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STORIES FROM THE CITY, STORIES FROM THE SEA

How place brands are perceived differently from local's and tourist's point of view

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in Marketing

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Globalization and the rise of place branding

In the globalizing world resources can move increasingly freely from one place to another. As barriers for trading are taken down, capital is invested wherever it is most profitable. People are becoming more international and mobile, not afraid to move to another country to pursue their lives. People are also travelling more; spreading their own culture and as a souvenir bringing a new kind of culture back to their places of origin. Internet is one big reason why the world is getting smaller and more compact. People are aware of other places and the things these places have to offer. Everything and everyone is more connected. (Anholt, 2002)

The more connected the world is, the more it becomes homogeneous. There are pro's and con's of globalization in regards to places, which are inseparable from each other. Globalization provides freedom – for people to decide in which kind of a place they want to live; for capital to move wherever it is most profitable and for goods to be purchased from wherever and be delivered to every location. Yet, this mobility of people, capital, goods and ideas is turning places into international locations, which all provide the same things. One can find a McDonald's, an Apple-store and a Holiday-Inn in most big or middle-sized cities. People demand the same services in all major cities; Wi-Fi, payment with Visa and Taxi's to name a few. The fulfilling of these needs might bring familiarity and comfort, but as the amount of similar products, services, venues and others increases, places might at the same time lose something authentic in return. Places start to resemble each other. (Anholt, 2002)

In the past three decades, nations, regions, cities, business districts, communities, neighborhoods, urban districts, and other locales have faced an increasing competition with each other due to the abovementioned reasons (Anholt, 2002). Places compete for resources, which include economic, human, social, and cultural capital in the form of tourism, investments, business development, events, skilled labour, leaders, desirable citizens and neighbours (Kotler et al. 1999). Places need to provide an infrastructure for these resources to flourish, and at the same time have something authentic and special to differentiate themselves from other places. (Warnaby et al., 2002, in Pryor & Grossbart 2007, 292)

The sensitivity to the pressures in the market has led some places to find new ways to market themselves; branding, which originally was used by product marketers, has now been taken into use in place marketing (Pryor & Grossbart 2007, 292). Of different kind of place marketers, city marketers are the ones who have been most agile in adapting strategies from product branding to their work. Nevertheless, it is very much

only about the image sold to the tourists. Campaigns are superficial representations mostly based on a new logo, slogan and a visual identity on websites, public transportation and other public usage. (Klingmann, 2007)

It seems that the field of place marketing has been practised mostly to sell a place to tourists and investors (Klingmann, 2007). In a world where places start to resemble another, the task of differentiating could be based on the true identity of the places and their authenticity, rather than trying to build an image, which sells the same bulk product to everyone. By understanding how a place is structured in the minds of the stakeholders of a place, may it be locals, tourists or investors, it might be easier to find ways to develop places and at the same time preserve authenticity and variety of places and cultures. For this reason it is important to investigate exactly of which components people construct a place brand of. If a place brand can be broken down into pieces and the importance of each piece can be evaluated, it can be easier to direct the development of the brand to the wanted direction through developing a strategy for each piece. (Anholt, 2002)

1.2 Challenges in the research field

Place marketing is still a relatively new field of research and there are a lot of inconsistencies within the literature. Both academics and practitioners are still trying to create a common language system for the field, since now many terms are being used in different contexts and meanings, making the information available quite confusing. Almost every article needs to explain, how terms such as place branding, place marketing, place promotion, image and identity are understood in their view and what relations they have with each other. (Freire, 2009)

Simon Anholt is one of the pioneers in the field who is also an editor of the *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, the only publication dedicated to place branding only. In an issue in 2010 he encouraged his colleagues to get beyond the defining of the field and to start moving on to contributing to the things that matter, admitting nevertheless that it is not an easy task to mature something that has come together very quickly, comprising of many different practices and sciences. Looking at the more recent issues of the publication, it is evident that the same problem still exists. Academics are still trying to create a common language and consensus to the field. (Anholt, 2010, 1; Pryor & Grossbart, 2007, 293)

Maybe because of the shattered nature of the research field, it has not yet been able to break out from a very distinct number of themes. Ashworth and Kavarazis (2009, 521) point out that the stagnant nature of the field might also be due to the fact that the routes in the place branding literature are depending a lot on the backgrounds

and interests of a very small number of commentators (Ashworth & Kavarazis 2009, 521). There has been few popular trends around place branding literature; national branding (Dinnie 2008) often in the context of trying to use it to market products from the country of origin; discussion on the effects that entertainment and cultural branding have on the physical and sociocultural reality of a city (Kavaratzis 2005); and destination branding (Schaar 2013), which studies how places are being branded in order to attract more tourists. The latter has been most successful in providing solutions which have been applied to practice. (Ashworth & Kavarazis 2009, 521)

One discussion within the field is about the definition of a place and its more philosophical structure (Gover & Go, 2009). What does a place consist of; is it the concrete structures; buildings, people, borders and such, or is it more some sort of collective image in the minds of people? Is a place static or dynamic? How can places of different sizes and natures be researched, and how can the results be applied to the other, or can they? For now it is not clear if the practices of branding of a country can be applied for a city or a region, or the other way around. It is needless to say that every country, region and city is different. There are arguments both for and against applying the practices but at the moment consensus seems to be that different kinds of areas acquire different kinds of strategies, which are designed to fit their individual purposes.

The unique characteristics that places hold as brandable objects are now on top of research, but there is still very little liable empirical academic research done on the subject. It is assumed that place brands have some unique characteristics that differ their branding from the branding of products and services, but it is not so clear what these characteristics are. (Freire 2009)

1.3 Purpose of the study

This study was inspired by the change occurring in Berlin. The city consists of many different parts which all have their own strong characters. People always seem to be very fond of their own part of the city, while dismissing the other. Due to gentrification in Berlin, which is also a phenomenon resulting from globalization, the identities of these places have changed a lot during the past ten years; a place which used to be hip might now be very residential, or the other way around. It seems that there is not any reason for one place to be trendy and another not to. People are changing their minds about the locations a lot and identifying with these new places they come to work and live in. This brings up the question: If a place is not something stable; not just a geographical location, the buildings, shops or restaurants in the area, what is it then? Is it the people bringing the culture, their own lives, ideas, shops, restaurants and products?

These questions about Berlin and its districts lead to larger questions about what a place is and one answer can be found in place branding.

The essential idea behind place branding is that a place can be thought of as a brand, and a brand is ultimately an embedded idea in the minds of people. If a place is an idea in the minds of people, of what components does this idea consist of? How big of a role do the aforementioned things play in the formation of this idea?

As a city district is a bit small unit to be researched and there is not much written about it, this study was expanded to cities. The notion that people see a place differently depending on their relation to it is in the core of the examination of a place in this study. As there can be many different relations that a person has to a place, two were chosen. First the relation which one has living in a city, and secondly the relation one has while visiting a city. In other words, the way one sees a place as a local or a tourist. The purpose of this study is to find out if and how locals and tourists perceive a place brand differently. This purpose is approached through two specific questions:

- Which components form a place brand in people's minds?
- Is a place brand formed differently depending if the perceiver a local or a tourist?

This research is on city-brands, and it is arguable if the results can be applied to other kinds of areas such as countries or regions. Some theories suggest that there are similarities between the different forms of areas and their branding but at the moment consensus seems to be that there aren't standardized solutions which can be applied generally to all areas (Anholt 2006). As the field of place branding is still evolving, this study too needs to deal with the field's incompleteness, and work within the unfinished frames. In this thesis the terms are determined in one way, whereas in another study they could be determined in a different manner. Therefore also this study is a proof of the problem at hand.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is a guideline to provide ideas on what to look for in the empiric data, but in the end it is mostly the empiric data, which will provide more information to be attached to the theory. As the results of this thesis lay much on the empiric data, it has some connecting points to grounded theory. (Pryor & Grossbart, 2007, 293; Freire, 2009)

The somewhat poetic title of this thesis refers to an album by PJ Harvey. The songs on the album are about contrasts between home and the unknown. The artist herself comes from a little English village where she has lived all her life and the album tells about her time as a foreigner in New York. She travelled to New York to find something new and exciting. It is common, not only for artists, but for all people to look for inspiration in the unknown. While traveling people look at the world with different

eyes than they look at the places they live in, and even the most exotic place is a home to someone who may not feel the exoticness about it at all. The way we see a home and a travel destination, and what we want from these places can give more ideas about how to combine these different interests in a way that is profitable for the local as well as the tourist.

In the second chapter place brands and their formation will be examined through different models, after which in the third chapter stakeholders involved in creating place brands, as well as image and identity will be studied. In the fourth chapter the most common components of place brand will be examined more in detail. Description of methodology will be followed by results and discussion.

2 FORMATION OF A PLACE BRAND

2.1 Overview on place brands

The term brand can be found in marketing literature already in 1922 (Stern, 2006 in Pryor & Grossbart 2007, 292). Branding is one of the most important tools within marketing strategy and its application has gained in importance ever since. For a long time branding was related mostly to products and services. Nowadays brands are considered properties of a wide range of entities such as corporations, public figures, causes and ideologies. It is hard to find things that could not be brands, branded or brand-able anymore. (Anholt 2010, 2; Freire, 2009; Pryor & Grossbart, 2007, 292)

The practice of branding was applied to place marketing relatively late; at the time when Kotler et al. (1993) introduced the idea that places could be run like businesses, creating wealth to the owners, being in a competitive situation, evolving and reacting to changing circumstances (Anholt 2010, 2). The reason for implementing branding in cities' commercial strategies lies in the fact that, in the end, people view cities in the same way as brands. A place is not just the concrete characteristics it possesses just like a BMW car is not *just* a car with certain technical features. A BMW car comes with many other characteristics such as lifestyle, status and a rich visual library of images and associations throughout the company's history, the product presented through media and personal experience. The same way places can be seen to have a much wider existence than just the geo-political one. For example Paris; it is not just the reality inside the city-borders, it is also a concept of the most romantic city in the world. To a large extent these images are created through books, movies, media and shared stories. These sets of associations act in a similar way as brands. (Ashworth 2009, 522.)

American Marketing Association's dictionary provides a simple definition of place marketing; it is "marketing designed to influence target audiences to behave in some positive manner with respect to the products or services associated with a specific place." Included in the definition is also a statement notifying that "attempts by an individual or an organization to educate target audiences or change their attitudes about a place are not marketing." Anholt (2010, 2) suggests that the implication is that "marketing – the development, promotion, distribution and sale of products and services – is a legitimate, tangible and measurable activity with direct business benefits, a 'real job', --whereas brand is an academic construct, a psychological process, a phenomenon for observation rather than a discipline to be practiced." A brand is something abstract in comparison to marketing, which *tries* to use the concept of a brand in order to create some concrete, measurable outcomes.

Anholt points out that the American Marketing Associations' dictionary's definition does marketing a disservice by suggesting that attitude and image are separate concepts. He thinks the two cannot be easily set apart since in marketing it is hard to see the causality, what are the reasons and their consequences. Attitude and image can be the consequences of successful marketing, even though it is highly unlikely in place marketing where there are so many variables effecting on the image created. Anholt's view about place marketing; what it is and what it is not, is quite in line with the general view on marketing being a holistic way of managing a business and its processes (Kotler 1992.)

Brand is one of the key success factors in driving sales and increasing corporate value. The techniques in marketing communications are to create interest, which should result in sales, which then naturally results in consumer's own experience about the product. If the experience and expectations meet, and the consumer communicates a positive experience to others, brand equity is born (Anholt 2010, 10). Whereas place marketing is the application of corporate identity principles such as logos, straplines, messages, and promotional campaigns, place branding is more concerned about the context in which the marketing communications operate. Reputation, identity and image are not so easy to influence, since it is a collective entity owned by everyone involved, not just the ones who are trying to have an effect on it. For this reason some claim that place branding is an oxymoron, an impossible combination. (Parkerson 2007, 264; Anholt, 2005, 225)

A very central point to understand place branding, is that a brand is created in the mind of the consumer (De Chernatony, 1992, in Parkerson 2007, 264). Branding consists of emotional, intellectual, psychological and physical aspects which can be seen in place branding mostly as an extension to the social and physical surroundings of a place (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, unpublished, in Parkerson 2007, 264). According to Kavaratzis (2004, 65) the key to successful city branding is to create a link between the brand and its consumer so that the consumer's different needs are met with the brands functional attributes and symbolic values. A consumer of a place can be for example a local, a tourist or an investor.

The very idea of branding is to reduce images to make something complex more understandable. Anholt argues that when it comes to places, complexity and richness are things that should be valued as there is no single thing which could be sold to fulfill the needs of the many different kind of stakeholders (Anholt 2003, 37). Nevertheless there are models which approach place branding from different angles, and which provide some framing for place branding to be practiced.

The next three models are presented to show examples of the kind of studies which have been the foundation for the components which are examined in the fourth chapter.

2.2 Models for place brands

2.2.1 *The hexagon of competitive identity*

Simon Anholt has developed the hexagon of competitive identity (See Figure 1). This theory is developed for countries and nationalities, but even though the branding of countries and cities are arguably not parallel, this is a theory which is very popular within place branding and should therefore be mentioned. In Anholt's book "Competitive identity" countries, cities, nations and regions are often used in the same context. The hexagon of competitive identity consists of six components: tourism, brand, policies, investment, culture and people. These are channels in which a country and its people deliberately or by accident create a reputation for themselves. (Anholt 2003)

Tourism promotion and first hand experiences people have in an area are usually the most important tools in creating a reputation. Tourism organizations often have the money to be spent in promotion as tourism is in the interest of many different stakeholders. Cities councils have boards for tourism, which are now common even in smaller cities. (Anholt 2003)

By brands in this theory is meant product or service brands, which come from a certain country, such as Ikea (Sweden) or Sony (Japan). If the origin of a brand is not known, it cannot affect the country's reputation. For the brand to be beneficial from a country's or city's point of view, the origin of the brand needs to be part of the product's brand. It is very common that luxury brands use a city in their advertising. Louis Vuitton, Christian Dior, and Chanel have picked Paris as their city, Tiffany & Co. and Barney's are clearly from New York and Burberry has a stamp being from London, likewise Rolls Royce. An article in *Luxury Daily* (Lamb 2012), which compares the pros and cons of a brand using a city in order to gain a fresh aesthetic, suggests that these cities are a crucial part of the brand; the brand has an exclusive badge from a certain place. American city brands offer inventiveness and they push boundaries, whereas certain European cities can offer heritage and class. In these cases the companies look to benefit from the reputation of the city, but they are at the same time contributing to the brand of the city. (Anholt 2003)

By policy decisions in Anholt's theory is meant both foreign decisions, which affect the country's relationships with other countries directly, and domestic decisions, which might be reported outside the country. Regarding cities, other cities within the same country might be informed about the decisions made, but unless they are in some way unusual, the information might not cross a country's borders. Policies that are interesting or somehow might affect the receiver of the information, might reach the news. Amsterdam's drug policies can be informed about, as people are interested in

how a society with loose drug politics functions. Bubblegum being illegal in Shanghai is an entertaining fact if one is not aware of the reasons. The ban on Airbnb in cities like New York, Berlin, Barcelona and San Francisco is being informed about as it might be interesting to the people travelling to these destinations and therefore have a practical value. (Anholt 2003)

The way in which a country manages the investments it attracts is one way of interacting with the outer world and therefore part of brand building. The way a country deals with foreign students, professional talents and companies, which expand into the country sends a message about the attitudes, policies and people in the country. The aspect of brand building through investments might have more to do with a country, since within a country the policies regarding foreign investments are usually inclined. (Anholt 2003)

Culture can be anything from an actual cultural product such as a piece of art (book, film, poem, statue, recording etc.), to cultural activities and events. This can naturally be most of all also from a certain city, not only country. Gaudi is tied to Barcelona, Venice has its own kind of art glass, and Milan has its fashion week. It does not necessarily need to be from the place for it to have an impact. It can be a cultural product from the observer of a place; there are songs, films and poems about cities from the visitors' point of view, which also have an impact on how the city is perceived. (Anholt 2003)

Locals have an impact on how a place is perceived by tourist, and the way tourists behave in a destination can affect how locals see the people coming from this country or city. In a globalizing world it doesn't need to be about actual travelling as one comes across different people around the world through media too. In general people are a major part in brand building of a place. (Anholt, 2003)

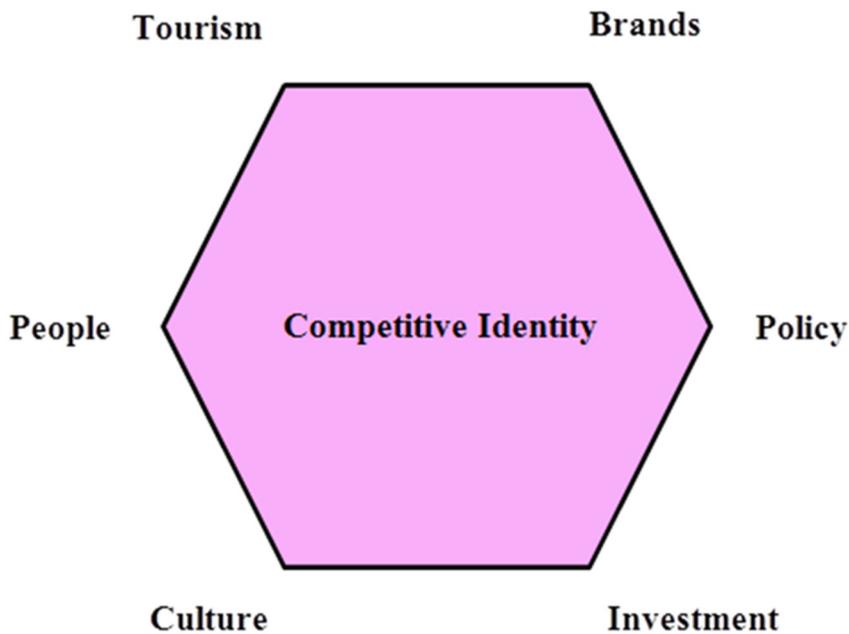


Figure 1: The Hexagon of competitive identity by Anholt (2003)

2.2.2 Three gap model for the formation of tourist destination image

A model by Govers and Go (2004, See Figure 2), which is based on several other theories (Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, Berry 1985 in Gover and Go, 2004) aims to explain how a tourist destination image (TDI) is born depending on three possible gaps between perceptions and the actual situation. The model divides image in two; the one the host place is creating, and the one, which the guest perceives.

The first gap may arise between the actual identity of the host and the way in which it is applied in practice by tourism development. If the strategy for tourism is not based on the actual identity and there is no support from the local community, there is a gap. The second gap may arise if the demands and needs of the guest are unrealistic. These are something that are more related to the tourists own expectations on a subjective level, it is not so much about what the destination itself is promising. Media plays a crucial role in the formation of this gap. If the tourist does not get the things, which for a reason or another are expected, the perceived image and actual image are not aligned, and the image of the place is likely to change. The third gap has to do with the interaction between the host and the guest, more from the host's side. A place should be able to provide what it promises, if not, it can lead to an altered TDI.

In this model the different factors, which together create the TDI are: projected tourism destination image (marketing, communication, media & ITC, narratives & visually created meaning), vicarious place experiences (intermediaries or produced imagination, such as art, literature and popular culture), temporal, environmental, or situational

influences (political situation, economic conditions, technological advancement, social changes). (Govers and Go, 2004)

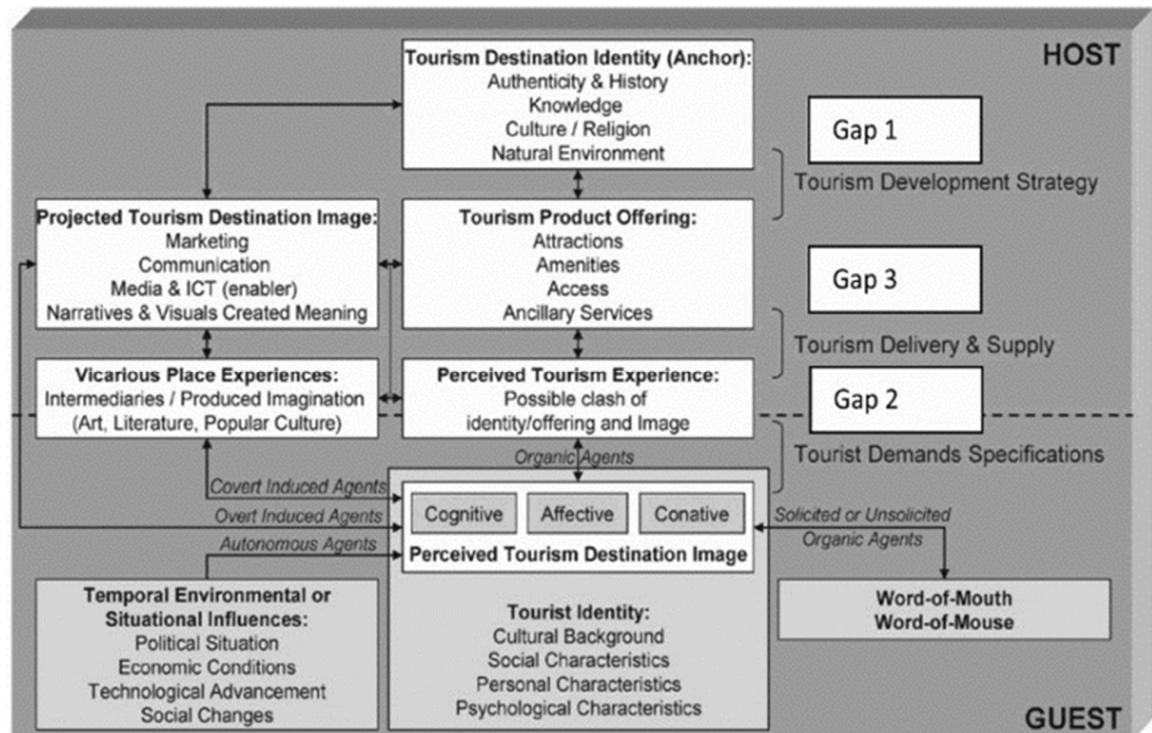


Figure 2: Three-gap model for the formation of a TDI, Gover et al. (2004) in Van der See (2013)

2.2.3 Model for co-creating a place brand “bottom-up”

Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) have presented an adaptation of Gnoth’s (2002) model (See Figure 3), which takes into consideration two aspects; image and identity. These will be explored more in detail in later chapters. This model deals with nation brand but it is intertwined with places. It is concluded that when this model is applied to countries, it should more focus on the emotional and representational elements, whereas applied to smaller areas, such as regions and cities, the functional elements should be in the foreground.

In Hakala’s and Lemmetyinen’s model, image consist of experiences, stereotypes and knowledge. Experiences are first-hand knowledge about a place when one has visited the place oneself. According to Schmitt (2003, cited in Keller and Lehmann 2006), these experiences can be of five type; sensual (sensory perception), feeling (affection and emotions), thinking (creativity and cognition), acting (behavior, for example tourism, business, studying) or relating (connections with people and their culture). Stereotypes are mental shortcuts to reduce the information of a place in order to understand

it coherently; they are more shared beliefs than facts, derived usually through media. Knowledge is factual information about a place received from official resources such as news and articles in the media (Beerli and Martin 2004).

Identity, in this model, consists of symbolic, experiential and functional elements. Symbolic elements are such as the visual presentation of a place including the imagery, logo, symbols and slogans. Experiential level is the way people experience the place they live and visit. Functional level refers to the infrastructural elements of a place including social, economic and political conditions. These are such things as healthcare, school system, housing, roads and public transportation and cultural offerings (Florida 2008)

When identity and image are put together in a matrixe they create place intangibles (logos, symbols, flags, colours, slogans), place relationships (events and people) and infrastructural elements of the place (monuments, buildings, sights, traffic connections.)

		IMAGE		
		Knowledge	Experiences	Stereotypes
I D E N T I T Y	<i>Symbolic</i>	Intangibles		
	<i>Experiential</i>	Relationships		
	<i>Functional</i>	Infrastructural elements		

Figure 3: Co-creating a place brand "bottom-up" by Hakala & Lemmetyinen (2011) elaborated from Gnoth (2002)

2.3 Adapted model for place brand

Models in previous chapters introduced a few ideas about what the components of a place brand could be. In the Hexagon of competitive identity (Anholt 2003) there were policies, investment, people, tourism, brands and culture. In the Three-gap model (Gover & Go, 2004) for the formation of tourist image focused on the image side of the brand. The image was comprised of elements such as projected tourism destination image (marketing, communication, media & ITC, narratives & visually created meaning), vicarious place experiences (intermediaries, or produced imagination, such as art, literature and popular culture), temporal environmental or situational influences (political situation, economic conditions, technological advancement, social changes). The model for co-creation of a place brand “bottom-up” (Hakala & Lemmetyinen 2011) put together identity and image in a matrix creating place intangibles (logos, symbols, flags, colors, slogans), place relationships (events and people) and infrastructural elements of the place (monuments, buildings, sightseeings, traffic connections).

The components in different models are partly the same, and the components have many connecting points. For example, hexagon-model mentions culture and Tourist destination image mentions art, literature and popular culture. In all three models policies are in one way or another mentioned, as well as people.

At this point it can be concluded (See Figure 4), that brands are formed in the minds of people through identity and image. In the adapted model the small circles represent the different components of which a place brand consists of. Identity and image as well as the components will be examined more in detail in the next chapters.

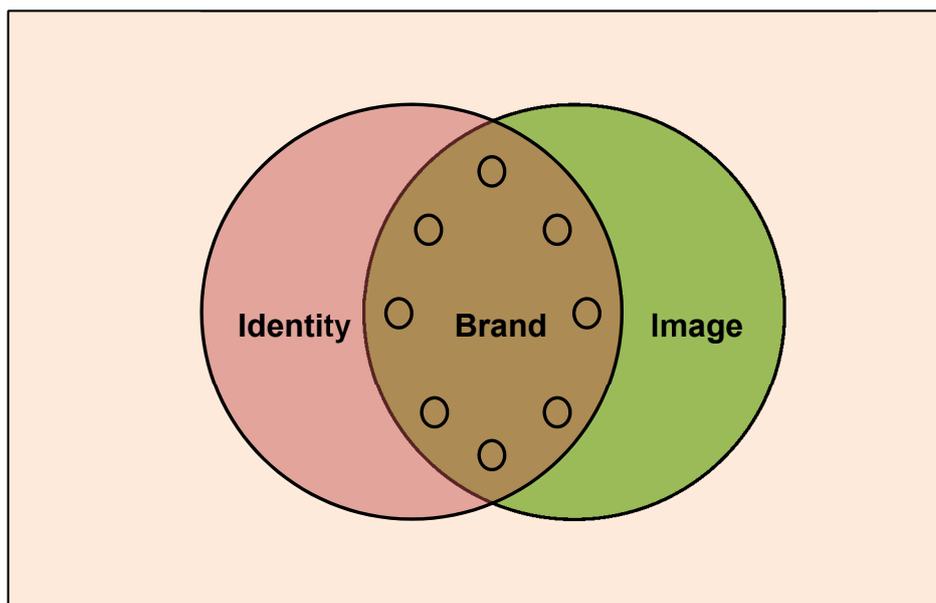


Figure 4: Identity, image and the unidentified components of a place brand

3 STAKEHOLDERS, IDENTITY AND IMAGE

3.1 Stakeholders of a place brand

A place brand is a creation of many stakeholders and their contribution to the place brand in different ways. There are locals, tourists, investors, governmental institutions, all who create the brand, maybe also with different interests in mind. A product brand is owned by a company which to some extent is in control of the brand. The consumers often add to the brand too, but not as much as in the case of a place brand where the control is in the hands of numerous different stakeholders, and not one single organization. (Kavaratzis 2004, 65.) Kotler et al (1999 in Plaza 2013, 54) go on dividing the stakeholders into business visitors, tourists, residents, skilled workers, business and industrial investment and export markets.

An inhabitant might be looking for an environment in which to lead a life; find work, raise family and be safe. For environment to be these attributes it might possess for example a good economy, infrastructure, social services, chances to get a good education and a low crime rate. A place has long-time and new residents. A city aims to keep the residents who are already living in the city, and prevents them from moving to other cities. At the same time a city should attract new residents. (Herstein 2013, Freire 2009)

The things people look for in their living environment might be different from what they look for in a holiday destination. When people travel they are looking for something different from their home environment; relaxation, adventure and novelty. A place might even be a bit dangerous as long as it's interesting. In a holiday destination one is more interested in the short-term experience, not necessarily in how the destination and the people living there are otherwise doing. Tourism brings money to the destination but some places have also been ruined because of it. (Freire 2009)

There is the business and industry sector, which includes foreign and domestic companies, investors and civil service. A city should attract companies both domestically and internationally. This aspect is intertwined with the attraction of the right kind of residents. Cities like Melbourne and Sydney work hard to attract skilled workers in engineering and IT so that the city would appeal to the companies, which are wanted in the area (Herstein, 2013). An investor is interested in the profit for the money invested. The interest is economic; a capital investor might be viewing a place in terms of such things as taxation, cost and availability of labour, infrastructure and local governance (Freire 2009.)

Export markets can also be counted as an interest group. The demand of products, in some product categories, might be dependent on the brand of a place where the

products are coming from. A piece of clothing made in Milan might seem different in the consumers mind than the same piece of clothing made in a Taiwan. Oranges from the city of Jaffa or the perfume from Grasse are products where the origin of place is an essential part of the product. In product category of wine the importance of the place of origin is probably most visible. The place of origin does clearly matter and therefore cities are spending a lot of money in enhancing their place brands. (Herstein, 2013)

The aforementioned stakeholders create a place brand more or less unconsciously. When talking about action that aims at building a place brand the groups are more established. People like city leaders, politicians, local authorities, development agencies, policy makers, city planners, leaders of key institutions and business and community leaders are the forces that have a lot of impact on the brand of a place. These people are trying to create a balanced environment in which all stakeholder groups and their interest are met. (Parkerson, 2007, 264)

The effectiveness of a brand is seen to be dependent on how well the different stakeholders of a place are integrated with each other. If there is an interest between these groups to establish a balance and work on a common goal maximizing the economic, social and cultural outcomings, a brand strategy is more likely to be efficient. When all stakeholders know where they are heading and what are they working for, a collective sense of purpose is born which creates a strong brand. (Borg 2008; Braun 2008; Anholt, 2009, 36; Parkerson 2007, 264)

According to Muratowski (2012, 206) city branding should not be aiming to sell the city but to enhance the lives of the people who live there by taking into account social, cultural, economic and political environments and practices. For this reason city branding cannot be thought of as an extension of product or corporate branding, but its own distinctive form of branding, which needs practices designed for its purposes only. Kavaratzis (2004) suggests that the solution is in the development of the community; “both for achieving competitive advantage in order to increase inward investment and tourism, and also for achieving community development, reinforcing local identity and identification of the citizens with their city and activating all social forces to avoid social exclusion and unrest.”

3.2 Identity and the local

Local people are the ones who have a strong place attachment and an emotional bond- age with a place. There are two kinds of attachments, which locals have for a place. Place-referent attachment is based on past actions and experiences of a place; they are very intense and emotional. This kind of attachment can naturally only occur among people who have been living in the city for a while; it is very personal and based on the

experiences in the city, not on information outside the individual. Place brand construction is however a future-oriented process so these past experiences are out of reach as they cannot be influenced anymore. If the brand construction is to be built socially responsibly, these meanings among the local population should be recognized and respected in the formation of the brand. (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996 in Lindstedt 2011, 46)

The other form of place attachment is place-congruent, which refers to the maintenance of the self via a place. In this form of attachment a person is aiming to build self-continuity with the help of the characteristics of a place. People want to live in a place which matches their values and represents them (Scannel and Gifford, 2010 in Lindstedt 2011, 46.) In case there is not any place-congruent continuity, an inhabitant might feel the desire to find a place which better matches their personality. The place brander's job is to recognize the essential elements of a place and make people feel proud of where they come from or where they are currently living (Felman 1990, cited in Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, in Lindstedt 2011, 46). (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996 in Lindstedt 2011, 46; Anholt 2009, 158)

The latter form of place attachment can be seen as part of self-branding. One might want to live in a place which is sort of an extension of one's personality. As mentioned before, there are stereotypes of locals; a Parisian, a New Yorker, A Berliner; they all have their own characteristics. Place can be thought of as a social category to which a person wants to belong and also distinguish oneself from other groups. (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell in Lindstedt 2011, 47.)

In order for there to be place attachment, a person needs to feel that a city supports their goals. A place needs to provide resources with which a person can work on to create the sort of life they want. The goal can be to understand oneself as a certain kind of person, but also the manageability which the city provides is important; is one able to work on one's goals in the frames which a city sets. If the city does not provide appropriate frame for an individual, they might look for it somewhere else. Reasons might be for example ethnicity, religion, sexuality or less obvious forms of identity. The people who come in comparison to people who go make a difference in the city's atmosphere; people with certain kind of characteristics and habits come to live among people like themselves. Cities can also try to attract certain kind of inhabitants. Many post-industrial cities in the US for example compete on attracting creative class, the socioeconomic class which creates new ideas, new technologies and new creative content, since at the same time it brings prosperity to the city in forms of companies, jobs and taxes to name a few. (Stokols and Schumacher 1981, and Florida 2002 in Lindstedt 2011, 46; Molotch 2002)

The local people are also an asset to a place brand as one of the things by which tourists evaluate places are the people who live in the destination. How the people who

one meets on the streets are, how the service is, what the general atmosphere among the people is. Much of a place's image can be created by stereotyping the typical local people. Of course the tourists' personal characteristics have a huge impact in the way in which the people are seen, and therefore the image formation is in the end always also dependent on the tourists motivation for travel. (Freire 2009 43 - 50)

The identity of a place is ultimately the result of the identity of the local people, therefore while developing a place's brand, the identity of the people should be thought of as the ground for building the identity and brand. The locals should be part of the process, deciding how they want their city to be portrayed and what things should be highlighted. Ideally the people will embody the identity in everything they do, projecting a strong and coherent image of a place.(Campelo et al. (2010; Hakala & Lemmetyinen 2011, 16)

The way in which people see themselves, determines their behavior, and based on this behavior an image of a person is formed. Same thing is true about places, which to a large extent is about the people who live there. Identity is the core of image. It determines behavior which in turn determines how a place is perceived. According to Relph (1976 in Lindstedt 2011, 45) the vision which is collectively shared about a place is in the end based on the identities formed at the individual level. (Anholt, 2009, 47)

3.3 Image and the tourist

The World Tourism Organisation (World Tourism Organization - -1995) defines tourists as people "traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes." Brown et al. (2011, 7-9) go on dividing tourists into 4 categories based on their needs and reasons for travelling; business and professional tourists, leisure and holiday tourists, tourists traveling to visit friends or family, and youth tourists, including backpackers and gap year travelers. In this thesis only the tourists traveling for leisure are studied.

Tourists are becoming increasingly sophisticated and discerning, and destination choice is now a considerable indication of lifestyle and a way to express identity. The image of a place which people travel to is therefore also part of the individuals desired identity (Vilchez 2012). Beerli and Martin (2004) agree that the image of a place, defined as the sum of beliefs and impressions people hold about a place, plays a significant role in the tourist's choice of destination. The image is based upon people's previous knowledge, beliefs, and experiences, or on stereotypes.

Brand image is the perception about a place which is embedded in people's minds (Anholt 2010, 9) For a brand image to be of some use, it needs not only to be in people's minds, but also visible in reality. People need to be able to ascribe certain

kinds of meanings to a place and communicate about them. (Lindstedt 201, 43) The natural process of a place's changing image, can be enhanced towards becoming a brand for example through public relations – influencing the media and creating an image of a positive and shared image of a place. It is nevertheless not a shortcut to change the existing perceptions – the literature around place branding highlights that best way to build an image is to root it in reality. As a strategist at a branding agency put it: “ The brand has to be based on what is already there in a city or else it is just like giving someone a nice haircut – it might look good for a while, but it doesn't give you a new personality.” (Anholt 2010, 10; Salman 2008)

It is a popular belief, that place branding is an exercise in communication and advertising, but it is a very narrow way to see the issue. Just like product branding is much more about a holistic strategy than just a package and a campaign, also place branding should be based on the identification, organization and coordination of all the variables that affect the destination image. A place brand is a multi-construct which has many sides to it. Image is the sum of all the attributes connected to the place, not just by individual pieces of information but also on a more holistic level. (Gensch in Freire 2009)

Images are derived from a variety of factors, which can be for example cultural, social, environmental, political or local. People build an image based on these features, advantages and benefits, which are collected from different sources. There might be first-hand experience but often the image is created by the information received through the media; film, television, magazines, literature, computer games, internet and word-of-mouth. Place marketers trying to reposition the city constitute a very little percentage of this information. Most of it is serving other purposes by a vast amount of people and their agendas. Due to this there is a great potential for mixed messages. (Freire 2009; Parkerson 2007, 264)

Destination images are filled with emotional and cognitive information by the consumer of the image. The image is always an outcome of both kind of information. Cognitive information is the knowledge and beliefs about a place whereas emotional information includes feelings about the cognitive information. There is knowledge about a place but in consumer's view this information is always somewhat changing depending on the individual circumstances. Image is a very subjective construct based on those information flows that the perceiver has come across with. (Freire 2009)

Image is something that changes very slowly. Anholt writes that images are ‘reality with delay,’ they have been built over decades and are quite stable. People stick to stereotypes; it is a way of coping with the uncertainty and complexity of the world. People need to make sense of the vast amount of information they are provided with. The easiest way is to try to reduce it into understandable entities. Nevertheless stereo-

types very seldomly reflect the real current nature of things. Especially places can change quickly but their images remain quite stable. (Anholt 2010, 31; Anholt 2006, 27) People have deeply rooted beliefs, which they are sure to be correct. In case these beliefs are negative and exciting they are very unlikely to change even if they were in fact incorrect. People will never voluntarily “trade down” to a boring, positive perception even if it would be the correct one. It is often also assumed that the negative stories in press are more likely to be true than the positive ones. Images of places can be very fundamental, and even if new information would be given, the images might not change at all. For this reason as deeply rooted negative opinion about a place is a very hard task to change. (Anholt 2009, 133-153)

Anholt writes about the image of a country, but if it can further be applied to cities, it can be said that the change in opinion is only possible, when a person is ready for it. A person needs to be engaged with the thought of a place on a bit more focused level so that it is in the position to change; it needs to become relevant and move from the unconscious to the conscious mind. There needs to be a stimulus for this to occur, either rational, emotional or their combination. If a person is not open for the new image, it won't get across. If an image is substantial, it is very unlikely to change; new information will only be added on top of the old image. When a place becomes personal the image is greatly enhanced and transformed from a brand into experienced reality. This is when an image gains in significance and power. (Anholt 2009, 133-153)

3.4 Adapted model with stakeholders added

Both identity and image of a place are seamless extensions of the identity and image people have of themselves. People identify themselves with their surroundings and the places they travel to. People are part of a neighborhood, a district, city, country and eventually part of the world. It is a natural human tendency to be connected in one's living environment and people do this very much unconsciously. Even though a place brand is a basis for economical pursuits, at the same time it can help the residents to connect better with their environment; a place becomes an entity with which one can more easily identify oneself. (Anholt 2009, 157;Kavaratzis 2004, 58)

Identity is the way in which a place's inhabitants see it and image is the picture which is formed more outside of the core, for example by the tourists. Both of these aspects give a different side and contribution to a brand. Organic development can be seen to be attached with identity whereas artificial branding has got more to do with image. Trying to create a place brand artificially is “dangerous and, sometimes, presumptuous business” as a consultant director at Wolff Olin's put it. It is very hard to narrow something as vast as a place into a brand (Salman 2008). Most cities' brands are

developed organically, for example Paris around romance and Hong Kong around trade. (Freire 2009; Salman 2008)

In the adapted model (See Figure 5) two stakeholders of a place brand are added. Identity and image in the figure can be thought of as lenses; The arrow pointing away from the brand is the picture that the local or tourist see. The local sees the brand mostly through identity, but also through image. Tourists see the brand more through a place's image. Local is more linked with the identity and tourist with the image, but they are all intertwined with each other. (Freire 2009)

The arrow pointing from the local and tourist towards the brand means that they are part of the brand; they can be thought of as little circles, as brand's components, too. Locals are part of a place's brand as they are an inseparable part of a place's identity, and therefore also part of the image. Tourist can also be part of a place's brand, especially if they come in large quantities. Both of the groups contribute to the place brand. (Freire 2009)

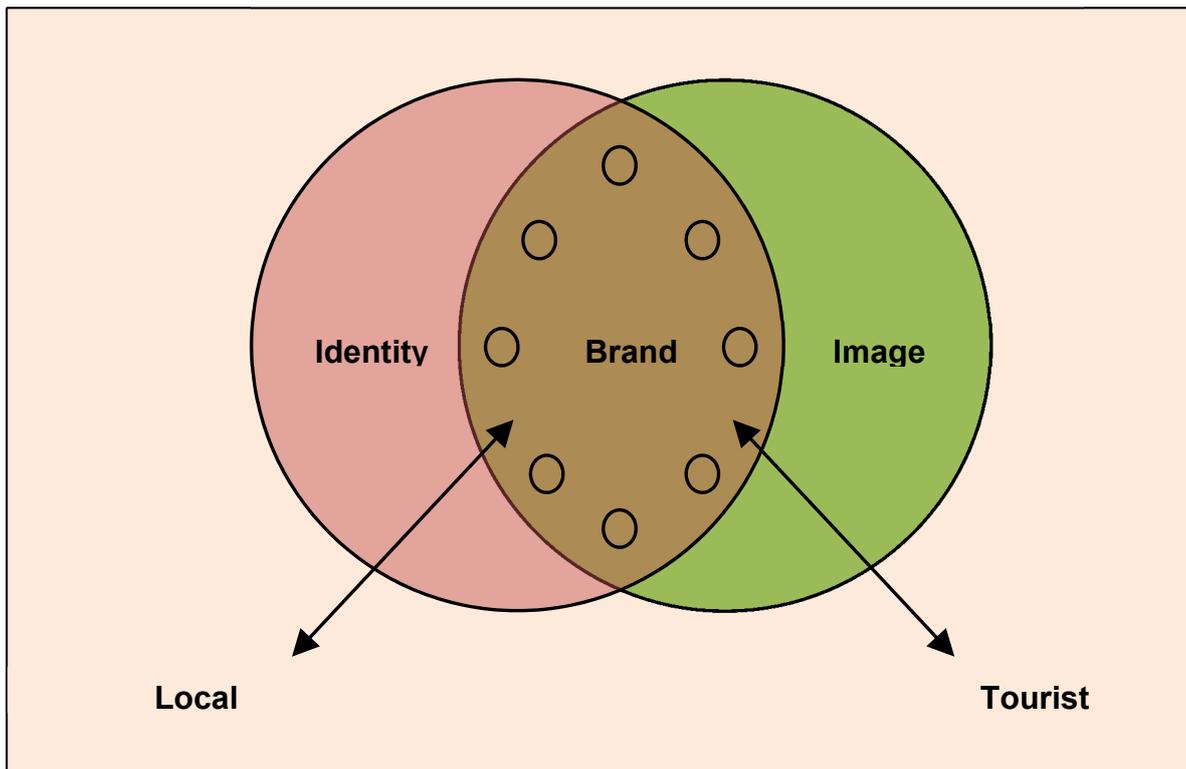


Figure 4: Adapted model with added stakeholders

4 COMPONENTS OF A PLACE BRAND

The components in the following chapters are based not only on the models in the previous chapters but also on other studies in many different publications. These components recur in several books and publications that evolve around place branding. The list of these components is therefore not put together by anyone specific, but by scanning through a vast amount of literature around place branding.

4.1 Symbols, slogans and visual identity

It has been argued that cities naturally possess the basic elements of a brand, and that people, although unconsciously, already perceive cities as brands (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009, 521). Cities have ‘corporate identities’ which include them having a name, a visual identity (often a coat of arms, flag or a similar sign), symbols (landmarks and monuments), brand image and so on. This also designates that a city can be branded just like other brandable items. Even the names of cities have been changed in order to enhance a brand image (Medway and Warnaby 2014, 161). Cities are creating new visual identities just like corporations are rebranding themselves. Many cities also have their own ‘logos’ and slogans, and even whole advertising campaigns designed to make the city more appealing. All this can be further developed into a level where a city becomes a trademark (Anholt 2010, 9). As city marketing is a relatively new form of activity to be practiced in an organized way, there is often the delusion that it equals promotion. For this reason most city marketing efforts are often just promotional activities which start and finish with the visual elements of logos and slogans (Asworth 2009, 522)

New York is a good example of a very well branded city. The roots of the “I heart NY”-logo are in the seventies when the city decided it wanted to instil pride in itself and to attract more tourism by creating an image of New York as a place one needs to visit (Marcus Mitchell in Salman 2008). Cities like New York invest millions of dollars in their campaigns (16 millions in 2007) just to keep the brand going (Chung 2007). In the seventies the logo was created for a campaign which aimed to raise attention just short-term. However the logo maintained and grew to be a big asset for the city. There are all kinds of merchandize with the logo to be purchased - licensed or not. The city of New York has filed thousands of charges against copycats who has used the logo. After 9/11 there was also a rebranding, as the designer of the original logo, Milton Glaser, also designed a new logo; a little black spot on the heart and addition to the text “ I love New York More Than Ever.” (Kidd 2003; Salman 2008)

There are also symbols which “naturally” represent a city. Eiffel tower of Paris, London phone booths, double-deckers and post boxes, Berlin’s Ampelmann, to name a few. They are some essential specialties of the city, which have been commercialized into images and products that can be sold as souvenirs. The essence of the city is narrowed into these images and items by the tourism industry.

Logos, which are closely related to a city, can also have an impact. Jonathan Gabay, the founder of Brand Forensics mentions the logo for the 2012 Olympics in London to be a good example of a logo gone wrong, associating the event and the city in a negative way: “ Disjointed and crude, it speaks about uncertainty which is present in London. From unfocused brand values to poorly managed transport, policing and environment, and disenfranchised communities” The existence of a logo does not mean that it would yet be beneficial for a city. Many cities are rushed to create a logo just for there to be one, without considering the goals. (Salaman 2008)

Cities also have slogans. Berlin is known as “poor but sexy,” the statement made by the city’s governor in 2004 is ever since quoted a lot and it has become the unofficial slogan for Berlin (Pearson 2013). It is known that “what happens in Vegas stays in Vegas,” this slogan encourages the visitors to get a bit crazy on their holiday; this implicitly means spending more money on activities (Spillman 2009). Amsterdam had a huge campaign centering around the slogan “I Amsterdam,” a slogan by Saatchi & Saatchi which cost 100 000 euros (Van Dijk 2014). London is “totally London,” and Basel “beats differently.” Slogans purpose is to express something essential about the product, service, or in this case, about the city in question. (Ashworth 2009, 521)

Flags are visual identities of countries and when it comes to cities, coat of arms, emblems or other signs can be seen as symbols, which have been designed to perform a persuasive or communicative function. These signs have been made both for the citizens and the visitors of the city. Anholt sees this analogous to the functions which are seen in the commercial marketplace. Flags are often loaded with national symbolism, and their purpose is to send a message of purpose or identity or aspiration for its citizens or for outsiders, both friends and enemies. Visually they can be very strong as is the case with for example the flag of Japan, the Union Jack, Stars and Stripes, which are by nature already very much like logos. Some flags which are quite generic, such as the flag of Italy, nevertheless manage to trigger a variety of emotional responses about the country; Italian food, Italian football, history of Italy. Flags are, of course, more bind to countries, but cities’ coat of arms or similar have the same function. (Anholt 2010, 6)

The names of places are also effective tools in containing a brand image as they instantly create a vast emotional response in an individual (Anholt 2010, 6). Changing a name of a city can also be a part of rebranding. This was the case with the city area of Trafalgar Square as its name was changed into Northbank. In this case there was a structural change involved as the city wanted to unite certain functions of the city. The name

was changed as the area needed a new setting in the minds of people, a new umbrella term to unite the area. The rebranding was made by a consultant office, very much like a corporal rebrand would be done. (Gosling 2003)

4.2 Architecture

Single monuments are one thing, but looking at the most successful city brands of the world, it is obvious that they are also identifiable through their more general physical character. New York's skyline or the variety of historical architecture in Paris come to mind immediately as one thinks of these cities. A city brand, which is seen as attractive, lively and unique is often based on its rich architectural and cultural heritage. Good architecture is an inseparable part of functional city planning, which aims to create a space in which people can live, work and spend their leisure time. Good surroundings enhance the feeling of vision, sense of community, direction and development. In these kind of places businesses want to invest; areas which possess the basic qualities of a functional city, regardless of economic cycles. (Muratowski 2012, 197-200; Klingmann, 2007, 273-274; Parkerson and Saunders, 2005, 243-244)

Historically architecture and urban design have been a form of propaganda to demonstrate power and authority. It has often been the religion or state whose power has been understated through pompous buildings. Most obvious examples can be found in ancient Greece, ancient Egypt and imperial Rome, where the architecture is very massive and impressive. (Sklair 2010)

In a contemporary world architecture is more an asset which can be used in the marketing of a place. Muratowski (2012, 199) notes that even as it may appear as if there would be a historical divide between architectural propaganda and today's place branding, the latter may in fact just be a more subtle variant of the former. What else would place branding be, than becoming superior in comparison to other places? It may not possess the national or religious aspect so much anymore but in the end the goal of being superior is the same.

Venturi (1972, 1) suggests that architecture is always a vehicle of propaganda, which "acts as a 'billboard' that conveys certain messages through the choice of style, material, technology or historical reference." Julier (2000, 120 -121) sees architecture in a very similar way and describes the exteriors of buildings as 'displays of the historical, cultural and commercial achievements of the city and the nation-state. In this interpretation the national, competitive aspect is very much present. (Muratowski 2012, 199-200;Diamond 2003)

People want to live in and travel to beautiful and interesting places. Even though a lot has to do with landscape and weather, in city tourism architecture plays a big part

in creating an atmosphere. Some cities' branding strategies are even based on their architectural features, for example Barcelona is drawing very much on Gaudi's work. (Muratowski 2012, 199-200; Sklair 2010)

Contemporary architecture has become something for which people travel for. Guggenheim museums are a good example of this kind of tourism. The dutch "super star" architect Rem Koolhaas, who has been involved a lot in the so called Middle East renaissance, and developed a plan for the Waterfront city in Dubai for example, is concerned that the use of this kind of architecture might turn the world too much alike. Cities are using the same architects, same kind of marketing communications, building types; creating the same kind of contemporary architecture all around the world, which might "reduce cities to homogenous architectural 'theme parks'." The aim is of course to bring something fresh and new to the cityscape, but the strategy might work against itself and defeat the whole purpose of the branding exercise. In place branding literature this has already been discussed when it comes to logos, slogans and visual identities, but now it has become evident regarding architecture, too. The usage of well know architects does boost international recognition and minimizes financial risk, but it might also create a less personal sense of a place. Klingmann (2007, 280) describes these as "d é j à vu urban landscapes" which become "franchises that vary little from each other." (Ouroussoff 2008; Muratowski 2012; Szondi 2007)

Uniqueness of the sociocultural and manmade elements of a city might be the key for place branding. A place needs differentiating strong elements, which provide sustainable competitive advantage and create brand equity. Architecture is both sociocultural as it has a function for the people, and manmade, a demonstration of the "crafted skill of a man" a piece of functional art. (Parkerson and Saunders 2005, 247)

Architecture can also be something that brands its user. Companies build headquarters which fit their values to boost their identity and image, people buy houses of certain kind to relate these with themselves, people visit famous buildings, just like they visit holiday destinations; not just because they are interesting, but because of self-branding. One takes a little piece of destination with oneself; the fact of having visited a place is a status symbol of its own kind. Architecture can support and boost the identity, and it can fulfill economic and social ambitions. Through new structures, interfaces and networks, architecture can facilitate growth and transformation. People are branding themselves through architecture and places are branding themselves through certain architects. (Klingmann 2007; Muratowski 2012, 196)

The 'physical fabric' of a place, as Mayes calls it, should be involved in place branding. Place brand is an entity of which, ideally, a big part is based on reality. It should not just be about slogans and brochures, but about the real things occurring in the physical reality. Architecture is about as concrete as it gets, therefore it is an intrinsic building block of a place brand. (Mayes, 2008, 129)

4.3 Policies

Architecture, or any other single component, alone is not enough to build a successful city brand. A city needs social policies which make it enjoyable environment for people to live and visit. Politically unstable places are not popular destinations for visiting, as are not cities which have high crime rates. People want to live and visit places which are safe and provide activities. In the end it comes down to intricate details which make the environment pleasant, such as clean streets and a public transport which works appropriately. According to Anholt (2008, 3) place branding should be build upon good policies, which are supported by a strategy, substance and symbolic action. (Muratowski 2012, 203; Lee 2011)

Jonathan Gabay, the founder of Brand Forensics, gives the example of New York; the city's success lies in the integration and direction. There is a consensus in the leadership of the city about where the city is heading and what it is about: a city with a vast mix of people who have the potential to realize their dream by hard work regardless of their sex, age or race. New York represents the "can-do"-attitude of the American dream. This attitude is seen everywhere from the city's skyscrapers to customer service. When citizens are proud of where they come from, they turn into brand ambassadors of the city's spirit and therefore attract more visitors to see "what the fuss is all about," maybe turning into ambassadors themselves. (Salman, 2008; Kavaratzis 2004 58)

Single policies can also attract tourists. It is not uncommon that people travel to the Netherlands just because of the country's loose drug politics. It is not far-fetched either, that some people travel to Thailand because of prostitution. South America has had a lot of ayahuasca tourism in recent years, Indonesia is visited by a lot of tourists just for the hallucinogenic mushrooms and people are often searching for the authentic absinthe in Spain. Some people are intrigued by different kind of food policy and travel to Japan to eat the potentially highly toxic blowfish or to China to taste dog. These kind of reasons for traveling might sound rough, but they are there whether the policy makers realize it or not. More often it might be more subtle things that create a feeling for the city. Berlin is laidback partly due to the fact that everything is not extremely regulated. Countries and cities encourage their citizens to certain kind of behavior through policies. What things are financially supported; for example art, little businesses, safety or sports? The decisions will show in the general feeling of the city.

Policies need to be thought of as long-term building blocks of a place brand. Unlike products, with which short-term changes and experiments are possible, places can't be treated without thinking consequences. Policies need to be thoughtfully designed to enhance the lives of its citizens, taking into account social, cultural, political, and economic practices and outcomings. (Lee 2011 in Muratowski 2012, 196)

There have always been rules, guides and norms, which are widespread and known in many cultures, but some are more related to a specific time and place. Policies can be something that restrict the lives of the citizens to a large extent or something very minor. Example of the former would be North-Korea where freedom of speech and moving are highly regulated. Then there are laws which might not be so important. The fact that one cannot eat bubblegum in Singapore probably does not make anyone's life any harder, but is a funny fact which is often heard when talking about the city. The house exteriors and fittings are strictly regulated in many places, which give the areas a unified look, in other places exactly the variety of buildings is the interesting part. Policies are embedded in everything and give the place a framework in which to function. Some of them have a big impact, some small; looking at them tells about the environment which the people have wanted to create for themselves, at least when talking about places with democracy. (Molotch 2002, 674)

4.4 Products

Even though many products are sold worldwide, it does not mean that they could be produced anywhere. There are resources which limit the production, both physical and immaterial. Products are an outcome of an innovation which is place and time-related. In a way, product is born exactly somewhere because of the attributes that have come together to create it. While Apple devices are sold in every corner of the world, the innovation could not necessarily have been made anywhere. There needed to be the right resources and atmosphere for the product to emerge in a certain place. Even when places share many underlying characteristics, the small differences can generate big differences in the outcomes. (Storper 1997 in Molotch 2002, 666)

Many cities have local ethnic concentrations, which help specific goods to be formed. China-towns are good examples of places which form a demand for certain products, which otherwise would not be there. As the Chinese import Chinese goods for their own purposes, there are also retail businesses being born and the goods are distributed to citizens outside the area as well. Otherwise these goods could have a hard time existing if there was not the initial demand by the Chinese population. The presence of these ethnic products signals both to the resident and the outsiders the identity of the area. (Kasinitz 1992 in Molotch 2002 675)

Policies of a place, which then again are the outcome of the collective decision-making of the local people, also affect which goods are being produced and sold. Import and export rules have a huge impact on the products being produced domestically. For example US has high tariffs for imported steel, which makes it easier for the domestic

companies. Also Canadian timber is highly taxed in US which leads to more domestic harvesting and further to wood fabrication. (Molotch 2002, 675)

In branding literature it is often the products which are being talked about, the place of origin being an interest from the product's quality's point of view; that an electronics brand is Japanese, engineering German, cider English and so on. In these cases the brand of the place is aiding the brand of the product. Other kind of relationships between products and place are not so often thought about in regards of branding. Souvenirs could be seen as products, in which the brand of the place is a more important attribute. Products are sort of "tracers" to the nature of the place where they come from.

People buy souvenirs, not just because they want to remember an experience, but also because they want a proof that they were in fact in the destination. It is a sign for the outer world about this experience. When people buy souvenirs there are certain qualities they pay attention to. Turner and Raisinger suggest that for tourist there are three important attributes. First, the value of the product; the quality of the product and in which range it belongs to. Tourist want authenticity from a product and therefore handmade items are often sold mostly at least in places where tourists can afford them, since price is also an important factor. Second, the product's display characteristics like color, display, and packaging size. Souvenirs should be small in scale so that they can be easily imported home. Third, the product should be unique in the sense that it reminds the purchaser of the trip. (Turner and Reisinger 2001, Swanson 2004)

Many cities provide the same kind of souvenirs. In souvenir shops all around the world one can find key chains with the city name, bags, mugs, spoons, stickers, plates, magnets, miniatures of the city's sightseeing's and very probably a modified I heart NY – shirt. This merchandise works just as a signal of the fact that one was there. There is not much cultural input involved. (Medway and Warnaby, 2014, 159)

It might not be only specific items which trace to a place but also a more general feel across a range of products. Some might argue that there is an identifiable LA-feel across a whole range of products manufactured there, including furniture, appliances and cars. Business week described the design of Southern California as distinctively "exuberant, warm, optimistic and playful... part California, part Japanese, a brash expression of Pacific Rim confidence in the 90's. Think myth, metaphor, humor, and colour." (Business Week referenced in Molotch 2002, 665 - 675)

4.5 Food

Some places have a reputation in providing a specific kind of food or beverage. Champagne, Cognac, Parma, are all examples of places which have a very certain specialty named after them. Many regions and cities have their own delicacies, which a tourist

must try. In Berlin one is obligated to try currywurst, Amarillo is popular for its steaks and New York cheesecake is known worldwide. Many cities have their own gastronomic brand, if not a specialty, then a wider image in providing certain type of food. For some cities the food brand is a big part of their image, others don't have a certain gastronomic identity, which might be due to lack of "food basis" or other unique gastronomic resources. Nevertheless in recent research it is suggested that cities can create a gastronomic image even without having something distinct, by recognizing their cultural and historic traditions . (Gordin and Trabskaya, 2013, 189)

Culinarism is growing ever so popular and people travel more for culinary experiences. There are people who are very enthusiastic about food and have a passion for it, the so called "foodies" (Henders 2009). In general there is however not consensus on food's importance in traveling and it is also not clear if food alone can attract even the ones who are especially interested in it. McKerchers (2008) research suggests that culinary is not a liable indicator of travel, but a ubiquitous phenomenon. People will eat wherever they go, but most people will not go somewhere specific just for the food. Lin's (2011) research then again suggests that food has a core function in destination image building in seven different ways. A gastronomic place brand is dependent on the type and class of food, food related activities such as events and other establishments, cultural and social experiences related to food and the quality of food. (McKercher 2008)

Robinson's research (2014, 702) suggests that the people who are highly interested in food, "the foodies" are looking more for active food experiences than just plain eating in a restaurants as they travel. This kind of activities might include farmers markets, food events and festivals, and cultural events in which food play a role. In this kind of traveling food is very much part of the culture and the experience.

4.6 People

People are an essential part of a place. Without people there wouldn't be much history, art, architecture, events or culture. In the end a place is a sum of the people who live and have lived in the city. These people have created a city's heritage in all the previous mentioned dimensions. As the world is globalizing, it is not anymore the people who live in the city, who have an impact on it. There are multinational companies, expats, travellers and tourists who are reforming cities too. In a later chapter about stakeholders of a place, the locals and tourists will be discussed in details, therefore in this section the emphasis is on other types of people.

Many products have faces advertising them. So have places. In the case of a place, it is often not that calculated to have an advertiser, but the face has come to be a

representation of the city due to more natural reasons. It might be that a famous person has lived in the city or done something significant there. For example everyone knows that David Bowie had his Berlin phase, and the city is a big part of Bowie's image. He has spoken a lot about how Berlin influenced him during his years there. Bowie telling stories of how Berlin at the time was "the greatest cultural extravaganza that one could imagine" and that the city was "full of bars with sad and disappointed people," are golden phrases for a city's image. In Berlin's case also the latter one is in fact, if not a compliment, a way to bring a very certain and artful image forth. Berlin is profiting very much of its dodgy and a bit dangerous image as a city for alternative culture. (Expatica 2006).

Prague is using Kafka in order to sell the city. There are guides to "Kafka's Prague;" to the place where he was born, coffee shops where he used to write and have readings, there are monuments and museums for him (BBC - - 2012). Caesar is seen everywhere in Rome in different forms, as statues, products, in the names of public spaces, restaurants, dishes and so on. Different people; historical figures, artists, philosophers, scientists, politicians, contemporary individuals or groups have left their marks on their cities and become sort of monuments. (Plaza 2013, 55)

Fictional characters can also contribute to a city image (Plaza 2013, 55). The television series *Sex and the city* is very much about the life in New York, as the name says. The characters of the series are typical New Yorkers, an aspect which is very much highlighted in the series. There are several tours which one can attend in New York to visit the places where "Samantha invites the girls to Abu Dhabi" or where "the ladies discussed Alexander Petrovsky." Very detailed scenes from the series are now pilgrim-like destinations, not because the destinations themselves are special, but because the characters of the series have been there. (<http://onlocationtours.com/tour/sex-and-the-city/>)

Verona refers to itself as the city of love due to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. It is hard to imagine how there can be a tour in Verona for the fictional story, but indeed, there is one in which "the grave of Juliet" and "Juliet's Balcony" are shown. According to Wikitravel "Juliet's house" has no connection whatsoever to Shakespeare's book, it is just an old house which the city of Verona decided to make a tourist attraction. (Veronacityguide,)People and their stories, even if fictional, create content to a place and make it more approachable.

Mostly it is the stereotypes, which people hang onto, often nationalities. Everyone knows that the Spanish have temperament, the French are rude and the Americans are loud. There are also stereotypes about people who come from certain cities; The Parisienne, Tokyo's harajuku girls dressed as anime characters, or the Berlin hipster. Stereotypes are tools which people use to reduce information. Branding works in the same way, it narrows the amount of attributes associated with an object. Therefore, if

the stereotype of a person from a certain city is good, it might be used positively to describe the local people.

When mass media uses images of people in branding a place, it is called topoporno. This term was created by Henk van Houtum and Frank van Dam (2002) to describe the way in which football fans are shown in the media. In topoporno, the images are created for the outsiders' gaze in order to create a certain kind of feeling about an event and a place. In the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa also the local people were advised by different campaigns on how to create the right atmosphere for tourists and for the media. There was an informal nationwide educational campaign for ordinary people on how to become a celebrative fan and spread the atmosphere. The campaign encouraged people to wear national colors and be proud of their origins, welcoming tourists "into the party." (van Houtum and van Dam, 2002; Whitson and Home 2006, 83 in Kolamo 2013, 511)

Some cities have strong communities, which might work as an attraction to some tourists. Many cities have their China towns, there are Soho-like fancy parts of the city which are known, not only for what there is, but what kind of people live and go there. More and more cities are also paying attention to their gay communities. San Francisco is known for its relaxed atmosphere regarding sexuality and many other cities are now providing something for sexual minorities, too. There are parts of cities which are regarded more gay-friendly than others. In Berlin Schöneberg or in London _____ are known to be the "gay parts" of the cities. Miami has a big community for the retired which attracts even more other retired people who want to live among others who share the same life situation.

The amount of tourists in a city might also be something that defines it to some extent. Some destinations are known, not for their local people but for the fact, that there are a lot of other tourists around. Spanish islands are a good example; Teneriffa, Lanzarote, Playa de ingles, Ibiza are all places to which people go to be among other tourists. Some like it in a place, since it might bring familiarity, while others think it is very unauthentic, associated with cheap holidays, low quality and therefore don't want to visit a place which is crowded by other tourists. Places which are visited by domestic tourists are often thought of as more authentic. People are very aware of the statuses of the places they visit and they might see the brand of the place to be an extension of their self-image. (Freire 2006)

4.7 Events

There are several ways in which events can help in creating a place brand. The attributes associated with an image of an event are often carried into the brand of a place. If peo-

ple are enjoying themselves at an event they might also create positive associations with the place in which the event is taking place. If people travel because of an event, it is not necessarily because of the place in which the event is taking place, but the event itself. This is the case with big hallmark events such as Olympics or football world championships, which will be crowded no matter where they take place. These kinds of mega-events are very beneficial for the arranger country and city and therefore places are competing on who gets to arrange them. Tourists spend not only in the event, but they also book hotels, use transport, go to restaurants, do shopping and so on. Nevertheless it might be the long-term benefits of arranging an event which are greater to a city. The place brand is enhanced as a place attracts tourists, often for several years after the event, and a part of who also return to visit the city again. Another positive outcome resulting from a successful event is the word-of-mouth recommendations, which the visitors share, and which might also lead to a visit by the ones who the stories are shared with. (Yuan and Chong, 2007; Kolamo 2013, 503; Pritchard et al 1999 in Kaplanidou 2012)

Based on the results of a study by Lee, Kyle and Scott (2012, 764) the authors suggest that place marketers should focus more on the management of experiences which the visitors have while they are at a festival. These experiences should be more tied to the host destination so that place attachment can occur. A visitor should not only create emotional ties with the festival, but also with the surroundings in which the festival is being held. A study by Lemmetyinen (2013) on the music festival Pori Jazz proves that there is a correlation between the image of an event and the city that's hosts it, and that these images can be managed. It was found that the festival enhanced the destination awareness, perceived quality, brand associations, destination loyalty and positioning. It was also shown that the cultural producers can help in binding together the distinct reputation of an event with the attracting resources of the host city.

Festivals are popular means to boost the tourism sector and it is suggested that "every region, at least in the developed world, have sought to develop festivals" (Gibson & Connell, 2005, 215 in Åkerlund and Mueller, 2012, 164). Festivals are usually arranged in order to celebrate local traditions or someone in the local community, originally they are there to offer the local people a feast, not for the outsider. As tourism has emerged, festivals are also considered more as something that boosts the economic development in term of tourism revenues. Festivals are considered to be good development opportunities for many reasons. They are temporary, and therefore might not need large financial investments in building up permanent facilities. The financial risk in building an image for a city by having a festival is relatively low, unlike when investing in a Guggenheim museum for example. The return on investment might instead be extensive. The arrangement of a festival enables welcoming large amounts of people into the city without building permanent premises, which might not be wished in the long

run. Festivals can be more contemporary and experimental, therefore they can attract tourist who would otherwise not necessarily visit the city. The audience of a festival might be more niche than a city's usual market segments. (Getz, 2005; Gibson & Connell, 2005 in Åkerlund and Mueller 2012, 165)

Even though all kinds of places of different sizes are arranging and developing festivals, most of them are rather small in scale. In the last two decades however, the attention of many authors have been on the large scale, often sports events, referred to as mega- or hallmark events such as Olympics or football championships. In the past sports events have been seen as an activity or game, whereas now sports are seen more as a collective social reality. Sports combine the serious and fun, ideological and structural, and are easy for most people to connect with. The cities that look to brand themselves based on sports events get three advantages (Herstein 2013). First, through sports events the cities get to communicate to a lot of people, and it is a wide public as sports events are promoted all around the world. Second, since sports are competitive, people can choose a side and get a feeling of belonging to something; the supporters, the team, or the city where the players are from. Third, as mentioned, sports events can leverage the image of a city over long-term as the interest of many audiences is caught. The city's residents can feel proud of hosting the event, for the media sport events are a natural interest, for the investors an event might be a business opportunity, and for the fans all over the world the event is a chance to express their own identity and personality. Places, which want to host international sports events, should create strong connections with the city's tangible and intangible assets and the event. The event must be marketed as an essential part of the city. (Getz, 2005; Hall, 1989; Richards, 2000; Ritchie, 1984 in Åkerlund and Mueller 2012, 165; Weed & Bull, 2009 in Kaplanidou 2012; Herstein 2013)

Huge sports events are usually arranged in big cities, but also other types of cities can benefit from sports events of other sizes. In addition to mega events, Herstein mentions 3 other types of sports events: international, major and minor sports events. With international sports events are meant the like of Wimbledon, real Madrid games or sports events which take place all year around. In these cases it is important for the city to establish an image apart from the image of the country. Medium sports events are for example annual marathons, ice-hockey, basketball, soccer, rugby leagues and events which are mostly visited by people from the same country. These events can be used to enhance the image of the city by engaging the local community in the sport and lifting the team spirit, of which the visiting tourist, either from the same country from a different city or one from abroad, can be made aware of. Minor sports events occur only every once in a while, and they might not even gain lots of media attention. They are the likes of school championships and other random events. They might nevertheless increase the community spirit and strengthen the civic pride. When people are satisfied in

the city they live, it is the best advertising. Loyal residents are a city's best ambassadors. (Herstein 2013)

Events are good for branding and therefore many international companies, which have a global customer base are interested in them. In these events people who have a shared passion gather together. It can be sports, music, arts, film etc. Therefore they are ideal for targeted marketing (Yuan and Chong, 2007)

4.8 Arts

What would Paris be without Louvre, New York without Museum of Modern Art or Sydney without its Opera House? Art museums and even individual artworks can represent specific artistic styles and a broader sense of history, prestige and creativity (Caldwell, 2000 in Plaza 2013, 55) Culture, and especially art have a lot to give to branding in general. Just the way a brand is representational, so is art (Schroeder, 2005), they both carry a variety of meanings. Behind a logo or behind a piece of art there lays a world of its own, some of it which is intended by the facilitator, and some of which is created only in the mind of the perceiver; nevertheless, they both do bring something forth creating a collection of meanings. For example BMW does not only stand for a line of cars, it also stands for a lifestyle, which comes along with owning one. The same way a piece of song is not just different sounds put together and recorded, but an entity with a story, personal meaning, message etc. Regarding place marketing branding and art can both add value to businesses and regional economies by giving them meaning which can be interpreted from different points of view. (McNicholas, 2004; O'Reilly, 2007)

Art, branding and place go well together. Art can be included in most of the components in earlier chapters; Symbols, slogans and visual identity naturally can be a result of an artistic activity; sightseeings can be of artistic origin in form of monuments, buildings, certain pieces of art (Mona Lisa in Louvre, Paris), people (certain artists are very bind with their cities like Kafka with Prague, Gaudi with Barcelona), some artistic events are very much about the location, such as the Venice Biennale and music festivals such as Roskilde. There may also be certain type of art which one can purchase in a city. Venice is famous for its glass, Fiskars for functional design and Berlin for street art. Touristic activities might revolve around the art in form of tours and shopping. If an art brand can be communicated through the media outside the city, it can attract tourism. (Caldwell, 2000; Plaza 2013, 55-61)

Plaza (2013, 55) Art, if anything, has cultural value in itself and it is usually created for other purposes than branding, even though art also has its place within advertising. For this reason art is an easy way to bring something meaningful to a brand of any

kind. Art is representational and interpretable, which makes it something that can resonate with a broad audience. The diversity, or what Potts et al. (2008) call “multivocality” of meaning ensures that many people can relate to it in a way or another. In general, culture is seen as being authentic and not-for-sale as it is often non-profit. Culture is truly unique and differentiates a place from another..(Plaza 2013, 55; Anholt 2006, 97)

One way through which art is part of a city is the change, which has occurred in cities such as New York, Berlin and Paris. As these cities have gained in popularity, the rents in inner cities have become higher. The phenomenon of gentrification is shaping many cities in the global era. As artists find new more affordable places to live and make art, there are parts of the city, which transform into more artistic areas with galleries, ateliers, bars with cultures and such. During Manhattans property boom it was the artists who first moved to Brooklyn in search for lower rents. Artists are often the “creative class” which the rest follow, also in the housing market. In case of Brooklyn it was recognized that artists were moving into Brooklyn and this phenomenon was utilized to reposition the borough. The city established The Cultural District which led more and more artists into the area, even world-renowned arts groups. The new masterplan for the area was produced by “super star” architects Rem Koolhaas and Diller Scofidio + Renfro, who designed a system which encouraged organic growth instead of planned development by making recommendations for buildings, their ownerships, renting regulations and such. They wanted to maintain the local character which made the area so special. This kind of areas can be seen as a brand asset as they become sightseeings and represent a certain kind of lifestyle of a city. (Parkerson 2007, 265; Lutfy, 2005; CABA 2007)

The value of culture and art for a place is difficult to estimate with the conventional economic measurements. Art needs to be seen as part of a bigger picture. Artist districts and for example street art is something that might be seen even as uneconomic from a certain angle. When there is no clear return on investment even such important factors can be underrated. Now it has been understood that they are very essential components of a place and through policies they can be encouraged to flourish, just like in Brooklyn’s case. Artistic pursuits improve the quality of life, display prosperity, sophistication and cultural values, raise attention, inspire pride in the locals, and capture the imagination (Parkerson 2007, 263)

It is not just the big cities, in which culture and art are valued. Even a small city can benefit from the presence of art. Guggenheim in Bilbao, Tate brand in St. Ives or the Midnight Sun Film Festival in a very small finnish town Sodankylä, are examples of small towns which have gained in popularity just because of these artistic pursuits. In such a small scale these benefits are also more easily economically measured; in the jobs created, visited tourists and the money spend by them in the destination. It might

also not just be the big institutions but even individual artists who develop positive perceptions of a city for the visitor. (Parkerson 2007, 263)

4.9 Adapted model with added brand components

From all the theories, models and articles around place branding, the components mentioned in this chapter are the ones, which seem to be present most often. The significance of people in the formation of an image is essential. Symbols, slogans and visual identity are often mentioned in literature, even though in a negative tone, highlighting that having them is not enough to build a place brand. A few subjects are studied much in detail; the presence of events, art, food and architecture. These might all be labeled under 'culture.' Products are most often talked regarding export and how the place of origin affects their brand, but it can be turned otherwise, too; a product or a brand may affect the way in which the place of origin is seen. Policies are something that affect everything from people to infrastructure to culture as they are having complex economic, social, and environmental consequences.

In the Figure 6 the circles, which were unrecognized in the previous figure (See Figure 5) have been recognized as different components, taking different forms in the figure. Different symbols represent different components mentioned in the previous chapters. The empirical data will shed more light on which of these components are most visible to the local and the tourist, and if there are some components not mentioned here, which should be taken into notice. Now the symbols in figure 6 represent symbols and visual identity, food, products, people, architecture, art, events and policies.

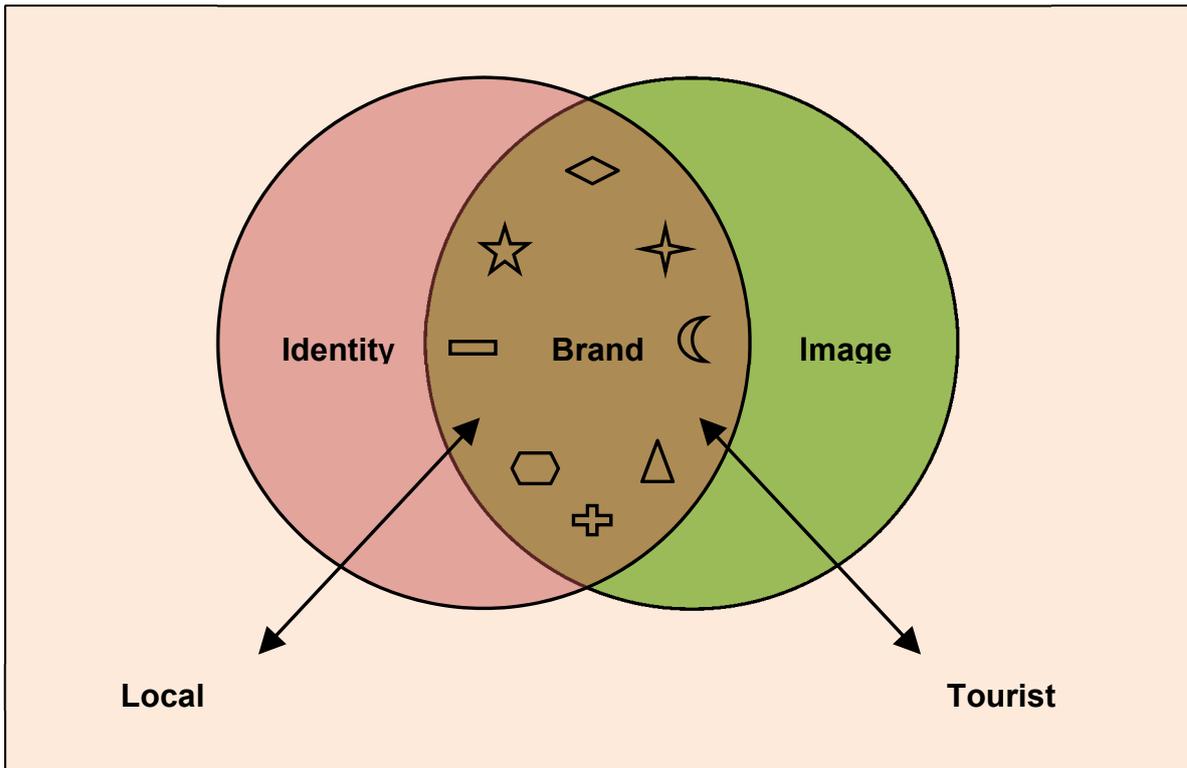


Figure 6: Adapted model with recognised brand components

5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research approach

Even though this thesis deals with marketing and branding, it is most of all a social research and a study about culture. The concept of “cultural studies” stems from Birmingham School, where it has been taken to refer to “collective subjectivity,” a way of life or an outlook adopted by a community. With culture is therefore meant a variety of human productions, not just “the top of the hierarchy culture” such as art, even though this is a popular belief. Living in a city and traveling somewhere are in a way cultural production, too; in these actions the views of people are put into action. How one lives and how one travels are reproduction of culture. Through the choices people make, they also communicate about their view of the world. For this reason the question at hand has very much to do with culture. (Alasuutari, 1995, 26)

“The world does not represent itself to us as “it is”, but always through the relationship we have to it” (Alasuutari 1995, 27). In this thesis the question of how a place brand is perceived differently from the local’s and tourist’s point of view was examined by answering the questions

- Which components form a place brand in people’s minds?
- Is a place brand formed differently depending if the perceiver is a local or a tourist?

Product brands are often measured with quantitative methods as more detailed parts of brand formation are being studied. This study is more general in nature and aim is to understand meanings and reasons. The subject of examination is without a hypothesis, meaning that there is no right or wrong answer to the questions asked. The aim was to understand the phenomenon better and gain more information on it, in this case through interviewing the subjects without giving them any presumptions about right or wrong answers, and what is even being looked for. The aim was to create new information, which can be a basis for future research. The theme of place branding is very vast, but as the research field is still very new, even a little bit of more general information might be helpful in order to create further research problems. To form this kind of information, qualitative method was well suited. (Alasuutari 1995, 26; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Eskola and Suoranta 1998)

5.2 Data collection

The interviewees were asked both about their home cities and the cities they visited. First by describing these places freely, and then positioning some questions which were the same ones for all the interviewees. The aim was to get interviews that had the same structure, so that it would be easier to see the differences and patterns. As the interviews regarding both cities are given by the same person, they come from the same subjective view so differences in personality are eliminated.

The interviews were semi-structured, as the first part of the interview was very informal and free, and the latter part structured. The interviewees could freely express their views in their own terms because the first part of the interview was so unrestricted. It was easy for the interviewer to group the different topics together in the transcribing phase because of the structured part, and linking these comments together with the informal part.

The interviewees were from all around the world (See Table 1). Thirty two interviewees from 23 countries, both women and men, from different cities were interviewed about the places they live in and about a place where they had visited in the past few years. The interviewees were asked if they have friends from other countries who could be interviewed. This way the sample became somewhat random. The purpose was to have people from different cities whose travel destinations are also different. The destination for travel had to be one people had decided for themselves. Business trips or visiting family or friends were not included; it had to be for leisure.

Before the interview participants were provided with a cover letter (See Appendix 1) in which some instructions and information were given. Information about how the data would be used and exactly for which purposes, was provided after the interview.

The interviews took place via Skype in June 2014. Audio calls were recorded with a program named Pamela For Skype for later transcription. An easier way would have been to ask the people to write descriptions about the cities, but a person might consider less what they are saying than what they would be writing. The responds might therefore be more spontaneous while talking than while writing. The interviews lasted approximately from 20 to 30 minutes.

The interviews were conducted in the interviewee's native language in case it was Finnish, English or German. In other cases English was used. The participants encouraged to express themselves as freely as possible and this is easier with one's mother tongue.

The interviewees were encouraged to speak freely about the cities in their own words. It was highlighted to the interviewees that their own views are in the point of interest. The embedded associations were the ones approached, not so much stereotypes

and clichés. In order to get the interviewees to think-aloud, a visualizing technique mentioned by Willis (2005, 44) was used, in which participants are first asked to imagine certain concrete things and to describe them at the same time. In Willis' example this was a house, and the participants were asked to count the windows in the house and at the same time tell what they are seeing. The aim of the method is to get the interviewees in a mode where their thinking and speaking is in sync.

After going through the rehearsal the actual interview was conducted. First the interviewees were asked to tell freely about their home city, how they see the city and what comes to their mind about the city. This task was very general; the aim was to get the first thoughts that come to people's minds, as these are usually the most important ones. After the interviewees had described their home city, they were asked to tell about the city they traveled to in the last couple of years for leisure. If the interviewee had traveled to many places, the place which was not yet mentioned by another interviewee and which was most different to the previously mentioned cities, was chosen. In half of the interviews people were asked to describe first their home cities, then the travel destination, and in the other half the other way around, in case this would have affected what was being told. This type of interviewing is more close to monologue than in-depth interview.

After the interviewee had told freely about their home city and travel destination, they were asked the following questions:

1. Does your home city / the city you traveled to have a logo, visual identity or a slogan?
2. How do you associate architecture with your city / the city you traveled to?
3. What comes to your mind regarding policies in your home city / the city you traveled to?
4. What products do you associate with your home city / the city you traveled to?
5. How do you associate food with your home city / the city you traveled to?
6. What kind of people can one find in your city / the city you traveled to?
7. How do you associate music/art/sport/ other events with your home city / the city you traveled to?
8. How you associate art with your home city / the city you traveled to?

Table 1: Interviewees

Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Homecity	Destination
Carolus	M	25	Student	Turku	Berlin
Lis	F	27	Student	Monterrey	Oslo
Lisa	F	30	Teacher	Perth (CAN)	Florence
Maarten	M	28	Student	Waalwijk	Arusha
Burij	M	27	Architect	Föhr	Hong Kong
Khachan	M	45	Construction	Beirut	Prague
Riccardo	M	27	Student	Turin	Beijing
Ai	F	27	Student	Singapore	Stockholm
Maty	M	25	Student	Budapest	Istanbul
Nikolas	M	23	Student	Tallinn	Aberdeen
Marjolijn	F	31	Professor	Utrecht	Oslo
Pablo	M	28	CEO	Albacete	Canaria
Eric	M	27	Student	Muenster	K. Lumpur
Biki	M	30	Engineer	Gaborone	El kantatoui
Heinz	M	25	Student	Kiel	Seoul
Anais	F	24	Student	Paris	Las Vegas
Annie	F	25	Artist	London	New York
Jones	M	29	Unemployed	Antwerpen	Bangkok
Bila	M	24	Student	Islamabad	Luxemburg
Nelly	F	26	Seller	Tiflis	Budapest
Elise	F	27	Translator	Carlile	St. Petersb.
Asta	F	27	Artist	Stockholm	Paris
Jussi	M	27	Student	Turku	London
Donna	F	25	Student	Paris	Barcelona
Mona	F	27	Teacher	Berlin	Prague
Metin	M	27	Construction	Beirut	Warsaw
Dearle	F	25	Student	Bangkok	Saigon
Efte	M	23	Student	Peine	Istanbul
Leeni	M	29	CEO	Helsinki	Föhr
Charlotte	F	27	Student	Vledderveen	Drace
Martina	F	27	Marketing	Dubnica nad V	Prague
Jordi	M	28	Student	Athens	Krakow

5.3 Data analysis

Analysing data is a process in which the collected data is inspected, cleaned, transcribed and modeled so that results can be looked for and become more visible. According to O'Neill and Schutt (2014) the process of data analysis consist of collecting the data, processing it, cleaning it so that things that stray from the subject of study are removed, after which the analyzing can be started with. This can be done in many ways, creating algorithms and hypotheses and for example a data product which can feed the data back to environment providing again new data after an iteration.

In this study the data analysis phase was very simple. The interviews were transcribed into text after which patterns, themes and categories which repeated themselves were looked for. The tone was also noted down in case a person was describing something in an excited, bored, unsure or other similar tone, which was easy to detect, and there was not much space for interpretation. The categories mentioned in the third chapter were not the only ones searched for. In case other categories appeared, they were reported. The method was therefore inductive rather than deductive. The data was be coded manually; no data transcribing programs were used. (O'Neill and Schutt ,2014)

5.4 Evaluating the data

Reliability is the extent to which a measuring procedure gives the same result when it is repeated. The data collection in this study is very simple and can be repeated easily by anyone. If the method is repeated and it gives the same results every time, reliability of the study is adequate. (Shuttleworth, 2008)

The reliability increases as the interviewees were from the same age group, both men and women, and mostly students. It is to be noted that these people have had the possibility to travel, they could speak English and they had a laptop and a Wi-Fi. They were therefore somewhat of a homogenous group. For this reason the results of this study can only be applied to people from developed countries, or to people who are able to participate in the study by having the aforementioned skills and equipment.

Reason for asking half of the participants to tell first about their home city and then about the travel destination, and the other way around, is also to increase reliability. There might be a difference in the way people talk in the beginning of the interview in comparison how they talk after already telling about one city. One might be more enthusiastic in the beginning than in the end. In the beginning people are excited and willing to talk, but after a while it is harder to receive information. For this reason the free descriptions of the cities are done in the beginning of the interview and the ques-

tions later; The questions are more specific, and therefore the talking might be easier in comparison to describing a topic freely.

The fact that people were asked to choose a destination city which they had visited for leisure, and made the decision to travel there themselves, also increases reliability. If people were asked to tell about any place they traveled to, the variety of these places would be more differentiated in the minds of people. If travel destinations are to be researched and they are in themselves already very different, they should at least be seen as interesting, for any reason, by the travellers. As the aim is to study the difference between a home city and a travelling destination in the subjective perception of people, willingness to travel to a place is something that can be seen as common to the interviewees and therefore increasing the reliability of the study.

The reliability might be slightly decreased because of a communication imbalance; some of the participants could make the interview in their own language whereas others have to use a foreign language. Even if one speaks good English, the words used might be less versatile and descriptive than the ones that would be used if the interviewee spoke in his or her mother tongue.

Validity is the extent to which the variables measure the things that the method is supposed to measure, in other words, validity is adequate if a method gives an answer to the provided question. (Shuttleworth, 2008)

The question about which components does a place brand consist of is measured by asking the participants to freely describe cities. If everyone mentions food and restaurants for example, it can be concluded that they are an important part of a place. It might be that there is a common rhetoric in the way people talk about places which does not reflect the way people really think and feel about a place. Whether it is the picture, which people really have on their minds, or the way in which they have learned to talk about their home cities and cities they travelled to, it nevertheless tells answers the questions provided in some ways. To make sure people are being honest and able to speak from their own minds is something that is hard to affect. Even if the interviewees are encouraged to speak freely and honestly, there are many things that affect what they actually say. For example, are the interviewees aware of their tendency to talk through stereotyped perceptions and can they avoid this, is a question hard to answer. As this study is about human perception it is very likely that the disability of the interviewees to answer the question subjectively instead of using for example the aforementioned stereotypes, might decrease both the reliability and validity.

6 RESULTS

6.1 Components of a place brand

The question of which components a place brand is constructed of was partly answered in the theory as different theories were examined and based on those certain components chosen to be examined more in detail. Some components turned out to be more important than others. Some components were highlighted in theories, for example symbols, slogans and visual identity, but the interviewees did not have much to say about them. On the other hand components, which were not that much on display regarding theories, could be talked about with lots of enthusiasm.

People are clearly one of the most important single components of a place brand. The smaller the city in question regarding both home and destination city, the more talk about people. If there was not much else to do in the travel destination, people talked mostly about the people there “The city itself wasn’t that special and there weren’t so many things to do, but we got to know some locals and it was interesting to see how they live their lives.” The interviewees mentioned people many times during the interview, mostly on a general level “how the people in the city are,” mostly described as “friendly.” If interviewees had something negative to say about people, it was mostly about the people in one’s home city. Interviewees were much more intolerant of the behavior in their home cities, seeing the fellow citizens often as narrow-minded, “people who try to be something.”

When talking about a travel destination, other tourists were mentioned, again on the scale “many” or “not so many.” Against expectations other tourists were talked about in a quite natural tone, sometimes even seeing the positive outcomes of tourism, Charlotte from Vladderveen; “it’s nice getting to know other tourists and getting to know people, that’s what travelling is about, for me-- There are tourists everywhere, but it probably supports the development of services.”

If one had gotten to know or knew a local, this was highlighted, Elise from Carlisle, travelling to St. Petersburg: “Our hosts were actually from the city so we got to see the actual St. Petersburg, not the touristic stuff. They took us to clubs we would have never ended up in without them. You see a completely different city as you know someone who is local.” Even though tourists themselves were not talked about in a bad tone, it was more the touristic behavior to be avoided; one did not want to travel like a tourist but one did not really mind the other tourists being around in the end, even though “not so many tourists” was clearly a good sign. People were a bit ambivalent, and I may suspect that it is a common rhetoric not to like tourists while travelling, but in reality other tourists might bring comfort. Regarding one’s home city, friends and fami-

ly were often mentioned, Nelly, 26; ” I think the people are the main reason I’m staying here.” Both the people in travel destinations and home cities were described with stereotypes, and they were divided into groups. Interviewees did not mention certain well-known people, it was more general talk about the behavior of people and stereotypes one could find within a city.

Architecture was one of the things that were mentioned many times in the descriptions of the cities without asking. Buildings were often divided into “old buildings” and “modern buildings.” Many went very much in detail while describing the architecture both in their home cities and the travel destinations. Buildings were described with a lot of detailed adjectives, Elise from Carlile, 27: “St. Petersburg was a bizarre mix of imposing communist architecture and imperial pastels...white cornices, gold plating” or Eric, 28: “Kuala Lumpur was a mixture of colonial, traditional and modern architecture with vast parks and high buildings mixed with narrow alleys and old buildings.” Descriptions of the architecture was sometimes detailed even if there was not a sufficient vocabulary for it, as it is something very concrete it seemed to be an easy thing for people to talk about.

As *policies* are present implicitly in many things, it wasn’t easy to say when people were mentioning them in their free descriptions of the cities. Transportation which might be seen as a result of certain kind of policies in a city, was often talked about, both when a city had a working transportation system and when it did not. When asked about policies, many started with complaints about the policies in their home cities. There was a strong “policymakers against the citizens”-mentality while talking about the policies in one’s home city. Problems in the home city were blamed on the policymakers. Carl, 25: “There’s a lot of creative people in Turku, but for some reason the creativity is not taken advantage of. The people are not provided with enough resources by the city. There’s a small group of policymakers that make decisions among themselves, and people with money influence the regional politics... I’d say it’s almost corrupted...nothing really works; public transportation is expensive, bicycles aren’t taken into consideration, not enough roads for them. It is very unclear to me what kind of things the policymakers want to do with this city, certainly it is not in line with the citizens’ wishes. ”

It seemed that the interviewees thought the policymakers’ mission was to make their lives harder, Maarten, 28: “The city has lot of good jobs and it’s quite beautiful...but somehow it’s just not getting there. I think it’s because young people move away...the policymakers are bothering the people who try to make the best of it, and people are getting tired of it.” Nikolas, 23 from Tallinn was one of the few interviewees who was very happy with their home city, he had almost nothing negative to say while describing Tallinn until the very end: “There’s just one thing I really don’t like about my city...the major! I *hate* him. I don’t even want to talk about it.” When other cities’

policies were talked about they either represented freedom (often the permission to drink alcohol on the street) or an extreme certain policy was mentioned such as anti-gay laws in St. Petersburg or a recent death penalty in Seoul.

People seemed to notice the policies which were different and which they saw as positive, usually representing freedom in contrast to one's home city's policies. Carl, 25: "Berlin to me represents freedom, when I think about the city I think mostly about the things I can do there in comparison to my homecity, the things I can't do back home" A girl coming from Berlin herself found freedom in Prague: "one weird thing was that we went into a club and there was no door policy at all! Can you believe that! We just bought the tickets and went in just like that... There wasn't anyone checking if you have the right kind of clothes or something... Is it like that in Finland too? Can just *anyone* get into a club?" This proves that even a person coming from a city as free as Berlin spotted something that is "more free" in the travel destination.

Products were given very little attention in the "monologues" of people and even when asked, it was hard for people to name products that they associated with their home cities or travel destinations. When people did come up with something, it was more regional or national products than specifically from a city; salmon from Norway, diamonds from Botswana, tulips from the Netherlands and vodka from Russia. Alcoholic drinks such as local beers were mentioned if there was a certain brand. Lis, 26 from Monterrey mentioned drugs in association with her home city: "drugs are the first thing that come to my mind considering products that are around, it's a huge business and you can get them everywhere, the city is known for it, sad but true." All in all, people did not have much to say about products.

Even when people had otherwise had trouble naming products associated to cities, when talking about *food*, products started popping up. Food was something that people talked enthusiastically about from different perspectives. Restaurants and eating out were mentioned without asking. Food products and different kind of food experiences were often mentioned. One of the single things mentioned in people's monologues most often was that a place had either "many restaurants" or "not so many restaurants," this seemed to be one thing based on which a city was evaluated. Even as it had been hard for people to name products coming from the cities visited or lived in, when talking about food, products popped into people's minds easily.

It was surprising that every interviewee seemed to be quite pleased with the range of food available in their home cities, and many saw the supply very variable, saying that every kind of food was available. This was the case even if it obviously wasn't so, for example Martina, 27 coming from a Slovakian little village: "You can get *everything* here; Italian, pasta, pizza, kebab, hamburgers, fries...all I'm missing is a Chinese restaurant" If people were dissatisfied with food it was usually in the travel destination, but even then it was not talked in a very negative tone, only that it was

“weird” or that one liked the food back home better. On the other hand the food in travel destination was more often talked more in detail, a certain cuisine or a certain restaurant. In travel destination it seemed to be more of an experiment as opposed to in home city, where the visit to a restaurant was more about the habit of eating out.

Events were talked more regarding one’s home city than the travel destination. The smaller the city the more talk about a certain event. People from bigger cities found it harder to think about their cities in regard to events, they talked about events on a more general level. When people could think of a certain event, they were quite descriptive. Events seemed to be a topic of which people had a lot to say about when they started talking. The way in which the events in one’s home city were talked about resembled a sell pitch, people were clearly proud of these events. Festivals and annual festivities were often mentioned, sports events not so much. Alcohol and partying seemed to be an essential part of the events mentioned, this might be due to the sample being mostly young adults. As a proof of an event being popular many mentioned that people outside the city came there, may it be from other villages, cities or countries, it was a statement, which made it clear that an event was significant. Considering travel destination and events people often couldn’t tell about a certain event, a typical answer was the kind Asta, 27, travelling to Paris, provided: “I guess the city is full of events, all kinds, but I didn’t know where to go. I’m sure there is a lot going on. If you know a local it’s easier and they can bring you to places.”

Even though *art* is big part of many theories, it was the hardest subject to get a grasp on while interviewing. It was the last topic to be talked about and maybe interviewees were too tired at this point to think about such a broad subject as art. It was mentioned implicitly in other connections, but when asked how does one associate art with one’s home city or travel destination, people didn’t have much to say other than mentioning places where art could be found or significant landmarks. People felt that they had said what they had to say about culture and the city, to talk about art would have been to talk about many things all over. Art is a big part of culture and found in so many different forms that maybe it is hard to subtract it to be about a certain piece of art or a certain artist, as these were not mentioned. Just because people could not talk about art as a separate entity does not mean that it would be inexistent either to the identity nor image of a place. In talk about art the problems of the method were most evident; in comparison to the more concrete elements, it is harder to talk about art even though one obviously has many associations with it and it is as much all around as architecture, people or products, all of which can be art themselves; buildings, artists, pieces of art. While talking about art it was clear that it is almost impossible to capture the inner worlds and the many connections and associations which people have.

Symbols, slogans or visual identity were not mentioned in any way by the interviewees, neither from the tourists or local’s perspective, while describing cities with

own words. It might be that these elements are more embedded in people's minds than something to be talked about. It might also be something that is more important when choosing a destination for traveling as people are exploring different options to travel to, maybe going through internet and the destination's imagery. When later specifically asked about the logos, slogans or visual identities of the home and destination cities, people had some ideas, but these were never talked with much enthusiasm, Martina, 26, from Dubniza nad Vahom: "Yeah, I guess our city has some kind of logo, I think it has a tree in it." or Carl, 25 in a bored tone "I've noticed that Turku has *tried* to build up a visual identity...there are all kinds of things...but I can't now recall anything specific." These were typical answers in case the interviewee was aware of a logo, slogan or visual identity at all. Even if people knew that their home city had a logo or a slogan, it did not seem that they related to these much. People often mentioned significant landmarks, important buildings or monuments instead, such as Brandenburger Tor in Berlin, Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, Pantheon in Athens, Mermaid statue in Copenhagen, to mention a few. It could be that the interviewees did not really know what is meant by a logo, but it can be concluded that landmarks, buildings and monuments are seen in a similar way as logos for the cities. Also flags were mentioned and products brands that were very visible in the city such as Samsung and LG in Seoul.

On a very general level (See Figure 7) it can be concluded that *culture* and *people* are dominant components of a place brand, in the figure 7 these highlighted recognized components are painted black. Products, symbols, slogans and visual identity according to these interviews might be less important than the theories suggest.

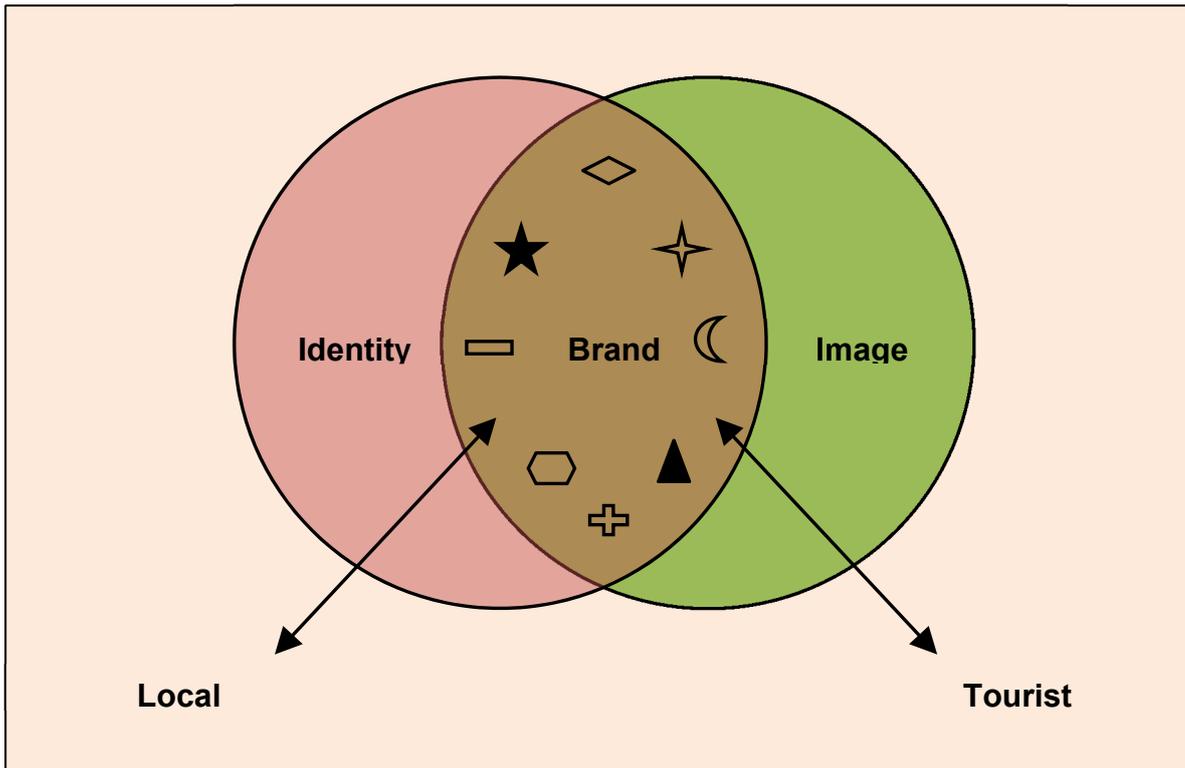


Figure 7: Recognised dominant components of a place brand; culture and people

6.2 Differences in place brand formation

The second question of whether the place brand is formed differently depending on one's relation to it, if one sees a place differently as a tourist versus as a local, is not so easy to answer. Possible result could have been for example that in their home cities people paid more attention to certain components than they did in the destination city, and the other way around. However, people seemed to form the place brand of the same components both regarding their home cities and travel destination. The way in which the elements were talked about was nevertheless different and is approached in the next chapter.

Even if the components were the same, it can be said, that while travelling people paid more attention to details than in their home cities. The travel destination was remembered through little things; certain moment, certain cuisine, certain place and people while the thoughts on home city were much more insightful but also on a more general level. People talked more about policies regarding their home cities and they often had ideas on show to improve the city. While talking about a travel destination

people were more excited about the little things but it also seemed that people did not think much beyond their own experience. Place brand of the travel destination seems to be based on the same components as the home city's, but these components are described in a more excited tone.

It was mostly hard for the people to start talking about their home city as the cities were seen so normal. The phrase "It's just a normal city," was repeated many times in the descriptions of home cities. The attitude towards home city is quite ambivalent. On one hand people find their home cities very normal, even boring; they find many things to complain about. On the other hand after pointing out a negative trait in their home cities people also defended it or concluded something good about the city. Jussi, 27, from Turku: "There's not so much going on, the music scene is inexistent and people don't do much. If you want something more special you need to go to Helsinki...and it's not so good there either. But it's a great place to live anyway. I wouldn't travel here but I like to live here. The healthcare is good and you know how everything works. You can trust people." Anais, 24 from Paris; "It's very expensive and you just live to work. No social life at all. Very demanding city. It's too hard on you...but it's my home. I don't think I would like to live anywhere else...maybe for a while."

In some cases people seemed to be even proud of the negative traits of their home city. When people talked about the negative things in their cities they could do so with an excited tone, Metin, 27 from Beirut, almost chuckling: "The streets are *so* packed you wouldn't believe! You can see dirt and dust *everywhere*. You go to the market place and the meat is just hanging there you know, the animals have just been killed. Cars are making noises and people are shouting around. Very chaotic...yes!!" In some cases the interviewee was clearly exaggerating the negativity of a place. Lis, 27 from Monterey told about the drug war in the city and how one "could just find random body parts lying around the city," saying this in an exaggerated casual tone. Behavior like this has in place branding been identified as "dodgy place branding"; some people are drawn to danger and a dodgy image is seen as interesting. Same must go for self-branding, some people want to be associated with negative traits for their "street credibility." People have an impact on places but it goes the other way around too; places impact people and can be seen as part of a person's self-image and identity. Whichever the motives are, it is clear that people tend to talk negatively about their home cities. Some in a boring tone, some angry, some even excited, and some just point out things that could be developed.

All in all it can be concluded (See Figure 8) that people form place brands of the same components regardless of their relationship to the place, but the information about one's home city is much more insightful and realistic, shown in the figure as a highlighted arrow, at the same time providing the local's presence to the brand, which is an essential part of it. The information on traveling destination cities is based more on sin-

gle things and events during the stay and also the presence of a tourist might not be as defining of a place brand than a local's. These observations are presented in the figure as a thin dashed line.

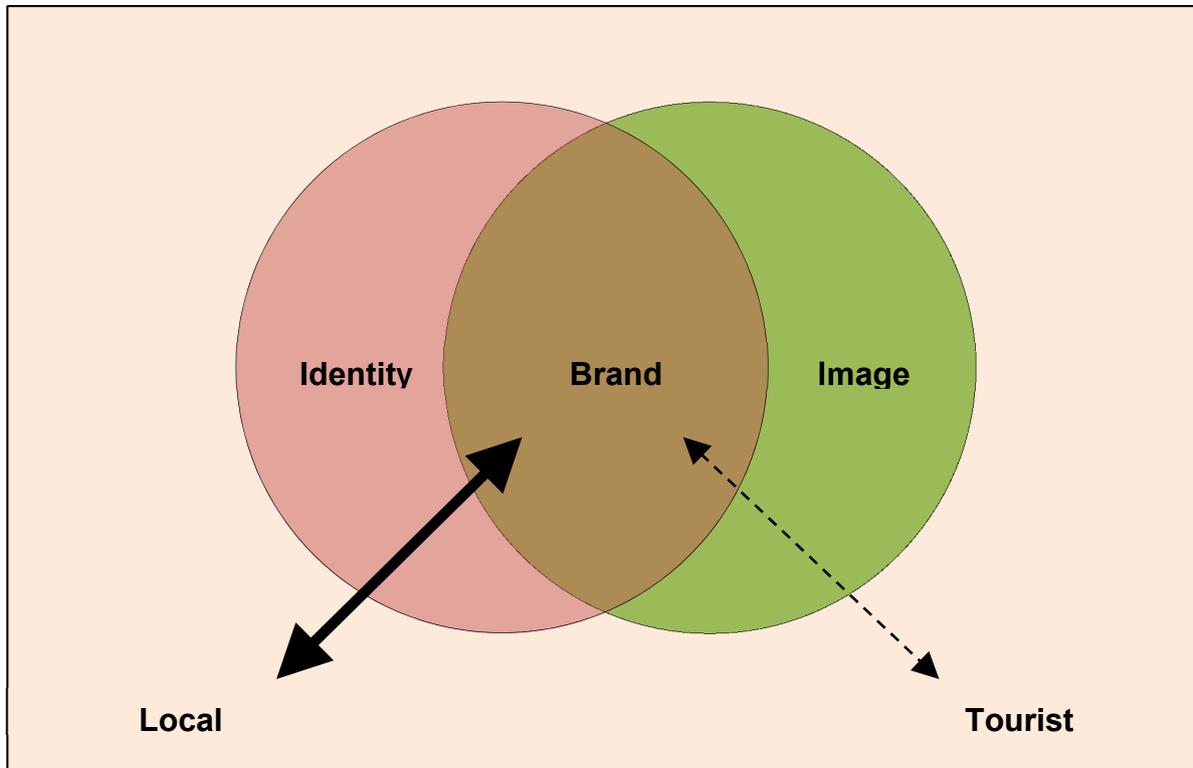


Figure 8: Level of attachment in the relationship between stakeholder and the place brand

6.3 Emerging insights

There were several insights that were not the subject of the study, but which emerged from the data. Such were the search for authenticity, the rhetoric which was different depending if the city in question was a home city or a travel destination, the significance of prices and finally the importance of climate and geographical factors.

6.3.1 *Authenticity*

The search for authenticity was obvious when people described traveling destinations. Local people, local food, venues “where the local people go to,” were highly valued and mentioned as a special experience while traveling. These experiences are something people look for and what they are proud to have found while travelling. Even when the talk about tourists was not as negative as expected, the presence of other tourists still wasn’t anything that people would have especially liked either while traveling. Mostly it was the touristic behavior and places that were “for tourists” that were disliked. People do recognize themselves as tourists, but mostly people wanted to distance themselves from being ones.

People wanted to highlight that they are not like other tourists, but that they look for more authentic experiences. Assi, 28, traveling to Paris: “Some want to see the touristic stuff, me, I wanted to see the underground culture, the kind of..spirit....for me it wasn’t this romantic Paris you see in the movies. Of course I did went to see the touristic stuff, but as an experience that wasn’t the thing for me. If I went there with another kind of attitude it would’ve been really different -- If you distance yourself from the touristic places, from around the Eiffel-tower, go a bit further away, then you find the real life.”

The person describing tourism, both in the destination and home cities, wanted often to give the picture that they “know better,” highlighting the exclusivity of a place or how they are attached to the “real” culture. Assi, 28 traveling to Paris: “if you want to hang out with the locals you have to speak French.-- I went a bit outside of the city into this underground dance event, it was just for very certain kind of people...I mean, everyone could come there, but...” Annie, 25, from London describing New York “It’s somehow just really crazy...and for exactly that reason so cool. After New York London felt really boring and clinical. I guess some people who go to London might see it as big, noisy, and even a little bit dangerous. But as I came from New York to London it was just so calm and silent. -- Some people see London as I see New York --There is definitely a tourist’s London and a local’s London, and they are very different from

each other. Most people just visit these tourist traps like London eye, Madame Tussouds...”

There was a dislike or ignorance towards the tourist traps, again both in the destination and home cities. Not going to the tourist traps, whether in home or destination city was seen as a sign of being authentic. Jordi, 28:” “Coming from Athens I don’t really know what the attractions (in Athens) are. I don’t see them. To me living here, it’s not easy to see the attractions.” Annie, 25 from London: ”My host grandma (in New York) said I’m a New Yorker since I haven’t been to the Empire State Building.”

6.3.2 *Rhetoric*

A second theme emerging from the data was rhetoric which refers to the ways people talk about the cities. Both regarding destination and home cities people used negation when describing the places. Many described a city through what it is *not*, and often implicitly, what they would like it to be in comparison to how the city is at the present moment. “Islamabad is not a historical city, but not modern either...there isn’t really any skyscrapers-- There is not a good transport...We don’t have water close to the city, there’s no sea” Bilal, 24, describing his home city Islamabad in an almost apologetical tone. He seemed to be sorry to tell that he comes from a city with no monumental skyscrapers, maybe seeing them to be a sign of a big metropolitan area.

Charlotte, 27 from Vledderveen used negation and explained very explicitly what they would have wanted from their destination city: “There (Drace) wasn’t a lot of people, no restaurants or things to do. We expected there to be some activities but nothing at all...one bar in the village where everyone went.” After, she started telling details about the bar and how fun the place was – typical way to turn the description around and focus on the positive and interesting things about a place.

Negation, comparing and defending can be seen also in the following three quotes of Biki, Erik and Jussi. Biki, 30, from Gaborone: ”Its not a well-planned city. City council is trying to give the city an identity. There’s no such things like monuments. Now they are building a statue in order to create an identity for the city--- You wont be robbed in the streets, you can sleep there. Compared to other cities in south Africa.” Erik, 27 from Münster: “Münster is not like Berlin. There are parties and stuff but... in Berlin you go all night long and can stay out until morning. In Münster you go to a bar...you hang around with friends...go to skate...go to movies...normal stuff ” This said in a rather bored tone, implying that normal is nothing special, unlike Berlin which this person seemed to see as a Mecca for partying, but even though bored, the latter sentence was still said in a positive tone, implying that the familiarity and doing normal things is something nice. Jussi, 27 from Turku: ”There’s not so much going on,

the music scene is inexistent and people don't do much. If you want something more special you need to go to Helsinki...and it's not so good there either. But it's a great place to live anyway." and "Turku has become more middle-European."

A city was very often explained by comparing it to another city, usually through the differences, not similarities, between the two cities. It is hard to describe the ways in which the comparison was in favour of the travel destination, because people always included some sort of a rescuing argument after saying something negative about their home cities. Even though Lis, 27, explains: "Oslo is a total opposite to Monterey" having "the best quality of life in the world" and back in her home city Monterrey one "can just find random body parts lying around the city" because of the drug wars, and "social policies in Monterrey are inexistent", Monterrey is still home to her and she "will always miss it while traveling and working somewhere else."

Using negation and comparing might be a general way people describe things, but it seemed that the described lack of characteristics, activities, policies, architecture and such were something the locals or visitors would have wanted to have in that place. This was sometimes expressed explicitly, sometimes more subtly. People were concentrating on what they would like to have more and what they don't have, instead of appreciating and telling about the things that were present. Complaining is an easy and safe way to communicate, especially to a stranger to whom one might not want to open up to completely, even though that would obviously be in the interest of the interviewer. It might be that the lack of trust prevented the interviewees to tell about the positive things and more in depth feelings they had for a place. Complaining is much more suitable for small talk and while talking to strangers. It became nevertheless clear that places are in many ways personal and thought provoking, and that the attachments people have with places are strong. Still, even though there was a lot complexity in the ways people spoke about places, stereotypes kept on rising up in the conversation constantly. They are another way of communicating safely in addition to complaining.

Stereotypes were very present while interviewing. People seemed to reinforce the existing one's making them even stronger. Descriptions of cities seemed like a speech that had been given many times. And this might be true; while meeting new people especially while travelling, one of the first things to talk about is one's origin. Regarding a holiday destination it is also something one describes many times after coming back and telling about the trip to friends, relatives and co-workers. At some point both of these descriptions might become sort of a rehearsed speech including popular phrases about a place, so it seemed. Views about cities are not solely based on the experience but all the information a person has gathered from different sources about the place before and while living or visiting there.

The way to describe a place is very exaggerated using strong words and expressions. Even when it was hard for people to start telling about their home cities, when

they got into talking the way of expressing was strong even if the opinion was that the place is boring and normal. Strong meaning that the people were certain of the characteristics, they wanted to be experts about the place and their experience of it. There was a lot of exaggerating considering both home and destination cities but in a different way. The normality of the home city, and the negative sides were highlighted, as the travel destinations positive sides seemed to be the focus of attention.

In some certain things there was not much middle ground, things were either or. A place was described either unfriendly or friendly; it had a lot or not many restaurants, café's and bars; a lot or no activities to attend. The friendliness of people, the amount of restaurants and the amount of activities, were the three things that people often mentioned and valued on this two-poled scale.

Language while talking about the destination city was more describing, detail-oriented and even poetic. People seemed to go in a dreamy space while describing a travel destination. Bridges in London "run through the city," "(Copenhagen) was a work of art in and of itself," and in Berlin "culture was present everywhere; in fashion, street art, music," being the "San Fransisco of Europe, Mecca for the youth and place of lightness.---Fotogenic city where people have come to enjoy themselves, not to sweat."

The traits that might have been seen negative in a home city were seen as interesting and exciting in the travel destination. Annie, 25, living in London described her traveling destination New York: "The contradictions are huge. Poor homeless people and then next to them some millionaire...trump tower and in the corner a homeless man sleeping and begging...the contrast is just so big (laughing), but that's exactly what makes it inspiring and interesting! All the time you're just like, wow, there's a show going on all the time, stuff happening, random people just doing random stuff, you know, someone having a boombox on their shoulder and rapping something, another preaching something for the people passing by...some businessman with a suitcase just walking buy..." and continuing about the metro in New York City: "It's pretty dirty and dark---somehow rough...and it stinks! But there's something to it..." "The metro in London...its nice...you know, clean, modern, lots of light...a bit boring---The dirtiness in New York metro is a lot more interesting---I have to say the people are something different...especially the homeless. I must say the coolest people I've ever met are the homeless people in New York."

Interviewees were much more forgiving and tolerating in the destination city towards people and seemed to think highly of them, their purposes and the atmosphere; "The buzz of a big city is in a way quite relaxing," "It feels like everyone is on holiday," "The city was like a big village or a community," "Everybody talks to you in the street---everybody sits outside with wine and tapas." While describing the travel destination people were more philosophically insightful, about the travelling, the differences, the people; "When you sees so many different kind of people, it makes you think about

things and life, when you see how different it can be. You realize there's so many different realities. You just think all the time and learn while travelling," Burij, 27, travelling to Hong Kong explained and summed up the thoughts about destination cities quite well; "Doesn't matter what one actually does, it's about the feeling that one could do different things spontaneously." That seemed to be the general view; it was not about the destination in itself, but already the fact that one was on holiday or on unfamiliar ground, which made people see the destination cities with more open eyes.

6.3.3 *Prices*

One obvious thing, which is not addressed in the research around places and place branding much are prices. Mentioning if a place is expensive or cheap was something that came up in many different contexts in the interviews. Maybe due to its simplicity and non-changeability prices are seen as something that does not need to be mentioned so often in literature. So much evolves around the prosperity of a place or the lack of it; is a place safe to visit, is it a place where one can find a job, is shopping a potential holiday activity, how is the quality of life, how is the prosperity or poverty of a place present in the way a place looks like or what one can do there. The level of expensiveness of a city depends on which prices are being observed and by whom. A tourist might not be interested in the housing prices but the accommodation prices and prices for activities, eating out and shopping. The level of expensiveness also depends on where the tourist comes from. For a Norwegian every place might seem quite cheap and to a person coming from a country which is not that prosperous, every place might seem too expensive. It might even stop them from travelling in the first place.

Dividing the observers into nationalities is however not the correct way, as is not the division into the level of prosperity. People all over the world have different attitudes towards prices; what is cheap, what is expensive, what these people value and what they see as necessities and as quality, and what they are looking for in a place. Concluding; prices can be a part of a place brand, but it depends on who is observing the place brand; in who's mind the place brand is being created. Therefore it is a difficult component to approach.

6.3.4 *Importance of climate and geographical factors*

Another component that has not been given much attention in literature is the geographical factor and climate, maybe due to the same reason as prices are not often mentioned as the building blocks of a brand; these things cannot be changed, they are essential and

given properties. It depends much on the point of view of the observer how these things are seen. The rarity of geographical elements and climate depends what the observer sees as normal.

Even though these things about places are very obvious, people do talk about them a lot. How the landscape is, if there are mountains or if it's flat; if there is water present; how green a city is; what the temperature is and how it feels; humid or dry; if there's wind, rain or snow. In the monologues people often described where a place locates, what are the neighboring countries, if there is sea, lakes, mountains or deserts nearby, if the city is green and how the weather is. Even as these are elements, which can't be changed and they might be obvious to the people who know these places and most do have a clue how the weather in a place is, maybe these elements could be highlighted even more in the branding of a place.

Weather has a huge impact on people and there are countless variations of it. In Finland a person knows the feeling of a midsummer night when sun doesn't go down, the blue moment of a winter day right before it gets pitch black, sunny freezing crispy days when the snow reflects the sun so strongly one needs to wear sunglasses. In Thailand there are short rainstorms during which one gets soaking wet but still feels warm, humid hot and dark nights, mornings when the nature is awake before sunrise and one can feel a hot day arriving. The mist in the Netherlands and the constant little rain might be very exotic to some. Everyone knows Finland is cold and that there is snow, as everyone knows Thailand is hot, sunny and humid, but still, the little differences and feelings a certain climate and landscape awakens can be very powerful and could be even more paid attention to when branding.

One doesn't see too much picture's of Thailand and the rainstorms or pictures of the mist in Netherlands, but still, these might be exactly the sort of differences that are exotic to a foreigner. These details could be detected and communicated about even more, and in a positive manner to those who might see them as exotic. Even though the people in London complain about the constant rain, it might be the kind of romantic picture someone wants to paint about the city and experience. The information about landscape and climate are communicated in a very narrow manner, even though there are countless variations of the atmospheres and feelings that the weather and landscape creates and which could be communicated about. It is clear to many tourists how the cityscape of a city center of a destination city might look like, but beyond that the little differences might not be so known.

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 Contribution of the research

The purpose of this study was to find out how a place brand is perceived differently from a local's and from a tourists point of view. The first research question was of which components people construct a place brand.

Looking at the literature around place branding it was to be seen that a few subjects dominated the discussion. People, events, products, architecture, food, art, policies and symbols, visual identity and slogans were components that could be spotted in most articles and books that dealt with place branding. According to this study people and culture in general were the components people talked most about regarding both their home cities and travel destinations, whereas symbols, slogans and visual identity seemed to be less significant in the formation of the brand. (Anholt, 2003)

The second research questions was if and how a place brand is constructed differently depending if the perceiver a local or a tourist.

It was interesting to see that even though the components of the place brand seemed to be the same, the relationship people had to these components were different depending if they were talking about their home cities and when they were talking about a travel destination. People were more forgiving towards the travel destination whereas the negative sides of the home city were highlighted. In the home city people could see the big picture and in the travel destination the perception came more through details and single events and experiences.

The most obvious outcome of the study is the usual; places are extremely controversial and complex issues. Studying them by interviewing people proved to be very hard as people associate their whole lives with the places they live in and which they visit. The data received is subjective in a complex way. Sorting the info to be in any way general is a hard task even if the questions would have been more narrowly framed. It is a hard subject to study as it is difficult to separate places from the lives people lead in the place, both permanently and as a tourist, the way these people are, the way in which they talk about places and how they actually feel about them. Even though people do associate places with certain kind of people, and it is obvious that people from a certain place have common characteristics, it may not be clear how intertwined the identities of places and those of people are in a more profound way.

It became obvious why the research field is still debating about the terminology around places, place marketing and others. These are not simple questions to answer as place is in the end such a philosophical construct. Is it the concrete environment, the people and the image for example, or all of these, and in what proportions? The concept

of a place is subjective; someone framing and interpreting it in a certain way, communicating about it to others, and a person receiving this information from many different sources, creating a frame of their own. One can understand a place through the data of it; factual characteristics listed for example in wikipedia; one can understand it through a friend visiting a place and telling about it, through personal experience, through films and other media. To study the vast experience of a place the way it was studied in this research proved to be quite difficult and therefore the results are not so clear either.

Because of the loose framing of the subject, this research brought more new questions than answered the ones it was supposed to. It did however provide interesting some emerging insights, ideas for future research and a few managerial implications.

7.2 Managerial implications

The results suggest that people and culture are the most important components of a place brand. This could be taken into consideration while thinking of how to develop tourism in an area. Locals could take more part in building the tourist experience. There are new platforms, which are already taking this into consideration. Withlocals.com for example, is a platform in which locals can provide dinners, tours and workshops for tourists for money. There is Airbnb, which enables tourists to book someone's own home for their stay instead of booking a room in a hotel. Couchsurf.com is a service much like Airbnb, but it's free and the point is not just to stay at someone's place, but also to get to know the people a little bit. Myguide.io is a platform, which enables locals to become hosts for their own city or area and making a little business for themselves. All of these services are relatively new.

The emergence of many services which provide authentic local experiences tells that there's a growing demand for them. People are decreasingly interested in seeing the tourist traps and more interested in engaging in a real local experience. In general, developing the local community for the place to be genuinely a better place to live, but also genuinely being a better place to visit exactly therefore, can be a guideline in developing a city brand. Successfully harnessing the spirit of the local community in a manner that provides authentic experiences to the visitor can be a great competitive advantage.

The local community could also be more engaged in the creation of a positive message towards the potential visitors. People could be educated in communicating about their place of origin positively while travelling and while talking to foreign people. In general people could be made more aware of the way they talk about their countries and cities, and realize that it does have an impact on the potential visitors. Again, for the locals to be willing to spread such a message, it would need to be embedded in

reality so that locals feel proud of where they come from. In the end it all comes down to the holistic development of a city. According to the results of this thesis, especially culture in all its forms should be paid attention to, in order to make a city more appealing.

As tourist's experiences according to this thesis are a lot based on single events and details, this could also be taken into consideration while thinking of how to develop tourism in an area. A city does not need to build a huge monument to be a new sightseeing, but maybe develop new ways to discover the things that already exist in a city. There are apps for the transportation in a city, for discovering events in a city, and for other single purposes, but a city could provide more tools in the form of an app for the tourists so that they can make the most of their stay. A traveling app, which could holistically provide information about the city for the time the city is visited, could come handy for a tourist and for the local businesses. The app would be a platform for the local businesses to market their services using the possibilities of augmented reality that the app would provide. The app could be funded by the city and offered for the locals and local businesses as a platform in which they can provide more interesting info and experiences to the tourist, and for the tourist as the only app one needs for the city in question. As the platform would be publicly funded, there wouldn't be imbalance in the information provided. Problem with similar services in the market place is that the visibility can be bought by the companies, which want to be on display. As the app would not need to make profit, the imbalance of information displayed in the app would not be frustrating to the tourist, and the locals or local businesses could enter the market too, as it would not be dominated by the big businesses. The app could enable people to share all kinds of information both by the locals and the tourists. Tourists want to share their positive experiences while traveling, and are eager to do so; the app could encourage to this even more. Giving the local businesses tools, that would be built-in in the platform and which the companies could then use in ways they see suitable for their business, would create shares by the tourists connected with these businesses. The nature of information provided would not need to be commercial either, but well curated in order not to be chaotic, as it's provided by many different sources stakeholders.

Tourist traps could be managed better in order for them to be less frustrating for the visitor and providing more positive experiences. Many museums and other sightseings have begun to take bookings so that people would not need to wait in line and that the attractions would be less crowded, allowing the visitors the nicest experience of the sightseeing possible. These kind of details might seem insignificant from the big perspective, but as tourists experiences of the city often are through the sightseeings, they should be managed well.

As Universities were seen important, maybe the universities in a city could also take part in the creation of a place brand more actively. All kinds of projects that make a

connection with the citizens of a city and the tourists, could be given more place, and see if something flourishes. Many business schools for example have places where start-ups are created and advised. New technologies and products coming from a certain country are very interesting also for tourists. Maybe involving tourists with these kinds of departments could be very beneficial for both parties.

7.3 Future research implications

In future, research could focus for example on how places can successfully maintain their authenticity and build the brand around the things that matter for the locals as well as which are interesting to the visitors. Authentic experiences could be provided as an alternative to mass tourism. These experiences should be recognized, in order to be preserved. In the last century many traditional skills have been lost, which could be seen as national treasures. In this research it was to be seen that people strive to find authentic and different experiences while travelling. Appreciating different kind of cultures is as necessary as appreciating biodiversity. At the moment we are still surrounded by different kind of cultures and it is in many ways interesting to see how these cultures have come to be and how they function. Anthropologically it would be a shame to lose these cultures and places. Research could aim to find solutions on how cultures and places and their specific characteristics such as language, food, and handicrafts, to mention a few, could be preserved in an authentic manner, not only written, but actually practised. It might not be place marketing's task, but the research field can play a big role in it. Change is occurring whether it is wanted or not. It is an outcome of many little changes by many different subjects. Cultural variety is something that should not be lost, as variety of people, the way we act and think is a building ground for different kind of new experiences, systems and scientific solutions. All kind of cultures and places have something to give and to make sure these continue to exist, even if not in a big scale, it would be important to preserve connection to the different ways of thinking and observing the world.

More research is needed in order to validate the method. Similar experiments should be conducted with different cities and with more interviewees. The method of interviewing could be more in depth and there could be more time used in the interviews. Studying the single components of a specific city and their meaning for locals and visitors might bring more concrete answers to the questions of how to develop an area into a direction that is suitable for exactly the place in question. Finding general answers, which can be applied to all kind of areas, is ambitious but in practice impossible.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The main finding of this study is that the place brand of a home city and a destination city is formed of the same components, but the information on home city is more insightful, realistic and generally talked about in a more negative tone, whereas the destination city's place brand is formed more through details, single experiences and is generally talked in a more positive tone. Culture and people are the most important components of a place brand, both for the locals and for the visitors. Culture includes events, food, art and architecture to mention a few. (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Muratowski, 2012; Kavaratzis, 2004; Molotch, 2002; McKercher, 2008; Freire, 2006; Åkerlund and Mueller, 2012; Caldwell, 2000)

The fear of globalization turning places into copies of each other is a concern, but the positive thing is that people are valuing the different kind of experiences high and looking for them. There is a demand for the experiences that are exceptional and interesting for the visitor; experiencing something new might be one of the most important reasons for travelling in the first place. Places should find ways how to make the need for different kind of experiences beneficial for the local communities, developing their area holistically based on the existing components and finding competitive advantage in them. This is an aim that should be acknowledged by all stakeholders so that the decisions considering a city or an area can be made with this common goal in mind. People could also be encouraged to explore their home cities more and they could be more engaged in the process of developing an area and looking for the specialties of a place. This might result in a stronger community, as the locals know they can take part in the development of their area, bringing many benefits through the stronger sense of identity and therefore also stronger image. Creating a culturally strong community is beneficial both for the locals and the visitors. (Anholt, 2008)

On a very general level it can be concluded that while building a place brand, a city should pay attention to the things that already exist within the city, develop them in a way that makes the locals feel more connected to the city and proud of where they come from. When thinking about the development of a place brand for tourists, it should aim to be authentic and providing positive experiences. The experiences don't have to be big monuments, instead they can be something small that can be enjoyed in the moment.

While travelling one does seem to view the world differently; places have more details and they appear more meaningful. Every place is home to some and every place can be a destination for traveling. With more knowledge on place branding and all branches of development around cities, maybe, and hopefully, instead of becoming a clone of the next place, cities can become the better versions of themselves.

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APPENDIX

Cover Letter

Dear Interviewee,

First of all, I am very grateful that you have agreed to be interviewed for my thesis. Thank you.

The interview will be about your home city and a city you have traveled to in the past 2 years for leisure. In case you have travelled to many destinations during the past few years, choose a place which is most rare. Only travel for leisure is taken into consideration; it should not be a travel for work or visiting friends or family.

The interview will take approximately 20 minutes. We will do the interview via Skype and it will be recorded with Pamela for Skype. The recording will not be used for any other purposes than this thesis. Your name will be changed so you will not be recognised. Your home city, travel destination, sex, age and occupation will be mentioned. You were chosen based on these characteristics.

The interview will be conducted in your mother tongue in case it is English, German or Finnish. Otherwise the interview will be held in English.

You do not need to prepare for the interview in any way. I am interested in your subjective thoughts and feelings, not in general views. I ask you to speak as openly and honestly as possible.

Further information about the thesis and how the data will be used are given after the interview.

Again, thank you for participating.

Sincerely, Riikka Pia