivolous and misaligned; particularly in cities in which have felt significant budget cuts. This context is what caused the shift to orchestrated place branding undertaken in very different circumstances with lower levels of funding and without an RDA. NGI have actively ventured into new territory creating a new path by diversification (Martin and Sunley, 2006) through social networking (Boschma and Frenken, 2009 in Dawley, 2014) which in a path of this nature and scale can be seen as distinct from the old one. Although this has taken place quickly, with the establishment of an inward investment function in 2012, it seems that in these circumstances momentum can be quickly lost.

Widespread news coverage citing public sector dependency in Newcastle provides an example of this. Largely driven by a report by Centre for Cities (Larkin, 2009) Newcastle was illustrated as lacking resilience due to an over dependence on the public sector with the report characterised as 'damning' (The Journal 21/08/09) for the city in local and national media. Less than a year later the same think-tank published a report evidencing Newcastle in the top five cities in the country for private sector job creation between 1998 and 2008 (Webber and Swinney, 2010). This report was left largely unpublicised in a city which was starting to brand itself as friendly to business and which had a track record of adept PR work; suggesting that the DMO was not yet equipped to deal with its lead role in place branding rather than destination marketing.

The NewcastleGateshead case provides an example of successful local path creation followed by a period of path dependency embedded though positive reinforcement. However, this path was not sustainable due to its dependence on a particular set of funding circumstances. The resulting infrastructure, both concrete and organisational, is still an asset to the cities and a potential new path has been

created in response to changed circumstances; whether this path will become embedded remains to be seen.

In order to explore embedded path dependent evolution of place brand activity more widely each city is taken in turn to understand how a shift in place brand to place branding, has taken place. In Manchester, the shift towards a developed place brand has emerged in response to positive feedback to activity which changed, enhanced or amplified the brand of the city. Path plasticity ensued as actors became more actively involved in this for the purposes of place brand development. In the case of Torino and Malmö the development of the cities' brand appears to result from a strategic approach providing an example of purposive path creation (Dawley, 2014) followed by path plasticity. In Torino, it seems that momentum has been lost while it has been maintained or quickly rediscovered in Malmö, the following provides an account of why this may be the case.

The Manchester case supports a path dependent explanation of the shift in place brand using the principles of both 'dynamic increasing returns' and 'path plasticity' suggesting a gradual shift in institutions in response to positive feedback. This positive feedback from local activities such as the early Olympic bids starts to be consolidated due to responses to events such as the IRA bomb and the Common Wealth Games. This has resulted in the development of norms in the institutional environment:

> *we've had that success we have had some real significant events that, we're not just fingers crossed and hope things'll happen, we know we've made it happen in the past, … we know we can do it and we'll make things happen in the future, and I just think it's become a sort of the norm in the way that it works (Business Representative, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).*

It seems that Manchester is a city where it is particularly easy to embed activity. In the case of positive reinforcement, the institutional arrangements are key to this, having developed out of and in response to this positive feedback, as suggested below:

Manchester has got a kind of institutional thickness it has enough institutions and people involved and wanting to do the right thing that it can draw upon it and tell a convincing story to investors or central government or anyone else, (Academic, Manchester, 12/06/12).

Granovetter's (1985) original concept of embeddedness is based on interaction so this notion of 'institutional thickness' in Manchester is important. As well as 'institutional thickness' it seems that an embedded notion of a Mancunian identity has been fertile ground for positive reinforcement. Interviewees demonstrated an assertive believe in the notion of a Manchester way of doing things "basically being Mancunian and having chip on your shoulder and not wanting to do something the same as every other city in the country" (City Centre Business Representative, Manchester, 09/05/12) or "Manchester being Manchester took quite a different approach" (DMO, Operational Level. Manchester, 25/04.12).

Resulting from this institutional norm generation, forged by positive reinforcement and a strong Mancunian self-perception, the self-perception of potential animating individuals and organisations is strong amplifying further reinforcement "there's almost a conscious bigging ourselves … almost if you say it, then you can build it and they will come" (City Centre Business Representative, Manchester, 09/05/12). This is effective at all scales, this personal account from someone who is a significant figure in animating organisations historically and narrating organisations more recently reinforces this point:

the reason that I stayed was to do with the perception of the city … it was the drug scene at the hacienda, it was the Happy Mondays its was that whole kind of northern baggy daft stuff that went on, but what came out of that for a decade was very resonant for the younger generation which I was part of then and that sense of self image was one thing that held me here (Urban Development, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).

Organisations at different scales are then drawn into this positive momentum, which can only result in further reinforcement, described by an actor in LA Strategy as 'self-fulfilling', "when government is looking for initiatives, looking to try something new, looking to try something risky … it sort of looks to Manchester as a place that it knows it can trust to deliver" (Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12). Manchester's self-aware actors are particularly adept at actively modifying institutions through path plasticity ensuring the sustainability of the path.

This embedded account of gradual institutional change, explained through the principle of path plasticity and positive reinforcement, is also an appropriate explanation for the place brand and branding of Leipzig. Early activity resulted in positive feedback and became consolidated. The early branding activity of the LA provides a case in point:

> *the former brand it was like a sort of a back and forth, give and take relationship between the claim and the mentality of the people, the claim was invented by the people Leipzig Kommt to say Leipzig is up and coming … it gave confidence to people to say yes we are, we can see new edifices we can see more foreign tourists coming here, we can see this and that festival … the claim gave confidence to people and likewise the people gave substance, real life to the claim (Conference Sector, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

The wealth of animating institutions has provided a fruitful context in which this momentum has been reinforced. The high-profile company relocations can convincingly be added to the explanation of cumulative causation below:

> *we talked about the problems but we tried to find solutions and that was a little bit good for the image and it bring Leipzig a little bit forward and the other thing was of course, the usual branding or marketing, we have a marketing company and of course we had the peaceful revolution and we can talk about ten years ago there was the peaceful demonstration on the ninth of October and it was very important … you can't say it is one thing it is a mixture,*

different small things perhaps (Regional Strategy, Operational Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12).

This account of the cumulative effect of brand animation is reinforced by an academic using the term 'neutral reinforcement' to explain that "there are so many elements which are originally independent from each other but supporting this common idea … its then stronger than would be the case if it's one association creating this new idea" (Leipzig, 02/10/12).

Along with the many animating organisations within the city an important source for positive reinforcement, both as a supporter of interventions and an advocate of a powerful narrative, is the Federal Government. The Federal Government relied on Leipzig as a positive success story for German reunification and as such shared an interest in a positive shift in the city's brand. This support resulted in other positive reinforcements such as the candidature for the Olympic Games bid and the location of new companies. Federal Government support, resulting in this amplified positive reinforcement, was instigated by the historically strong image of Leipzig outside of East Germany due to the Trade Fair, and the role of its population in the Peaceful Revolution:

> *at the end of the nineteen eighties, everybody in West Germany looked what is happening in Leipzig they were already known which was not given for most of the East German towns … therefore it was easier to communicate to West Germany and also the rest of Europe and they used that as a beginning and this creation of a boom town this is very close to something like the mentality here … people are more open, they are used to people from outside due to the fair experience and they are a little more entrepreneurial so they take risks and therefore this is of course then easier to be integrated into this boomtown story (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).*

This positive reinforcement argument from Manchester and Leipzig is less applicable to the case of Torino, in which interviewees believed there had been a loss of

momentum with the conclusion of the 2006 Winter Olympic Games and the Anniversary of the Unification of Italy in 2011. The shift in the place brand in Torino was strategy led and provides an example of purposive path creation (Dawley, 2014) through social networking between mayors (Boschma and Frenken 2009 in Dawley 2014). The reclaiming of the city from FIAT with the first directly elected mayor and Strategic Plan were purposeful attempts to create a new path to distance the city from its one company town image. This loss of momentum is illustrated below:

> *we changed the brand from the factory town, which was not a brand but just the characteristics and we are, let me say, a European city with a wider mission, plural as our mayor loves to say, but now I believe that we should concentrate somewhere in defining priorities, you know which is the true brand of Torino today? I believe that it is a good question (Former Mayor, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).*

Much of the high-profile branding activity centred on the lead up to the Olympic Games:

> *it was the first time it has been quite explicit the idea of let's brand Turin, there has been a huge production of logos, images, it was impressive because I started to work on urban images right before the momentum of the Olympic Games it was really difficult to find out materials, you used to work with little materials I remember it was like let's take one tourist guide of Turin and immediately after that there has been an explosion of images (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12)*

However, the organisation which was charged with creating these images was not fully integrated into institutional arrangements and it was reduced in size after it had fulfilled this function. This would perhaps not have been the case had it been generated in the context of positive returns rather than a strategic planned approach.

Although the principle of positive reinforcement is not as applicable to the case of Torino the notion of path plasticity still offers insight into the way the city's brand was shifted through a recombination of the city's institutional regime. It appears that this more strategic approach resulted in a more orchestrated attempt at repurposing institutions, generating new economic activity:

> *we were looking for new activities you have the crisis and the deep decline of the manufacturing industry and we thought what can we do in Torino, to approach this question, to find the reasonable answers we decided to go back to the history of the city, where you know you have not only memories but also knowledge and things that are there and you could use (Former Mayor, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).*

This rediscovery was used as the basis of generating new economic activities which could form the basis of a new but embedded economic identity and brand for the city:

> *My impression is that in the beginning they tried everything, every possible kind of branding it was just a, I'm not saying it was done in a deletantistic way, no I just mean quite systematic and well organized but of everything, … it was lets position Turin in the world, …lets change the image was the idea, not lets promote that image in that audience, lets change the image because this one is bad (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12).*

As such, although this approach was strategic and orchestrated using inspiration from other places, for example through the friendship between Valentino Castellani and the Mayor of Barcelona, the brand of the city was still embedded. As asserted by a local academic "Turin is very proud of its historical identity so it is wrong in my opinion to talk about reinvention of the identity Turin," (Academic, Torino, 30/10/12). The shift in the brand that was achieved was embedded and to some extent sustainable, however, the continued sustainability of the brand will require further

strategic action as the momentum of positive reinforcement seems not to have been achieved in the longer term.

Malmö provides another example of purposive path creation (Dawley, 2014); however, it does not appear to have lost momentum in the same way. Arguably this is due to the strength of the institutional arrangements in Malmö which continually renew their strategy and mission as part of a local political system that enjoys high levels of legitimacy and stability. As such the approach to the shift in the brand, through large scale infrastructure projects, is embedded in the institutional arrangements, rather than the content of the brand. The institutional arrangements are such that the strategic, narrating and some animating functions are aligned within the LA and with private actors in an institutional environment in which there is a norm of relationships between LA leaders and business (Dannestram, 2009). As such the LA is able to both 'write and tell' the story as explained below:

> *the city of Malmö we were pretty consistent with writing and telling the story about Malmö as a changed city and also that we got, that we got from a platform where we were telling story to also doing things, …we took one of the city districts, the Western Harbour that used to be the ship Wharf, the ship Ward that was the identity of Malmö …in the year 2001 we had a housing fair in Western Harbour and we got contract with a lot of businesses and developers so together we actually built at that time still very much in the forefront, the most sustainable city district in the world (Political, Malmö, 15/05/12).*

In Malmö, the shift in the brand of the city has been about a shift in the fabric of the city with the brand communicated by material change and the material change interpreted through branding work. As such, the branding and wider development activity has been integrated:

> *in that story of transformation and branding Malmö as a transformative city I mean there are some of these big urban development projects that are a part*

of that city branding story, …the city planning and the physical aspects of city transformations are used as you know creating the new symbols of Malmö like the turning torso for example… the city branding process has not been separated as a specific mission or something it's much more integrated and it has to do with this different big urban development projects (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

At a functional level the organisational arrangements reinforce this case of communicating the brand through the experience of the city, with the LA working in an integrated fashion to ensure the delivery of the city in line with its brand. An LA communications officer cited this as a strength in Malmö, compared favourably to Gothenburg's approach with a separate organisation working on the city's brand.

Place branding as one part of a clear urban development strategy, helping to communicate that strategy whilst being reinforced by its results, is part of the nature of the Malmö approach. The strength of this strategic approach is demonstrated in the strength of prioritisation within the strategy, as demonstrated below. The approach is applied with a level of confidence that allows the authorities to be selective about accepting businesses, thus reinforcing the strategy and fully integrated brand:

there have been some articles and papers in the industry sectors saying that well we don't find Malmö so friendly anymore and it was true, we don't want polluting industries we … also say that we started a project on clean tech trying to get clean tech development within the companies that are still in Malmö …to be the showcase for industries working in these directions (Political, Malmö, 15/05/12).

Although the approach in Malmö can be described as branding through doing, rather than branding through communicating, activities in the city have been effectively narrated, it seems that the narrating element of the branding has been less orchestrated than the strategic development in the city. As described by a political

representative in the city the story 'grew' organically "politicians were writing articles, the journalists were writing articles and some of this we add to that story" (Malmö, 15/05/12). Positive reinforcement is a feature of the experience of Malmö as in Manchester and Leipzig, but in Malmö the strategic approach still seems to be the most influential factor. Malmö's institutional arrangements mean that path plasticity is a clear feature with the agents actively evolving the place brand path through the repurposing of institutions. The plan to include social sustainability in future branding, building on past environmental sustainability branding, is an active attempt to evolve the path; enabling its longevity.

The approach in Malmö is strategic as in Torino, however, the institutional arrangements in Malmö enabled the continuation of momentum for the shift in the brand because the renewal of the strategy and strength of vision is part of the institutional arrangements. Path plasticity, the activity of agents in the city resulting in evolution within a path, seems to be more prominent in Malmö. This can be explained in the nature of the responsible organisations, with a well-established and resourced LA with a strong democratic mandate in Malmö, compared to a voluntary association in Torino. As such a reorganisation of the institutional arrangements in Torino could result in a revival of momentum.

This section has demonstrated that EEG concepts can be useful in the analysis of place branding. These paths have been created by experimentation (Martin, 2010) in the case of Manchester and Leipzig, then consolidated by positive reinforcement, and by purposive path creation (Dawley, 2014) in the case of Torino and Malmö. In NewcastleGateshead an initial path emerged from experimentation and was followed by purposive path creation when that path faltered. Path plasticity seems to be a particularly useful concept to explain place branding paths, as the narration of change is so fundamental to place branding. As such plasticity enables a place branding path to be sustainable over time through the active repurposing of institutions; both those which comprise the city's identity and those which deliver the brand.

6.4 Competitive Bidding as Periods of Intense Mobilisation: From Brand to Branding

Place branding is a practice which is difficult to define (Skinner, 2008) and as such it has been important to adopt a broad understanding of what it comprises in this study. Throughout this thesis, the difference between orchestrated place branding activities and activities which impact upon a place's brand is recognised. This distinction has enabled the recognition that both orchestrated place branding campaigns and more diffuse place brand activity have an impact on the brand of a city. What this distinction also enables is an appreciation of the temporal change in the characteristics of these activities. Although activities which have shifted the brand of the city have been undertaken over the whole period of time outlined in the study; place branding is a more recent activity.

In all of the cities except Malmö, a high profile competitive bidding process was undertaken and was referenced by interviewees. In all of these cities, professionalised place branding activities became galvanised as a response to, or in preparation for these bidding processes; consolidating place branding in the cities as part of the path development phase (Martin, 2010). In the case of NewcastleGateshead, NGI and cooperation between the two locations was established in order to manage the bid to be the European Capital of Culture 2008. In Leipzig, Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing and Leipzigger Freiheit were launched in 2002, the year in which the city bid to be selected as the Olympic candidate for Germany for the 2012 Olympics. In Manchester, Marketing Manchester was set up in 1996 after two failed Olympic bids (Deas and Ward, 2002) and the branding process which resulted in 'original modern' started after the 2002 Common Wealth Games. In Torino, the Communication Office which undertook communications associated with the 2006 Winter Olympic Games and wider branding in the city was established in 1998 when the Olympic bidding phase began.

The only city included in this study which was successful in its initial bid was Torino with the 2006 Winter Olympics and as such the city was able to take advantage of the increased profile offered. It is described as a turning point for the city reaching both an international audience and increasing resident pride:

the Olympic games was the real turning point because for let's say at least one year, the year of the games two thousand and six and part of two thousand and five you were on an international stage, all of the newspapers were speaking of Torino, presenting Torino …after the Olympic games we have more than twenty tourist guides in all of the languages (Former Mayor, Torino, 29/10/12).

In Torino, not only was the profile offered by the event an important opportunity for place branding, the process of the bid was valuable in the development of new organisations in the institutional architecture and the establishment of a place branding function:

during the production of the strategic plan arose the idea of constructing shall we say a unique institution to coordinate the kind of images promoted and the Olympic Games upped the momentum in order to do that, and a specific office in charge of image production and branding had been constructed for the right before (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12).

The result was an 'explosion of images' (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12) illustrating the 'colourful' Torino.

As such, the process of bidding is as important for the development of place branding as being successful in the bid. In the case of Leipzig, which was unsuccessful in securing the 2012 Olympics, the process of bidding raised their profile as they were recognised as Olympic candidates for Germany, the first former East German city to be so:

especially in Germany it was quite an important moment at the end of the nineteen nineties when thinking about this, candidateship for the Olympic Games that Leipzig was then presented as the German candidate because that was for the first time that someone in Germany really looked at Leipzig

and realised well it is really a functioning city right now and it is really something that can represent Germany and this is of course really important for the self-consciousness within the city but also for the rest of Germany to see ok yeah they might have stronger development than originally thought (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

The case of Manchester provides a strong example of the way in which the process of competitive bidding is valuable in itself, building capacity and essentially shifting the institutional regime, not just through the establishment of new organisations but through new ways of working; in effect developing the institutional environment:

bidding for the Olympic games, twice, if you speak to the leader of the city council who worked in partnership across AGMA on it, it was a race worth loosing because A. it profiled Manchester and showed how ambitious Manchester was, …and it brought the right partners on board as well so actually everybody setting an aspiration which was almost ridiculously far-fetched for Manchester in the late 80s early 90s, … that kind of aspiration and leadership is what has kind of taken Manchester through the last 20 years and made it, you know, made it as successful as it is (DMO, Operational Level, Manchester 25/04/12).

This interviewee also credited the Olympic Bids with leading to the successful hosting of the Commonwealth Games.

The Commonwealth Games was credited with igniting the orchestrated branding activity. As explained below, this provides a clear instance of the path plasticity of institutions as part of a broader path dependent trajectory in response to positive feedback:

after that came original modern and a different way of thinking from the business leaders, but that's almost the legacy really that the city and all stakeholders went through a huge learning curve in the lead up to the

*commonwealth games, hosting and delivering the commonwealth games and
from there it bore ambition really and a different way of thinking (Inward
Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).*

In Manchester, the process of bidding for the Olympics and then hosting the
Commonwealth Games resulted in a change both in the institutional arrangements of
organisations and the institutional environment of norms and values. What is
described here is essentially a shift in the institutional regime as a result of the
localities' experience of competitive bidding.

This has also been the case in NewcastleGateshead where NGI was established to
manage the Capital of Culture bid, and then produced a ten-year cultural program in
response to not achieving the title. As recounted "Supporting 2008 posters were
soon being torn up. But at NGI they had a new slogan: '2008 – Why Wait?" (NGI,
2008). As a result of the bid a new organisation with a new function was introduced
to the institutional regime. Over time the organisation has developed a broader role
(Pasquinelli, 2014) and introduced the attraction of investment to its function in 2012.
The organisation and the role it plays is now well established in the locality partly as
a result of the capital of culture bid:

> *I think it's absolutely right that NGI are getting, have a firm hold of this
> because they've got a very good track record going back to the time when,
> well leading up to the bid for city of culture status all the work they did there to
> bring together the right people to speak with one voice really and they've
> maintained that sense of ownership (University, Strategic Level,
> NewcastleGateshead, 02/04/12).*

This shift in the institutional regime as a result of the competitive bidding process is
not inevitable. It seems that in the case of Torino although the Olympics provided a
turning point for a shift in the development of the city brand and was the start of
place branding in the city, this was not maintained and interviewees suggested
momentum has been lost. This may be as a result of a lower degree of shift in the

institutional regime, for example, the communication organisation associated with the Olympics has not gradually increased in size but was decreased following the games:

> *I remember a lot of people work for example doing the Olympics with just short term contracts, immediately after that there has been a collapse of that image production… one visible element was the desperate search for other big events, but of course you cannot second the Olympics (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12)*

In addition, there are other problems associated with the hosting of the games which may have had an impact on the way they have been integrated into the city's psyche such as the financial legacy "one of the hardest problems faced by the Turin municipality because the budget of the city is very critical" (Culture Sector, Operational Level, Torino, 30/10/12).

Although some of the narrating function has not been sustained, the importance of collaborative processes and shifts in the institutional arrangements can be seen in the case of Torino International and the production of the Strategic Plan (Pinson, 2002).

It appears that the experience of competitive bidding has provided a key moment in the path development phase of place branding in the cities. The experience of competitive bidding increases the intensity and speed with which the changes have taken place, increasing the embeddedness and sustainability of place branding activities in the cities, to varying degrees. This can be explained by the increased impetus for people to work together as part of the bidding process creating a temporary period of 'institutional thickness' increasing the embeddedness of the activity undertaken. After all, embeddedness is based on the interaction between actors (Granovetter, 1985).

6.5 Embedded Approaches to City Branding: Locally Specific NewcastleGateshead

A theme of this comparative analysis of place brand and branding in de-industrialised European cities is the notion of similar activities and trends taking place in different cities in locally specific ways; reflecting the way the wider discourses become interpreted through local narratives. This is apparent when activity becomes more professionalised and orchestrated as place branding rather than place brand development. In order to illuminate the locally embedded nature of these activities the case of NewcastleGateshead, which the author had the opportunity to observe as an insider, will be investigated in detail.

In NewcastleGateshead the place banding work was instigated by NGI due to impetus by the LAs and in response to demand from actors around the city; particularly the business community. There was also a sense that the context had changed significantly and the arts led regeneration of recent years was no longer sustainable. However, this notion of the progress which had taken place was key to the narrative of action for local actors with the idea of the NewcastleGateshead story being 'under told and under sold' becoming a key mantra of the process, reinforced throughout, as communication between the actors increased and unknown stories of interesting 'on brand' activity became known.

The awareness of the lead organisation's lack of experience in this field was recognised by individuals involved "we had done destination marketing but not branding and it's quite different" (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12). However, this became almost a positive attribute as the process was felt to be very specific to the needs of Newcastle and Gateshead as a result of having designed activities in a locally specific way, "we will come out with something that is very positive for us and is right for us" (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12).

The impact of this grounded approach had a number of facets in line with the recent experiences of the cities. The issue of NewcastleGateshead as a brand and the controversy around it led to a need to move beyond logo and slogan based

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approaches. This was reinforced by academic sources which were integrated into the process through the Case studentship on which this research is based. This academic input also seemed to have been instigated by the need to add substance and credibility to the place branding approach and was based on the relationship between individuals at the university and NGI "I think the very work that you're doing, we've sought to base this rigorously in you know academic understanding of what works elsewhere, so as I say, this isn't superficial" (DMO, NewcastleGateshead, 13/3/12).

This need to move beyond a logo and slogan approach was also key in the decision to select the Brand Consultants who were employed in early 2011. Instead of a creative company who may have taken a more traditional approach, a brand alignment company were employed in order to develop brand values to guide and communicate activity rather than develop a visual language. The consultants devised a process in which 'getting people on board' was a key feature:

> *a lot of places have taken the route of the logo and some advertising to change things, so the first thing is you haven't gone down that route which is exactly the right thing [NGI Contact] has been fantastic in the way she's organised it and made sure and very sensitively taken it through quite an elaborate process, it has taken time but it has had to take time because she knows that unless she takes people with her and they all feel like they've had something to do with it its dead in the water (Consultants, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 08/02/12).*

A defining feature of the development of the place brand was the importance of the process itself, sessions run by the consultants were designed to educate, research and result in engagement of key actors in the city. This occurred from the beginning when the consultants undertook interviews to identify the priorities of key actors; it was commented that this had resulted in a better understanding of place branding by NGI board members. This was significant throughout the process of visioning sessions and testing sessions which took place in mid to late 2011.

The need to engage people was instigated both by academic evidence and by resource constraints characterised by the economic circumstances, as asserted by the lead individual "at the minute there's only me and tuppence ha'penny," (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12). This had a significant impact on the approach and the time scales involved "turn it into bite sized pieces, bring everyone along, take time to get there" (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12). This resulted in a robust process in which there was lots of narrative construction. The development of shared narratives in order to maximise the economic potential of the cities was apparent during participant observation. This was most interesting around those more challenging aspects of the cities' stories such as the notion of the 'party city' and a location of 'low cost labour' the way to best incorporate these issues into the narrative was particularly enlightening as different actors negotiated issues of identity and economic values.

The involvement of city actors in the process was very important in terms of the plan for delivery which largely relied on key communicators in important organisations volunteering to add place branding work to their daily activities:

> the project has got a small amount of money and a small amount of people, we need people to come on board voluntarily and help us in their walk of life, and we've already been trying to target certain people from certain sectors because we need this, virtual marketing alliance of volunteers to help us take this out, because we can't do it on our own, (DMO Operation Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12).

As highlighted at the inception meeting of the steering group in April 2012 where the final brand proposition was presented and it was hoped that actors would be 'inspired to volunteer' and 'all be involved in deciding what happens next'. One of the strengths of NGI in the previous destination work and experience as a partnership organisation was the involvement and mobilisation of local actors and this was put to good effect here. The meeting cited was generally positive and upbeat and as stated below in an interview by a key figure in the retail sector:

I genuinely think the way that NGI have approached this and their involvement of businesses and so on has been very good so I think that consequently we definitely want to be involved and will want to support (Retail, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 13/03/12).

The rhetoric around inclusion was very real with the delivery plan being defined by key actors in a steering group workshop in June 2012 and members of the steering group being allocated themes to work on and report on. The brand was also quickly integrated into NGI work through workshops with team meetings for example those in table 6.4 during September 2012.

NGI's experience in marketing and communications was also evident throughout the process in the sense that the place brand and place branding as an activity was marketed to actors involved; for example, the presentations to the council chief execs and briefing in advance of that. In addition, the employment of a local creative agency in August and September 2012 was intended to demonstrate to the steering group and others how the brand values would convert to activity. This was particularly apparent in the development of the brand film in late 2012 and early 2013, intended as a local call to action and part of the brand tool kit:

Me: yeah having sat in on the meetings and things it did seem that when we saw the video that was the bit when people went…

'Oh yeah it works!',

Me: up to that point people were a little bit, not dubious but I think they couldn't see how it was going to…

Yeah, and I think that is understandable because it is quite a nebulous thing, yeah I share that (LA Communications, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 14/12/12)

TABLE 6.4: MEETINGS IN THE PLACE BRANDING PROCESS ATTENDED BY THE AUTHOR

Date	Session Attended
December 2010	Brand Meeting with the Chief Execs of the LAs
January 2011	
February	Project Meeting Meeting with Communications Partners in Science Sector
March	Project Meeting Assessment of Tender Applications
April	Brand Vista introduction
May	Project Meeting
June	
July	Project Meeting Project Meeting Author Presentation to the Project Group Author Presentation to NGI Senior Management Team
August	Visioning Session
September	Project Meeting Author Presentation to NGI Full Staff
October	
November	Testing Briefing Testing Session Consolidation Session Consolidation Meeting Visit and Seminar by Place Branding Academics
December	Position Testing Meeting
January 2012	
February	Briefing for Chief Exec Presentation
March	
April	Final Brand Proposition
May	Steering Group

June	Steering Group Workshop
July	Full Staff Briefing
August	Meeting with Creative Consultant
September	Meeting with Creative Consultant Workshop with NGI Culture Team Steering Group with Meeting with Creative Consultant Marketing and Communications Team Meeting and Brand Update
October	
November	Author Presentation to NGI Full Staff
December	Steering group
January 2013	
February	Author Presentation to Steering Group Meeting

Source: Author's Own

What the place branding process in NewcastleGateshead embodies is the way that broader discourses of place branding are embedded in locally specific ways due to the history and circumstance of the actors in the cities; particularly institutional environment and arrangements. In the case of NewcastleGateshead the problematic brand, resources available and nature of the lead organisation led to a process in which branding both demanded and was a vehicle for the involvement of key actors in the creation of local specific, economically advantageous narratives.

6.6 Place Brand Challenges: Embedding and Sustaining in Both the Institutional Arrangements and Environment

Place brands are understood as the outcome of the cumulative activity of strategic, narrating and animating organisations, as such they should be both embedded and path dependent: as part of the institutional regime of the city; the place brand will evolve within that regime. The threat to the sustainability and embeddedness of the place brand is that the institutional regime particularly the strategic and animating organisations of the institutional arrangements become misaligned with the economic circumstances and the image projected will lose relevance and authenticity. Path dependence is not historical determinism. Rather it is a "probabilistic and contingent process" (Martin and Sunley, 2006, p.402) where a number of paths are possible determined by the current and past institutional context of the location with some paths "more possible or likely than others" (Martin and Sunley, 2006, p.403). As such it is possible that the place brand may become more or less embedded as a result of the changes that take place.

This eventuality is something that was recognised in the case study cities. The brand of the city created by the activity of those within the city could lose relevance based on economic circumstances. If one path rather than another was forthcoming the brand would become less embedded and less sustainable. For example, an interviewee in Torino recognised that the emphasis put on culture in recent years by the strategic and animating organisations of the city may no longer be understood in the same way:

> *The way the city has changed the culture and so on, of course right now in this period of crisis I suppose the rhetoric of Turin as a cultural city may not sound so friendly to a lot of people, (Academic, Torino, 31/10/13).*

This is also important for the place branding of the cities which relies not only on the narrating organisations but also on the strategic and animating organisations for support. As demonstrated in Leipzig:

The risk is if it is no longer authentic and it can only be authentic if people are accepting freedom as a basic value in the city and the risk is that if the economic performance is too weak and people face too many risks that they are no longer accepting this freedom idea because in Germany it's always an open debate over whether freedom is that important (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

Economic challenges, infrastructure challenges, social challenges and challenges associated with the changed economic context of the financial crisis were all in evidence. These challenges are associated with the potential for the place brand, as part of the institutional regime, to become misaligned from wider economic circumstances due to potential future pathways. It is worth noting that the challenges are those that are pertinent to the interviewees rather than those based on a broader analysis and as such tell us primarily about their preoccupations. For example, it is unlikely that Malmö has particularly more social challenges than Torino, the strong reference to social challenges is more likely to be a result of the welfare orientated Nordic Context (Pedersen, 2004) and the pressing economic concerns being prioritised in Torino. Brand challenges are those associated with orchestrated place branding activity and are the only category which is apparent in all of the cities.

Economic challenges were mentioned in all of the cities apart from Malmö, and included funding for activity, poor economic performance, the sustainability of local businesses and the potential for prior investments to be undermined. Infrastructure challenges which were mentioned in NewcastleGateshead and Leipzig, both related to transport infrastructure. In the case of NewcastleGateshead as a response to the general issue and perception of the distance from London and the South East to access economic and political decision making and further travel opportunities. In Leipzig, the challenge mentioned was overwhelmingly that of a desire to improve accessibility through Leipzig Halle airport.

Social challenges include deprivation and inequality, leading to spatial segregation and unemployment, education and health inequality; these realities in the cities believed to have the potential to undermine branding work. This was the main

preoccupation of interviewees in Malmö. The changed economic circumstances were mentioned as challenges in the British cities and in Torino. This clearly represented a change in context which was felt to require shift in institutional regimes in these cities, for example in Manchester:

> *many of the sort of building blocks of that really quite spectacular recovery over a twenty-five-year period, are no longer in place, so the city is not awash with speculative property investment and it's going to be a long time before that comes back, neither is it going to be awash with public funding and there is no doubt that northern cities benefited quite substantially from just generalised increases in public funding … I think Manchester was also really good a knitting together all those special initiatives (Academic, Manchester, 16/04/12).*

These cities felt the change in funding context, both public and private and in the case of the UK cities the change in the governance structure with the removal of the regional scale.

The brand challenges were apparent in all of the cities and are summarised in table 6.5, with those challenges that were mentioned in more than one city emboldened. These include resources to undertake branding work, distilling the whole city into a brand, writing on top of existing images, and getting people to understand the approach. These challenges can all be associated with the professionalised and orchestrated nature of branding activities which present new challenges as the introduction of activity and organisations from different locations and scales are not as embedded in the location. The notion of people struggling to understand the approach is the best example of this:

> *a lot of people didn't really understand what it was about and perhaps that's down to their lack of creativity, their lack of ability to understand what makes the city or what makes the city and the region tick, and I think when they had it explained to them what it meant then there was probably wider acceptance of,*

it wasn't immediate I think, because it's quite a, quite an intelligent, way of articulating the brand of a city, it will inevitably take some time (Urban Development, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).

Interestingly, Malmö is the only city which did not have any of these shared challenges and is the city which there is the greatest alignment of strategic, animating and narrating organisations, and the greatest alignment between communication and activity.

TABLE 6.5: SUMMARY OF CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY ACTORS IN THE CITIES

City	Brand Challenges
NewcastleGateshead	• NewcastleGateshead as a brand • Being clear about what the current identity is • **Distilling the whole city into a brand** • Prioritising what is to be promoted • **'Writing on top' of existing images (Jensen 2005) e.g. party city** • Getting people on board to believe in and deliver the brand • **Getting people to understand the approach** • How to launch the brand in current economic context • **Resources**
Leipzig	• **Distilling the whole city into a brand** • **The brand has to be explained particularly internationally** • The is no picture logo • Peaceful Revolution is more controversial than is recognised in the brand • The brand matching people's experience as the Peaceful Revolution becomes more historic • As the city becomes a 'normal city' distinctiveness has to be revisited • The first brand was not sustainable and was not intended to be, the second brand risks a lack of sustainability too • Maintaining authenticity • **Resources**

Manchester	• **Some people and sectors struggle to understand the approach** • **Distilling the whole city into a brand** • The city has experienced counter branding with the McEnroe Group • Little reminder and reinforcement as an inward facing brand
Malmö	• The brand challenges in Malmö are understood as the social challenges of the city • The cities social problems can become hijacked by national political and media interests
Torino	• **'Writing on top' of existing images (Jensen 2005) e.g. FIAT, Juventus** • Maintaining momentum after the Winter Olympics • Using culture and tourism as cornerstone industries of the city brand to distance the city from FIAT when manufacturing is a stronger industry • **Resources**

Source: Author's Own

It is argued that the challenges experienced in the cities sit in wider discourses, economic circumstances and institutional regimes at different scales. However, they are also embedded in the institutional regime and historical experiences of the cities. Malmö provides a striking example of this. As a diverse city, particularly in a Scandinavian context, 31 per cent of the city's population was born abroad (City of Malmö, 2013), particular challenges have emerged around segregation and inequality. The Scandinavian welfarist (Baeten, 2012) situation of the city arguably makes this a greater priority than in the other cities. The integration of strategic, narrating and animating functions within their LA mean actors are able to tackle social problems while narrating this activity with the aim of integrating it into their brand:

> *we have to take all of those challenges we have to put them into our brand and say hey we're not finished with the building of Malmö but we are an ambitious city and we will take care of that and in our strategy, tell the world how we're working with all this challenge. And it's not bad for a brand to have all those challenges we have to address don't hide from them, we have to be an ambitious city we have to tell everybody where we are going (LA Communications, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12).*

In the case of Torino applying this framework of understanding is also telling. Branding work in Torino was initially about distancing the city from FIAT and the one company town image, using the Olympics and rediscovering past 'colourful' economic activities such as cinema and food. Interviewees agreed that after the Olympics and the celebration of the unification of Italy the momentum had been lost:

> *Me: do you feel the momentum of the work in the lead up to the games and just after the games has been lost somewhat?*
>
> *It's after the Olympics,*
>
> *yes exactly*

because as I said before the Olympics had the strategic plan and also the communication office but of course when you have the Olympic Games as a sort of horizon you can reach maybe you build things to, yeah and after that we lost that (Urban Environment (x2), Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12).

The shift in the wider economic circumstances with branding that was so embedded in a response to an economic change has resulted in this loss of momentum. A reliance on culture and tourism is not strong enough to provide a momentum for the current pathway, this is embedded in the institutional arrangements in which the city focused its branding activity on culture and tourism to present a 'colourful' city, while at the regional scale the city's strengths in manufacturing and Research and Design were being championed to attract external companies. An alignment of scales in the institutional arrangements with the city incorporating its manufacturing and innovation competencies into its branding could re-establish momentum in these new economic circumstances.

The need for the branding of the city to maintain relevance within a changing wider context is also apparent in Leipzig. Here it is not the institutional arrangements as much as the institutional environment which may risk a misalignment if the city continues on its current path. The first brand in Leipzig, Leipzig Kommt was understandably short lived due to the exceptional circumstances after the reunification of Germany. There seemed to be some suggestion that the current brand, Leipzigger Freiheit which draws strongly on the events at the end of the GDR, could also become less sustainable if it does not recognise changes in the city:

Leipzigger Freiheit, for what is it standing for, ok you say we have the peaceful revolution, ok but this is not enough Leipzig is standing for so many things so… I'm a little bit critical about that, in the first time ten years ago it was fine but now it seems for me too yeah, not enough (LA International Office, Leipzig, 17/9/12).

As epitomised by an interviewee working in LA regeneration "these first years after the political changes were very euphoric and now we are getting more and more a normal city" (Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).

In the case of NewcastleGateshead although there is believed to be a strong identity and the embeddedness of orchestrated branding activity was a key priority in recent activities, challenges include the need to prioritise and understand economic identity, the need to bring people along and a lack of local support for the notion of NewcastleGateshead as a strong brand for the cities:

> *the trickiest area and the one that you're probably aware of is the use of the term NewcastleGateshead and clearly there are a large number of people who absolutely believe that Newcastle and Gateshead should work together and that the wider region could work together but they would want that to be done under the umbrella branding of Newcastle or greater Newcastle …I think that's going to be quite a difficult aspect of the project to take forward. (DMO, Strategic Level, 12/3/12)*

A misalignment of professionalised branding activity was apparent in Manchester with the McEnroe Group a counter branding event, in which a group of entrepreneurs successfully overturned the "pathetically uncool" (Hebbert and Deas, 2000, p.86) official branding campaign (Ward, 2003) of a fledgling Marketing Manchester. In this case, it seems that the branding was not embedded in the first instance, not representing the narrative of Manchester ascribed to by this newly powerful group or that these actor's views had not been adequately integrated into the process (Ward, 2003).

In NewcastleGateshead the institutional arrangements in the locality have led to a situation in which the 'brand geography' (see section 7.1) is not embedded in the locality. The lack of strategy suggests a lack of leadership resulting in a situation in which there is little confidence about the future path of urban development. This is likely to result in a bottleneck for the embeddeness and sustainability of the brand, as those that are required to undertake branding activity in the cities are not

confident that NewcastleGateshead will be the brand in future. Although the brand values are embedded the institutional arrangements are currently in flux so the values are not able to be embedded in the institutional regimes in a way that will result in coordinated action. Until a pathway becomes more apparent it is unlikely that people will have the necessary confidence in the brand in order to generate activity.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illuminate the way in which embedding and sustaining place brands is entwined with the notion of embedded activities with the creation of locally specific narratives sitting within the broader discourses of place branding and interurban competition. The result is similar activity taking place in the cities built out of their very specific identities and experiences. What is most apparent is the similar way locally specific narratives of identity have been repurposed for new economic means and the journeys the cities' have followed from place brand activity to orchestrated place branding.

In the first instance path plasticity has been used to highlight the way aspects of the institutional arrangements and institutional environment have been repurposed through narratives for new economic aims. In the cities symbols, history, people, culture and physical change were re-emplotted in locally specific ways. With path plasticity recognised as a feature of narrative in all of the cities the journey of how place branding became embedded was then highlighted using the concepts of path dependence (Martin, 2010) and path creation (Martin 2010, Dawley 2014). A short period of path dependence in NewcastleGatesehad was explained and then situated against path dependence though positive reinforcement in the cases of Leipzig and Manchester and strategic path creation in Malmö and Torino with varying levels of sustainability. It seems that the ability of actors in the city to engage in path plasticity to ensure evolution within the path enhances the path's sustainability. The consolidation of the place branding path was then outlined in relation to competitive bidding which has been a significant characteristic of all of the cities but Malmö. The

mobilisation of actors around these events has quite consistently been the catalyst for the professionalization of place branding in the cities.

Finally, the challenges which the cities face are also remarkably similar while still locally specific in the cities studied. Economic, infrastructure, social, economic context and brand challenges were apparent to some extent in all of the cities studied. What this chapter has illustrated is the shared yet locally specific nature of urban development activity led by overarching discourse but employed through local narrative emplotment. This has been apparent in the nature of the brands developed, the journey place branding activity has taken and the challenges faced.

7 Place Branding's Contribution to Urban Development: Interactive and Generative

Place branding is believed by those engaged in it to make a positive contribution to urban development, in the context of the dominant discourse of interurban competition (McCann, 2004). There is much discussion about target audiences and increasing recognition but the exact nature of the contribution to urban development is not rigorously examined. In the literature place branding is associated with a number of urban development interventions such as supporting the tourism industry and export industries, promoting public diplomacy, strengthening local identities (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009) inward investment attraction (Burgess, 1981), property-led regeneration (Brownill, 1994), culture-led regeneration (Griffiths, 2006), the development of regional identities (Zimmerbauer, 2011; Terlouw, 2009), the construction of scale (Boisen et.al., 2011), the use of participatory practices in urban democracy (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013) and the use of place branding as a means of place management (Ashworth, 2008; Ashworth and Voogd, 1994).

Analysis of the experiences of the case study cities suggests that the contribution than place branding can make to urban development is as a means of place management (Ashworth, 2008; Ashworth and Voogd, 1994). Place management can be defined as "a coordinated, area-based multi-stakeholder approach to improve locations, harnessing the skills experiences and resources of those in the private, public and voluntary sectors" (Institute of Place Management, 2017). Place management is about changing the way places are perceived and used in order to further other development aims such as inward investment or generating political capital (Ashworth, 2008). An urban development intervention which aims to manage the institutional arrangements in a location in order to change perceptions and behaviour to further other development interventions is a fitting description for the contribution that place branding can make to urban development as discerned from the case study cities. The following chapter will illuminate why this is the case.

First, a place brand enables the construction of a 'brand geography', an enabling geography intended to optimise interurban competition. This is achieved by allowing

the borrowing of useful brand assets and the bridging of challenging administrative divides. Second, the place brand enables the many and varied actors in a city to more fully know their city. This improves their awareness of their competitive position, enables them to act with greater consistency and enhance their relationships with actors at other scales. Third, a place brand can improve the coordination of actors in the city, not only through the greater self-awareness cited above but also by aiding the definition of priorities, the developing and communication of strategy and the ability to react to opportunities. The following three sections will explain how place branding can contribute to place management as a form of urban development.

7.1 Brand Geography

'Brand geography' is both relational and territorial, bounded and unbounded, linked to territory through strategic organisations, elements of place are selectively appropriated by narrative creating an enabling geographical imaginary intended to optimise competitiveness. This brand geography is likely to appropriate particular scenes, sites of achievements, 'brandscapes' (Klingmann, 2007) and 'emblematic landscapes' (Ashworth and Graham, 2005, p.4) which are assets for the brand. At the same time, irrelevant or problematic locations are excluded. As described by an academic in Manchester:

> *it talks about bits of the Trafford centre and Trafford it talks about the airport, it talks about Salford it doesn't talk about the Langworthy estate …Manchester certainly over the last 15 or 20 years has been very good… very flexible in terms of where it draws its lines, the kind of imagining of it all (Manchester, 12/06/12).*

The narrative construction of 'brand geography' means that it is both dynamic and open to contestation, in addition its flexible nature means that different brand geographies can exist at different scales and for different audiences.

This differs to other geographical units present in the cities such as administrative boundaries and functional geographies. The brand geography concept can offer conceptual, analytical and practical contributions to those working in urban development. Table 7.1 is intended to summarise rather than comprehensively map the brand geographies of the cities.

TABLE 7.1: SUMMARY OF BRAND GEOGRAPHY IN THE CITIES

	NewcastleGateshead	Leipzig	Malmö	Manchester	Torino
Brand Geography	Generated on the Newcastle and Gateshead LA areas through NGI and by the Capital of Culture Bid. Previously focusing on cultural infrastructure of the urban core and tourist assets further afield. This brand was contested during the period of study due to the shift towards business audiences as the priority. Cultural assets and 'NewcastleGateshead' itself was losing prominence.	Historic and cultural sites are important features, often animated by events. The brand focuses on the city's assets and on liveability aspects such as housing and greenspace. Leipzig features in the Central German Metropolitan Region brand geography to national and international business audiences and the Magic Cities Germany for international tourists.	A few key sites of physical change are prominent such as the Bridge and Västra Hamnen. Malmö has positioned itself as a European hub through its part in the Øresund region, and enhanced place in the knowledge economy through links to Lund. In these cases the brand geography is also supported by functional relationships. Bold relationships are supported by local political legitimacy.	Greater Manchester comprising ten LAs under the 'attack brand' of Manchester. The profile of Manchester is associated with the size of Greater Manchester and assets throughout the LAs. Aligned with the administrative geography of Greater Manchester under the GMCA which also represents a functional geography (Roy, 2011).	Linked to a collection of 22 municipalities through Torino Internazionale and the Strategic Plans but focusing on the core of Torino specifically its cultural infrastructure; during the Olympic games the nearby Alps were included. Torino is also significant in the Piemonte brand geography oriented to business audiences.
Examples of Brand Assets	The Tyne Gorge, cultural assets. More recently existing businesses and infrastructure relating to certain sectors, located beyond the NewcastleGateshead boundaries, are	Cultural and historic buildings, Baumwool Spinnerai, and attractive yet affordable re-urbanised neighbourhoods of the Neue Gründerzeit era.	Øresund Bridge, Turning Torso and, Vastra Hamnan.	Figures from popular culture, Manchester United Football Club located in Trafford, cultural infrastructure and Media City UK, located in Salford.	Cultural Infrastructure in the City. The alps during the Olympic Games. At the regional level, for business audiences, the wealth of R and D centres.

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	included for business audiences.				
Examples of Exclusion	Rural areas to the south of Gateshead LA for what is primarily an urban brand and deprived neighbourhoods within the cities.	Neighbourhoods which still have very low occupancy and have not yet been re-urbanised.	Rosengård a deprived neighbourhood close to the city centre with a large immigrant population. This exclusion is likely to change as the city starts to include social sustainability in its brand.	Poorer neighbourhoods particularly in the north of Greater Manchester which demonstrate high levels of inequality.	At the city scale the still significant automotive industry was excluded, in order to create distance from previous identities.
Notable Features	Highlights the contestable nature of brand geography in which there can be disagreement over the construction of the brand geography with competing constructions by other actors.	Highlights the use of different brand geographies for use to different audiences and at different scales such as 'Magic Cities Germany' for international tourists and the Metropolitan Region of Central Germany to national and international business audiences.	Highlights the power and value of informal cooperation in the construction of brand geography. The Øresund region and relationship with Lund are based on informal cooperation yet have been able to reposition Malmö through powerful geographical imaginaries.	Highlights the power and value of having an effective brand geography for urban development means which is aligned to both functional and administrative geographies and supported by governance structures.	Highlights the dynamic nature of brand geography with a particular construction undertaken for the Olympic Games which became less prominent after the games; a metropolitan scale brand geography is now under consideration.

Source: Author's Own

The notion of brand geography illuminates the way in which a place brand allows a more flexible approach to geography, enabling actors to construct geographies which meet their urban development aims. These aims may be long term such as supporting the governance approach in Manchester or may be for a particular activity such as the hosting of the Winter Olympics in Torino. Two features of the brand geography are particularly useful in allowing actors to construct enabling geographical imaginaries: the opportunity to borrow brand assets, and the possibility to bridge administrative divides. These features are expanded upon below.

7.1.1 Borrowing Assets and Profile

Brand geography provides a useful function for the cities by allowing the borrowing of assets and profile. As is evident in the cities a brand geography enables the borrowing of positive features allowing actors to construct size and accumulate favourable brand assets from beyond their administrative boundaries while letting lesser known areas borrow the profile of better known locations.

The case of Leipzig provides an example of the way in which actors may aim to use a relational geography to further the interest of their city. The Central German Metropolitan Region, at a relatively early stage of development at the time of the research, was able to undertake marketing work to attract investment to the region. Within the region the cities gain by borrowing scale, profile and in this case resources, from each other:

> *a city like Leipzig or Dresden is perhaps known in the world but it is very hard to … get investors … in the region, it's very expensive and the competitors are very strong and therefore the idea is to put all the cities together to get more money and to have more possibilities to publish their idea of the regions and to tell the world how nice it is here and how fine it is here to invest here, (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12)*

The borrowing undertaken in the Central German Metropolitan Region is intended to further the aims of investment and infrastructure development. Another example from Leipzig shows borrowing motivated by tourism aims, with cooperation and the appropriation of assets including the Leipzig New Lakeland Area, where the city is able to borrow 'active tourism' assets, while the surrounding area benefits from Leipzig's profile (DMO, Operational Level, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

For Malmö, as the smaller city in the Øresund's pivotal Copenhagen and Malmö partnership, there are clear examples of borrowing achieved such as the advantage of borrowed size. As described here the development of the Øresund region allowed the construction of a significant body of population in the Scandinavian context:

> I mean Malmö is a very small city compared to capital cities in Europe but still Copenhagen also saw the strategic importance of the Øresund Region if we could get, and I mean we are pretty well on the way, if we can get the Øresund Region to work as a region … then we have a region with 3.6 million people, that's, pretty much for Nordic, I mean its double the Stockholm triple the Oslo (Political, Strategic Level, Malmö, 15/05/12)

Essentially there has been no real change in population required to develop a location with double the population of Stockholm, rather, the construction of a brand geography has allowed a new imaginary to be created in which Malmö is part of a large international hub.

In addition, Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden and many miles from the capital, is able to borrow profile from Copenhagen, one of the most well-known and appreciated cities in Europe:

> I think we can take advantage of the closeness to Copenhagen we mustn't be afraid to market ourselves as the back yard to Copenhagen because that could also be a good thing for us because Copenhagen is really known, so we

have to sort of cling to that and take those little bits (Regional Marketing, Operational Level, Malmö, 26/6/12)

This is achieved by being in the same newly constructed region, both by being in a region with a positive profile and by being able to align to positive outcomes associated with Copenhagen.

Greater Manchester's territorial unit allows the effective construction of a place brand in which Greater Manchester is able to borrow profile from Manchester; particularly important at international and national scales. In return Manchester City is able to borrow other assets from the rest of Greater Manchester, including size:

it's Manchester that's going to get the best traction and I think that that is ultimately what drives it because people are sort of thinking well, I can either go out on my own as Oldham or Bury and not get that much response or I can go with Manchester and get much more…that's led from the tourism organisations so Visit Manchester and Marketing Manchester, where all of the messages are Manchester, we do it now here in MIDAS even though we're owned by the ten LAs, we're always going out as Manchester (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12)

This insight from an interviewee in Manchester suggest that actors in Manchester understand the benefits that accrue from the brand geography that has been constructed; resulting in the alignment of interests in particular urban development activities.

Torino is another example of this borrowing of scale and profile. In this case investment attraction was undertaken at the regional level in order to maximise scale, using Torino as the 'key qualification' and 'point of entry' similar to the notion of Manchester as the 'attack brand' for greater Manchester. As illustrated below:

activities were focused on Torino because it is quite difficult to explain the complexity of a region abroad and so you need a sort of attraction point and then you can illustrate all the other opportunities but it is very important to have one key qualification, one key point of entry and then you can arrange also other solutions, (Regional Inward Investment, Operational Level, Torino, 31/10/12).

Similarly, the quote below, from an actor working in a strategic organisation in Torino, illustrates the rationale for this borrowing. This actor is referring to the need for Torino to form a metropolitan government at the provincial level which for Torino will be very large. This is seen to offer the potential to increase recognition by the European Union, due to scale and to be able to borrow and share resources offered in this larger territory:

we are not in some European benchmarking because of the size of Torino because Torino itself is only nine hundred thousand people but with the metropolitan area we would be on that benchmark like Lyon, … we should really now move to the metropolitan level and that would make big difference in results in the final and we could spread some of the good things that Torino has done, but maybe we could also use the resources the municipalities have on economic development - they have more land use available, they have the skills, I mean there are a lot of resources in the surrounding areas (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

The NewcastleGateshead brand geography offers the opportunity to borrow size, and cultural assets. This was particularly pertinent in the context of the European Capital of Culture bid which engendered the initial collaboration. This public-sector actor also suggests that collaboration itself is an asset:

I suppose what we've done in creating this NewcastleGateshead brand, its sent a very strong message about collaboration which is very helpful for us, and I suppose people are, people are very keen to understand how two

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places can do that and …it allows us to talk about assets like the Angel of the North and the Sage Gateshead and the Millennium bridge and the Baltic alongside all of the assets on the north side (LA Strategy, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 05/03/12).

The NewcastleGateshead administrative geography which is so significant to NGI was partly generated by the needs of the brand geography through the Capital of Culture bid and the symbolic and visual importance of the shared Tyne Gorge "I do think that, kind of view down the river with the bridges is very iconic and has very much brought the two places together so I think that is really why the partnership has started off like that" (LA, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 08/03/12).

NewcastleGateshead is the one case study, where the location of greatest profile is not borrowed wholesale. In the other case study cities, where there is a city with a significantly higher profile it has been borrowed by the other locations. Instead in NewcastleGateshead both territorial units are officially cited in the branding suggesting that here, the aspect of profile borrowing is not being capitalised on as other aspects have been. Territorial fragmentation and lack of certainty over scale has been problematic for the creation of a brand geography which should be the most useful geographical imaginary for economic development. The borrowing of profile and assets has not been maximised and the possible contribution of brand geography has not been fully exploited in this regard. In other cities brand geography enabled the development of useful cooperation constructing a geographical imaginary to 'grease the wheels' of real cooperation here this has not been fully utilised.

The case study cities have taken the opportunity offered by the construction of brand geography to borrow assets such as size, cultural and natural infrastructure and profile in order to build their competitive advantage in the quest to attract various audiences. This optimisation of brand assets to enable urban development is a contribution made by place branding through the brand geography.

7.1.2 Bridging administrative divides

Brand geography not only allows the borrowing of assets it enables the creation of a geography that mediates the limitations of existing territorial geographies by bridging administrative divides. As recently outlined, in the case of Leipzig, the Central German Metropolitan Region is in its infancy but does undertake marketing work for a collection of territorial administrative units (or Bundesländer). There are a number of problems associated with the administrative units which make the development of this institution challenging:

> *it is very difficult at really a practical level within the metropolitan region and therefore it is something like an artificial club, an idea, but with so far not much actual responsibilities and that's making it more difficult then to find a common vision, and additionally it is of course the question who is something like the leader in that context and there is of course then a sort of envy between regions (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12).*

Despite this, one activity they are still able to undertake is the marketing for these authorities. The brand geography can enable the territories to work collectively even where this is problematic formally.

In Malmö, there is evidence that brand geographies can be employed to develop new imaginaries around cooperation between places which are administratively separate. This is the case here due to the very integrated nature of Malmö's brand and strategy for urban development. The actor below, working for a strategic organisation, is talking about major physical change between the cities located in different administrative territories. The increased working between these cities as part of the brand geography is helping to bridge past divides and communicate change to residents; part of the nature of place branding in Malmö. Here the interviewee describes the plan to physically build the two, formally competing, cities of Malmö and Lund into one city:

Malmö Lund which are two twin cities today, formerly we were competing a lot, but today we are cooperating a lot that's a very good way, so for example the city planning offices are working together and we had a commission from the politicians to form a strategy or a vision for how the two cities could grow together

Me: oh, actually physically, that's very interesting

Yeah, it's a good symbol we are very much depending on each other and also Malmö … we have to find some way to go when we are expanding and I believe that is the direction to Lund … I believe that will be in the future, the same city, I think so, so we are trying to formulate something about that and also try and create some interesting visionary and pictures about that, (Planning, Strategic Level, Malmö, 26/06/12)

It is evident that symbols and geographical imagination are important to the strategy the actor has been commissioned to produce. The brand geography is being employed to bridge previous administrative divides and mediate and communicate this process.

This use of a brand geography to overcome less favourable territorial geographies is also evident in Manchester. Here the actor working for a strategic organisation in Greater Manchester discusses the way they are gradually changing the 'language' or discourse of Manchester from one which represents formal territorial arrangements to one that is more helpful when communicating to audiences:

this is the Greater Manchester growth plan but there was discussion about whether it should have been the Manchester growth plan, at the end of the day we decided to go with greater Manchester on the front but increasingly we do use that footnote and just use Manchester, I think part of what we are doing is to just subtlety and very slowly change the way that language is used … so Manchester LA District to the City of Manchester as its technical title, which then allows us to reclaim Manchester for what we mean, by what people from outside Manchester think we mean by Manchester which is pretty

much… Greater Manchester (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

Manchester's actors are able to mobilise their brand geography to this extent, due to the strong territorial governance structures which broadly map onto the extent of the brand geography. As described here it is the formal procedures associated with the territorial agreement which supports the relational brand geography:

> *the decision was taken 13 or 14 years ago by AGMA to come collectively under the banner of Manchester when talking nationally and internationally and we have just tried to abide by that wherever possible, … it's not always easy but I think they do recognise collectively that it does make sense to be cohesive about it (DMO, Operational Level, Manchester, 25/04/12)*

In addition, the relational brand geography supports the formal procedures and governance structures by making sense of the areas covered as a cohesive place. In this sense, the interaction between the relational geography and the administrative set up is generative of further developments in both brand geography and administrative development.

In Torino applying lessons learnt through the creation of brand geographies for the Olympic Games is intended to be used by actors responsible for the development of new metropolitan governance structures; a new territorial geography. Essentially, what is suggested is the mobilisation of a 'brand geography' approach in the construction of the territorial geography to be created at the metropolitan scale, with Torino at the centre. As explained below, the brand of Torino must now be modified to include assets at the metropolitan scale, just as 'Olympic Torino' required the integration of the mountains and the city:

> *the two subsystems mountain and city after the games take again their diversified path, we didn't make a promotion of the metropolitan, for example the cultural approach which was so effective for the promotion of Torino was*

mainly on a city base, so this is again let me say, a new challenge a new step to raise the communication and to present all of the assets that are actually distributed in the metropolitan area … this is one of the new challenges in promoting the brand of the city with the metropolitan point of view (Formerly Political, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

Here the potential contribution of brand geography is evident, as previous experience of constructing a brand geography is to be used to enable the construction of a new geographical imaginary as a pathway to metropolitan cooperation.

The NewcastleGateshead administrative geography, the territory covered by the two LAs, which maps onto the brand geography constructed by NGI, is not able to engender collective support from all sectors of the city. Other interests, particularly business interests, often ascribe to an alternative brand geography recognising the wider region, with Newcastle as the attractor city, as described by this business representative:

> *in an ideal world Newcastle would be the core city talking on behalf the region and you would be able to use anything and everything … but I don't think it's set up in that way, I think, you know, you've got a destination marketing organisation called NewcastleGateshead, funded principally by two LAs you have a brand that, despite being told it's got fuzzy edges doesn't sound very fuzzy, because if it's got fuzzy edges why not just call it Newcastle because that would incorporate Gateshead, …in an ideal world Newcastle would be able to speak for the whole of the north east, (Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/02/12).*

Business actors are often most assertive in their view about this seeing the term NewcastleGateshead as parochial with "internal bickering creating negativity around the brand" (Business Representative, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/02/12) whereas public sector interests are more likely to see it as a

representation of collaboration between the authorities. Public sector interests seem to be more concerned about the lack of traction NewcastleGateshead holds with the public. In NewcastleGateshead there are alternative brand geographies at work based on the interests of the actors involved.

Not only are competing geographies and scales problematic for generating support around branding activity they are also problematic for the organisational mechanisms associated with place branding. This is demonstrated by the North East LEP's experience of inward investment enquiries where different external and internal brand geographies result in problematic communication. For example, a representative of the LEP cited that in the case of enquires where interested parties state that they are interested in relocating to Newcastle what they mean is a suitable location in the north east region rather than a location within Newcastle's LA boundaries. Without adequate conventions it becomes problematic internally "if they say they want to come to Newcastle they're like that's our enquiry, but it's not really because that's not really what they are meaning at all" (LEP, Operational Level, 21/12/12).

Evidence in the cities suggests that brand geography could make a strong contribution to urban development through the strategic development and management of the city. Case study examples have illustrated the way the Central German Metropolitan Region was able to undertake marketing activity while in its infancy and the way Malmö is able to create new geographical imaginaries to promote cooperation rather than competition. In Manchester, the brand geography benefits from alignment with an administrative geography but at the same time is able to establish that geography by illustrating it as a cohesive place. Similarly, in Torino the lessons learnt from previous brand geography construction may be employed in the journey to the creation of a new administrative geography at the metropolitan level.

The construction of brand geography is a way in which place branding contributes to urban development by allowing the development of the most useful geography on which to meet economic challenges and engage in interurban competition; the aim of much of this activity. This enabling geography is helpful for actors to borrow useful

assets and bridge economic divides and has been a feature of activity in all of the case study cities. It also provides a useful analytical tool illuminating city actor's priorities and, when contrasted to other important geographies, the challenges they face.

7.2 Knowing the City

Evidence from the cities suggests that place branding can contribute to city actor's self-awareness about the city. This is illustrated through the following three assertions: first, the interaction of competitiveness and place branding discourses can give a greater awareness of the city's comparative strengths and weaknesses and communicate them to actors within the city. Second, place branding activity can help actors in cities to think and act in more consistent and coherent ways. Finally, place branding can enable actors to understand and make most pertinent use of their relationships to actors at other scales.

7.2.1 Competitiveness

The notion of territorial competitiveness is a strong discourse guiding behaviour in the cities, with place branding itself a reactive discourse to that of interurban competition. The contribution made by place branding to urban development through competitiveness is the way in which a brand can enable various actors to recognise their own competitive position. It also enables cooperation to aid competition at other scales, allowing this position to be recognised and communicated to actors.

In Leipzig, the problem of cooperation and competition at different scales is apparent due to a number of cities in Saxony and surrounding Landers being similar in size, meaning there is no natural pole "they feel underrepresented and the result is a huge discussion over who receives the money for a new R and D centre or who receives additional investment grants" (Academic, Leipzig, 2/10/12). However, an awareness of cooperating to compete at different levels is emerging with the construction of the Metropolitan Region of Central Germany. Here, for largely marketing purposes at this stage, the cooperation between three Landers is used to attract investors. Only then do the locations for investment start to engage in competition:

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the only chance to compete with other regions in Europe is to make it together with the region of central Germany, … if we talked with investors or something like that and we get them interested in the region then we are congruents but only when somebody is interested to come here, we say, look, well its better in Leipzig or its better in Dresden, it's something like competition (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12).

In Manchester, the same approach is employed using Manchester as the 'attack brand' to attract investors to Greater Manchester only then is competition between sites allowed. The administrative arrangements in greater Manchester support this procedure with the client focused promotion of sites; aiding credibility. Manchester provided perhaps the most formalised example of this. In Manchester, the discourses of competition and place branding had allowed local actors to develop a strong sense of their strengths and weaknesses in international markets:

we'll never influence Scotland's and Ireland's grants system… but what we can compete on is the sustainability of the growth and the people and that's what has to set us aside really the challenge is always going to be looking for our differentiator I think and making it stack up in a competitive market (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12)

The governance arrangements and strength of procedures allows an approach to attraction which is client led rather than based on local political priorities. Once the international Manchester pitch has been made the approach to clients is more bespoke "their drivers are often very different so we really have to work with the customer, so much more on a personal level, to really understand what they want to do" (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12). The awareness of competitive advantage at the Manchester brand international level and client led local level supported by strong governance procedures is no doubt attractive and reassuring to clients.

Malmö takes an interesting approach to building scales at which to compete. Within the region an individual working in regional communications suggested that "mainly the municipalities in Skane are competitors and they are not so keen on being seen together, everyone wants their own profile" (Operational Level, 26/6/12). By building a relationship with Copenhagen through the Øresund region, the city has been able to gain scale by cooperating with a city which is not a natural competitor for Malmö:

> *Wonderful Copenhagen is one of our partners. Sometimes of course we compete, but very seldom, because Copenhagen is the capital. It's a much bigger city so we actually have a lot of things to win if we work with them rather than to compete. We compete with other Swedish cities more, I would say (Tourism (DMO equivalent) Operational Level, Malmö, 28/06/12)*

The cooperation with Copenhagen through the Øresund region is thoroughly facilitated by branding. Beyond this the decision to cooperate internationally in this way is also driven by the brand of Malmö and their shift towards an identity as a gateway to Europe.

In Torino actors have a strong awareness of the need to avoid local competition both to develop a competitive platform at other scales and to mediate local competition in order to further urban development aims. This is thought to be a key feature for the development of the city's new metropolitan region:

> *when you speak of a local development you have to have a structure to the territorial system and you have to know where to place eventually this or that production, this or that initiative you can't be restricted to a municipal territory otherwise there is competition, there is a micro competition process which you cannot have because all are losers in that game, and in the win to win game instead you have to have a wider area which competes with the stronger competitors that are around Europe (Voluntary Association, Strategic Level. Torino, 29/10/12).*

In this sense the actor clearly sees the development of the Metropolitan area as an opportunity as well as a challenge.

In NewcastleGateshead the counter productivity of local competition at what is felt to be an inappropriate scale is a common theme. Although there is cooperation between Newcastle and Gateshead to aid competition at greater scales it is felt that this cooperation is too small scale compared to the wider region and that the joining of the names for branding purposes rather than borrowing the higher profile name demonstrates that issues of competition have not been overcome.

There is also the suggestion from interviewees that there are other counterproductive competitive relationships between actors in the cities such as between the Universities, between the Universities and the Centre for Life and even between who would promote the location; in the early days of NGI some funding was removed and redirected to the regional image campaign Passionate People, Passionate Places. In this context, there is a heightened awareness of the cities' position relevant to their competitors:

> *in the last two to three years what was a process of strengthening and enrichment in the external perception of NewcastleGateshead has gone into quite significant reverse in that in all of these things, you don't ever stay level in these things, if you don't act because it's a field in which all ones competitors are constantly moving forward, if you are not yourself moving forward at the same speed you are in relative position going backwards (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 23/03/12).*

Another feature is that the local governance context is instrumental in the loss of competitiveness particularly at the regional scale where near neighbours have a greater deal of autonomy in their promotion such as Scotland's devolved powers and the Yorkshire DMO "the North East is particularly exposed now because we've got Scotland up there, we've got Yorkshire down there and we're sandwiched" (Previous Regional Communication, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 15/03/12).

In this context, an agent for a business park in the conurbation set their own scale through the use of a functional geography of the drive time around the business park, not constrained by the scale of administrative boundaries, in order to better compete to locate businesses:

> *the occupiers who look at us, or consider us are normally looking at Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow and other cities as well, they don't really care about Council Boundaries … what they want to know is what's the population within a drive time so we set a drive time around Quorum, so we set up all our demographic and population stats … the critical thing for us is having a population of over a million people which we do, (Business Park Agent, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 07/03/12)*

This agent, working for a site not located within the Newcastle or Gateshead LA boundaries, reports working in a similar way to actors in the other cities, using the high-profile Newcastle as an initial attractor to anchor client interest and then building a more detailed picture from there:

> *I think once you're on the list you can actually build proper business cases when they do a lot more detailed analysis but in my experience the formation of that initial list, that long list is almost just like a pub conversation, …but if you don't make that list, then you stand no chance because they're not even going to come and see you, but that's where the sort of big picture profiling is very important (Business Park Agent, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 07/03/12).*

What this actor is essentially doing is enacting this approach in its absence. In all the cases the cities were engaging in cooperation to aid competition at other scales; with varying degrees of success. Branding facilitates this cooperation between places and enables an understanding of this cooperation for varied actors in the city. Branding is also a way of enhancing the recognition and awareness of a place's competitive advantage for actors in the city. Here place branding contributes

to urban development by enhancing actor's understanding of their city's competitive position and the alliances that must be made.

7.2.2 Consistency and Coherence

Place branding can contribute consistency and coherence of the behaviour of actors in the city, both in the way the city is presented to the outside world and how actors work to shape that city. This is particularly evident in the cases of Manchester and Malmö which are the focus of this section. As described by an actor in Manchester "yes the original modern is part of that, in that it brings people together in terms of understanding just what Manchester stands for" (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12). This consistency is regularly commented upon from those external to the city but upon being asked if the image is as cohesive from within this was the response:

> *Manchester city council as an organisation is very powerful and therefore you've got a number of people who can continue saying the message and eventually will get the buy in and they're very good at taking people along with them, for the external world, for the internal world there's always the politics there's always the wrangling (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).*

Although it seems the picture is not as cohesive within greater Manchester, other actors suggest that it is becoming more so as the governance collaboration continues and is performed daily. This outward facing coherence is thought to be based on clever governance structures:

> *there's been one leader of AGMA for the last, God knows how long, the last fifteen twenty years, and he's from Wigan and Wigan is the most peripheral of all the authorities, has probably got least to gain out of Manchester's success than any of the authorities but they lead AGMA so if Wigan will toe the line then everybody else will (Academic, Manchester, 16/04/12).*

This external coherence is cultivated in order to ensure the brand of the city is not compromised. For example, an actor with national government experience cultivates this within his organisation to distance Manchester from the behaviour of actors from other regional cities:

> they'd have public fallings out in meetings, sitting in front of a grade two at Treasury they'd argue …Manchester is very different to that, when we're speaking to an external audience we are very much against any sort of public falling out, the messages will be clearly agreed beforehand, there won't be any divergence from that, its seen as very important not to allow, you know, not to give government a reason not to take Manchester seriously, (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

Not only is consistency and coherence important for maintaining the city's brand to external audiences, it can also steer the behaviour of local actors ensuring the city develops in a particular way. This is particularly important for branding as much of the narrating work is based on the animators in the city. Malmö provides an example in which brand and strategy were integrated, each enhancing the other. For instance, in Western Harbour (Västra Hamnen) which was previously a ship wharf and a single employer of 7600 people. This has now been transformed with 800 people employed in 240 different companies and two sustainable housing areas (Political, Strategic Level, Malmö, 15/05/12). This transformation is attributed to consistency of approach:

> what can happen in the city if you are a bit lucky but also very very consistent in what you do, so we have some discussions and there have been some articles and papers in the industry sectors saying that well we don't find Malmö so friendly anymore and it was true, we don't want polluting industries (Political, Strategic Level, Malmö, 15/05/12).

As explained above this consistency extends to the type of investment the city does not want as well as that it does. This integration between brand and strategy and consistency in application enables alignment between image and communication.

The need for consistency both in external messages and in the delivery and animation of the brand is something that actors in Newcastle and Gateshead believe is needed in the cities. The notion of coordinating actors in the city to produce the same messages or 'sing from the same hymn sheet' was a recurring theme in project group, workshop and steering group meetings. As illustrated below:

> *I think without that it's more difficult to come up with clear consistent messages, so when people think well why should I come here, what are you all about and what are your strengths? If we've got a clear, credible consistent story, and we're all singing form the same hymn sheet it's bound to make a bigger difference if everybody says something different to potential investors … it's not going to be as successful (LA Communication, Operational Level; NewcastleGateshead, 14/12/12).*

The desire to provide a consistent message is not just about external marketing but about delivering the brand values. Essentially the activities of animating and narrating organisations match, this can only be achieved through strong strategic organisations, clearly articulated by this interviewee:

> *you have a vision of how you want to be and how you deliver against it and making sure that the values that are to do with the brand are actually being delivered and part of that is so people can actually recognise what is being said about the place and buy into it, internally and externally (International Transport, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 02/03/12).*

The aspiration here is for actors to have a consistent self-awareness and guide which will both be led by and lead the brand activity. Evidence from Manchester and

Malmö suggests that this is a sensible aspiration and something that a place brand and branding can contribute to urban development.

7.2.3 Relationships to actors at other scales

The cities' experiences display an interactive relationship between their brand and their relationship to actors at other scales, such as their national governments or the EU. The position the cities occupy in relation to other scales has an impact on the relationship with that scale which in turn has an effect on the city. It is argued that what place branding can contribute to urban development is an awareness of this position and potential advantages, which can be maximised by actors in the cities, in a more coordinated manner.

In the case of Leipzig, the city's role in the peaceful revolution gave it a privileged position in relation to the Federal Government which meant that its success after reunification became something of a shared interest for the city and the national government:

> *I have to admit a lot of goodwill investment from the federal government went into Leipzig to make it a, it would be cynical to say alibi place but, still a place where the world can see that yes Germany is unifying and it is a success story, we were also a shop window for the success story of German unification (Conference Sector, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

This privileged position is not just based on the peaceful revolution but the longer history of the city with it being one of the better-known cities in Former East Germany due to factors such as the trade fair.

This position was enhanced when the city became Germany's Olympic Candidate City, and received further investment. This demonstrates the iterative relationship between the branding and the relationships to other scales as the city responded to its privileged position by applying to become the candidate city:

originally in the nineteen nineties, this nice freedom image which was used by the Federal Government and they said ok, going to Leipzig means supporting the city of freedom, and especially then after two thousand the additional effect came up with this Olympic Candidate thing because then the Central Government said once again ok now you're representing Germany and this means now you are getting additional infrastructure… so it's something like this capital city bonus then transferred to Leipzig as representative (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

This new relationship with the national scale then reinforced this privileged position.

Similarly, Manchester is seen to have a privileged position in the UK context, built upon its reputation as a well governed and capable city which is based on a particular governance context but is also a feature of the city's branding:

there is something about the status of Manchester within the UK and it's been that way for at least 25 years now, which gives it a sort of, a slightly advantageous position in terms of national politics. I think it's seen as a city where things get done, and its seen as a city that is very effectively led, stable, opportunistic, you can work with Manchester is the idea (Academic, Manchester, 16/04/12).

As part of the iterative relationship between the city brand and central government, actors in the city work to lobby the government in order to get policy to better meet their aims:

Manchester is quite good at finding its queue and getting to the front of it, it's got quite sharp elbows in that respect, you know we can do it, we can do it better than anywhere else and we can deliver it, I mean what we generally try to do is to mould schemes to fit with the greater Manchester approach I think we did that with RGF [Regional Growth Fund] round one where we put in a

bid which looked to change government's criteria … but RGF round two they changed the criteria to allow us to do better in that, … we worked with Government to try and tweak a process (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

In return, the national government uses Manchester as the 'go to city' to test new policy as a place where it can expect successful outcomes. Essentially actors in the city market themselves to government in a similar way as they market themselves to other audiences. This is reinforced as successful outcomes are generated and interests begin to align:

Me: so it's almost like marketing to the government as well as to investors?

yes I think so I think government is not interested in listening to a load of complainers and whingers, they want,… this is how we think we can do it better, this is how we think it meets your priorities and this is how we'll deliver it for you, that's generally what works (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Manchester, 19/04/12).

In addition, the institutional thickness of Manchester means that it is not just LA orientated organisations which target national government, business representatives, including the largest chamber of commerce in the UK, also feed similar messages to their representatives at the national level "we're very keen to push that Manchester image in London, with key economic and business community, we don't do any lobbying ourselves, but we're in that space" (Business Representative, Strategical Level, Manchester, 23/04/12). Essentially animating organisations in the city perform narrating functions, due to their awareness of the city's relationship to actors at other scales.

In the case of Malmö the reorientation of the city that has taken place alongside and as part of the place brand development, is not primarily towards the national government but towards the EU and the Øresund region:

since in Europe we talk more and more about strong regions, so we actually talk a lot with Hamburg and regions in Europe even more than we talk to Stockholm sometimes, the case we have we see if we can connect to them it is good for us, so I would say it is definitely the Øresund region and when we do surveys we can see that Øresund region is strong it is the name that many other cities actually mention (LA Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12).

With their relatively recent EU membership, the building of the bridge and the membership of the Øresund region, the 'mental map' of Malmö is believed to have changed. In addition, the political leadership had taken an outward orientated approach as part of constructing an image of a changed modern city:

for Malmö it has to do with of course the EU membership and I mean kind of early we had the representation in Brussels and then of course the Øresund bridge that open in the year of 2000 it changed the mental geography…there was a new mental map of Malmö being very close to Europe and not like Stockholm, more in the periphery in a way so the geography of Malmö has changed I would say with the bridge and with the EU membership…also of course the political leadership that has been very outward oriented and has membership to lots of network organisations (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

This orientation towards Europe is not only part of a context in which Malmö is far from Stockholm but there is some friction around the way Malmö has been represented by the national media and by national political parties, due to the high number of immigrants living in the city:

one of the things that I like and that is interesting from a municipal perspective is also the multicultural part of Malmö but of course in the national context there as some political parties like in many other European countries trying to

exploit and associate multiculturalism with problems and they use Malmö, like Fox News (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

The city has been used to generate political capital by international news companies as described above and in national political debates. This orientation towards the EU has been part of the city's brand, has reinforced that branding and that orientation has been further reinforced. The awareness of that orientation as a result of the brand can change the 'rules of the game' for actors in the city, and contributes to urban development.

Torino also provides an example of the way in which an awareness of relationships to actors of other scales can be maximised through integration with the brand. The stature of Torino as a second-tier city allows the city to develop more creative content; this has been integrated into the nature of the contemporary art festival Artissima which then communicates the creativity of the city as an animator of the brand:

> *being second level is sometimes quite interesting because it means that you are not on the top commercial part so you don't have the claim but at the same time you are facing a reachable market, so I think this is a very good thing about Torino, costs are not very high and so it is a good entry point and point where people can emerge so if you are an artist you can live in Torino, exhibit at Artissima maybe you stand a chance to go in the international scene (Voluntary Association, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12)*

Another example is the city's position in the recent celebration for the unification of Italy for which Torino was significant and the first capital city. This event entailed significant investment from central government and became an important event for local pride "Turin was the first capital of the Italian state for few years but in the spirit of Turin people this was one of the most important things they lost" (Academic, Torino, 30/10/12). This recognition and investment can reasonably have resulted from an awareness of the city's relationship to national government in the case of

this historical event, with local actors seeking approval from national government for their initiatives (Giovanardi, 2015).

In NewcastleGateshead there seems to be unease around the way the place is perceived by national government, particularly since the economic crisis where previous momentum around cultural infrastructure has been lost. Possible fragmentation as a result of the changed governance structures are also of concern "I think from a central government point of view it looks like locally we don't have enough strength to say where does the real economic strength lie" (Various, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 12/12/12). This anxiety seems in part based on the feeling that the past relationships between the cities and central government have not always been positive:

> *most people thought that, the country is doing alright, but there is one region that has failed and there's nothing very much you can do about it because the people there frankly aren't prepared to do very much for themselves, so I think that is how it was perceived, and I think what was really, really important to turn it around, and I think it has been turned around, … demonstrated that we were alive and well (Various, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 13/12/12)*

Interviewees conveyed the feeling that actors in NewcastleGateshead need to be better at speaking the language of government in order to maximise their relationship; as described by recent experiences at the LEP:

> *at the LEP we're very lucky because Edward Twiddy used to be one of the directors of Treasury, which has been and is brilliant for us because obviously apart from that he knows everybody at the treasury,…he also has very close links with other central government departments, so we've managed to make a lot of progress over the last six months and I'm not saying it's because we've sort of done it through the back door, we haven't it's just that he knows who to speak to and when, he knows the processes and the timescales and*

how central government think (LEP, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 21/12/12).

In NewcastleGateshead place branding could contribute to urban development by being used to identify advantageous relationships to other scales and then communicating those relationships to local actors. Essentially including actors at other scales, such as national government, as a target audience for branding messages then enabling the notion of shared interest between them. This was achieved in Newcastle and Gateshead with the Case for Capital and the cultural infrastructure developments (O'Brien and Miles, 2010) that took place as a result. This significant change in the brand of the cities can be described as iterative as in the other cities. This relationship, shared interest and the communication of capability must be achieved again in order to meet the requirements of different actors in a different economic context.

Place branding's role in enabling actors to know their city is one of its key contributions to urban development. Place branding activities can enhance actor's responses to a competitive environment by improving their understanding of their city's competitive points and of the need to cooperate with neighbours in order to better compete. It can result in more consistent and coherent behaviour of the many varied actors in the city both in terms of actions and communications. Place branding can also contribute to actor's understanding of their relationship to those at other scales and how this can best be managed for urban development purposes. Evidence from the cities not only suggests that place branding can contribute to knowing the city but also, building upon this, to coordinating the city; this is the subject of the following section.

7.3 Coordinating the City

Place brands and branding are not only important to attract investors and talent to the cities as suggested by the territorial competitiveness discourse. As well as the concept of brand geography and the notion of knowing the city what the experiences of the case study cities illustrates is that a place brand and branding activity can contribute to the coordination of actors in the city. To employ a well-used metaphor, to set the 'rules of the game' (North, 1991) in the city; in a way which contributes to its urban development prospects.

7.3.1 Defining priorities

The first of these ways of setting the rules of the game is through defining city priorities; particularly important where resources are limited and competition is intense. In Leipzig, an actor talking about the need to move beyond the first successful brand Leipzig Kommt suggests the more recent brand Leipzigger Freiheit was part of a need in the city to define priorities and increase self-awareness after the initial boost provided by the Peaceful Revolution:

> *it was also the desire possibly for a general orientation… towards priorities, because there are so many priorities …and therefore the city said we need a good slogan that keeps us together and gives us some if not some direction then some self-awareness at this point to start from (Conference sector, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

To reinforce the importance of developing actor's self-awareness in Leipzig, other actors also referenced this feature necessary to the city's urban development. For example, this actor in the culture sector who manages one of the city's key animating organisations cites analysis of circumstances as an important activity for LAs, "what is happening to you at the moment and what could be worth to support, to be able to grow into something interesting, into something sustainable, into something big, maybe" (Culture Sector, Private Landlord, Strategic Level, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

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The importance of the self-awareness of the many actors in a city is something which is also apparent in Malmö. Here an actor working at the regional level on the branding of Skane believed that one of her key roles is to improve the collective self-awareness of those in the region. This is something she is able to do in her role working on the place branding for Skane:

> *I think the most important part is to be the collector of a lot of information to make those surveys to identify the strengths of Skane and the weaknesses of Skane to get them to be known to the people who are working with investment who are working with businesses and so on so they can use them, so they can say well now we know that the rest of Sweden think that the Øresund Region is really our strength so we can use that when we try and cooperate with business (Regional Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 26/06/12).*

The place branding process not only develops the awareness of what the strengths and therefore the priorities of the city should be, it also provides a vehicle to communicate those strengths internally to coordinate actors and ensure those strengths contribute to urban development. Malmö provides an example of where the brand has been used to communicate and interpret to residents the changes that they are experiencing. Part of this is explaining priorities not just to external audiences "also the inhabitants in order to explain why we are not the industrial city anymore and why we make priorities like building a bridge to Denmark or building a new city district" (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

In Torino, the need to define priorities is recognised as one of the 'main challenges' facing the city as cited by an academic "my impression is that at this moment Turin or some groups which conduct the public life, which dominate the political arena, haven't decided yet what are the sectors to be improved for reaching a new equilibrium" (Torino, 30/10/12). This assertion is reflected and reinforced by actors from a key strategic organisation in the city:

the challenge we are doing, in my opinion at least, is to clarify an agenda of priorities or strategic priorities, not so many a reduced number two, three, four no more than that in order to identify the drivers that in this situation can allow you to come out to emerge from the general crisis (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

These actors suggest that now the city has shifted its image from that of the one company town, the next stage is to move beyond negative identity construction in order to construct an identity which can communicate the new priorities of the city. The suggestion here is that branding will be a key part of that process just as it had been so far "there should probably be a process of rebranding that needs to be done" (Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

Similarly, in NewcastleGateshead there is the need to define priorities. It is probable that with clear strategy a place brand could help communicate and coordinate actors in the cities. As described by this interviewee who works for an economic development organisation:

it can contribute to changing people's perceptions, but also helping us internally in organising our thoughts and our priorities, … we as a city have failed to prioritise what we really want to communicate about and invest in, and there are many reasons why that is the case, A it is not easy to do and B there are so many vested interests in that process … making it very difficult so what we tend to see is a result where basically, you know we've got a good consensus picture but it is not necessarily a clear picture (Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 11/01/13)

The suggestion is not only that the priorities need to be defined and communicated but also that this then needs to be integrated into the way the actors in the city work. As cited by an individual who had occupied a number of strategic positions in the cities "it could really present a really strong image for the area about what the place is like, it could provide a set of priorities about what the area is about"

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(NewcastleGateshead, 12/12/12). This interviewee continued to stress not only the need to 'sing from the same hymn sheet' but also to have joined up responses behind the scenes. The aspiration here is for a clear set of priorities which become part of the 'rules of the game' changing the behaviour of actors in the city. The experiences of actors in the case study cities suggest that place brands and branding could contribute to this.

7.3.2 Developing and communicating strategy

The second way of setting the 'rules of the game' is through the development and communication of strategy. It is argued that a place brand and branding can contribute to actors being aware of and aligning with a strategy. As such, this strategy is more likely to be successfully delivered, contributing to urban development. In Leipzig, the strategy the city adopted to deal with population loss, a high-profile problem in former East Germany, was considered to be innovative and became part of the city's branding as a city that was dealing with its problems:

> *we talked about the shrinking problems and had the drive to present solutions and then we got a positive image, we had no real solutions, of course we had solutions which works partly in some parts of the city, and they worked in these parts very good and very well, in other parts they didn't work but we got this positive image (Regional Strategy, Operational Level, Leipzig, 01/10/12)*

This is a similar experience to that of Manchester and the capability communicated by its collaborative governance arrangements and approach to working with the UK Government.

In a more comprehensive way, Malmö demonstrates that place brand and strategy can be intertwined in a positive fashion. For example, the structure of the organisations undertaking branding work for the city, with specialist departments for tourism and business and an overarching department dealing with the whole brand of Malmö:

in my department we take care of the rest Place branding not just visitors more the whole brand of Malmö is our work, the media picture and where do you want Malmö to develop to and things like that (LA Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12)

This is further reinforced by the city's approach to regular, centralised planning. The brand of Malmö is clearly an element that is considered within this comprehensive planning process. The city, like others in Sweden, has to make a master plan every four years:

what we want to do is to focus a bit more on social sustainability so if you can say this we have a discussion in Malmö we still are a rather segregated city we have a lot of immigrants and the unemployment among then is much higher … we found a shift in the 90s, in this rebranding we focused a lot on economic sustainability and environmental sustainability and the last 3 or 4 years now we started to work in the same way with social sustainability (Political, Strategic Level, Malmö, 15/05/12).

Here the interviewee discussing the master planning process has a clear awareness of the aims of strategy and the relationship between strategy and branding. The integration of comprehensive strategy making and place brand work is a key feature of the transformation of the identity of Malmö with the transformation of the brand taking place simultaneously with the transformation of the city through large infrastructure developments rather than as a separate branding strategy:

in that story of transformation and branding Malmö as a transformative city I mean there are some of these big urban development projects that are a part of that city branding story, like the bridge and the city tunnel and the Malmö university and the Western Harbour , Hyllie and the city Tunnel station out in Hyllie or the city planning and the physical aspects of city transformations are used as you know creating the new symbols of Malmö like the turning torso

for example, so yeah I would say that, and that the city branding process has not been separated as a specific mission or something it's much more integrated and it has to do with this different big urban development projects (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12)

Not only have local inhabitants been recipients of Malmö's branding as a way of communicating and interpreting the new priorities of the city but it is also suggested that branding is used to align the behaviour of those working in the local like the suggestion that place branding is similar to corporate branding (Hankinson, 2007). Essentially helping to 'change the rules of the game' by aligning the behaviour of LA employees around the strategy:

I mean we have 20,000 employees within the city of Malmö, it's a really huge organisation and you need some form of steering in terms of visionary processes so in that sense also I am hoping much

Me: so almost like a corporate brand to guide the behaviour of the people who work here?

Yeah, to guide behaviour our role as being a part of Malmö's development but also guiding investments and priorities and those things, (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

In Malmö, the nature of the relationship between brand and strategy reflects the overall culture of the actors in the city through comprehensive integrated strategy making.

In Manchester, the wider culture is also reflected, the brand is integrated into strategy through strong leadership by the employment of the city's creative director Peter Saville. This creative director role entails changing the 'rules of the game' by inputting a brand perspective to new initiatives in the city:

Well, it's having conversations primarily and strategic guidance, so guiding the output of marketing Manchester, being available for the creative people in Marketing Manchester for him to act as a sounding board, as any director would of any company he's there to direct not to micro manage not to deliver he's there to be aware of everything that's happening and be able to bring perspective that then influences the outcomes (Urban Development, Strategic Level, Manchester, 20/04/12).

There is a strong desire for clear strategy and momentum from actors in the NewcastleGateshead case, with one exclaiming that "this region is bedevilled by initiatives" (Various, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 12/12/12). And it seemed that some interviewees particularly from business were cautious about branding without a clear associated strategy "I don't think it's enough just to create a brand, it's got to be what is this brand based on and what are we trying to do and achieve what's the strategy behind the brand" (Business Representative, Strategic Level, NG, 21/2/12).

In the context of organisational flux the need for clear strategy was particularly pertinent. For example, the interviewee below cites a particular set of fighting brands that existed as part of the Passionate People, Passionate Places Campaign:

through consultation got this idea of fighting brands, and they were sort of Newcastle, Durham, Gateshead, you know Hadrian's wall these are the destinations that people, backed with research, understand (Previous RDA, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 15/3/12)

The evidence based agreement cited here was initially lost with the dissolution of the RDA in line with other plans and procedures.

In the case of the branding work observed during this study it seemed that the timely completion of the 1Plan (1NG, 2010), produced at the same scale as the brand, would result in entwined strategy and branding. People who had produced the 1Plan

sat on the project group of the brand. More than this, it seemed that the use of branding as an activity was enabling actors to understand and articulate the strategy in new ways:

> *I think we've had a very clear plan for urban redevelopment in Newcastle through the 1plan and that's helped inform and shape some of our branding work, … I think what the branding project has helped us do is to capture and crystallise some of the things that have been bubbling around and floating around in our plans and our ambitions and really helped to try and crystallise them and articulate them in a way that we have not done before (LA Communication, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 27/2/12).*

Unfortunately, the closure of the organisation 1NG which had produced the 1Plan resulted in some uncertainty around the stature and continuing use of the plan for actors involved. Not only did this result in the 1Plan creators leaving the project group this early promise of entwined strategy and branding was lost, as was this contribution to urban development.

The strategic approach to place branding is in evidence in Torino, Torino was the first city in Italy to write a strategic plan and the promotion of image (Torino Internazionale, 2000) was a feature of this plan. This strategic approach was partly instigated by the strategic plan but also by key actors learning from personal contacts is Barcelona, Stockholm and Glasgow (Former Political, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

Torino's approach to branding in a negative way, not identifying key city values and assets but illustrating the city as anything but the 'grey one company' town was undertaken with a clear strategy. Achieved by identifying more colourful sectors to which Torino could make an authentic claim and supporting their growth and promotion. As described:

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if you identify a sector it becomes a part of your branding if it is upgraded to a sort of systemic not only one thing, many things with different missions, connected together by the same culture, so that in my experience, is a strong opportunity for branding (Former Political and Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

An example of this is that of film, with the creation of the National Museum of Cinema and the Film Commission, the upgrading of the film festival and development of a multi-media technology park supporting this field, all grounded in Torino's role as the "cradle of cinema in Italy", (Former Political and Metropolitan Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12). Other examples include food and contemporary art.

To observers it seems that the strategic approach of creating small systems to support alternative industry both economically and to contribute to the brand of Torino may have appeared to have been undertaken in an opportunistic way:

> *My impression is that the branding strategy tried to emphasis every possible economic sector outside manufacturing… there has been a short period where there has been the idea, but for a really short period, that Turin may be the capital of telecommunications, dot based economy, … food and cinema have just been the two survivors out of that kind of strategy (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12).*

This may have been the case but it does seem that these sectors were starting to emerge in the Strategic Plan (Torino Internazionale, 2000) although perhaps without the full recognition of their role in the image making of the city.

The potential of a strategic approach to place branding to contribute to the urban development of a city is well illustrated in the example of Torino, and the notion of changing the 'rules of the game'. As asserted "the process is probably more important than the plan itself so it is the way you involve stakeholders the sort of commitments they make" (Regional Development, Strategic Level, Torino, 29/10/12).

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Torino's Strategic plan provides an example of the way a process of writing a strategy can be used to mobilise local actors behind that strategy. As explained by the academic below:

> *the first plan was elaborated during the deepest phases of the crisis when the city needed new stimulus … in my opinion this first plan was crucial in particular because it pointed out the importance of neglected sectors like culture, like education… the public actors invested a lot after this plan, this plan was not mandatory, but understanding its guidelines affected the, not only the public debate but also the real decisions taken (Torino, 30/10/12).*

A strategy can change the 'rules of the game' by creating clear priorities and certainty for strategic actors so that others will take part in activity aligned with their own; making their strategic investments worthwhile. "It was really the first time in Turin" (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12) that actors throughout the city were engaged in the production of a public strategy. Place branding was part of this plan and it is argued that place branding also contributed to its delivery, the vision of the city presented in the plan was evidenced through branding activity, such as the Winter Olympics, reinforcing activity and maintaining momentum through the notion of success.

7.3.3 Making the most of opportunities

Finally, as part of knowing and communicating the city, place brands and branding activity could better enable actors to recognise opportunities and be ready to respond to them in a coordinated way. As illustrated by this quote from Malmö, opportunities have been significant in the development of the city:

> *not all things have been a deliberate strategy, for example, very interesting the Øresund bridge when it was designed it was not framed as a link between Copenhagen and Malmö as something that would really encourage regional integration… it was more of a side effect that happened and then when that*

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happened the regional ideas was born (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

The way these opportunities are then convincingly integrated into the narrative identity of the city and the brand are also important "it became part of a regional strategy afterwards" (LA Strategy, Operational Level, Malmö, 25/06/12).

Manchester is particularly adept at integrating opportune events into its narrative, and turning negative events into positive ones through selective retelling and integration into wider narratives. In this case taking opportunities starts to build confidence furthering opportunities:

> *I think the things that happen by happenstance like the Abu Dhabi investment and media city, that wouldn't have happened if there hadn't been a certain spirit of independence, and also of talking above probably where we are in reality, you know, and you can then make it real (City Centre Management, Strategic Level, Manchester, 09/05/12).*

Other examples include the response to the IRA Bomb and the TIF scheme discussed earlier.

In NewcastleGateshead actors indicated an awareness of the need to maximise opportunities which could change the brand of the city then integrate them into their narrative identity:

> *then basically what that means is it puts you on the map and then you've got a story, you can say hey such and such company has decided to locate here and what that would really help again in the place branding (Inward Investment, Operational Level, NewcastleGateshead, 01/11/12).*

In addition, there is the suggestion that past successes in NewcastleGateshead provide missed opportunities the cities could still capitalise upon as animators of the brand:

> *we're not going to do the major cultural international festival because Manchester have stolen that march on us, we could have done that eight or nine years ago with the money that we had and that was a bit of a wasted opportunity but now the money isn't there but you see it doesn't take that much more money to utilise a fantastic organisation like The Sage or to help commission a great playwright (Culture Sector, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 14/03/12).*

Demonstrating that branding can not only enhance the ability of actors to recognise opportunities from external forces but also demonstrating the potential for endogenous ones.

What is illustrated here is the way in which the ability to use opportunities for urban development purposes is improved when it is possible to integrate them into the narrative of the city in order to align them with successful results. Place branding can provide the vehicle, not only to enable recognition of opportunities as they happen, it can also enable the pertinent making of opportunities for the city. Rather than the many actors in a city being recognised as a challenge to place branding a place brand can be seen as a way of coordinating those actors and changing the rules of the game. This contribution to urban development is characterised by aiding in the definition of priorities, the development and communication of strategy and the identifying and making of opportunities.

7.4 Conclusion

The experiences of the case study cities suggest that place branding has much to contribute, particularly to place management, as a form of urban development. Place branding as a means for place management has been cited in early influential texts

in the field (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994) but this empirical analysis has clarified place branding's contribution to place management as an urban development intervention. The result is a more nuanced understanding of the contribution place branding can make to urban development. Inward investment and talent attraction may result but as a secondary response to place branding as a place management intervention contributing to coordination and mobilisation of actors, the institutional arrangements in this analysis, which can then engender a suitable context, or institutional environment, for other urban development means. Essentially place branding contributes to place management and more effective place management enhances other interventions.

Brand geography is an enabling geography which actors can use to construct the most useful geography for economic challenges. This is achieved by borrowing useful assets and bridging challenging administrative divides. This can enable cooperation, and the building of profile. The case of NewcastleGateshead provides a particularly useful example of the power of this concept when used as an analytical tool and of the contribution which a more calculated construction of the concept could make to place management. That this is centred around perception and actor's resulting behaviours, rather than substantively changing scale through the changing of boundaries for example, characterises this as a form of place management.

Knowing the city is the second contribution that can be made by place branding; closely aligned to the third of coordinating the city. This notion of knowing and coordinating is demonstrative of the contribution that place branding can make to urban development and illustrative of the point that its contribution may currently be somewhat misunderstood. In this account, the many and varied actors in the city are not an awkward reality that place branding must overcome; coordinating these actors is one of the main contributions that place branding can make to urban development through the concept of place management.

Viewing the aim of place branding in this way, as a way of enabling actors to know and coordinate the city along its unique brand story or narrative identity; operationalising the city's assets to change the rules of the game, offers a number of opportunities. Through knowing the city actors are able to better understand their

competitive edge and how to better compete, usually through cooperation with near neighbours, they can think and act with more consistency and coherence and they are better able to understand and make use of relationships to actors at other scales. Through coordination the city actors are better able to define priorities, develop and communicate strategies and both recognise and make opportunities. A greater awareness of these contributions can only enhance their effectiveness when employed as a form of place management.

8   Assessing and Evaluating Place Brands and Branding

The place branding literature indicates that the assessment of place branding
activities is challenging and problematic; often the theoretical models that are offered
are difficult to develop due to lack of use (Zenker and Braun, 2015). In response to
this context the following chapter aims to unpack the problematic nature of
assessment through empirical investigation in response to the question 'how can
place branding best be assessed and evaluated? Exploring this question based on
empirical investigation rather than theoretical models results in the conclusion that
improved place brand assessment can best be achieved by reducing the fragmented
and uneven nature of current assessment.

It was deemed essential that to understand how place branding could best be
assessed and evaluated, a clearer understanding of why assessment is problematic
was required. This comparative investigation offered the opportunity to achieve this
understanding by discerning the type of assessment that was taking place and the
reason why this assessment was problematic. This was then compared to a model
framework of assessment for local economic development interventions (Pike et. al.
2016, p.201, adapted from MacCallum, 2006) to determine its limitations and identify
how current assessment deviates from a more satisfactory or best form of
assessment.

In the following sections the assessment taking place in the case study cities is
examined and the interaction between the city and place branding activity is
explored, resulting in three key features which render place branding assessment
particularly problematic: the difficulties of time frame, attribution and causation.
Further to this it is argued that a complicated context of budgetary constraints, many
stakeholders and uncertainty over assessment create further challenges for actors
endeavouring to assess place branding.

Finally, the forms of assessment that interviewees suggest for the evaluation of
place branding are examined in terms of what they can indicate about place
branding. It is asserted that the forms of assessment relate to different aspects of the

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place branding process and suggested that it is necessary to place these fragments into a more systematic evaluation framework in order to move place brand and branding assessment towards a more satisfactory status quo.

8.1 Place Branding Assessment in Practice: Activity in the Cities

In the case study cities, there seems to be a commitment to the idea of place branding work being important and the general conviction that it can have or has had a positive impact. Although different brands and branding activities were evaluated with varying degrees of success, cynicism about place brands and branding wasn't a significant feature of the interviews in the cities. This general assessment or evaluation of place brands having been successful is typified by this interviewee from the conference sector in Leipzig:

> *I can measure this success story that Leipzig is getting more and more popular, more and more people say ok we should pay a closer look at the bid from Leipzig…I can only attribute this to a strong brand of Leipzig and even if people have not heard the slogan but somehow people say yes Leipzig rings a bell and I've heard that it's a place where things are working and things are possible (Operational level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

In Leipzig, the DMO Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing undertake tourism monitoring and also monitor press coverage that relates to Leipzig in national and international press:

> *There are two very obvious things that, they do not sound too creative, but many people do not even do that, so they measure of course very meticulously the statistics of visitors, from where they come…they also keep very good records of press releases and so on and things that appear in public and there was this New York Times article where Leipzig was named one of the ten most fascinating places to go in 2011 (Conference Sector, Operational level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

The tourism statistics appear to be collated at a regional level and then included in the city's annual report 'Leipzig Means Business' (City of Leipzig, 2013) which is published in English for an international audience. This report includes figures on the conventions market in Leipzig such as the number of visitors and the turnover. It also includes information on a wealth of indicators relating to the economic development of the city. In terms of brand evaluation, it seems that is undertaken by the DMO on an ad hoc basis where brand recognition is included as a question in other surveys where possible; a respondent from that organisation suggested this is largely determined by budget.

There is also evidence in Leipzig that minor evaluation of the authenticity of the brand is undertaken in some organisations as an informal assessment of the relevance of the brand for their own activities. For example, an interviewee from the Office for Urban Regeneration and Residential Development suggested:

> *here in our office we very often use this expression Leipzigger Freiheit and our interpretation is more in in the sense I was talking about so this, having a lot of space for low prices to do all sorts of creative things in this very special physical environment, that's our interpretation of Leipzigger Freiheit and fits very well we think (LA Regeneration, Operational Level, Leipzig, 17/09/12).*

However, there was no suggestion that this is undertaken in any coordinated or organised way throughout the city.

In Manchester, it was asserted by some that this self-appraisal and evaluation of activity in the city against the brand of 'original modern' was significant and part of the branding approach. The idea is not that the brand's authenticity would be continually tested against the city, but that the actors in the city would test their activity against the brand and endeavour to embody its values. In fact this appraisal was seen as one of the positive outcomes of the brand and used as an exemplar to demonstrate the branding approach through the 'Original Modern e-Book' (Bramley and Page, 2009).

The Manchester International Festival is often used as an exemplar of this as the Festival's ethos and the recruitment of the director were guided through the 'original modern' brand, as asserted by an actor working on the Festival "I think it's sort of a fundamental base line, I try and have in my psyche at all times and I'm sure many organisations that operate across the city do too" (Cultural Sector, Strategic Level, Manchester, 23/05/12). This appraisal style monitoring of activity is central to the brand approach and does seem to be true of a number of organisations as interviewees suggested their activities were guided by the brand, for example the nature of the development of a new website for the Inward Investment organisation MIDAS. However, it does not seem to be evaluated in a coordinated overarching way.

Manchester has a wealth of data collected on its tourism and conference statistics by Marketing Manchester and the International Airport, Marketing Manchester has also published some specific marketing campaign evaluations. New Economy Manchester collects a wealth of information on Greater Manchester's economic performance, including tourism measures on a monthly basis. For perceptions research Manchester subscribe to the Anholt-GfK Roper City Brands Index. This is a large scale international perceptions survey which polls "nearly 20,000 people in 20 countries each year, asking more than 40 questions about their perceptions of 50 cities" (Anholt 2009). The company provides detailed feedback to subscribers "individual target audiences, comparisons to other cities, trends over time, strategic insights and sophisticated statistical analysis are all part of the package." (Anholt 2009) Interviewees in Manchester reported having taken part in this study in 2007, 2009 and 2011.

Perceptions research is also important in Malmö with perceptions research undertaken with different target audiences and also in in response to different events. For example the shootings in Malmö resulted in negative media representations at the national level. In order to address this, the city first undertook some research with that audience:

the latest we did was actually the media in Stockholm since what has happened in Malmö this past year with the serial killer and that paints quite a dark picture of Malmö as a unsafe city to be in and we couldn't recognise us in that media picture so we asked media and we asked big politicians and other influential people in Stockholm all what they thought of our brand … and our gut feeling was right… now we know it intellectual too so we're going to start up some work there (LA Communications, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12)

In addition, perceptions research with regional tourist audiences has been undertaken, as an ad hoc recognition survey with business visitors to Skane. In Malmö, a logo had been introduced for tourist audiences around the brand 'Malmö Town' "because we would like to have a logo where everyone can gather around" (LA Tourism, Operational Level, Malmö, 28/06/12). A brand evaluation was to be undertaken on this in future but this brand was relatively recent at the time of the interview. Statistics around urban development are collected by the municipality and much of this is made available to international business audiences through documents such as the 'Malmö Snapshot' (Malmö Stad, 2013). In addition, tourism figures are reported on the Malmö Town website, by the Tourist Department.

In terms of internal evaluation of the place branding activities of organisations, this is particularly pertinent to the organisational context in Malmö in which overall branding responsibility sits with the Executive Office in the LA with responsibility for branding to different audiences sitting with the relevant. As such branding activity is well integrated with the overall strategy and service provision in the city as described by the interviewee below; evaluation of the organisation and the brand become synonymous:

we have both place branding and the branding of our organisation together and I think that's strong because if we do a good job here in the town is developing in the right way… we have one meeting per month and then we have from people here all the heads of the city office who are working in that area, but then we have from the building department and from the streets

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department because we need each other to make a good brand so every month we meet … and we are actually putting issues ready for the head group so I think we have a structure that is both strategic and practical and that's really working well for us (LA Communications, Operational Level, Malmö, 15/05/12).

In NewcastleGateshead perceptions research was a significant element of place brand analysis, perceptions research had been undertaken on a number of occasions but a survey had been undertaken specifically to provide a baseline for the place branding work in 2012 with a mixture of interviews, focus groups and online surveys used to access resident, visitor, investor and student audiences. This work was commissioned by NGI, who are also responsible for monitoring press coverage relating to the destination. This organisation also undertakes monitoring of tourist statistics such as hotel occupancy and passenger numbers through their T-stats programme. They undertake continuous monitoring and specific assessment of large scale pieces of work; this has included the monitoring of investment since the organisation took on an inward investment role.

NGI undertakes their research on a NewcastleGateshead basis. Although there is no overarching governance organisation covering the two LA areas, some economic development information is produced to cover NewcastleGateshead as a territorial unit on a six-monthly basis. A number of interviewees here suggested the need to undertake internal tests in organisations and in the city to ensure brand authenticity and branding work. In addition, the DMO has been instrumental in the inclusion of brand evaluation and assessment as a point of interest in this study as a way of developing future assessment methods.

In Torino, Sviluppo Piemonte Turismo (Piemonte Tourism Observatory) was established in 2006 to monitor tourism figures and experiences in order to inform the tourist industry's activities in the region. Wider urban development performance figures are also collected and made available in English to international audiences through documents such as the 'Torino Urban Profile' (Jones Lang LaSalle, 2013) produced on behalf of the Piemonte Agency.

The strength of Torino's approach to their place brand evaluation is the strategic way it has been undertaken. For example, in 1999, Censis, the Italian social investment study centre, was employed to undertake interviews with international opinion formers in eight countries (Martina, 2010) in order to establish intelligence on the image of Torino to inform their work and change the image of the city through the first Strategic Plan.

In Torino, the monitoring of the impact of the Winter Olympic Games in 2006 was particularly extensive, including work by two research centres the Olympic and Mega Events Research Observatory (OMERO) (Bondonio and Campaniello, 2006) and Higher Institute on Territorial Systems for Innovation (SiTI) (Bottero, et al., 2012). The OMERO, an interdisciplinary centre of both the University of Torino and the Politecnico di Torino, took shape in 2002 and was recognised in 2003. Between 2002 and 2007 four surveys were undertaken before the games and two afterwards with a sample of 900 respondents in Torino on each occasion (Bondonio and Guala, 2011). The interviews aimed to assess the perceptions of the games and the city over time. In addition, OMERO interviewed 86 journalists and surveyed 670 sponsored guests both international and Italian (Bondonio and Campaniello 2006). This monitoring of the games had a substantial impact beyond that that would be expected:

> Monitoring public opinion has been a means to understand the collective mind. The special atmosphere of being witness to a mega event, and self-awareness has gradually changed Turin's identity. This recognition of the popularity has helped in building a new image of the city and in implementing the city's marketing strategy. (Bondonio and Guala, 2011, p.317).

In addition media interest was monitored through close working with the press around the games as "a result of the great effort towards the media, those of Torino 2006 are among the most followed Winter Olympic Games in history, with 13.000 broadcasting hours in 200 countries …with around 3.2 billion spectators." (Martina, 2010, p.79). SiTI also undertook a monitoring process between 2004 and 2007 to assess the wider impact of the games with tourism being one of the five themes

investigated. In this way Torino has been able to understand the impact of one of its key place branding activities.

In the cities overall the monitoring of urban development indicators was the most comprehensive and widespread as they provide a number of functions. The collection of this information is usually not the responsibility of those organisations directly responsible for place branding activities. However, business information may be made available to international audiences by inward investment organisations. Although this information is widely available it is not being used directly for place brand evaluation.

DMOs seem most comfortable using tourism statistics and press reports as a measure of their activities. It is most readily collected and made available by those responsible for place branding and is a type of data that interviewees link to place branding. This is perhaps due to the shared function of place branding and the collection of these figures in a number of organisations. Perceptions research is the second most dominant form of evaluation undertaken and is most often linked to the activities of those undertaking branding activities. Leipzig was the only city in which interviewees did not mention perceptions research; however, this does not mean it was not undertaken.

Beyond the initial construction of the brand the cities did not seem to undertake any coordinated or organised approach to evaluating the continued authenticity of the brand. In the case of organisation's self-evaluating their branding work Malmö and Manchester seemed to be the most demonstrative in this regard. In Manchester, this was due to the branding approach and in the case of Malmö to the organisational arrangements. However, with the exception of Malmö this did not seem to be undertaken in a coordinated way in the cities. The example of the assessment of the Torino Winter Olympics did provide an example of the comprehensive evaluation of a particular place branding activity.

Overall place brand assessment in the cities is fragmented. Various forms of monitoring and evaluated are undertaken but this is not rigorously pieced together to evaluate place branding in a convincing way. Furthermore, little attempt is made to

evaluate the place brand by piecing together information that is collected. Individual campaign work is often evaluated as are wider perceptions but little attempt is made to overcome the problems associated with place branding such as causation, attribution and time frame which will be discussed in the following section.

8.2 Assessing the Brand or the City: Problems of Interaction

The experience of place brand assessment in the case study cities demonstrates that there are a number of challenges. The actors in the cities work in a context in which assessment of interventions and demonstration of impact is important, however, little rigorous assessment of place branding has been attempted. Interviewees seemed very aware of this limitation. There are two fundamental issues that make assessment problematic. The first is that the interactive nature of the place brand and branding and the city itself results in a complex relationship. They are hard to separate for analytical purposes. Second the context in which there are many stakeholders who may have competing interests results in a complicated setting for assessment to take place. These issues are examined in the following sections.

8.2.1 Inter-related Issues: Timeframe, Causation and Attribution

Interviewees in the cities seemed unanimous in both their agreement that place brand assessment was important and that it was very difficult to do. As outlined earlier in the chapter many respondents agreed that place brand activity had or could do something positive for their city but were unsure about either the specific outcome or the extent of the effect. One interviewee suggests that "you just have to reach a judgement you know, has this been something that helped the city" (LA, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 08/03/12). However, when the interviewees aimed to discuss why this judgement had been reached, what it was based on or how the place brand could be evaluated this became much more problematic. This is well illustrated by this assertion from an interviewee in Manchester. Here it is the

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necessary interaction between the place brand and the city that renders the measurement of the brand problematic:

> *Nigh on impossible to evaluate original modern … you can look at things like the International Festival and the economic benefits the festival has brought and you can almost argue that it's down to original modern but because original modern is actually of the city itself you can't really disconnect it, so original modern wouldn't work if Manchester wasn't the way it was and if Manchester wasn't the way it was you wouldn't be achieving the things it achieves when it's determined and working in partnership and everybody's sort of supporting the same elements, so yeah it's very, very difficult to put a specific figure on the value of original modern definitely, you'd have to put the value on the city (DMO, Operational Level, Manchester, 25/04/12).*

However, the need to develop a more detailed way of monitoring to contribute to assessment is necessary to satisfy the requirement for organisations to be accountable both to their mission and their use of financial resources. This was particularly pertinent to the example of Manchester, where pressure on the City Council from actors in the national media had resulted in the end of the Council's contract with Peter Saville to act as the creative director for the city; a role in which he developed the 'original modern' brand. The need to recognise the monetary value of place branding work is referenced by a DMO Board Member from Manchester:

> *We have to have some monetised value of what Peter's intellect has brought to the city that we're able to justify and obviously that justification is under treat with the Daily Mail hounding the left leaning councils for employing a creative director. So we had to sort of reorganise Peter's relationship to maintain it but what was interesting was that when we had the conversation about Peter's role in the city the private sector were very keen to support maintaining his role here. So private property firms began to put money into Peter's pot to maintain his presence here rather than to see him disappear*

(Urban Regeneration Company, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).

This instance also references that although the monetary value of Peter Saville's role is hard to evidence there is clearly confidence in its value, demonstrated here by other actors in the city working to ensure it continues.

The difficulty with a detailed monitoring of the impact of a place brand seems to be based on a number of features which render it particularly difficult to monitor in the way required of policy interventions; these are timeframe, causation and attribution. In the case of Peter Saville's role this interviewee highlights the time frames involved as problematic, particularly in light of dominant assessment methods:

> *Peter has had conversations that are very slow burn conversations that do not have direct outputs but that have long term outputs and it's very easy to lose sight of those because they are not traditionally accountable so you can't say money in and then the output, you have to be much more relaxed about it and that doesn't fit modern accounting principles sadly (Urban Regeneration Company, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12)*

Once again however, this interviewee is confident of a significant impact even while recognising that it cannot be evidenced in the usual way:

> *the reality is that his role has been profound and you can trace many of the things that have happened now back to that provocation, back to a conversation he has had to try and raise the game, try and raise the standards and you know from the corridor to the international festival to a whole raft of initiatives around the city which have benefited from his perspective (Urban Regeneration Company, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, Manchester, 20/04/12).*

The second of these factors is one of causation, how can we be certain that the outcome for the city is a result of branding activity? A particular positive outcome may be as a result of another or multiple factors. For example, a conference booking may be based on cost and travel accessibility rather than the city's brand. This is touched on by the interviewee below:

in Leipzig it is really good development that we got in the last years, we got a lot more tourists in the city the hotels are a lot more often full, last weekend for example we had a conference on medicine here with about seven thousand participants, …that is of course perhaps because of good branding but not only, it is not the only thing. (Academic, Leipzig, 02/10/12).

Similarly, as asserted by a very senior officer in a LA in NewcastleGateshead, "I might say to you well if we secured you know another X hundred jobs through inwards investment that would be a measure of success but I would never be able to say definitively that that would be as a result of the branding work" (LA, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 08/03/12). In the case of inward investment for example it is often asserted that hard factors such as cost and accessibility are more significant attractors than soft factors such as place image.

A third factor which renders place brand and branding particularly difficult to assess is attribution. If we are confident that something has become integrated into the brand of a city how can we be sure that it is due to branding activity rather than other events. A particularly compelling example of this is seen in Malmö where there were a number of shootings of people who appeared to be from migrant backgrounds. This quickly impacted upon the brand of Malmö but was obviously at odds with any branding work undertaken. This is explained below by the interviewee who was responsible for monitoring the image of the region of Skane:

the questions were all being asked in January … we had quite a few incidents with shootings in Malmö last year, and that was the peak in January and the media were writing everyday about, so I think that might have influenced the

questions because when we asked 'when you think about Skane what is the first thing you think about?' They said shooting! It was like, I hope it was that because otherwise I would like another picture! But we can find out next year we can do that on an annual basis …so that is where we start to measure it because just doing it once is not really very good. (Regional Communication, Operational Level, Malmö, 26/06/12)

The interaction between the city and brand which seems to be responsible for the problems associated with causation, attribution and time frame is rendered more intricate in that the evaluation of a city's performance becomes part of the city's brand. As described below by a business representative from NewcastleGateshead who believed that changing the city's performance as reflected in monitoring exercises would have a positive impact on urban development:

Tackling some of the places where we stand out on leagues tables, so if we could no longer be at the bottom of obesity, alcohol dependency, all of these kind of things where actually, it's just really easy for the media to focus on the negative things in the region, … I think that the positive focus that would come out of attacking one would mean that we'd naturally attack others, … it's difficult for everyone to pull in the same direction because we're all tackling 200 things at once (Business Representative, Strategic Level, NG, 21/02/12).

As such, it can be assumed that perceived success of the city's brand and branding activities would also impact on that brand. For example, Manchester's marketing to central government as a 'safe pair of hands' can only be enhanced by an apparently sleek operation around governance of the city's image. Furthermore, Leipzig's activity around its status as a shrinking city was understood to demonstrate a dynamic and creative approach which was enhanced by the city's shift in status to a growing city.

Place banding is particularly difficult to evaluate due to a number of features that are pertinent to this urban development intervention. These are the issue of timeframe,

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with outcomes being longer than those usually used to assess activity, particularly in a budgetary sense. The issue of causality, how can we be sure that an outcome in the city has been influenced by place branding work rather than other factors and if it is a mixture of factors of which place branding is one, which seems the most convincing explanation? Finally, the notion of attribution, if we are confident that a positive outcome has resulted from an improvement in the brand of the city how can we know that the change in the brand has been as a result of orchestrated place branding work rather than other events. The next section asserts that not only is place branding problematic to assess, the context in which it occurs is also challenging.

8.2.2 The Influence of Context

Place branding's problematic contextual circumstances include budgetary constraints, competitive funding contexts, uncertainty around evaluation and the collaboration of organisations with different traditions of assessment. Budgetary constraints can be a limitation, as illustrated by the ad hoc approach to brand recognition evaluation in Leipzig:

> *market research is another thing that we don't really have enough money to, we will do this for tourism marketing but then brand evaluation is not something in the approach but it is a good idea so I will approach a colleague and ask if we are doing any surveys if we can include this question, whether they know the Leipzigger Freiheit, (DMO, Operational Level, Leipzig, 02/10/12)*

In addition, the many actors involved in activities that contribute to the place brand or could be considered as orchestrated place branding activities further complicates the possibility of detailed assessment. The need for organisations to demonstrate their impact to boards and funders introduces an element of competition to claim influence in an already complex picture of causation and attribution; as illustrated below:

for the activities or NGI as an organisation to say we helped you to get twenty thousand more students, because we could say well actually we did that, and this is a game where everybody is trying to justify their existence and you know demonstrate that their activities are making a difference, so I'm not saying we're all tribal but it is very difficult to say, you know, that success is down to somebody else, (University, Operational Level, NG, 15/03/12).

There is evidence of a sensible caution about the need for organisations to manage expectations about what place branding activities can contribute to urban development. Organisations must mediate the conflicting demands of evidencing their value whilst not over stating the possible outcomes of their activity, which would result in additional pressure and demands:

I'm really cautious about us looking at KPIs that are ones that we don't have a direct influence over, and I just think we need to manage expectations, this place brand work isn't going to solve every issue that we've got (DMO, Operational Level, Project Group, NG, 10/02/12).

However, if this organisation is responsible for assessing branding work, the need to manage overly high expectations or alternatively reflect results through monitoring systems could impact upon assessment. This only becomes problematic when monitoring practices go on to influence actual practice and change the aspirations organisations have around what they can achieve. As such, it is important to understand and clarify whether monitoring relates to the brand or the organisation that is primarily responsible for it.

In addition, interview evidence suggests that the uncertainty around the assessment of place brand and branding activities involved, can in itself result in a difficult context in which to assess place branding activity. This uncertainty is illustrated by this academic in Torino:

I've seen controversial figures concerning the capability to attract foreign tourists, I've seen, really you can manipulate but, I've seen a degree of error in statistics that is impressive, I've seen articles in the newspaper celebrating the idea of a quite high capability to attract tourists and articles saying exactly the opposite, (Academic, Torino, 31/10/12).

Uncertainty over evaluating place brand and branding activity and outcomes is also likely to be compounded by the varied stakeholders involved in the process. The varied organisations in a city that have an interest in place branding come from different disciplines with their own traditions and norms around monitoring and evaluation which means that statistics which demonstrate convincing evidence in one sector may not be considered robust in another:

You would try to measure it through KPIs so it's all about visitor numbers and hotel bookings and all that sort of thing and you know that, I think, you know as a social scientist I have great difficulty with all of this because just because you can measure it doesn't make it a good indicator (University, Strategic Level, DMO Board Member, NewcastleGateshead, 28/02/12).

As the evidence shows, the difficulty of assessing place brand and branding activities is inherent in the way the brand and the city interact resulting in difficulties of causation, attribution and time scale. This appears to be further compounded by, budgetary constraints, competitive funding contexts, uncertainty and the collaboration of organisations with different traditions of evaluation.

8.3 Fragmented Assessment: Piecing it Together

There are difficulties with fitting place brands and branding into usual monitoring processes and competitive funding contexts further complicate the picture. In addition, the indicators people suggest as a way of evaluating or recognising the success of a place brand relates to different aspects and processes involved. The result is an uneven and fragmented approach to place brand evaluation. There are

two broad approaches to what the assessment of a place brand should be, an instrumental assessment about the impact of place branding activity against the aims of the brand, for example more effective competition, or an assessment of the authenticity of the brand, which raises different questions about assessment. The fragmented nature of place brand evaluation will be discussed with reference to the cities and then an attempt will be made to piece together this fragmented context in line with general evaluation practices.

Taking the instrumental approach to place brand assessment many felt that the common ultimate aim of place branding; to be more competitive on a number of economic measures, was a sensible way to measure the success of the place brand or branding work:

> *It is measured by how many more visitors we have because I think from two thousand and five to now the number of visitors to the region has jumped massively, … employment for local people in say, tourism, has jumped, the number of businesses that come in and say that they were aware of branding you know all this, I mean if the region is better off, five years, six years, seven years down the line if the branding has played any sort of a role in that then that is the success of it (Local Media Editor, NG, 29/02/12)*

However, this form of assessment of the brand and branding work is the one most complicated by the issues of causality, attribution and long timescales.

In the UK context in Manchester the case of private sector support for Peter Saville's continued role was seen as a measure of recognition and support. As demonstrated below by a political actor in NewcastleGateshead support for or responses to the brand by private sector actors was considered a valuable form of recognition.

> *I mean I look around and look how many hotels are being built here now, and I mean, these are hard-nosed business people there must be a business*

case, they wouldn't be creating hotels to run them at 50 per cent capacity so there must be trade coming here (LA, NewcastleGateshead, 17/02/12)

Another common assertion was the idea of brand recognition, either though recognition of the brand or awareness and knowledge of the city. As a business representative in NewcastleGateshead asserts "I think there is something about just literally recognition…what do they associate with it and is it something positive" (Strategic Level, 21/02/12). In a less direct way this brand recognition can also relate to perceptions research, which was also suggested by interviewees as a way of evaluating the brand. People are surveyed for their perceptions of the city and those perceptions are related to brand values:

> *It would be nice if when we're speaking to people from NewcastleGateshead if they were quoting back to us unprompted, the phrases the words the attitudes, that are in keeping with the brand, a more ambitious measure of success would be if people externally to the region were quoting these words and phrases back to us. (DMO, Operational Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 10/02/12)*

Perceptions research has the benefit of being easy to segment by market and easy to repeat on a regular basis.

Of the factors making place brand monitoring problematic causation is less pertinent to this form of monitoring as it investigates people's perceptions of a place which excludes the more rational factors which would influence economic behaviour. In terms of time scale this issue can be somewhat mediated by repetition of the survey. Attribution however, still renders this approach problematic as branding work will not be the only factor forming perceptions.

The second broad suggestion for assessing a place brand is an investigation of the authenticity of the brand. Those interviewed suggested that rather than looking at the

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desired outputs the measure of the place brand and branding should be the extent to which it can be said to represent the city:

> *We felt there had to be authenticity about it it's quite difficult to come up with something that somehow captures the essence of a place so for me it was how far does that match reality, there was no point in coming up with something …that didn't represent what the place was like (University, Strategic Level, NewcastleGateshead, 28/02/12).*

What is being called for here is a judgement about the level of authenticity of the brand. This is not something that can be easily monitored as it is hugely subjective with the authenticity of the city being very different based on people's different experiences. However, the notion of authenticity is something that can be achieved just as a brand is equally able to lack authenticity. To expand upon this the interviewee quoted below recognises this authenticity as a dynamic process in which the brand is intended not only to reflect but also to generate activity:

> *I think more realistically we should be looking day to day on the things that are happening in the city and asking ourselves does this build and reinforce our brand story, … are we doing things are we achieving things that are building and growing our brand story on a day to day basis, rather than looking more strategically longer term and saying what did this achieve overall (LA Communications, Operational Level, Project Group, NewcastleGateshead, 27/02/12).*

In this case the issues of causality, attribution and time frame are not relevant as what is being evaluated is the dynamic relationship between the city and its favourable representation in the form of a brand. The notion of causation, attribution and time scale are only pertinent if we expect the brand to be entirely generative which in practice is not the case; some basis in the city's history is demanded by the quest for authenticity.

A final way in which interviewees suggested that brand evaluation could take place is through the evaluation of actual branding activity rather than the outcomes of that activity. This is explained by the interviewee below from Manchester, in Manchester this was particularly pertinent as the 'original modern' brand was intended as an internal test to encourage actors to raise standards in the city.

> *we evaluate everything we do in terms of does it meet the brand principles, so if we're developing a suite of new collateral, for example, or if we're going to do a country mission in India 'do the principles of original modern' have we sat down and approached this in a new way so it's sort of evaluated as we go, (Inward Investment, Operational Level, Manchester, 10/05/12).*

In this case the problems of causation, attribution and time scale are not relevant as the evaluation takes place as part of and guides the activity.

Having discussed the fragmented nature of place brand assessment it is necessary to piece together these fragments with reference to an evaluation framework designed to assess other urban development interventions. The diagram below offers an assessment framework adapted (Pike. et. al. 2016, p.201) from a workshop with the aim of "providing support for a stronger culture of evaluation of local development policies and strategies" (Potter and Studena, 2006, p.4). This framework has already been proposed in economic development fields other than place branding such as for the assessment of SMEs and entrepreneurship (Potter et al.2013) and the assessment of decentralisation (Pike et al. 2016). A similar approach is taken here.

FIGURE 8.1: EVALUATION PYRAMID FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY
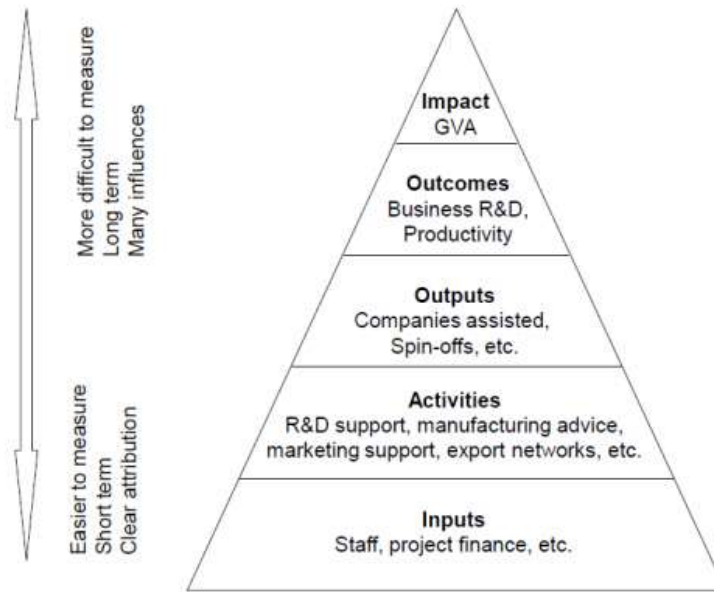
Source: Adapted from Neil MacCallum (2006) Office of Project Advice and Training, London, UK, OECD LEED Evaluation Workshop, Trento

Source: Pike, et al. (2016, p.201) adapted from Neil MacCallum (2006) Office of Project Advice and Training, London, UK, OECD LEED Evaluation Workshop, Trento

This framework, intended for the prior assessment of local economic development interventions, provides a model in the form of a simple chain though which to understand cause and effect. It is applied here to the assessment of place branding activities found in the case study cities in order to identify the gaps in this chain of understanding. As such it provides a useful framework to investigate the fragmented nature of place branding assessment with the aim of identifying where assessment practices must be strengthened in order to better understand cause and effect. The Table 8.2 below offers a suggestion about how this framework could be adapted to place branding.

TABLE 8.2: EVALUATION FRAMEWORK ADAPTED FOR PLACE BRANDING

Diagram Category	As Adapted for Place Branding	Cities in which this is Assessed
Impact	Perceptions of the city (could be for different audiences)	Manchester Malmö NewcastleGateshead Torino (for Olympic Games)
Outcomes	Visitors, press coverage, satisfied residents, population increase, business investment (economic development indicators)	Leipzig, Manchester, Malmö, NewcastleGateshead, Torino
Outputs	Marketing materials, journalist visits, event delivery, culture activity, research successes, attractive public realm	In some cities for some campaigns/events
Activities	Marketing, PR, Competitive bidding, investment in physical development, investments in culture, events, education investment	In some cities for some campaigns/events
Inputs	Staff and finance from various organisations in the city.	In some cities for some campaigns/events

Source: Author's Own

Table 8.2 suggests that the assessment that is taking place is not only fragmented but uneven. Most of the cities are undertaking assessment that relates to outcomes and impact but are not assessing other aspects of the process in a rigorous way. This means the possibility to track the entire process and relate input to impact is not possible. Further assessment needs to be undertaken throughout the process in order to join up input activities and outputs to outcomes and impact.

Certain decision have been made in order to adapt this process for evaluation to place branding, in addition there are certain features of place branding which mean some of the features of figure 8.2 require further unpacking. First the decision has been made to cite the final outcome as the perceptions people have of the city, essentially the brand. This could be segmented by particular audience based on the specific aims of the city; here the approach is more general. Further to this the outcomes and impact could be swapped if the aim of the branding was to increase some of these measures with perceptions a step towards this aim, referenced by some interviewees, rather than the brand seen as an aim in itself. The aim here is to make sense of a fragmented context and as such the decision has been made to define the brand as an end point, to aid general understanding.

The possible swapping of the impact and outcomes illustrates the problematic interaction that is a challenge to place brand evaluation. Further to this there are other specific features of place branding that contrast to the general model (figure 8.1). For example, the figure asserts that the Inputs and activities are "easier to measure", "short term" and have "clear attribution". In the case of place branding the many and varied actors whose activities are relevant to progress throughout the rest of the process and can contribute to the 'impact' mean that an assessment of inputs and activities is actually rather complex. This could be reduced if actors chose to assess the impacts of their own activities as many of the cities did around particular campaigns or specific events such as Torino's work on the Winter Olympic Games.

This analysis is not intended to solve the problems of place brand evaluation which remain many and challenging, rather the aim is to illustrate the fragmented and uneven nature of place brand assessment. Already there is the suggestion that using the approach to track the work of specific organisations, campaigns and events would minimise some of the difficulties of assessing inputs and activities. Furthermore, very specific aims for the place brand in a city are likely to refine the assessment of impact. However, the aim here is to suggest a starting point to piece together the fragments rather than prescriptions about the way forward. What this suggests is that the notion of place brand assessment being some sort of insurmountable problem is not helpful. Piecing together the fragments of assessment

which are undertaken already suggests that there are some clear ways in which assessment can be improved even in light of the challenges.

8.4 Conclusion

Place brand and branding assessment is widely recognised as problematic and challenging. As a starting point to respond to the question 'how can place branding best be assessed and evaluated?' this comparative investigation enabled the clarification of why place band assessment is problematic. This is illustrated in the case of the cities where assessment is acknowledged as important while actors struggle to undertake it in a rigorous and systematic way. Some assessment is undertaken in all of the cities, this largely focuses on the collection of tourism and other economic development statistics, press monitoring and perceptions research but a systematic process which could lead to convincing conclusions is largely lacking.

The problems associated with place branding make this a complex picture in which there are issues of timeframe with place branding requiring longer time frames than those which usually form the basis of assessment principles. Also significant are problems of causation, has an actor's behaviour been influenced by the place brand or other factors? And attribution, if the activity is as a result of the brand was it branding activity which integrated those characteristics into the brand of the city or was it some other factor? As we have seen, this is further complicated by the context in which assessment takes place in terms of financial constraints and competitive funding contexts in which actors may compete to claim responsibility for positive outcomes. There are also issues associated with the involvement of many actors with different approaches to and traditions of assessment and a lack of certainly around place branding assessment outcomes, which compromises results.

It seems that this complicated context is dissuading actors in the cities from making the progress which could be achieved in this area by integrating the assessment that does take place into a more rigorous approach. This became apparent at the final stage of analysis when current assessment was compared to a model assessment

framework to discern how place brand assessment and evaluation could be developed. When compared to a model evaluation framework (Pike et.al.2016, p.201 adapted from MacCallum, 2006) most of the assessment that takes place in the cities centres around impact and outcomes without the possibility to track the activity from input to impact.

Although the problems of timescale, causation and attribution and the complicated context are not solved by this, the analysis indicates that the assessment is not only fragmented but also uneven. By piecing together the work that is already undertaken in a more systematic way and by bridging the gaps to more convincingly track cause and effect, significant progress could be made. Empirical investigation of place brand assessment and evaluation result in the conclusion that reducing the fragmented and uneven nature of assessment would significantly shift current practice towards a 'best form' of assessment for place branding practice.

9   A Geographical Understanding of Place Branding and Changing the Rules of the Game

[Place branding] writing and telling the story
(Political, Malmö, 15/05/12)

This research is an account of the compelling nature of place and identity and the way actors can, and at times have been able to, mobilise place as an asset in the development and management of their cities. This is essentially what place branding amounts to; using place meanings to engender the activity of others and meet urban development aims. The market orientated roots of these activities mean they are often thought of as rather superficial, this is partly the result of a semantic quirk "branding has a bad brand" (Anholt, 2006).

Another reason for the perceived superficiality of place branding activities is the limited theoretical development of the field. The investigation of place branding through some of social science and more specifically geography's major theories is lacking. Further to, and as a result of this, little empirical and particularly comparative research has been undertaken (Sadler et.al. 2015). The field remains fragmented (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011 and Papadopoulos, 2004) and uneven (Papadopoulos, 2004 and Niedomyls, 2004) with polarised (Kaneva 2011) perspectives typifying the literature. These features of the field have resulted in somewhat reductionist conclusions (Sadler et al., 2015) about the activities which are taking place in real places.

Institutionalism, a theory with an interdisciplinary foundation (Martin, 2000) which has been influential in geography, had not previously been used to thoroughly investigate place branding; yet in this case it has yielded insightful results. It was selected to enable the theoretical development of place branding, to facilitate the investigation of the specific research aims and as a perspective particularly aligned to comparative analysis (Gertler, 2010). Institutionalism recognises that "institutions are central to the socio-structural construction of the economic" (Martin, 2000, p.77). For a study which seeks to understand the activities of place specific actors who aim to mobilise

and communicate meaning and identity in order to instigate or enhance economic development processes; this perspective is ideal.

The institutions in a location can be understood as the 'rules of the game' (North, 1991). This amounts to an iterative relationship between the institutional environment, the customs, norms and routines of a location and the institutional arrangements namely the organisational forms (Pike et.al. 2006). In order to understand this iterative relationship and the agency of actors, so central to the chosen line of enquiry, discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2010) has been invaluable. Discursive institutionalism takes 'ideas and discourse seriously' (Schmidt, 2010) enhancing the understanding of agency and change in this broader perspective. Through discursive institutionalism the importance of narrative identity formation (Williams, 2000) could be convincingly integrated into an institutional account enabling the understanding of place branding as storytelling. In this account, the interplay of organisational forms and culture has been driven by storytelling, guiding action through meaning with the potential to create new norms of behaviour. In this sense place branding amounts to changing the rules of the game.

Applying the institutional perspective to enable the empirical analysis of place branding is a key contribution of this thesis in its own right. In a field beset by limited theoretical development (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011) the application of this theory to a comparative international analysis amounts to a novel approach. This approach enabled the development of a robust methodology, brought an innovative conceptual framework to the field and enabled the development of original comparative frameworks that have been essential to the broader analysis and findings. This theory also promises interesting avenues for similarly robust approaches in future. This contribution is highlighted in the first instance in order to recognise its foundational role in generating the other contributions of this research.

The remaining contributions are first, that place branding is examined with reference to its institutional context, both in terms of institutional arrangements and institutional environment, demonstrating the locally specific nature of the practice of place branding. Second, place branding is set into historical context, place promotion has historically been bound up with particular social and economic developments and

place branding is no different. Third, explaining place branding more realistically as a contributory urban development intervention rather than a panacea for a city's urban development woes. And finally, the illumination of the problematic nature of place brand assessment as bound up with the nature of place branding and its urban development context. The following sections will take each of these points in turn, outlining their basis in the empirical findings, determining what this can reply to place branding debates and highlighting what the findings of this analysis can feed back to institutionalist and evolutionary perspectives.

9.1 Placing Place Branding

In the case of the first research aim, to investigate how place brands are constructed and to identify the actors, relationships and processes involved, an institutionalist perspective has resulted in an understanding of place branding which is geographically distinct. The activities of place branding are strikingly similar in the different cities; nevertheless, place branding is context specific with the different institutional context of the cities resulting in particular versions of place branding activities. In short, context matters.

The 'placing' of place branding into geographical context enabled by the institutional perspective is a key contribution of this thesis and it offers a number of further empirical insights. First, the impact of institutional environment on place branding, specifically the way local cultures, leadership and cooperation in a location feed into the branding that takes place. Second, the power of the institutional arrangements to affect place branding, that is the centrality of organisations, the scale at which they work and the extent of their agency. To relate this to the line of enquiry at hand the analytical framework offered by the concepts of the institutional environment and arrangements, and the iterative relationship between the two, has been used to identify actors, relationships and the processes involved.

The most pertinent elements of the institutional environment which emerged from the place branding experiences of the cities are: the culture in terms of norms of working; cooperation in terms of the way actors work together; and the leadership

that was present in the location. Different combinations of these factors resulted in different place branding activities. In NewcastleGateshead there was a strong desire for cooperation between organisations but a lack of leadership and clear strategic direction particularly around the NewcastleGateshead scale made it difficult for the most recent branding exercise to gain traction in the location. In Leipzig, the local government's flexible responsiveness and engaged population meant that there were lots of actors which could provide 'on brand' activity, however, this was both a strength and weakness of the brand which was designed to incorporate the varied facets of the city but was felt by some to be too general.

In Malmö, a strong and entwined leadership and strategy resulted in decisive physical change both engendered and mediated by consistent storytelling with the brand animated by the real changes in the city. Persuasive story telling was also a feature of successful collaboration with the private sector where storytelling instigated activity which later materialised as a result of that collaboration. In Manchester, strong and consistent leadership resulted in pragmatic collaboration, narratives of success and self-identity were particularly strong with a clear self-awareness resulting in a form of discipline which served to enforce norms, the brand was part of developing this self-awareness but also relied on it for traction. In Torino, a transformed newly transparent and accountable leadership was able to instigate collaboration at greater scales through the process of producing strategy. A traditional elite and the rediscovery of historical traditions enabled the emergence of an authentic brand as an antidote to the 'grey' one company town legacy of FIAT's dominance.

A key element of the institutional perspective used (Martin, 2000; Rodriguez-Pose, 2013) is the iterative relationship between the institutional environment and the institutional arrangements. The next necessary step of this explanation is an account of the impact of institutional arrangements, specifically the organisational forms, on place branding activities, the impact of scale, and the nature and of the key organisations on place branding activities. As a starting point, it is important to illustrate the value of an analytical concept which enabled this analysis and which is itself a contribution to the investigation of place branding. That is a typology of organisations in the institutional arrangements of a city, including narrating

organisations, strategic organisations and animating organisations. This typology enabled a robust comparative analysis of organisations in the cities.

This analytical framework has been particularly useful in understanding the nature of the organisations involved in place branding in the cities, their different roles and the relationships between them particularly the alignment of organisations with different roles in the process. The impact of scale is also an important feature here. In NewcastleGateshead a dynamic period of flux had resulted in uncertainty about the NewcastleGateshead scale. The dissolution of the regional scale, where there was alignment between strategic and narrating organisations, had resulted in a vacuum and further uncertainty followed due to a lack of alignment in the scale of the strategic and narrating organisations. As a result, place branding activities taking place under these organisational arrangements had difficulty gaining traction. There are narrating organisations working at all scales in the Leipzig case. The organisational landscape in Leipzig is typified by a wealth of animating organisations with strategic organisations creating enabling conditions. The narrating organisation has adapted to work in this context however its role may be understated because of this.

In Malmö, there is a strong alignment between strategic and narrating organisations with animation of the brand taking place as a result of the power of this relationship and the collaboration with the private sector (Dannestram, 2009). The well aligned strategic and narrating organisations also enabled cooperation between local areas, for example with Lund, which is not enforced by Sweden's relatively horizontal governance approach to scale. In Manchester, there is an alignment in approach and in scale between narrating, strategic and in some cases the animating organisations, resulting in confidence and consistency. In Torino, the strategic organisations worked to facilitate animating organisations in order to help narrate a shift in the city's economic identity. An interesting feature of Torino was the narrating inward investment organisation at the regional level which focused on the region's impressive research and development statistics which were largely absent from the branding at the city level, with its strategy to move away from an industrial image.

What these cases illustrate is that although place branding has been a feature of all of the cities recent experience it is not 'homogenous' (Sadler et.al., 2015); the different combination of culture, cooperation and leadership resulted in different approaches and experiences, strengths and weaknesses. An instructive learning point from the experiences of these cities is that a strong leadership seems particularly hospitable to place branding as it appears important in facilitating shared culture and cooperation due to an associated certainty over strategic direction, enabling the introduction of new approaches.

These empirical findings also indicate the impact the alignment between narrating and strategic organisations can have on the ability to shift a brand, there are also strong examples here of the way relatively informal cooperation can create new scales for activity such as the Øresund in Malmö's case or the development of the strategic plans in Torino's case. The contribution that this analysis makes to place branding is by highlighting the importance and impact of not only the organisational arrangements but also of the organisations in the organisational forms. The organisations in a location represent its place branding infrastructure and are the means by which a place brand is developed and delivered, this contribution offers significant insight to the field both, theoretically and practically, as the institutional arrangements and environment should be considered while selecting place branding activities.

The insight these findings offer the place branding field is that place branding is place specific and the organisations that undertake place branding and the context they work in is of central importance for the nature of the branding that takes place; to date has been largely overlooked. This clearly indicates that a one size fits all method is not suitable for place branding, an approach which would thrive in one institutional environment may not sit comfortably in another. The place branding field must move beyond homogenous explanations (Sadler et.al. 2015) and anecdote (Kaneva, 2011) if greater understanding is to be achieved. Recognition of local contexts, particularly local organisations, in place branding research offers a fruitful starting point in that endeavour. Recognising the place in place branding is of significant importance.

Furthermore, bringing institutionalism to this field and discursive institutionalism to a geographical analysis was not only valuable to place branding but can also offer insight to institutional perspectives. Institutions, particularly institutional arrangements are often theorised as fixed and constraining (Lowe and Feldman, 2017) yet this analysis shows elements of the institutional arrangements, strategic and narrating organisations, working to instigate change in the wider institutional regimes. This activity is endogenous and particularly in the case of narrative organisations clearly demonstrates the agency of reflexive actors both conscious of and acting within institutions (Schmidt, 2008), mobilising local meanings to instigate change by selectively appropriating (Jensen, 2007) local identities and history for economic development purposes.

Discursive institutionalism recognises agency in institutions explaining change, in part, through recasting collective narratives (Schmidt, 2010). Integrating institutions into development strategies is recognised as necessary yet problematic, due to difficulties in operationalising institutions and identifying place specific yet effective approaches (Rodriguez-Pose, 2013). This analysis suggests that a greater openness to recognising place specific meanings and motivations for action through narrative (Sandercock, 2003) may be a route to 'unlock' the ongoing problems of 'intervention' in institutions (Rodriguez-Pose, 2013).

9.2 Place Branding as an Embedded Historical Activity

A central theme of this thesis is not only the importance of the institutional context but also the historical context of the place branding activities, the institutional context of a location and its history are of course inseparable, however, the distinction is worth making here in order to illuminate the insights offered by each. The importance to this study of placing place branding and the place brands of the cities in their historical contexts was generated by the research question; how do place brands become embedded and sustainable over time?

An historical analysis of place branding in which the historical experience of the cities and their resulting narratives have an impact on both the content and the branding activity in cities is one of the main contributions of this thesis. This conclusion was

generated from a number of empirical insights. First, the way the concepts of path plasticity (Strambach, 2010), path dependence and path creation (Martin, 2010) can provide a useful account of the way place brands develop over time. Second, identifying the notable link between competitive bidding campaigns and the institutionalisation and professionalization of place branding activities in the cities. And third, the relationship between embeddedness and sustainability of place brands.

First, an institutionalist account of place branding including path plasticity (Strambach, 2010) and discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2008, 2010) provide a convincing account of the trajectories of place branding in the case study cities. Path plasticity does not contradict path dependence but rather accounts for the change within dominant paths as existing institutions are reinterpreted and converted by conscious actors to suit new development aims; for example, through the development of new organisations and the repurposing of existing narratives of identity. Within the place branding path there were ongoing developments consistent with the account of path plasticity, much of the reconfiguring and repurposing which took place in branding activity, was undertaken by actors aware of their own agency and use of meaning. In line with discursive institutionalism path plasticity was negotiated through narratives; not just of brand content but of motivations for activity. It was the activity of actors motivated and managed through narrative which, through the iterative relationship between the institutional arrangements and environment, resulted in path plasticity within the dominant path.

Quite consistently in the cities investigated, meanings which featured in the institutional environment relating to physical elements of the city or its historical environment were reinvigorated or recast in new ways in order to meet new aims. Narrative was employed to appropriate elements of the city either physically or through shared meanings in the institutional environment to develop new yet embedded narratives of economic futures and shared destinies. The analysis of the cities highlighted five entwined features upon which this process was based. Symbols such as the Angel of the North in NewcastleGateshead, and the Turning Torso in Malmö were used to mediate old narratives of identity redeveloping them into optimistic narratives of future possibility.

History was selectively highlighted to claim positive past events with which the city could align to suggest continuity with past eras which were pertinent to the now. People where ascribed with particular characteristics providing an authentic basis for elements of the brand. Culture was used to animate the brand through the reuse of buildings, the creation of content and as a flagship economic activity signalling new yet authentic development. Finally, physical change in the cities was central to narratives of transformation with pertinent buildings repurposed and others removed in the narrative process of remembering and forgetting, creating cities to meet new economic demands while striving to maintain an authentic identity, providing a material metaphor to the nature of path plasticity.

Path plasticity has been a feature of the construction of embedded place brands in all of the cities. However, the allied concepts of path dependence and path creation are also illuminating to the experiences of the cities. In NewcastleGateshead after initial path creation in the early to mid-1990s, positive reinforcement seems to have resulted in path dependence exhibiting path plasticity, until a significant change in the funding context with the economic crash and austerity politics. Interestingly, it is the organisation which emerged from that process, NGI, which has instigated the next potential path creation by diversification (Martin and Sunley, 2006) through social networking (Boschma and Frenken, 2009 in Dawley, 2014) with an overt and orchestrated branding campaign; the result of which is yet to be realised.

In the subsidiary cases, there are two main paths which have emerged. In Manchester and Leipzig after experimentation (Martin 2010) positive feedback to place promotion activity has resulted in path dependence, exhibiting path plasticity, as changes take place within this broad trajectory. In the cases of Malmö and Torino more strategic approaches have been undertaken, with place branding processes instigated by purposive path creation (Dawley, 2014) then continued through path plasticity. These cases provide an interesting contrast, as Malmö seems much more able to maintain the momentum of its place branding activities than Torino. It appears that the stronger institutional arrangements in Malmö enable more effective repurposing of institutions for path plasticity. The experiences of the cities here illuminate the way place branding activities become embedded and sustained over

time. The concepts clearly have much to contribute to the analysis of place branding activities.

Second, particularly prominent turning points in the cities' trajectories are very often periods of intense mobilisation, such as competitive bidding, which has taken place in the cities (it was not significant in Malmö). As a result of these processes place branding activities have become professionalised and institutionalised through the creation of new organisations. In NewcastleGateshead NGI was developed to lead the Capital of Culture Bid. In Leipzig, Leipzig Tourismus und Marketing was set up in the same year that the city bid to host the Olympics. In Manchester Marketing Manchester was set up after two failed Olympic bids to maintain some of the positive outcomes that had occurred. In Torino, the Communications Office which maximised the opportunity of the 2006 Winter Olympics was set up just before the bidding phase. In most cases these cities were not successful in their bids but the process was nevertheless significant in the shift from enhancing place brands to orchestrated place branding by more professionalised activity.

The importance of the bidding process to place branding in the cities is that it become both more professional, institutionalised and embedded. This resulted from activity which introduced new possibilities into the consciousness of actors, generated examples of success around place promotion and provided the motivation for actors to work together in new ways increasing interpersonal connections and opportunities for leadership in the institutional environment. In the institutional arrangements capacity was created through the development of new organisations which in addition bring new expertise to the location. This contribution not only identifies the impact of competitive bidding to establishing place branding in a location, the accompanying analysis enables identification of the factors which can lead to the increased institutionalisation and embeddedness of this practice.

Finally, this historical analysis of place branding has facilitated an understanding of the relationship between the embeddedness of a place brand and its sustainability over time. Embeddedness has been defined here as set out by Granovetter (1985) where economic activity is based on its context in terms of the interrelationships between actors and as such it is dependent on its local context. If embeddedness is

about the local specificity of place then sustainability is about time. It is about the period of time over which the brand remains embedded. The two concepts are iterative and depended upon each other; a brand is only sustainable if it remains embedded and it can only be embedded by remaining sustainable. Using this concept of embeddedness, by being an economic activity emerging from its context the brand is already embedded. In the case study cities investigated here the branding activity was found to have emerged from the local circumstances and be embedded in the local interpersonal relationships between actors.

The embedded nature of place branding activity set within the same wider discourses and similar activities is well illustrated by the core case of NewcastleGateshead and the orchestrated place branding process which I was fortunate enough to observe. The process was defined by the context of the case. For example, a logo and slogan approach was avoided due to the problematic nature of the NewcastleGateshead scale and based on academic literature supplied as part of this Case studentship. As a further result of this a brand alignment, rather than creative company, was appointed. The process itself was very long and one of education and involvement. This was partly due to academic evidence advising on the importance of involving local actors but mainly due to the limited resources for the project. With limited resources buy in from local actors was essential, NGI used their marketing and communications expertise to try and achieve this. This case demonstrates how, within the concept of place branding, the local context has a significant impact on the activity which takes place.

However, there was a sense, with the economic crisis, that some of the brands risked losing their relevance or embeddedness due to changes in the economy; similar to the initial crisis of representation which engendered the original place brand activity. Here we see that the brand has to retain its embeddedness in order to remain sustainable. The main threat to the ongoing iterative relationship between a brand's embeddedness and sustainability is that the circumstances change but that the brand does not change to meet the new economic circumstances. A second threat to the sustainability of the brand is that it was never really embedded in the first place; the likelihood of developing brands that are not really embedded in the institutions of the place are increased by the professionalization of the activity where

outside agencies and external approaches may be 'parachuted in', rather than emerging from the context.

As explained the embedded nature of locally specific place brands does not mean that the sustainability of the brands is inevitable, as contexts change brands can become more or less embedded and therefore sustainable. Similarly to the cities' trajectories and branding activities there were striking similarities between the challenges which the city brands face. The challenges can be broadly separated into two main categories which may affect the relationship between the sustainability and embeddedness of the brand. First what had been termed the brand challenges which relate to the problems associated with branding practices, such as that place branding approaches may not be understood by some local actors and that difficulty of shifting images away from existing brands of the cities.

The second set of brand challenges relate more to threats to the embeddedness of the brand caused by threats to the brands' ability to reflect its context; that is the reality of the city. Economic challenges, infrastructure challenges and social challenges all relate to issues in the city which may mean that the brand does not fully reflect the reality of the city, that economic forces may undermine the progress already made or required by the brand. For example, the existence of new industry or the promise of new economic futures. The challenge of changed economic circumstances was particularly a feature of interviews in Torino and the British cities where it can be argued that the economic crisis has the greatest impact on institutional arrangements.

This challenge relates directly to the relationship between sustainability and embeddedness where the change in circumstance can mean that a once embedded brand can start to seem anachronistic and needs to change, increasing its embeddedness with new circumstances in order to maintain its sustainability. A location with robust institutional arrangements and environment may be better able to ensure the embeddedness and thus the sustainability of place brands by having the self-awareness of changing circumstances in the city and the leadership, norms and organisations required to ensure that the brand is reviewed and modified in order to maintain embeddedness and therefore sustainability.

The empirical findings highlight the historical nature of place branding embedded in place specific histories and interpersonal relationships (Granovetter, 1985). This contribution reinforces the point made to the place branding field that in order to move beyond homogenous description (Sadler et.al. 2015) and anecdote (Kaneva, 2011) not only do we have to recognise local organisations and contexts we must also recognise the history of locations in place branding which is key to the narratives available, the motivations of actors and the range of potential futures which can be imagined.

Place branding is a policy intervention to which EEG concepts are rarely applied (Dawley, 2014) and as such this analysis can feed back to EEG. Policy interventions are expressions of agency intended to instigating change; dealing with agency is an area of 'concern' in EEG (Pike, et.al., 2016). What this analysis suggests through the relationship between the sustainability and embeddedness of place brands is more than the need to 'allow for' the evolution of the path within path dependency (Martin, 2010), it is the need to recognise that evolution within the dominant path may be a necessity for the continuity of the path in some cases. Particularly cases when the path is one of purposeful activity situated within a path at another level. Further application of EEG concepts to policy interventions could be useful for EEG's development in regard to change through agency and the interaction of scales both cited as areas of concern (Pike et.al. 2016) in this field.

9.3 Place Branding's Contribution to Urban Development

As well as providing a place based and historical account of place branding which recognising the nature of place branding as place specific and evolving, this thesis has generated a further contribution to the field by illuminating the contribution that place branding can make to urban development. In this account of place branding, the main claim that can be made of place branding's contribution to urban development is through enhancing the strategic management and development of an urban area in line with its other urban development activities. Based on empirical analysis it is evident that place branding achieves this in three key ways: by enabling

city actors to know their city; to coordinate their city; and by enabling actors to construct a 'brand geography'.

First, the self-awareness of actors in the city is increased; enabling them to know their own city. This enhances actor's awareness of their own competitive advantage, what are their real strengths and how can cities best compete. In all of the cities studied cooperation with near neighbours was being undertaken in order to enable competition at other scales. In the case of Leipzig this was through the Central German Metropolitan Region, in Manchester there were formalised procedures to ensure that Greater Manchester was marketed under the attack brand of Manchester. In Malmö scale was gained through relationships with Lund and participation in the Øresund Region. In NewcastleGateshead although cooperation was problematic there was awareness of the benefit of increasing scale in order to compete. In Torino, there were plans to use place branding to enable the development of a metropolitan region.

Place branding can also contribute to consistency and coherence in cities ensuring that communication is clear and that activity in the cities is itself consistent and coherent. Manchester and Malmö exemplified this possible contribution. In Manchester, actors are particularly adept at presenting a clear and consistent external message to different audiences regardless of the internal machinations of governance. In Malmö, a clear and consistent strategy, entwined with the brand story, enabled both to enhance each other with the city communicating through the real developments in the city and the brand story enabling and promoting this activity. In NewcastleGateshead, the desire to develop and maintain a consistent message was a key factor in their motivation to develop an orchestrated place brand.

Actor's ability to know the city, enhanced by place branding, is also useful for their interaction with actors at other scales, such as those in national government and the EU. In Leipzig, the national government had a shared interest in the city's success which became synonymous with the success of German reunification due to the city's prominent role in the Peaceful Revolution. Manchester markets itself to central government as a 'go to' capable northern city in which to pioneer new policy. Malmö has gained profile and purpose by reorienting itself to Europe and Torino was able to

gain profile and funding on the anniversary of the unification of Italy due to its historical role as the first capital of Italy. In NewcastleGateshead interviewees spoke of a desire to improve their relationships with actors at other scales particularly national government. Self-awareness in this area enables better relationships and clearer aims when dealing with these bodies.

Second, place branding can provide a means to coordinate actors in the city resulting in more cohesive activity. Place branding and its ability to improve the self-awareness of the many actors in the city, discussed above, also enhances the coordination of the city. A place brand can enable the setting of priorities and the communication of these priorities to stakeholders. For example, in Leipzig the Leipzigger Freiheit brand was credited with redefining priorities after the early post-reunification Leipzig Kommt slogan. In Malmö branding activity was used to communicate new priorities to residents and in both Torino and NewcastleGateshead actors mentioned the desire to use branding to enhance a shared definition and awareness of priorities.

In addition, branding can contribute to developing and communicating strategy, notions of shared destinies can be used to mobilise support for strategy and involve actors in their development. Communicating success to stakeholders helps to embed strategies in local activity. In Leipzig, urban development strategies themselves became part of the brand as a communication of how the city 'behaves'. In Manchester, the brand is integrated into strategy through governance arrangements and through the leadership of the city's Creative Director. In Malmö, brand and strategy are also entwined through governance arrangements and their regular comprehensive planning. The brand communicates strategy to stakeholders telling positive stories that contribute to achieving the strategy. In Torino, creating a more 'colourful' brand of the city was integrated into strategy which included the Winter Olympics and support for the rediscovery of traditional economic activities which had lost prominence. Once again there was a desire from actors in NewcastleGateshead to enable the development and communication of strategy in their place branding work.

Place branding can enable actors to be more adept at spotting and making the most of opportunities that may arise it can also enable them to create opportunities due to a refined notion of what is in line with wider aims in the city and what is likely to achieve support. Manchester and Malmö have been particularly adept at recognising opportunities and integrating them into wider narratives and strategies. In Malmö, the significance of the Bridge was integrated into strategy in retrospect, a powerful strategy was instigated by this opportunity rather than the Bridge being built as a result of strategy in Malmö. In Manchester, opportunities, even negative events, are integrated into broader narratives of success and evidence of the 'Manchester way'. It is argued that actors who are thoroughly aware of their city and the strategic aims are better placed to respond to opportunities as they arise.

Thirdly, place branding can provide a unique contribution through the construction of a 'brand geography'. This is a geographical imaginary which is both relational and territorial; bounded and unbounded, it is dynamic and open to contestation; it enables actors to construct the most useful geography for urban development. Essentially it is an enabling geography. This most useful geography is achieved through the borrowing of attractive assets which are useful for place branding purposes and the borrowing of profile from locations which are already visibly. For example, in the case of Leipzig the pooling of assets in the Central German Metropolitan Region, in the case of Malmö the borrowed size and profile or the Øresund Region. In the case of Manchester Greater Manchester offers scale and assets while Manchester is the visible attack brand and Torino providing a point of attraction for the wider Piemonte region.

This borrowing is facilitated by the ability to bridge inconvenient administrative divides that may be a barrier to urban development. In Leipzig, the Central German Metropolitan Region is able to market the location even through there are problematic administrative divides. In the case of Malmö an increasing close relationship with Lund is to be communicated through brand narratives even though the cities will remain administratively separate. Manchester's well developed administrative structures support the borrowing of assets and profile across administrative divides and in Torino actors propose to use learning from their past

experience of branding to facilitate the development of a Metropolitan region covering currently separate administrative areas.

NewcastleGateshead provides a particularly interesting instance of brand geography, in this case the borrowing of size and assets takes place but the borrowing of profile is not fully undertaken. In this case the brand geography is dynamic and contested with stakeholders disagreeing about the form the band geography should take. This demonstrates the value of the concept, both analytical and instructive. It can provide a framework of analysis or an urban development tool of which the result is fluidity of scale and a geographical imaginary that maximises the cities' urban development potential. All cities have a brand geography, what a place brand offers is the opportunity to try and modify this for economic aims. The concept of brand geography is not only conceptually useful but also valuable for analytical and practical purposes allowing the investigation and comparison of cities between locations and over time. This could be an illuminating concept for place brand practitioners.

These contributions to urban development can enable place branding to change the rules of the game in a location, and through an iterative process increase the possibility of an embedded and sustainable place brand. A greater awareness and employment of place branding to achieve primarily these sorts of aims in cities could enhance the contribution place branding makes to urban development in theory and practice. What this contribution highlights in place branding debates is the need for clarity about what place branding does and can achieve. Much work is undertaken on developing approaches to the assessment of branding (Jacobson, 2012; Zenker and Braun, 2015; Zenker and Rütter, 2014) and public participation (Clawson Hudak, 2015; Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015), while place branding's contribution is regarded as self-evident. The findings of this study suggest there is a great deal to be learnt about the employment and outcomes of place branding, which could provide useful development for the whole field. This notion of place branding as contributing to the planning and management of cities is particularly pertinent to the post economic crisis context which will be discussed later in this chapter.

This policy and practice based contribution, which is converted to policy conclusions later in this chapter, can also feed-back to institutional and EEG approaches which were employed in frameworks of this analysis. Few attempts have been made to use these approaches in order to feed back to policy and practice audiences (Pike et. al., 2016) it is argued that this is achieved here largely due to the fact that the subject of study was in itself a policy intervention. First, the attempt has been made to connect levels (Pike et.al., 2016); the path of place branding activities was the object under investigation in cities which were selected due to their shared evolutionary trajectories. Second, the agency of actors was a key feature of analysis integrated through discursive institutionalism and path plasticity and finally, further to this, narrative and meaning were recognised in the analysis. It can be concluded that policy contributions are a reasonable expectation for research employing these perspectives.

9.4 Evaluating Place Branding

The final research aim of the study was to investigate the question: how can place branding's contribution to urban development best be assessed and evaluated. There seemed to be a general agreement in the cities that place brand assessment was important yet very difficult to do and something which needed to be improved. However, despite this there was a general belief that place branding had had some positive affect in their city, even if the nature and extent of that was not always clear. The starting point to respond to this line of enquiry, particularly in a context in which theoretical models have not been developed effectively due to lack of use (Zenker and Braun, 2015), was to better understand the problematic nature of place brand assessment through the empirical investigation of current assessment practice.

The problematic nature of place branding assessment can be attributed to the features of the phenomenon, its interactive relationship with the city as a whole and with the governance context it sits within. In relation to the interactive nature of place branding there are problems of lengthy timeframes which are misaligned to the timeframes often associated with the evaluation of urban development programmes. There is the issue of causation; how can we be sure that a positive outcome occurred as a result of branding rather than another feature of the city? There is also

the issue of attribution, if we are confident that a characteristic has been integrated into the brand of the city how can we be sure that it is due to branding activity rather than other events.

The second problematic feature of place branding is the context in which it takes place. For example, financial constraints can limit opportunities to evaluate the place brands as the prices of this can seem comparatively high. Competitive funding contexts mean that various organisations need to demonstrate their value to boards and funders meaning there is competition over who can claim influence in this complicated interaction between the brand and the city. In addition, in a context where there are so many actors involved there are many varying traditions of assessment present; finding an assessment method to satisfy all of them only adds to the challenge. These issues then compound the problem by creating a lack of certainly around assessment outcomes which undermines the work that is undertaken in this area.

In Leipzig, the economic performance indicators are regularly reported and visitor statistics and press coverage are also monitored. Brand recognition was sometimes tested on an ad hoc basis and the limited nature of assessment was due to budgetary constraints. Leipzig was the only city in which perceptions research was not referenced by interviewees. In Manchester, informal self-appraisal of actors aligning their activities to the brand was mentioned by interviewees along with the collection of economic performance indictors and tourism and conference statistics. Manchester also collected perceptions research through the Anholt GfK Roper City Brands Index. Similarl,y to Manchester self-assessment is a feature of Malmö's brand evaluation with the organisational forms in Malmö resulting in continual assessment of activity against brand principles. As in the other cities economic performance statistics are reported, as are tourism figures. Perceptions research is undertaken, sometimes in response to events such as the shootings which took place. There were plans to evaluate the tourism orientated Malmö Town brand; this had not yet taken place at the time of the research.

In NewcastleGateshead perceptions research was undertaken and a particularly thorough version of this research took place during the period of study to act as a

baseline for the place branding project that was taking place at that time. Tourism and conference statistics are collected as are economic performance measures on the NewcastleGateshead scale. Specific assessments are also undertaken of particular projects. NGI were instrumental in ensuring that this line of enquiry was included in the study demonstrating their interest in undertaking adequate place branding assessment. In Torino, economic performance indicators are reported as are tourism statistics. Two research centres worked on evaluating the impact of the Winter Olympic Games on issues such as public opinion, media interest and tourism over time demonstrating one of the more thorough assessments of a key feature of place branding. In all of the cities, there is little attempt to connect the assessment, outlined here, that does take place in a way which could enable the evaluation of place branding activity.

To further the analysis of assessment undertaken in the case study cities a model assessment framework comprising impact, outcomes, outputs, activities and inputs (Pike et al. 2016, p.201, adapted from MacCallum, 2006) was used to discern the deviation of current practice to a general assessment model. This analysis evidenced that the assessment activity in this area is clearly uneven. Assessment of impact, for example perceptions research and outcomes such as investment figures and visitor numbers, was common but the other elements of the assessment process were generally lacking. This results in the problem of tracking cause and effect; linking resulting impact to initial inputs. More positively, it does suggest a way forward in which more joining up of existing assessment paired with targeting gaps could result in rapid progress in place brand assessment.

Assessment of this rather ephemeral process is clearly problematic for city actors, it is suggested that place branding cannot be adequately assessed by isolated performance indicators but must comprise assessment of various different processes at different points over time which could eventually be converted to useful testable expectations providing learning to direct place branding activities rather than proof of outcomes. The contribution to the field here is to illuminate the elements of place branding which lead to the difficulty in assessing the outcomes of the activity. Essentially, what is suggested is that the assessment of place branding will always be problematic but that it can be much improved from the current status quo.

Reducing the fragmented and uneven nature of current assessment and evaluation would progress the field towards a form of assessment though which place branding could best be assed and evaluated. What these findings can feed back to the place branding debate on measurement is the need to evolve assessment methods from the type of assessment and monitoring that does take place rather than create theoretical models developed from other forms of brand assessment which remain largely untested (Zenker and Braun, 2015). This may be the most fruitful way of developing approaches which ensure that place branding does not remain 'safely unaccountable' (Ashworth, 2008).

9.5 Conclusions for Policy and Practice

The findings of this research point to a number of interesting conclusions both for NGI as the non-academic partner and for place branding practitioners more generally. First, an understanding of place branding which is locally specific highlights that a one size fits all approach is not appropriate. Place branding practitioners, cited as homogenising place brands (Ashworth, 2008) often undertake an audit of the characteristics of the place in order to identity suitable features for the content of the brand. What this institutional analysis has demonstrated is that a similar audit of the institutional arrangements and environment is necessary to understand how place branding activity can be effectively delivered in locally specific ways.

This means a clear understanding of the institutional arrangements comprising strategic, narrating and animating organisations is required for effective place brand strategies. Recognition of the type of organisations that exist, the role they can play, levels of engagement and the alignment between them is important information to plan the effective delivery of a place brand. In addition, an assessment of how hospitable the institutional environment is to place branding is required. What are the local cultural norms of working, how well do actors cooperate and how effective is leadership? These are questions that practitioners need to ask; developing a locally specific approach accordingly. This analysis suggests that supportive leadership is

particularly important for place branding and can foster both cooperation and useful working norms.

Second, for those wanting to embed and sustain place branding in a location the historically specific nature of place branding, as highlighted by this study, is an important finding. A narrative approach to place branding can yield an authentic brand generated by continuity with the past. The use of EEG concepts in this thesis points to ways in which this activity can become sustainable. For those aiming to embed and sustain place branding, positive reinforcement is a useful tool achieved by reporting successes to significant actors. For those introducing place branding in a location it is important to develop the institutional regime to ensure it is equipped and hospitable to place branding activity; explained in the points above about institutional arrangements and environment. For all those involved in place branding work the continual revision and renewal of content and delivery mechanism is vital to maintain traction in changing environments. This should be accommodated in place branding strategies.

This analysis has also shown that competitive bidding processes can be a useful tool to those wishing to develop place branding activity. Serving as a period of intense mobilisation, this process can increase motivation, provide an opportunity for overt leadership, increase the connections between actors, introduce new possibilities into the local imagination and provide examples of success which can be used for positive reinforcement. Any activity which similarly can provide these features could be usefully employed by those wishing to embed and sustain place branding activity.

Third, this thesis illuminates the contribution place branding can make to urban development as one of place management. It can improve actor's ability to know the city, its competitive advantage, best form of cooperation and relationships at other scales. It can also enable the coordination of the city, the setting of priorities, the development and communication of strategy and enhance response to opportunities. Those contributions often attributed to place branding appear to be secondary in response to the better management of the brand internally; this has clear implications for the instances in which place branding should be employed and the approaches taken.

Furthermore, the contribution of a brand geography is something which should be overtly managed by practitioners in cooperation with strategic organisations. This analysis demonstrates that all places have a brand geography. Practitioners should be aware of its potential to allow the borrowing of assets and scale and the bridging of administrative divides: ensuring it is maximised as an enabling geography to best meet development needs.

Finally, although place branding assessment is problematic improvements can be made by maximising the assessment that is undertaken and working to fill gaps in knowledge. This can be enabled though the development of use of an effective evaluation framework such as that developed for general local and regional development policy evaluations shown at figure 8.1 (Pike, et al. 2016, p.201). Consistent use of a full framework is required to start to link cause and effect of this rather diffuse intervention.

9.6 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

As with any investigation of this nature, choices have to be made about the most valuable focus of interest with decisions about what to exclude from the sphere of investigation as important as what to include. In this case, the judgements made have been led both by the literature and the desire to capitalise on the opportunity offered by working closely with NGI. For example, the decision to investigate the existing assessment methods of the case study cities rather than to try and assess the comparative impact of the brands is driven by the desire to focus; contributing to the other research questions rather than evaluating assessment methods where there is already a developing body of work (Jacobson, 2012; Zenker and Braun, 2015; Zenker and Rütter, 2014).

In addition, there are a lack of voices from the public and investigation of public participation in the cities, once again this is an area where there is already a growing body of work (Clawson Hudak, 2015; Kavaratzis and Kalandides, 2015), this focus would not have enabled me to capitalise on the relationship with NGI where the investigation of the actors involved was the natural conclusion. Other limitations of

the study are the focus on old industrial locations as the case studies which as cited in the literature may be distinct in their experiences (Millington et al., 2007, in Niedomysl, 2004). Once again this was driven by selecting cases based on the core case of NewcastleGateshead, to provide comparator cities to enable learning opportunities for the non-academic partner. Finally, an investigation of the reaction of external audiences to the cities' branding activity could have been a fruitful avenue of investigation but the scale of this would have been problematic requiring a loss of focus on other areas and undermining the systematic analysis of the case studies that was undertaken.

The specific scope of the study that emerged from the early decision-making process has resulted in findings that not only offer some clear contributions to the field but also suggest clear areas for further investigation and offers tools to aid in analysis. An inevitable future research possibility would be to return to the cities to investigate their place branding activities after 2012 and test the assertion that place branding may be entering a new phase based on the strategic management of cities.

In particular, did NewcastleGateshead's orchestrated place branding project eventually gain traction? Has Malmö been able to include social sustainability in its brand and mediate the increasingly close relationship with its near neighbour Lund within its current place branding approach? In Torino were actors able to utilise the experience of some of their previous place brand activities in the institutionalisation of their metropolitan area which was to become statutory from 2014? In Manchester, what was the impact of the change in the organisational forms with the establishment of the Manchester Growth Company in 2013? And, in Leipzig, can the 'We are the City' campaign (2015) to celebrate the city's one-thousand-year anniversary be explained in relation to institutions and by path plasticity?

Additionally, the value of extending the comparative analysis to undertake further locally specific and historical analyses of place brands from an institutional perspective is obvious. For example, by testing the assertions outlined here in locations beyond Europe, in places with different historical experiences, specifically for example in non-deindustrialised cities or towns and to locations at different scales, for example regions or neighbourhoods.

A valuable further investigation of the relationship between embeddedness and sustainability could be undertaken through the comparative analysis of locations which are experiencing their own crises or particularly dynamic events, to test the conclusions drawn here. In addition, the concept of brand geography is ripe for further research: this analytical tool has the possibility to aid comparative analysis of place brands both in different locations and over time. If offers the possibility of mapping the extent of the place brands constructed and even the brands of places which are not undertaking orchestrated place branding activities. This concept needs further development in order to fulfil that potential. In addition to the brand geography concept the analytical tools designed through this process such as the typology of organisations, the analytical diagram and the brand geography concept could be employed in any of the research avenues advocated above and warrant development in their own right for the contribution they could make to comparative analysis and evaluation, both academically and in practice.

9.7 Final thoughts

The contributions made by this thesis to the field of place branding, by creating a geographical and historical account in which place branding should be considered primarily as a contributing intervention to enhance the strategic management and development of a city have been garnered through a fundamentally geographical analysis. Geographical accounts are in a minority in a place branding literature dominated by marketing approaches (Greenop and Darchen, 2015) but as is demonstrated by the introduction to the field of an institutionalist perspective; they have much to offer. Though this study I hope to contribute to a growing body of literature which takes an increasingly complex view of place branding as a tool for the strategic management and development of cities (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013; Messely, et al.. 2014; Oliveira, 2015: Pasquinelli, 2014) rather than a device only to attract desirable audiences.

This emerging theme in the literature may partly result from the changed economic context in which place branding operates and the way place branding seems to be

entangled with a particular set of economic and social circumstances and discourses. From its early days, place promotion has been bound up with the economic, political and social contexts of place and time (Ward 1994). More recently place marketing can be aligned to the context of urban entrepreneurialism with the increased marketization of urban development and the shift to place branding situated in the context of distinctive cities and the discourse of interurban competition. The fundamentally geographical and historically embedded nature of place branding, illuminated in this account, aligns with earlier accounts in which place promotion and its evolution has been bound up with, in the case of cities, urban development contexts. As such, it is reasonable to assume that as that context changes the nature of place branding or rather the aims and activities of those actors who employ it in their locality will also change.

Although many of the activities that were recounted in this research had taken place previously the research itself was undertaking in the post crisis period when the foundations upon which much of the place branding activity had been built: signature buildings; mega events; cultural infrastructure and tourism, were no longer aligned to the urban development context. As such, actors in the cities were looking to reassess their approach to branding possibly to enable urban development in new ways for example by recasting a more business oriented image (NewcastleGatsehead) enabling zero cost reform (Torino) or working to improve integration (Malmö). This suggests that place branding is entering a new phase. Once again, we see place branding bound up with the economic, political and social contexts in which it is found.

It seems that this new phase is being recognised by writers (Oliveira, 2015, Eshuis and Edwards, 2013, and Pasquinelli, 2014) who are contributing to an emerging theme which recognises place branding as contributing to the strategic development and management of cities. This work can contribute to the momentum of that emerging theme. It seems that in more straightened economic circumstances different expectations are being heaped onto place branding activities. This research does suggest that place branding can contribute to the strategic management and development of cities, however a much greater understanding is required if this is to become anything other than a blunt instrument. It is unlikely that place branding

could meet these complex expectations without more research particularly from a geographical, local and regional development perspective.

To return to the initial assertion of this chapter it seems that place branding is perceived as a superficial activity which may not truly be of interest to geographers. Place branding can be practiced superficially as a 'transitory marketing trick' (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005) but in that case, it is a trick which would not fool anyone. In fact, what was discovered through this analysis was that place branding and place brand development was embedded in local circumstances as part of a body of urban development interventions which was believed to have had some impact on the economic trajectories of the cities. As such, this cannot be ignored by geographers. Geographical analysis has a lot to offer the place branding field. As a place specific, embedded economic activity, which is practiced to further urban development aims by mobilising the essence of 'place', it has much to offer geographers.

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11 Appendix 1: Example Interview Guide

NewcastleGateshead: Project Group

Introduction

1. I'd like to understand a little more about your organisation and your role, could you outline the aims of your organisation and your place within it?

Place and Image

2. In what ways do you think the image of NewcastleGateshead has changed in recent years and has this impacted on your work?

3. Do you think the existing image of NewcastleGateshead is the same internally and externally?

4. Do you believe a place's image is important for its urban development prospects?
   - Economic development
   - Social Development
   - Physical Development
   - Resilience

5. Do you think that a place's image is something that can be changed through the activities of local organisations and businesses?

NewcastleGateshead

6. What do you think the motivations for place branding are in NewcastleGateshead and who do you think is driving it?

7. What do you think place branding can contribute to the development of NewcastleGateshead?

8. Which organisations do you think are the most important to support place branding in NewcastleGateshead?
    How about the relationships between them?

9. What do you think about the approach to place branding which has been undertaken in NewcastleGateshead?
    Has anything surprised you about the process?

10. Are there any elements of the existing NewcastleGateshead image that you have tried to exclude from the place brand?

11. What do you think will be the critical factor for the success of the place branding work in NewcastleGateshead?

12. What do you think are the main challenges you face in branding NewcastleGateshead?

13. What do you think would help the NewcastleGateshead place branding become sustained long term?

14. What do you think would help the NewcastleGateshead place brand become embedded in people's thinking and actions?

15. Do you think the above will be different for those who are branding the city and those who are its key audiences?

16. What do you think would be the best way to assess the contribution place branding makes to the development of NewcastleGateshead?

17. What alternative activities or changes do you think would have a positive impact on NewcastleGateshead's development?

Your own work and the cities as a whole?

18. Is there anything you would like to add?

19. Further contacts or documents?