GREG RICHARDS and LIAN DUIF

SMALL CITIES WITH BIG DREAMS

Creative Placemaking and Branding Strategies

Small Cities with Big Dreams

How can small cities make an impact in a globalizing world dominated by 'world cities' and urban development strategies aimed at increasing agglomeration? This book addresses the challenges of smaller cities trying to put themselves on the map, attract resources and initiate development.

Placemaking has become an important tool for driving urban development that is sensitive to the needs of communities. This volume examines the development of creative placemaking practices that can help to link small cities to external networks, stimulate collaboration and help them make the most of the opportunities presented by the knowledge economy. The authors argue that the adoption of more strategic, holistic placemaking strategies that engage all stakeholders can be a successful alternative to copying bigger places. Drawing on a range of examples from around the world, they analyse small city development strategies and identify key success factors.

This book focuses on the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, a small Dutch city that used cultural programming to link itself to global networks and stimulate economic, cultural, social and creative development. It advocates the use of cultural programming strategies as a more flexible alternative to traditional top-down planning approaches and as a means of avoiding copying the big city.

Greg Richards is Professor of Placemaking and Events at Breda University and Professor of Leisure Studies at the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands. He has worked with numerous national governments, national tourism organizations, cities and regions on a wide range of placemaking projects.

Lian Duif was responsible for directing the Bosch500 programme in 's-Hertogenbosch from 2010 to 2016. She has a professional background in the field of tourism, cultural heritage and city marketing. Lian is involved in the marketing and development of tourism and cultural programmes with organizations such as the Netherlands Board of Tourism & Conventions and VisitBrabant.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Small Cities with Big Dreams

Creative Placemaking and Branding Strategies

Greg Richards and Lian Duif

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2019
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 Taylor & Francis

The right of Greg Richards and Lian Duif to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

The Open Access version of this book, available at www.taylorfrancis.com, has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives (CC-BY-NC-ND) 4.0 International license.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Richards, Greg, author. | Duif, Lian, author.
Title: Small cities with big dreams: creative placemaking and branding strategies / Greg Richards and Lian Duif.
Description: New York, NY: Routledge, 2018.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018008394 | ISBN 9780815385424 (hardback) | ISBN 9780815391661 (pbk.)
Subjects: LCSH: City promotion. | Place marketing. | Small cities.
Classification: LCC HT325 .R53 2018 | DDC 659.2/930776—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018008394

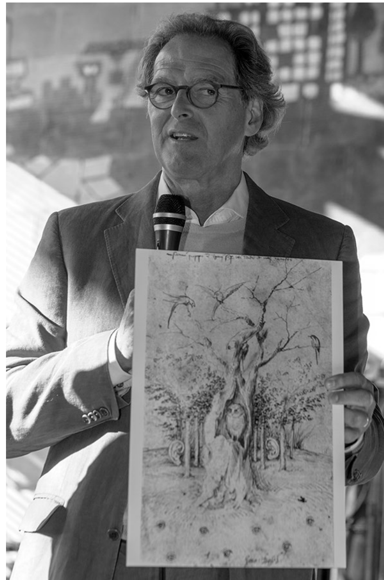
ISBN: 978-0-8153-8542-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-8153-9166-1 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-20119-3 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193

The publication of the Open Access version of this book was funded by Breda University of Applied Sciences (BUAS).

Poor is the spirit that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing themselves.

Hieronymus Bosch (*c*.1450–1516)



Ton Rombouts, Mayor of ‘s-Hertogenbosch with the picture ‘The wood has ears, the field has eyes’ by Hieronymus Bosch with his inscription: ‘Poor is the spirit that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing themselves’ (armzalig is de geest die steeds gebruik maakt van de vondsten van anderen en zelf niets bedenkt) (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Contents

List of Figures x
List of Tables xi
List of Photos xii
List of Boxes xiv
Preface xv

1 Small Cities, Big Challenges 1
Introduction 1
Throwing the Spotlight on Small Cities 3
The Advantages of Being Small 8
Getting Back to the Human Scale 10
How Can Small Cities Compete? 12
Small Places Creating Big Dreams 14
Towards a Creative Mode of Placemaking 15
The Elements of Placemaking 18
The Need for a Programme 20
Outline of the Volume 21
How Is This Book Different? 24

2 Creating Opportunities with Limited Resources 30
Introduction 30
Towards a Framework for Analysing Urban Resources 31
Competing with Scarce Resources: Does Size Matter? 34
Moving from Urbanization to Urbanity? 36
Public Space and Urban Amenities 39
Maintaining Distinction: The Role of Culture, Leisure, and Events 43
People and Talent 49
Towards New Ways of Thinking about Urban Resources 56
Conclusions 59

3 **Placemaking Process: Putting Things on the Move** 65
The Place of Small Cities in a Globalizing World 65
Where Do We Want To Be in 25 Years? 66
Stakeholders of the Small City 67
Developing a Vision as Programme Focus 70
Seeking Inspiration for a Shared Vision 73
Building Placemaking Partnerships 76
Planning vs Programming 81

4 **The Art of Collaboration: Finding External Partners and Keeping Them on Board** 88
Collaboration as a New Mindset 88
Towards New Forms of Partnership 89
Network Development in 's-Hertogenbosch 93
International Knowledge Network: Bosch Research and Conservation Project 95
International Cultural Network: Bosch Cities Network 96
Efteling–Heritage Network: Bosch Experience 98
Brabant Museums Network: Bosch Grand Tour 100
The Networks in a Placemaking Perspective 102
What's In It for Us and Them? 102
Building Knowledge Networks 106
Taking Position to Create Network Value 110
Conclusions 114

5 **Governance: The Art of Getting Things Done** 118
Introduction 118
The Economic Challenge: Attracting Resources 119
Governance: The Enabling Framework 120
Programme Governance 125
Network Governance 126
Developing Regimes to Get Things Done 129
Leadership 132
The Fluidity of Practices 136
Conclusions 137

6 **Marketing and Branding the Small City** 141
Introduction 141
Building the Place Brand 141
Developing the Brand 145
Cities Need a Story 147
Telling the 's-Hertogenbosch Story 147

Welcome Home, Hieronymus! 151
From Vision to Brand 157
Conclusion 161

7 **Impacts and Effects: Reaping the Rewards and Counting the Costs** 163
Introduction 163
Establishing the Desired Effects 163
Measuring the Things That Count in a Programme 165
Measuring Change 169
Identifying Indicators 170
Local Pride and Social Cohesion 174
Cultural Effects 179
Counting the Cost 181
Costs of Bidding for Programmes 186
Intangible Programme Costs 187
Problems of Assessment 189
Conclusions 190

8 **Tempo: Good Placemaking Takes Time** 193
Introduction 193
Making Time for Change 195
Choosing Your Moment 196
Persevering in the Face of Adversity 200
Multi-annual Cultural Programming 204
The Programme Cycle 210
Small Cities Can Create Time 212
Conclusions 213

9 **Lessons for Other Places? Critical Success Factors in the 's-Hertogenbosch Story** 215
Introduction 215
Critical Success Factors 217
Learning from 's-Hertogenbosch? 218
Political Will and Long-Term Vision 219
Building a Placemaking Platform 227
Potential Pitfalls 230
Can These Principles Be Transferred to Other Places? 236
Concluding Thoughts: The Changing Position of the Small City in the Urban Field 237

Index 245

List of Figures

4.1	The contribution of networks to the main elements of placemaking	102
6.1	Google search trends: Hieronymus Bosch vs Rembrandt, January–December 2016	150
6.2	Perceived images of Sibiu from resident and visitor surveys, 2007, 2011, and 2017	159
7.1	Return on programme investment model (after Richards 2014)	171
7.2	European tourists rating Sibiu among their top five cultural destinations, compared with Luxemburg (ECOC 2007) and Liverpool (ECOC 2008)	177
7.3	Total cost per resident for the ECOC, 1995–2015, by city population size	185
8.1	Programme attention cycle	211
8.2	A hypothetical extended programme cycle for Bosch500	212
9.1	The balance between resources, meanings, and creativity in placemaking	241

List of Tables

2.1 Critical dimensions of cultural development (after Sacco and Blessi 2007) 33
2.2 Ranking of European cities in terms of quality of life 38
2.3 Annual growth in overnight stays in European cities (top 10 fastest-growing cities per period) 39
2.4 Cannes Festival visitors 48
2.5 Volunteers in the European Capital of Culture Programme, 2010–2015 54
5.1 City governance models (after Pierre 1999) 122
6.1 Brand-building for cities (after Ristilammi 2000; Eurocities 2013) 145
7.1 Programme impacts and effects 164
7.2 Perceived impacts of the 2007 ECOC on Sibiu 2007–2017 (residents only) 177
7.3 Financial overview of the Bosch500 Programme (2010–2016) 184

List of Photos

1.1	The "Hieronymus Bosch: Visions of Genius" exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Lian Duif)	2
1.2	National New Year's concert by the Dutch Wind Ensemble dedicated to Hieronymus Bosch (photo: Lian Duif)	24
2.1	Opening of the Bosch500 programme, town hall, 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	32
2.2	Bosch500 volunteers, Centraal Station 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	50
2.3	Participants at the opening of the Bosch500 programme in the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	55
2.4	Local winners of the Bosch500 Lottery for tickets to the "Visions of Genius" exhibition (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	57
3.1	Bosch statues on the Bosch Experience trail (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	75
3.2	Bosch Experience kidsproof (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	76
4.1	Bosch Young Talent Show (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	94
4.2	"Hieronymus B", performance by the Dance Company Nanine Linning, a co-production of the Bosch Cities Network (photo: Lian Duif)	97
4.3	Local children participate in Bosch Experience (photo: Lian Duif)	98
4.4	"Bosch by Night" show in the market square (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	99
4.5	Bosch Grand Tour exhibition "New Lusts", Moti Breda (photo: Lian Duif)	100
4.6	Artworks inspired by Bosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	101
4.7	Art experts from the Bosch Research and Conservation Project present a rediscovered Bosch painting (photo: Marc Bolsius)	114
6.1	Live broadcast of the opening of the Bosch exhibition on Dutch national television (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	146
6.2	Children playing in the "Garden of Earthly Delights" (photo: Ben Nienhuis)	149

6.3 Bosch Parade in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 155
7.1 King Willem-Alexander visits ‘s-Hertogenbosch for the opening of the Bosch exhibition (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 168
7.2 Visitors along the Bosch Parade in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 176
7.3 Community art project with the French artist Olivier Grossetête (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 183
7.4 Locally brewed Jheronimus beer (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 185
8.1 Bosch500 Café in the theatre in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 202
8.2 The collapsed building next door to the former house and studio of Bosch (photo: Marc Bolsius) 202
8.3 Visitors in the market square in ‘s-Hertogenbosch watching the “Bosch by Night” show (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 205
8.4 Bosch Dance in the theater of ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 207
8.5 Visitors during the Bosch Year in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 209
9.1 Miraculous Climb to the top of St John’s Cathedral in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 216
9.2 Co-production by the Bosch Cities Network at the Boulevard Festival in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 225
9.3 “Bosch Beast” spectacle for the closing of the Bosch500 event on 11 December 2016 (photo: Ben Nienhuis) 233

List of Boxes

1.1	Is there an optimum size for cities?	11
2.1	Hobart, Tasmania: the MONA effect	42
2.2	Eventful places: the pop-up revolution	46
2.3	The people of 's-Hertogenbosch	51
2.4	Co-creating programmes in Umeå, Sweden	58
3.1	Examples of vision statements for smaller cities	71
3.2	Rhizomatic placemaking in Fukaya, Japan	78
4.1	The challenge of local networking: Brabantstad, the Netherlands	91
4.2	Building a relationship with the Prado Museum in Madrid	105
4.3	Developing the literary village in Óbidos, Portugal	109
4.4	Frederikshavn: the Palm Beach of northern Denmark	112
5.1	Governing the Bosch500 programme	123
5.2	Direct control of the Picasso-Aix Programme, France	127
5.3	Leadership from the Mayor in Sibiu, Romania	133
5.4	Santa Fe: visualizing the artistic dream	135
6.1	Graz: a city searching for distinctiveness	142
6.2	City icons and DNA: Jos Vrancken and Ad 's-Gravesande	152
6.3	Gathering community support in Guimarães	158
7.1	Impacts of the Bosch500 programme in 2016	171
7.2	Dubuque, Iowa: improving public space through programming and development	178
8.1	Bilbao: a holistic approach to development	194
8.2	Building the Bosch500 programme	197
8.3	If at first you don't succeed	203
9.1	Chemainus, the "little town that did"	226
9.2	Advice from Hieronymus Bosch: the seven virtues and the seven deadly sins of placemaking	234

Preface

"Rotterdam Is Many Cities" was the slogan adopted by the Dutch port city for the construction of its programme for the European Capital of Culture in 2001. The slogan was devised by Intendant Bert van Meggelen based on a reading of Italo Calvino's book *Invisible Cities*. The idea was that every city, big or small, is actually many cities—the city of work, the city of leisure, the city of culture, the city by day, the city by night, the city of the migrant, the tourist, the artist. It was within this programme in 2001 that a major exhibition of the works of Dutch medieval painter Hieronymus Bosch was staged, attracting over 220,000 visitors. This in turn became the inspiration for a programme of events in the Dutch city of 's-Hertogenbosch 15 years later, on the 500th anniversary of the painter's death. It is perhaps no surprise that Rotterdam was successful with its version of the Bosch exhibition: it is a relatively large city (for the Netherlands) and it also owns works by Bosch. But for its much smaller and unpronounceable cousin, 's-Hertogenbosch, staging an exhibition was at first sight an impossible task: it had no reputation as an art city, little in the way of resources, and (most importantly) not one single artwork by Bosch.

This book tells the story of how 's-Hertogenbosch achieved what the *Guardian* newspaper termed a miracle: staging a world-class cultural programme with no apparent means at its disposal. We draw on the experience of the programme developed in 's-Hertogenbosch, as well as examples from other cities around the world, to illustrate how creative placemaking can help to improve small cities. We analyse the different elements of creative placemaking practice to show how any small city can potentially change its fortunes and put itself on the map.

This story would not have been possible without the hard work of a large number of people, and this book is no different. We were lucky to be able to draw on the experience and knowledge of a number of key informants who were engaged in different aspects of the placemaking process in 's-Hertogenbosch over the years. In particular we are grateful to the former Mayor of 's-Hertogenbosch, Ton Rombouts, for his insightful overview of the development of the city over the past 20 years—also for his encouragement to persevere with this project. We also got valuable

input for the book from Ad 's-Gravesande, Director of the Hieronymus Bosch 500 Foundation; Joks Janssen, Director of BrabantKennis and Professor of Spatial Planning and Heritage at Wageningen University; Jos Vrancken, General Director of the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions; and Wim van der Donk, Commissioner of the King for the Province of North Brabant. In addition we are grateful to Lénia Marques, who made valuable comments on the initial draft of the book, and to Ben Nienhuis and Marc Bolsius, who gave permission for the use of photographic material.

Given the immense variety and diversity of small cities, a book such as this can never claim to be exhaustive. Inevitably we have made a selection of cases based on our own experience and knowledge. The central case is the Dutch city of 's-Hertogenbosch, where we have worked for many years researching and developing programmes. Many of the other cases are also drawn from Europe, which is our principal area of study. We also focus on cultural programmes, because we believe that these offer considerable opportunities for cities in terms of creative placemaking potential. As a whole, the cities presented in this book reflect our belief that all small cities can progress if they apply themselves to achieving big dreams.

1 Small Cities, Big Challenges

Introduction

Cities have been profoundly affected by the challenges of economic restructuring and positioning in a globalizing world. They have struggled to reshape themselves physically to create new opportunities, or to rebrand themselves to create distinction and attract attention. Their strategies often draw on a limited range of "models", taken from large industrial cities undergoing economic restructuring, such as the Baltimore waterfront development or the "Guggenheim effect" in Bilbao.

What about smaller cities that may lack the tangible resources and expertise to undertake such grandiose schemes? How can small cities put themselves on the global map? They don't have the muscle and influence of their larger neighbours, although they struggle with the same challenges. We argue that the adoption of more strategic, holistic placemaking strategies that engage all stakeholders can be a successful alternative to copying bigger cities.

We use the Dutch city of 's-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands to illustrate how small places can grab attention and achieve growth, prosperity and social and cultural gains. This provincial city of 150,000 people put itself on the world stage with a programme of events themed on the life and works of medieval painter Hieronymus Bosch (or *Jheronimus Bosch* in Dutch), who was born, worked, and died in the city. For decades the city did nothing with his legacy, even though his paintings were made there. All the paintings left long ago, leaving the city with no physical Bosch legacy, and no apparent basis for building a link with him.

Eventually the 500th anniversary of Bosch's death provided the catalyst to use this medieval genius as a brand for the city. The lack of artworks by Bosch required the city to adopt the same kind of creative spirit that his paintings embody. By developing the international Bosch Research and Conservation Project, 's-Hertogenbosch placed itself at the hub of an international network of cities housing his surviving works, spread across Europe and North America. The buzz created around the homecoming exhibition of Bosch artworks generated headlines around

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-1

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

Photo 1.1 The “Hieronymus Bosch: Visions of Genius” exhibition in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Lian Duif).

the world and a scramble for tickets that saw the museum remaining open for 124 hours in the final week. A staggering 422,000 visitors came, grabbing tenth place in the *Art Newspaper's* exhibition rankings, alongside cities like Paris, London, and New York. The UK newspaper *The Guardian* said that the city had “achieved the impossible” by staging “one of the most important exhibitions of our century”.

This “miracle” did not happen overnight. Many people worked long and hard to make 2016 an unforgettable year. An idea that was originally met with scepticism grew into a national event, with major cultural, social, and economic effects. ‘s-Hertogenbosch put itself on the global map. But it doesn't end there. As one participant said: “Dare to keep on dreaming big dreams. It is not over. You can create new dreams again” (Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017: 9).

‘s-Hertogenbosch is not an isolated example. All over the globe smaller cities and places are making their mark in different ways – through events, new administrative models, community development programmes, innovative housing, new transport solutions, and other creative strategies. For example, Chemainus (British Colombia, population 4,000) was made world-famous by its outdoor gallery of murals (see Box 9.1). The formerly run-down city of Dubuque, Iowa (population 58,000) revitalized its Mississippi riverfront and now attracts well over 1,500,000 visitors a year (see Box 7.2). Hobart in Tasmania (population 200,000) has been rejuvenated by the MONA museum, as well as new events and festivals (see Box 2.1). Over one million people, including 130,000 international visitors, attended the 2016 Setouchi International Art Festival, which is held on twelve small islands in the Seto Inland Sea, Japan.

Although small places can be very successful in regenerating themselves, most attention is still focused on big cities; places with big problems, big plans, and big budgets. These are the cities that can hire starchitects and international consultants. They go for big, bold solutions, because they have little choice. Small cities may not have problems of the same scale, but they face their own challenge: how do they get noticed amongst the clamour of cities vying for attention? They can't stage the Olympic Games, they don't all have philanthropists to fund a museum, and they can't afford to hire Frank Gehry or Richard Florida – so what can they do?

They can begin to play to their own strengths. They can mobilize the tangible and intangible resources they do have, link to networks, use their small scale creatively. This book highlights how small cities can become big players. As Giffinger et al. (2007: 3) note with respect to "medium-sized cities":

> Contrary to the larger metropolises, relatively little is known about efficient positioning and effective development strategies based on the endogenous potential of medium-sized cities. Therefore a recommendable approach is to draw lessons from successful development strategies applied in other medium-sized cities tackling similar challenges and issues.

We follow this advice by reviewing what successful small cities have done, and drawing lessons for others.

We also highlight the possibilities created by the new economy. In recent decades, the intangible resources of cities have become far more important in their positioning and success. Cities have a wider range of tools and materials available, as well as a broader range of potential partners. In the "collaborative economy" it is no longer necessary to own resources: you can borrow and collaboratively develop many of the tools you need. This book outlines the implications of these changes for the small city and the possibilities they present.

This chapter reviews the place of the small city in the contemporary urban field and sketches the challenges and opportunities they face. We hope the chapters that follow will help inspire a new developmental agenda for the small city.

Throwing the Spotlight on Small Cities

There has been a lot of attention paid to cities in recent decades. With 3.3 billion people now living in cities, the 21st century has been dubbed the "urban century" (Kourtit et al. 2015). Most of this attention has been focused on large cities, particularly the fast-growing mega-cities such as São Paulo, Tokyo, New York, and London. The big names in

urban studies and planning also tend to focus on the biggest places. One list of "Top 20 Urban Planning Books (Of All Time)" features texts by Jane Jacobs, Lewis Mumford, Peter Hall, and Kevin Lynch, among others, dealing with cities such as New York, San Francisco, Montreal, Chicago, Los Angeles, London, Paris, New Delhi, Moscow, and Hong Kong (Planetizen 2016). Anne Power's (2016) book *Cities for a Small Continent: International Handbook of City Recovery* covers cities such as Bilbao, Sheffield, Lille, Turin, and Leipzig. These are not exactly small cities, with an average population of almost 750,000.

In spite of the volume of work on large places, recent years have also seen growing academic and professional interest in smaller places. This trend became evident around 2005, with a surge in books dealing specifically with the situation of small cities. Almost all of these volumes contrasted the position of small cities with those of the metropolis. Garrett-Petts's (2005) *Small Cities Book* argues that Culture (with a capital C) was equated with big city life. In subsequent studies of cities of under 100,000 people for the Small Cities Community-University Research Alliance (CURA), Garrett-Petts found that small cities tended to position themselves either as a scaled-down metropolis or as a small city with a big-town feel. Collected volumes by Bell and Jayne (2006) and Ofori-Amoah (2006) also paid specific attention to small cities and the urban experience "beyond the metropolis". Daniels et al. (2007) produced the first *Small Town Planning Handbook* (now in its third edition). At the same time Baker (2007) produced a guide to destination branding for small cities. A small-cities research agenda emerged, driven at least in part by what Jayne et al. (2010: 1408) argued was "[d]issatisfaction with urban theory dominated by study of 'the city' defined in terms of a small number of 'global' cities". This new agenda for research on small cities spawned yet more studies, with Connolly (2012) looking at the plight of industrial small cities, and Norman (2013) examining the effect of globalization, immigration, and other changes on small cities in the USA. He concluded that the influence of such factors is more nuanced in small cities than in their larger counterparts.

In 2012 Anne Lorentzen and Bas van Heur edited a volume on the *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, arguing that smaller cities and their often distinct cultural strategies had been largely ignored. Criticizing the "metropolitan bias" of scholars such as Alan Scott and Richard Florida, they focused on culture and leisure, which they saw as key drivers of development in recent decades. Wuthnow (2013) also studied *Small-Town America*, through over 700 in-depth interviews, and concluded that the "smallness" of these places shapes their social networks, behaviour, and civic commitments and produces a strong sense of attachment. Walmsley and Kading (2017) also considered the plight of small cities in Canada confronting serious social issues in the

post-1980s neoliberal climate. They conclude that while some cities have managed to develop inclusionary responses to external change, others have singularly failed. As well as these general reviews of the small-city condition, specific small cities have also been analysed. Trenton, New Jersey, is seen by Richman (2010) as a "lost city" in the post-industrial age. Dikeman (2016) charts Mayor Dan Brooks's career in North College Hill, Ohio, showing how he helped to put this small city on the map. A more global view is offered by Kresl and Ietri (2016), who use data from both the USA and Europe in their analysis of *Smaller Cities in a World of Competitiveness*. In the contemporary urban world, they point out, one of the imperatives is competing for attention.

There is clearly more attention focused on smaller cities now, although there is still a lack of coherent analysis. In particular, there is relatively little known about the process of small-city development – how and why particular small cities succeed. To start addressing this question, we first need to look at the urban field as a whole, and the position of smaller cities within it.

The Global Urban Field

In 2014, the United Nations counted 28 mega-cities of over 10 million people, containing around 12% of the global population. However, there are many more smaller cities than large ones: around 43% of the world's population live in cities of 300,000 inhabitants or fewer. In the European Union, approximately half of the cities have a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. In the year 2000, slightly more than half of the USA's population lived in settlements with fewer than 25,000 people or in rural areas (Kotkin 2012). These places of fewer than 25,000 residents make up the vast majority of "urbanized areas" in the US. As the Atlantic City Lab (2012) notes: "Of the 3,573 urban areas in the U.S. (both urbanized areas and urban clusters), 2,706 of them are small towns" – or almost 80%.

As Horacio Capel (2009) noted, what "small" means depends on context. Studies in Europe (Laborie 1979), Latin America, and North America all have differing size categories for "small" or "medium" cities. "Small" might therefore be viewed more as a state of mind: Bell and Jayne (2006), for example, describe small cities as having limited urbanity and centrality, so that they have limited political and economic reach beyond their immediate surroundings, matched by limited aspirations, and self-identification as "small" places. Language also affects our idea of what the city is and therefore what constitutes "smallness". For example, the English language distinguishes between a city and a town, a distinction which is often (although not always) related to size and function. But this distinction is not reflected in the use of the words *ville* in French or *ciudad* in Spanish.

Capel (2009: 7) further notes that the competitive situation of small cities has changed in recent decades:

> In the current situation of generalized urbanization, the meaning of middle and small cities is changing, with respect to what happened in the past. While it could long be asserted that urban growth was a very positive fact (the larger, the better), since the 1960s, when the controversy about growth limits was raised, this perspective began to change.

These days there is more attention paid to balanced growth – an area in which small cities may have significant advantages in terms of innovation, easy access to knowledge and culture, links to areas of dynamic economic development, and above all being very agreeable places to live in (Capel 2009).

The recognition of these qualities of small cities means that the population decline that characterized many smaller cities until recently has now been reversed in many places. Smaller cities can offer a better quality of life and as a result they are often growing faster. "Many of the fastest growing cities in the world are relatively small urban settlements" (United Nations 2014). Europe has witnessed population shifts from urban to rural and from larger to smaller cities (Dijkstra et al. 2013: 347):

> large cities no longer play the driving role in the second decade of modern globalization since the turn of the millennium that they did during the 1990s, the first decade of the modern globalization. Economic growth in Europe is increasingly driven by predominantly intermediate and predominantly rural regions, as well as predominantly urban regions.

In spite of the relative importance of smaller cities, according to Kresl and Ietri (2016) there has been a lack of theorization and comparative research. This means we know a lot about larger cities and their problems, but a lot less about small cities and their challenges and opportunities. There is some evidence to suggest that we cannot simply apply what we know about large cities to smaller ones. Size matters, because the growth of cities produces qualitative changes in the mixture of residents, their housing, transport, and other infrastructure, and the provision of services. Larger cities provide the density to support a level of service provision that smaller places find it hard to replicate. In the Netherlands, Meijers (2008) concluded that simply adding small places together does not provide the same level of amenities per head of the population as found in larger cities.

Small cities are therefore qualitatively different from large ones. This is partly a question of population, and also of levels of influence,

connectedness, or the ability to attract jobs and investment. Size matters, because cities increasingly need to compete for resources. In the past, smaller cities were relatively protected by national structures from competition, but "smaller cities now confront greater challenges than has ever been the case", while the need to plan strategically and mobilize assets has never been greater (Kresl and Ietri 2016: 7). Giffinger et al. (2007) underline the increasingly competitive context for small cities: "changes in economic, social and institutional differences make cities more similar in their conditions and competition is scaled down from the national level to the level of cities and regions." So small cities need a strategy to compete effectively.

In this competitive struggle, Kresl and Ietri (2016) argue, small cities have disadvantages, and also important advantages. The main disadvantages are:

- lack of recognition and distinctiveness
- lack of vision;
- risk aversion;
- lack of strategic planning;
- lack of endogenous resources;
- spatial disadvantage, such as lack of density.

Smaller cities are also often ill-equipped to deal with such challenges. Renn (2013) reports on the plight of many smaller "post-industrial cities" who "for the most part [...] have really struggled to reinvent themselves". De-industrialization has left deep scars in many smaller places, which have often lost investment and talent and find it hard to recover:

> And even with growth, the most ambitious and best-educated people will still tend to leave places like Hull (UK). Their size, location and demographics means that they will never offer the sorts of restaurants or shops that the middle classes like.
>
> (Renn 2013)

The implication is that small cities find it difficult to be as strategic or creative as large ones. This is often because large cities face much greater challenges, and so they have to confront and attempt to solve their problems. Smaller cities can often be comfortable places to live and to visit, and this can also lead to a lack of ambition. So why should small cities change? Why should they nurture big dreams? Does every city need a big dream?

Apart from the basic competitive argument, which holds that standing still will eventually lead to decline, there is also an increasing need for small cities to adapt themselves to the changing external environment. Global communication systems and the "network society"

(Castells 1996) provide new opportunities for small cities. It is no longer necessary to live in the heart of London or New York to be well-connected. Growing numbers of people can work from anywhere, so why not from a small city with a higher quality of life? In fact, we argue in this book that the changing environment of cities is also changing the way they need to act. The possibilities of linking and collaborating with other cities in the "we-economy" (Hesseldahl 2017) means that cities should increasingly think about their role as platforms for a wide range of economic, social, and cultural processes that can combine to develop new business models, new ways of doing things. For small cities it is not just about falling behind in a competitive race, but also about seizing the new opportunities offered by a rapidly changing world.

The Advantages of Being Small

In the new economy, much emphasis has been placed on the role of "soft infrastructure" such as networking, meeting spaces, cultural clusters, and "atmosphere" (see Chapter 2). This is also an area where small cities can develop advantages:

> Contrary to what one might expect, the population size of a city does not determine its performance in culture and creativity. On average, small and medium-sized cities score relatively well compared to larger ones, particularly on "Cultural Vibrancy" and "Enabling Environment".
>
> (Montalto et al. 2017: 23)

Small cities therefore have some important advantages over larger ones, which according to Kresl and Ietri (2016) can include:

- location – they are often close to resources important for traditional industries;
- cultural assets;
- high quality of life;
- high levels of happiness;
- higher-education resources (universities were often founded in smaller places);
- high social capital;
- start-ups and innovation.

There is a growing body of evidence for these advantages of living in small cities. For example, Okulicz-Kozaryn (2017) found that smaller cities in the USA have higher levels of happiness, or subjective well-being. He concludes that "people are happiest in smallest areas despite that these places seem largely forgotten by academics, policy makers, and

businesses" (p. 144). This is a pattern also evident in many European countries. For example, in the Netherlands Marlet (2016) concludes that recent years have seen the rise of "monumental cities", which are characterized by an attractive built heritage, with a highly educated population. Many of these cities are small, such as 's-Hertogenbosch. Because of their attractive cityscapes and the presence of well-heeled consumers, they have more culture, better restaurants, and fewer empty shopfronts than other small cities (Garretsen and Marlet 2017).

Lorenzen and Andersen (2007) also found that the creative class tended to be more prevalent in middle-sized cities of between 70,000 and 1.2 million people. They argue larger cities are unattractive because "the creative class may respond particularly adversely to urban congestion problems" (p. 5). In the UK, Lee and Rodríguez-Pose (2015) analyse data from the British Small Business Survey and conclude that there is little evidence that firms in larger "creative cities" are more innovative than those elsewhere. In Canada, Denis-Jacob (2012: 110) also found that the presence of cultural workers is not clearly related to city size:

> While most cultural workers remain concentrated in major metropolitan areas, some small cities are also successful in attracting them. Small places such as Stratford (Ontario), Canmore (Alberta), Port Hope (Ontario) and Nanaimo (BC) have indeed a high share of their working population employed in cultural industries.

Oliver (2000: 361) argued that social capital, measured in terms of civic engagement, tends to be higher in smaller US cities. "Controlling for both individual- and city-level characteristics, people in larger cities are much less likely to contact officials, attend community or organizational meetings, or vote in local elections […] People in big cities are less likely to be recruited for political activity by neighbors and are less interested in local affairs."

Changing residential and lifestyle preferences are therefore helping many small cities to grow. In the future the size disadvantage of smaller cities may also be overcome because of changes in technology in terms of production, transportation, and communication, which will erode the current advantage of large cities (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2017). The decline of central government financial transfers also means that larger cities will have less advantage from these in future. Okulicz-Kozaryn (2017) also argues that the advantages of smaller places are likely to increase, thanks to our growing ability to work from anywhere. So it seems that small is the new big. As McKnight (2017) points out:

> Small towns are hot. They're hip. They're attracting investment. Am I crazy? Don't think so and here's why. Large urban centers and small towns have more in common than you may first think. Big

> cities are really a mosaic of small towns (neighborhoods) that share a common economic market.

This highlights the point that the areas in big cities studied by Richard Florida, Sharon Zukin, and other urbanists are often really "urban villages". These give people at least some of the benefits of living in a small place, even in the heart of the big city.

McKnight also argues that other factors are reducing the gap between big and small. Technology has rendered the work place and markets more mobile and flexible, and choices about where to live or locate a business are increasingly based on personal preferences and the ability to attract talent with fewer geographic market constraints. In particular, millennials are moving into small urban centres, renovating old industrial spaces, creating art districts and co-working spaces. They want a small-town community feel, with the amenities commonly found in larger urban centres and at lower cost (McKnight 2017).

The important question for the many people living in smaller cities is – how can these places deliver a better quality of life than big cities? The answer seems to be that if small cities can generate sufficient economic opportunities, then the inherent quality of life advantages of being small will win out. The economic dynamism of small cities is also becoming evident:

> Forbes' Best Cities For Jobs survey [...] found that small and midsized metropolitan areas, with populations of 1 million or less, accounted for 27 of the 30 urban regions in the country that are adding jobs at the fastest rate.
>
> (Kotkin 2012)

In this climate, as Kresl and Ietri (2016: 25) argue, "the fascination with mega-cities [...] is therefore beginning to wear a bit thin". Bell (2017) even asks whether big cities should be learning from small ones. He argues that small cities are more nimble, and can therefore act more quickly, if they have the structures in place. They are friendlier, more sociable, and there is a greater sense of local community. They integrate smart and sustainable development into their future planning and are able to attract talent. And they are able to make an impact on a larger proportion of the population through their projects and programmes.

Getting Back to the Human Scale

The success of small cities or older cities relative to newer industrial centres can arguably be explained by their retention of human scale. Because of their relatively compact form, they offer many spaces where residents and visitors can interact. They are readable and navigable for

people on foot. This is one of the key reasons why many American cities are now redeveloping or creating new downtown areas (e.g. West Jordan, Utah; Lakewood, Colorado; Carmel, Indiana; Bend, Oregon).

Danish planner Jan Gehl (2010) underlines the importance of designing public space to make people feel welcome, to enable them to interact. The key is to invite people to walk, bike, and stay in public space, increasing safety, sustainability, and liveliness. This idea is being implemented in many cities around the globe. The Project for Public Spaces (PPS) identifies a rising concern with the need for human scale in cities, with groups such as the New Yorkers for a Human Scale City group (NYHSC) seeking "to guide future development towards a human-scaled future – one that protects rather than destroys New York's historic fabric". New Yorkers for a Human Scale City (NYHSC) is a coalition of 84 neighbourhood, public space, and civic organizations. According to Montgomery (2013), promoting human-scale development is basically a choice between two planning options – either concentrating on constructing buildings, thereby increasing corporate wealth and ultimately GDP, or focusing on mixed-use and human-scale public places which foster community well-being.

As PPS points out, human scale in any given community depends upon what that community perceives as human scale. Very often it refers to the need to prioritize pedestrians over cars, as Jan Gehl argues. More pedestrians mean more human interaction, which positively affects well-being as well as health. However, as Dix (1986: 274) pointed out, the advantages of small size and human scale go much further:

> The positive advantages of smaller, secondary settlements lie in the possibility of developing in them a sense of identity, a corporate spirit and outlook covering the whole population. This may not only make government easier but also encourage civic development initiatives and responsibility.

Box 1.1 Is there an optimum size for cities?

For many scholars, size continues to be an important factor in determining the quality of urban life. The studies quoted above on city size and happiness, social capital, and the presence of the creative class all seem to suggest some kind of "optimum" city size above or below which the quality of life will begin to drop. In the early 1970s some studies suggested that the optimum city size at which the cost of public goods was minimized was around 250,000. In this "traditional" view, large cities are good for firms and bad for people (Albouy 2008).

(*Continued*)

More recent research that considers the "soft" factors of location comes up with differing estimates of optimum size. For Lorenzen and Andersen (2007), the cities with the highest density of creative class numbered between 70,000 and 1.2 million inhabitants. Okulicz-Kozaryn (2017) seems to suggest that over a threshold of around 10,000 people, happiness decreases with size. He also quotes research from Chinese cities suggesting that optimum happiness is reached at between 200,000 and 500,000 people.

So there is little agreement on what the optimum city size might be, from either an economic or a well-being perspective. There is also little agreement on what constitutes a "small city". Kresl and Ietri (2016) studied "small cities" of between 250,000 and 2 million, whereas the Small City Economic Dynamism Index in the United States includes cities of between 10,000 and 500,000. In Canada, Garrett-Petts (2005) analysed small cities of fewer than 100,000 people.

In recent years, however, these advantages of smaller cities have been contrasted with calls for larger cities that can provide greater agglomeration advantages. For example, Richard Florida (2017) champions the role of "superstar cities" in creating wealth. What do we need – smaller, more intimate cities, or larger, superstar cities? Is there an optimum city size that supports a good quality of life and strong economic performance (Box 1.1)?

How Can Small Cities Compete?

One important question is whether small cities can compete effectively with larger places. Getz (2017) sees cities as playing in different leagues: "Cities and destinations compete in 'leagues' with parameters set by their resources, venues, willingness to take risks and professionalism. If they want to advance into a higher league they will have to invest heavily." However, Evans and Foord (2006) argue that small cities cannot compete effectively if they think like big cities: "by thinking big, small cities have been seduced into entering a culture-led city competition in which the stakes are high and the prospects of success limited" (p. 151). The problem, according to Evans and Foord, is "reliance on flagship cultural buildings, iconic cultural institutions, cultural and heritage quarters alongside cultural events, festivals and markets [...] to kick-start both physical regeneration and visitor economics" (p. 152) – a reliance which is pushing cities towards a consumption-based economy and ignoring social goals. Problems emerge when cultural projects are

neither home-grown nor locally embedded, and small cities engage in copycat strategies.

Similar patterns emerge in Canada, where Lewis and Donald (2009) argue that creative capital theory has a narrow view of creativity and provides a discourse of "creativity competition" in which smaller cities are bound to fail. The indicators used to measure the creativity of cities tend to favour big-city features such as technology and innovation poles, large corporations, and immigrants, which "ultimately prevents smaller Canadian cities from becoming 'success stories'" (Lewis and Donald 2009: 34).

Previous studies have suggested two basic strategies by which small cities can effectively compete with bigger ones. One is through specialization, such as the development of creative experiences, creative spaces, and innovative products, especially for niche markets (van Heur 2012). The other is by "borrowing size" from their larger neighbours. By working with nearby larger cities, small cities can "punch above their weight" (Kresl and Ietri 2016: 12). However, both strategies are essentially framed by size. The first avoids direct competition with big places by sticking to small niches, and the second makes small places bigger in order to compete.

However, small cities don't need to become bigger cities or find small ponds to be big fishes in. In this book we outline a number of alternative strategies that take into account the new possibilities being offered by changes in the global economy. In the contemporary network society, a number of shifts are converging to provide new possibilities:

- Intangible resources are becoming more important. This means that some advantages of size (such as having more physical resources) are declining.
- Collaboration with other cities and citizens is more important in urban competitiveness. You don't have to be big to collaborate, particularly as this makes it possible to access resources that are above your size. You can use co-creation and coopetition strategies to reach your goals.
- The shift from comparative advantage to competitive advantage places more emphasis on how you use the resources you have or can obtain.
- In the network society, power is related not just to the content you have, but also to the use of networks and particularly the development of hubs and platforms to distribute knowledge and other resources.

The new complexities of the changing role of the city in the network society mean we need to rethink the interrelationships between cities, their inhabitants, their resources, and the ways in which cities compete

in the urban field. In the past this has been analysed largely in terms of industries, talent, or amenities. These factors tend to accrue more readily to bigger cities, whereas the advantages of smaller places can be found primarily in the relational and creative spheres.

Small cities need not grow physically to compete with their bigger neighbours. Instead of quantity, they should grow in terms of quality. They should try and find fields in which to excel, and acquire the benefits of size without physical growth. New opportunities for doing this are now emerging in the form of the networks which are connecting people, organizations, and places in ways which were not possible before. The increased circulation of information and ideas has sparked developments such as the rise of the collaborative economy, which enables ownership and control to be conceived of in new ways. To use the potential provided by the network society, small cities should think about how their relationships, both internal and external, can deliver value and help them to achieve their ambitions.

Small Places Creating Big Dreams

Capel (2009) emphasizes that cities need projects. Without clearly formulated projects that are widely accepted by citizens, the city can't advance. A small city needs initiatives and projects for the future. There are plenty of possibilities for endogenous development through social, intellectual, and cultural relationships in small cities, if they have the imagination to succeed. The need for endogenous development, for building from within, is important economically and psychologically – cities need their own ideas, their own dreams. As Dutch soccer star Johan Cruyff once remarked: "It's better to go down with your own vision than with someone else's." If you follow somebody else's dream, it is easy to blame them. If you follow your own dream, you can make your own path – and be more motivated to follow it.

Overcoming the disadvantages of being small means that smaller cities need to work harder on their dreams. Getting cities to work harder is a question of creating goals, giving direction and focus, and maintaining momentum. For large cities, the goals are often evident – they often urgently need to house people, provide jobs, organize efficient transport, reduce crime. Because smaller places don't usually have the impulse of huge problems, they need a catalyst to create movement – dreams to follow.

A big dream doesn't need a vast scale – it just needs the right scope, form, and tone to move people. The vision and the plan should be holistic; they need to engage everybody, not just one group. This is also one advantage that small cities have – ideas can more easily encompass the city as a whole. In a city with human scale big dreams don't need to compete with other dreams – they have the room to mature and grow.

This is important because one of the arguments in this book is that placemaking involves a synergy between top-down and bottom-up processes, with a considerable investment of effort, resources, and time to make it work (see Chapter 8). The city as a whole needs to be involved, otherwise it is unlikely that the dream will take root.

Marano (2005) argues that small places need to first develop a vision:

> the most successful towns, large or small, are those with a clear vision of what they want to be. Whether it is a town like Waynesville, Ohio (pop. 2,500), the "Antiques Capitol of the Midwest;" Sprague, Connecticut (pop. 3,000), "A 19th Century Town Restored for 21st Century Commerce and Recreation;" or Berthoud, Colorado (pop. 4,839), "The Garden Spot of Colorado," growth management starts with community vision.

As part of establishing a vision, successful communities usually develop a strategic planning initiative (we provide a summary of some of these visions in Chapter 3). Armed with a vision and a plan, a city can then go about formulating measures and processes allowing it to manage its growth and become the place it wants to be. How can it put these processes in motion?

One of the characteristics of many of the successful smaller places is that they have inspirational leaders. As Bernstein and McCarthy (2005: 15) note: "Some places develop despite a lack of natural attraction or specific economic function. They do so because of visionary leadership and effective co-operative programmes of development." Many big cities have done it; now some smaller ones are doing it too, with the help of big thinking.

Landry (2015) identifies "cities of ambition", which are often smaller cities located in peripheral regions, such as Östersund, Tampere, Aarhus, or Umeå in Scandinavia. "They have all done things well beyond their expected circumstances," and their thinking is strategic. These places are creative, and there are many leaders and many levels of leadership. Most importantly, these places get things done. Doing things is important, as Pratt suggests: Landry's "thesis is not about consumption, but about process. It is about an inclusive and participatory city where arts and culture are a means and a practice of place-making and living" (Pratt 2008: 35).

Our vision for cities is not based on size or location: we argue that every city has potential, no matter where, no matter how small.

Towards a Creative Mode of Placemaking

Placemaking is different from place marketing, which seeks to use marketing tools and a customer-oriented philosophy to sell the city to

customers (Eshuis et al. 2014), or to turn a place into a destination. Placemaking, on the other hand also involves non-market processes and an effort to improve the quality of the lives of all those who use the place. An attractive external image should be a by-product of placemaking, not the goal. If a place is made more liveable for those who are already there, it should also become attractive to others.

For this reason we have framed placemaking as a form of social practice, or a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several interconnected elements, such as objects, forms of thinking, understandings, know-how, states of emotion, and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002). Shove et al. (2012) identified three basic elements of a social practice as materials (things, technologies, resources), meanings (symbolic meanings, ideas, and aspirations), and competences (skill, know-how, and technique). All three elements are essential to the practice. In driving, for example, the material object, the car, is needed to drive, and so are the competences or knowledge of driving and the meaning that is created by driving (the car as means of transport, status symbol, etc). An important element of studying practices is that attention shifts from the actors themselves to how the practice is constituted or "carried" by its performers. In the case of driving this would include an understanding of how driving becomes to be seen as an essential part of life by many, how attached we become to our cars, and how these support people's lifestyles and identities, for example. The social practice of driving as a whole explains why increasing numbers of cars choke our roads every day and why people ignore more sustainable alternatives.

We recognize, as Shove et al. (2012: 15) indicate, working with only three components or elements "is at the expense of simplifying what social practices are about" (Spaargaren et al. 2016: 7). In spite of this risk of oversimplification, our analysis of different cases shows the importance of combining these three elements across a wide range of placemaking cases.

By considering the materials, meanings, and competences in the practice of placemaking, we can consider how cities are made. Cities also develop certain ways of doing things, or practices. The practices of placemaking have often been dominated by the needs and habits of big cities. This volume attempts to frame practices of placemaking that are suited to the needs of small cities as well (away from models, megaprojects, and starchitects and towards human scale and appropriate ways of doing).

Our approach to placemaking tries to consider the different dimensions of place and how these articulate with processes of change. We have therefore adapted the social-practice model of Shove et al. (2012) into a form more suited to the context of cities. Mirroring the concepts of materials, meanings, and competences, we have identified three broad elements of placemaking practice:

- Resources: the tangible and intangible resources available to the city, or which it can obtain. We draw here on Schatzki's broader concept of material arrangements which includes "humans, artifacts, organisms, and things of nature" (Schatzki 2010: 129).
- Meanings: engaging stakeholders and linking people emotionally with the places they live in and use, and initiating the processes needed to change and improve the city.
- Creativity: weaving narratives to link tangible and intangible resources and meanings into a coherent story that can capture the attention and support of the city's publics, and making creative and innovative use of resources.

We view placemaking as a practice that combines these three essential elements so as to produce specific outcomes – and ultimately to improve the quality of place for all. All three of these elements need to be present for the system to work effectively. The resources a place has will only be used creatively if they have meaning for people.

In our conception of the placemaking practice for cities, we have changed Shove et al.'s "materials" into "resources" because we would argue that cities comprise much more than just physical things: they also use intangible resources and people to achieve things. We use "meanings" in a similar sense to Shove et al. (2012), but because of the collective nature of meanings in cities we see meaning-making as a process that is engaged in by a diverse group of city stakeholders. Finally, we have replaced "competences" with "creativity". This is partly because we feel that more than simple competence is needed to develop places – there is always a creative aspect. As Amabile (2012) suggests, creativity involves skills and competences, but also the idea of making something new, of progressing beyond the routine or the ordinary, and the motivation to be creative. We also wanted to steer clear of "competences" in the case of cities, because this word is too closely related to the powers or jurisdiction possessed by city authorities. Most importantly, we feel that creativity is the act that can transform placemaking into a positive force for change.

We therefore see placemaking as a process of setting the available and potential resources of a place in motion by giving them meaning for the many actors who can use them to improve the quality of place. Again, we emphasize that the placemaking vision should encompass the whole city (all the different groups using the city), because equality is an important basic principle, without which placemaking is bound to fail.

Once the placemaking process is set in motion, the small city should engage external as well as internal audiences in the discussion. The local dream needs to be disseminated so that the city can secure the resources it needs. External interest also stimulates the local community to become

even more involved – because the world is watching them and showing interest in what they do. It gives them the confidence and the courage to make sure their dream is realized in the long term.

Placemaking is a process of change that can enable a city to meet both internal and external challenges more effectively.

The Elements of Placemaking

Let's examine the elements of placemaking practice in more detail.

Resources

The basic tangible and intangible resources, or the materials (tangible, intangible, existing, potential) that belong to and make places, provide an important basis for action. Economists have long concentrated on material factors of production in their analyses, which makes it inevitable that bigger places will have more resources. However, the transformation of the economy in recent decades means that more attention is now being paid to intangible resources, which can reduce the resource disadvantage for smaller places.

Copious material resources are often sufficient to provide large cities with meaning. They are the capital cities, the financial or industrial centres, the crossroads, the gathering places. But this also means that these different resources begin to compete (e.g. festivals and museums fight each other for funding and visitors) and it is difficult for each one to gain a unique spotlight.

In smaller cities immaterial resources are particularly important, because the culture, creativity, and skills available within the city allows them to make better use of the relatively limited means at their disposal. This is why in the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, the development strategy has been based on a combination of culture and education – increasing the tangible and intangible resources of the city at the same time as building people's capacity to make use of those resources. Chapter 2 deals with the question of resources in more detail.

Meanings

Lefebvre (1991) argued that space is about more than materials: it also about how space is represented, or given meaning. Of course places mean things to the people who live there, work, visit, or invest in them. These meanings can also be changed and challenged. Key questions for cities now include: How can negative or neutral associations be turned into positive ones? How can we make places mean something to people who have never been there? How can we ensure the city means something positive for all its inhabitants?

The meanings attached to places are often linked to ties – ties of belonging, ownership, identity, home, origin and heritage. In the past, status was often gained from the strength of these ties – how long people had lived in one place, or how many people they knew. In a globalized world, status is now often attained by breaking existing ties, and making new ones. Movement and mobility are the new badges of rank in the developed world. This very mobility produces interesting new challenges: for example, how do new residents feel at home in a new city? Cities have to try and bond with new residents, with visitors as "temporary citizens", and make them feel it is their place too. New arrivals can also be a lever for change: they challenge established ideas and can ease problems of lock-in for small cities.

This process of reattachment to place holds some of the secrets of changing meanings. This is a process that has been going on as long as there have been cities. And it is gathering speed as flurries of marketing and branding campaigns succeed each other. Small cities are also at a disadvantage here. If you are not known as a city in your own right, then as well as borrowing size, you might be tempted to borrow reputation. If you can't be Venice, you might manage to become the Venice of the North (Stockholm), or of the East (Souzhou, Wuzhen), or one of the many other copies of the original Venice (Richards 2016):

> Venices of the North include Amsterdam, Bruges, Manchester and Stockholm. Western Venices include Venice, California … and Shannon in Ireland. There are many contenders for Venice of the East. Bandar Seri Begawan, capital of Brunei, Suzhou in China, Osaka in Japan and Udaipur in India all lay claim to this much-acclaimed title.
>
> (Tourdust 2015)

Our argument is that if places want to be distinctive and successful, they need to create their own image and identity on the basis of their own DNA – not borrow somebody else's. The process of unearthing and making meaning from your city's DNA is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6.

Creativity

Making the DNA of a place meaningful to a wide range of stakeholders is not easy – it requires creativity. Creativity can capture the imagination and put things on the move, change perspectives, and make connections between people and places. To develop meaning out of the resources available to cities, creativity is essential. It can be the key to giving meaning to the rich array of resources the city has.

As Fuchs and Baggio (2017: 6) emphasize, "innovative places and attractive destinations should be characterized and understood as open,

free and well interconnected territories whose unique history and specific beauty shapes and fosters the creativity of place-makers capable to transform inherited location factors into assets with high symbolic value and meaning."

For the placemakers of a city, one of the essential creative skills is storytelling. As we will see in Chapter 6, one of the key success factors for 's-Hertogenbosch was having an irresistible story that had meaning for large numbers of people. Such stories depend on the uniqueness derived from place and time: why here, why now? They also need to mean something not just to those living in the city, but also to people elsewhere. Uniqueness is not only something that comes from within; it can also be identified from outside. Sometimes the unique features of a place consist of things that locals have turned their back on, because they are not modern, or trendy or popular, or have simply been forgotten. Hieronymus Bosch has not always been the hero for 's-Hertogenbosch – at times he has been an irrelevance, an embarrassment, or simply ignored.

Developing the key elements of the story often falls to the selectors, curators, or 'switchers' of the city. Castells (2009) identified switchers as people or institutions who can link different networks together, helping to articulate the city to its wider environment, and creating new links and opportunities. Whereas in the past these switchers might have been limited to the political class or business people, today there is a wider range of options, including the creative industries, artists, sports personalities, journalists, media figures, or bloggers. Many argue that these are more likely to be found in larger cities, although Den Dekker and Tabbers (2012) show that 'creative crowds' are also prevalent in smaller places. Even though small in number, the tendency of creative crowds to coagulate around specific creative hubs in the city ensures that there is sufficient critical mass to support the exchange of ideas that Potts et al. (2008) see as the essential driver of the creative industries.

Creativity is therefore important as a source of new ideas and change, and because it links to other places and increases place attractiveness. However, creativity is not something quantifiable, or an abstract quality that can be used to rank places. Any city can be creative given the right tools, and the vision to develop new meanings for the resources at its disposal.

The Need for a Programme

The creative mode of placemaking implies a dynamic relationship between resources, meanings, and creativity. Good placemaking is not something that you can switch on at the flick of a button – it takes time (as we outline in Chapter 8). Taking time, timing, and tempo are all important – what is needed is not just an idea, or a single project, but a whole programme.

Placemaking should involve coherent *programmes* that can mobilize a wide range of stakeholders over a sustained period. A programme can include many different types of actions – physical infrastructure, events, or projects. These individual elements need to be arranged in a way that they support and reinforce each other.

Our definition of a programme is: a coherent series of strategic actions that are developed over time to maximize the effects of civic policies and increase the quality of life of those using the city. Developing a coherent series of strategic actions takes time. It takes time to develop hubs and to scale up from the local to regional, national, and international levels. Building an ambitious plan (or dream) for small cities means that you should create space in your strategy for future growth in order to reach the next level.

Programmes arguably have advantages over more traditional thinking about urban development in terms of:

- *Attracting Attention*. The function of a programme is to highlight particular issues that are important for the city. A well-designed programme should be able to act as a focus of attention for the city and its stakeholders, as well as attracting attention from outsiders.
- *Building confidence*. A programme implies a logically structured sequence of actions undertaken over time. In contrast to a one-off project, a programme signals serious intent and long-term commitment, building confidence between the partners.
- *Developing attractiveness*. A programme can be used to enhance particular features of the city in order to increase its attractiveness to residents, visitors, businesses, and those who may want to invest in the city. This will often include some element of storytelling – the development of narratives about the city, its DNA, and its people.
- *Generating catalytic effects*. A well-designed programme can dynamize the city, synchronizing agendas and stimulating different stakeholders to move more quickly towards their shared dream.

In this book we examine how small cities can combine resources, meaning, and creativity to realize their dreams and make themselves better places.

Outline of the Volume

This book is based on over 25 years of placemaking and city-marketing expertise. It moves from the concrete local example of one small city (‘s-Hertogenbosch) to draw lessons at a global level. It is aimed at smaller places, rather than concentrating on larger cities with richer resource bases and larger talent pools. It challenges conventional placemaking models by developing a more holistic approach to urban development,

which links vision, governance, and process to open new strategic possibilities to transform places in ways that improve the well-being of local people. It attempts to shift the focus of discussion about placemaking from small-scale material interventions to ambitious programmes based on the use of tangible and intangible resources.

The book moves progressively through the process of placemaking and place branding in small cities, setting out the main elements of placemaking practice and providing examples of small cities that have done big things.

In the second chapter we look at the essential building blocks of place – the resources, both tangible and intangible, that cities can draw on to build their dreams. When you don't have much, you need to be more creative with what you do have. Many small cities have been successful in mobilizing resources to stimulate development and change. In the past, many small cities have tried to "borrow size" from their larger neighbours, but we argue it may be better to "create size". This means looking outside the city to mobilize resources and people, exporting the dream – creating a mission, and therefore a reason for the small city to achieve big things.

The process of collaborative placemaking is outlined in Chapter 3. In a globalizing world, new strategies are needed to gather and retain the support of an increasingly complex range of stakeholder groups. How can people be persuaded to put their energies into the placemaking process? What strategies can a city adopt to take it forward over a period of 10, 20, 30 years and keep the stakeholders on board? Collaboration is analysed as an essential skill that small cities need to learn and perfect in a competitive world. Finding the right partners and keeping them on board is an art that requires creating shared interests – convincing people to ask not only 'What can the city do for me?" but also "What can I do for the city?" These discussions underline the importance of connections, and of building networks for creativity.

Once collaborations have been built, structures need to be put in place to guide the process. The art of getting things done is the focus of Chapter 4. We examine the need to develop relationships and networks to gather resources, and how stakeholders can be persuaded to participate. The networks developed by 's-Hertogenbosch and other cities have proved crucial in helping them to achieve things they could not do alone. This chapter considers the principle of "network value" applied to smaller cities, and argues that the city needs to develop a position for itself in the world and the networks it joins and creates.

Chapter 5 deals with issues of governance. Attention is paid to the shift from government to governance and facilitation, and how the city can identify those aspects of development it can influence. The use of different governance models, and the creation of arm's-length bodies to develop programmes, are discussed. We also consider how governance

models work in different political and cultural contexts, drawing on cases from different parts of the world.

The importance of branding and storytelling is the focus of Chapter 6, which examines how to use the DNA of the city to develop new stories and icons to attract attention and mobilize stakeholders. To succeed in this, we also argue that small cities need to take risks. The small "opportunistic city" is not an irresponsible city, but one that takes calculated risks to capitalize on the opportunities it can create.

A programme makes little sense unless it benefits the city. Chapter 7 examines the impacts and effects of programmes, asking what the city stands to gain, and also what are the potential costs of getting it wrong. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Hieronymus Bosch (the Bosch500 programme) brought 1,400,000 people to the city, created over €150 million in direct spend impact, and generated almost €50 million in national and international media value. This has put the city on the global map, created confidence in it, and boosted the ambition level of stakeholders. But the "soft" benefits – including increased social cohesion and local pride – are perhaps even more significant. These are important political considerations in terms of the effects of the 2016 programme, and also in ensuring that the support for such projects continues in the long term. We also consider what smaller places need to invest in the placemaking effort, and whether the effects are more lasting, widespread, and equitable than those of other strategies – such the icon-building efforts often found in major cities.

Chapter 8 looks at the question of investment. Good placemaking takes time, perseverance, and money. How can cities gather the resources required for a good story, develop a high level of ambition, and attain important goals? The 500th anniversary of the death of Hieronymus Bosch was a golden opportunity for the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, which needed an intelligent marketing strategy, a brand, and a new vision of the future for an old city. Building the coalitions to support the vision took ten years – a marathon instead of a sprint. Keeping the momentum going was a major challenge, particularly given the short attention span and impatience of politicians, residents, and the media.

The final chapter draws lessons from the experience of 's-Hertogenbosch, identifying the key success factors as well as the pitfalls. How do you get the placemaking model to work? What are the most important keys to success? In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, political will and long-term vision, the development and embedding of a storyline in the city, and collaboration with a wide network of partners were all crucial factors. The experience of 's-Hertogenbosch also shows that the time required can also be one of the major pitfalls. Although such events provide a sense of urgency and catalysing effect, the preparation phase is fraught with difficulty.

Photo 1.2 National New Year's concert by the Dutch Wind Ensemble dedicated to Hieronymus Bosch (photo: Lian Duif).

How Is This Book Different?

The recent wave of academic studies on small cities shows the growing interest in these places. Most previous studies have been based on aggregated analyses of empirical data or snapshots of individual cities. This book is different, because it is grounded in a rich case of a single city observed over time, which in turn is linked to a range of other small city cases around the world.

We focus on the "how" of placemaking: what skills, resources and knowledge are required to make a small city stand out in a global market? And we follow the placemaking process over the long term, drawing on personal experience and primary research data, rather than just considering the end result. Cities should be seen in terms not just of what

they have, but also of what they can become. In this process-oriented approach, we pay more attention to the soft infrastructure of small cities, the networks that they can harness to gather more resources, and we underline the need to look at outputs, such as increased quality of life, or equality, rather than inputs.

Big cities, rich with opportunities for contacts and employment, can be congested, cold, lonely places; small cities, with their human scale and ready access to open spaces, can be stultifying. Each should be respected for its advantages as well as its disadvantages. The question is not whether big or small cities are better, but rather how we can make both better places to live in. There has been much attention paid to larger cities; in this book we try to outline some possibilities for smaller cities. We also highlight some of the things that big cities can learn from their smaller counterparts.

In doing so, we also try and address some of the weaknesses in previous analyses. These include looking at size as a state of mind, rather than just a question of population. Studies of agglomeration advantages or the amenity growth paradigm often lack theoretical understanding of the dynamics of economic, social, and industrial structures in the growth and decline of cities. As Chen and Bacon (2013) noted in the case of Hartford, Connecticut, smaller cities have become "detached from theory", problematizing the generalization of urban models and ideas.

Urban theories usually predict the demise of the small city; so why do these places persist and, more importantly, succeed? How do we account for the relative success of some small cities? This book provides an analysis of successful small cities, and looks at the strategies they have developed. As our placemaking framework suggests, this requires ambition, having a big dream to follow, and also making effective use of the resources that the city can muster on its own, or obtain through partnership and networking. This strategy should be consistent with the DNA of the city, which can give meaning to its programmes for locals and outsiders.

References

Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek (2017). *Eindevaluatie manifestatie Jheronimus Bosch 500*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch.

Ajuntament de Barcelona (2004). *B Communicates*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona/ACTAR.

Albouy, D., Behrens, K., Robert-Nicoud, F., and Seegert, M. (2015). *Efficient and Equilibrium Population Levels Across Cities: Are Cities Ever Too Small?* International Growth Center Cities Conference, 2 May 2015.

Alonso, W. (1973). Urban Zero Population Growth. *Daedalus* 102: 191–206.

Amabile, T. M. (2012). Componential Theory of Creativity. *Harvard Business School Working Paper* 12–096.

Atlantic City Lab (2012). U.S. Urban Population Is Up… But What Does "Urban" Really Mean? www.citylab.com/equity/2012/03/us-urban-population-what-does-urban-really-mean/1589/

Baker, B. (2007). *Destination Branding for Small Cities*. Portland, Ore.: Creative Leap Books.

Bell, D., and Jayne, M. (2006). *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*. London: Routledge.

Bell, D., and Jayne, M. (2009). Small Cities? Towards a Research Agenda. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33(3): 683–99.

Bell, P. (2017). What Can Big Cities Learn from Small Cities? *Cities Digest*, 19 July: www.citiesdigest.com/2017/07/19/can-big-cities-learn-small-cities/

Bernstein, A., and McCarthy, J. (2005). Thinking Big in Small Town SA. *Business Day*, 5 Aug., 15.

Capel, H. (2009). Las pequeñas ciudades en la urbanización generalizada y ante la crisis global. *Investigaciones geográficas* 70: 7–32.

Castells, M. (1996). *The Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chen, X., and Bacon, N. (2013). *Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Connolly, J. J. (2012). *After the Factory: Reinventing America's Industrial Small Cities*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Daniels, T., Keller, J., Lapping, M., Daniels, K., and Segedy, J. (2007). *The Small Town Planning Handbook*, 3rd edn. Chicago: APA Planners Press.

David, Q., Peeters, D., Van Hamme, G., and Vandermotten, C. (2013). Is Bigger Better? Economic Performance of European Cities, 1960–1990. *Cities* 35: 237–54.

Dekker, T. den, and Tabbers, M. (2012). From Creative Crowds to Creative Tourism: A Search for Creative Tourism in Small and Medium Sized Cities. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 4(2): 129–32.

Denis-Jacob, J. (2012). Cultural Industries in Small-Sized Canadian Cities: Dream or Reality? *Urban Studies* 49(1): 97–114.

Dijkstra L., Garcilazo, E., and McCann, P. (2013). The Economic Performance of European Cities and City Regions: Myths and Realities. *European Planning Studies* 21: 334–54.

Dikeman, R. A. (2016). *Making Things Better: Dan Brooks' Thirty Years as a Small-City Mayor*. Cincinnati, O.: Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

Dix, G. (1986). Small Cities in the World System. *Habitat International* 10(1–2): 273–82.

Eshuis, J., Klijn, E.-H., and Braun, E. (2014). Place Marketing and Citizen Participation: Branding as Strategy to Address the Emotional Dimension of Policy Making? *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 80(1): 151–71.

Evans, G., and Foord, J. (2006). Small Cities for a Small Country: Sustaining the Cultural Renaissance? In D. Bell and M. Jayne (eds), *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*, 151–68. London: Routledge.

Florida, R. (2017). Why America's Richest Cities Keep Getting Richer. The Atlantic, 12 Apr. www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/04/richard-florida-winner-take-all

Franklin, A. (2014). *The Making of MONA*. Melbourne: Penguin Books.

Fuchs, M., and Baggio, R. (2017). Creativity and Tourism Networks: A Contribution to a Post-Mechanistic Economic Theory. Critical Tourism Studies Conference, Palma de Mallorca, Spain, 25–9 June.

Garretsen, H., and Marlet, G. (2017). Amenities and the Attraction of Dutch Cities. *Regional Studies* 51(5): 724–36.

Garrett-Petts, W. F. (2005). *The Small Cities Book: On the Cultural Future of Small Cities*. Vancouver: New Star Books.

Gehl, J. (2010). *Cities for People*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Giffinger, R., Fertner, C., Kramar, H., and Meijers, E. (2007). City-Ranking of European Medium-Sized Cities. Centre of Regional Science, Vienna University of Technology. www.smart-cities.eu/download/city_ranking_final.pdf

Giffinger, R., Kramar, H., and Haindl, G. (2008). The Role of Rankings in Growing City Competition. In *Proceedings of the 11th European Urban Research Association* (EURA) Conference, Milan, Italy, 9–11 Oct. http://publik.tuwien.ac.at/files/PubDat_167218.pdf

Harvey, D. (2006). Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. London: Verso.

Hesseldahl, P. (2017). WE-Economy: Beyond the Industrial Logic. http://we-economy.net/what-is-the-we-economy/the-book/

Jayne, M., Gibson, C., Waitt, G., and Bell, D. (2010). The Cultural Economy of Small Cities. *Geography Compass* 4(9): 1408–17.

Kotkin, J. (2012). Small Cities Are Becoming New Engine of Economic Growth. www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2012/05/08/small-cities-are-becoming-the-main-engine-of-economic-growth/#ac5c9cd5fb5f

Kourtit, K., Nijkamp, P., and Geyer, H. S. (2015). Managing the Urban Century. *International Planning Studies* 20(1–2): 1–3.

Kresl, P. K., and Ietri, D. (2016). *Smaller Cities in a World of Competitiveness*. London: Routledge.

Laborie, J. P. (1979). *Les Petites Villes*. Paris: Éditions CNRS.

Landry, C. (2015). Cities of Ambition. http://charleslandry.com/blog/cities-of-ambition/

Lee, N., and Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2015). Innovation in Creative Cities: Challenging the Established Views. http://voxeu.org/article/innovation-and-creative-cities-new-evidence

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lewis, N. M. and Donald, B. (2009). A New Rubric for “Creative City” Potential in Canada’s Smaller Cities. *Urban Studies* 47(1): 29–54.

Lorentzen, A., and van Heur, B. (eds) (2012). *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. London: Routledge.

Lorenzen, M., and Andersen, K. V. (2007). *The Geography of the European Creative Class: A Rank-Size Analysis*. DRUID Working Paper No. 07–17. www3.druid.dk/wp/20070017.pdf (accessed 9 Feb. 2017)

Marano, T. E. (2005). Staying Small by Thinking Big: Growth Management Strategies for Small Towns. *Economic Development Journal* 4(3), 1–9. www.cedas.org/Customer-Content/WWW/News/PDFs/stayingsmall_marano.pdf

Marlet, G. (2016). De opkomst van de oude stad. *TPEdigitaal* 10(2): 75–88.

Material Times (2013). The Future of Cities: Think Small Because Small Is the New Big. www.materialtimes.com/en/what-matters/the-future-of-citiesbrthink-small-because-small-is-the-new-big.html

McKnight, S. (2017). Think Big, Plan Small, Team Up. www.evolveea.com/work/think-big-plan-small-team-up

Meijers, E. (2008). Summing Small Cities Does Not Make a Large City: Polycentric Urban Regions and the Provision of Cultural, Leisure and Sports Amenities. *Urban Studies* 45(11): 2323–42.

Montalto, V., Moura, C., Langedijk, S., and Saisana M. (2017). *The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor: 2017 Edition*. Brussels: European Commission.

Montgomery, C. (2013). *Happy City: Transforming Our Lives Through Urban Design*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Norman, J. R. (2013). *Small Cities USA: Growth, Diversity, and Inequality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Ofori-Amoah, B. (2006). *Beyond the Metropolis: Urban Geography as if Small Cities Mattered*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Okulicz-Kozaryn, A. (2017). Unhappy Metropolis (When American City Is Too Big). *Cities* 61: 144–55.

Oliver, J. E. (2000). City Size and Civic Involvement in Metropolitan America. *American Political Science Review* 94(2): 361–73.

Planetizen (2016). Top 20 Urban Planning Books (Of All Time). www.planetizen.com/books/20

Potts, J., Cunningham, S., Hartley, J., and Ormerod, P. (2008). Social Network Markets: A New Definition of the Creative Industries. *Journal of Cultural Economics* 32(3): 167–85.

Power, A. (2016). *Cities for a Small Continent: International Handbook of City Recovery*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative Cities? *Urban Design Journal* 105. http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/6697/1/Pratt_2008_CreativeCities_UrbanDesignJ.pdf

Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory* 5(2): 243–63.

Renn, A. M. (2013). The Tough Realities Facing Smaller Post-Industrial Cities. www.urbanophile.com/2013/11/03/the-tough-realities-facing-smaller-post-industrial-cities/

Richman, S. M. (2010). *Reconsidering Trenton: The Small City in the Post-Industrial Age*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Schatzki, T. (2010). Materiality and Social Life. *Nature and Culture* 5(2): 12–149.

Shove, E., Pantzar, M., and Watson, M. (2012). *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How It Changes*. London: Sage.

Spaargaren, G., Weenink, D., and Lamers, M. (eds) (2016). *Practice Theory and Research: Exploring the Dynamics of Social Life*. London: Routledge.

Taylor, P. J. (2013). *Extraordinary Cities: Millennia of Moral Syndromes, World-Systems and City/State Relations*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Tourdust (2015). Paris of the East, Venice of the North: Cities That Don't Know Their Place. www.tourdust.com/blog/posts/paris-of-the-east-venice-of-the-north-where-will-it-end

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2014). *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision* (CD-ROM edn).

van Heur, B. (2012). Small Cities and the Sociospatial Specificity of Economic Development: A Heuristic Approach. In A. Lorentzen and B. van Heur (eds), *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, 17–30. London: Routledge.

Véron, R. (2010). Small Cities, Neoliberal Governance and Sustainable Development in the Global South: A Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda. *Sustainability* 2(9): 2833–48.

Waitt, G., and Gibson, C. (2009). Creative Small Cities: Rethinking the Creative Economy in Place. *Urban Studies* 46(5–6): 1223–46.

Walmsley, C., and Kading, T. (2017). *Small Cities, Big Issues: Reconceiving Community in Neoliberal Era*. Washington, DC: University of Washington Press.

Wuthnow, R. (2013). *Small-Town America: Finding Community, Shaping the Future*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

2 Creating Opportunities with Limited Resources

Introduction

Resources are essential for placemaking. A city is basically a rich concentration of different resources – tangible and intangible, finite and renewable, spatial and temporal, mobile and fixed. It is clear that the biggest cities have the greatest stock of resources. As Lorentzen and van Heur bluntly put it, in the competitive race for business, labour and tourism, "small cities can only lose" (2012: 4) with their more modest resource base. Many small cities might therefore be forgiven for not wanting to enter the race at all. But there are a number of strategic opportunities for small cities, which are largely related to the appeal they have for people because of their human scale, intimacy, legibility, and everyday "hum" and creativity. As Chapter 1 argued, small cities should use these assets more creatively, smarter, better. It is also not just about the assets that cities have, but which they can acquire, borrow or create. In this chapter we consider the resources or assets of cities: things that have value or which can be used to create value. This value can take many different forms: economic, social, cultural, intellectual, creative, etc. Many studies of cities concentrate on economic resources and value. But if a city ultimately wants to improve the quality of life of its citizens, it should consider many more sources of value, and different values as well.

In urban economics, analyses of the resources of cities have tended to focus on either on industries or people or amenities. But as Sacco and Crociata (2013) have recently suggested, none of these factors on their own is enough to explain the success of a city. This chapter builds on their model that integrates amenities, human capital and capacity building to analyse the potential for success. It considers these different resources in the context of the small city, highlighting the shift from tangible to intangible resources. The following chapters then consider how these resources are organized and used, through collaboration between stakeholders (Chapter 3), the development of networks and the creation of network value (Chapter 4) and the development of governance structures (Chapter 5).

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-2

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

Towards a Framework for Analysing Urban Resources

In the traditional urban studies literature the resources of cities have been related to density, either in terms of concentrations of jobs, or as concentrations of consumer amenities. There has been considerable debate about whether people follow jobs (clustering), or if jobs follow people (attraction). Most of these analyses have been conducted in large cities, with lots of jobs and lots of people. In small cities, however, one might expect that lower densities would produce different relationships and qualities. Much attention has been paid to the role of culture, creativity and leisure, which as van Heur (2012) argues have become crucial to the development potential of many small cities.

This is also one of the issues highlighted in the recent *Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor* in the European Union (Montalto et al. 2017). This study develops 29 indicators reflecting three major areas of cities' cultural, social, and economic vitality:

- Cultural Vibrancy, which measures the cultural "pulse" of a city in terms of cultural infrastructure and participation in culture;
- Creative Economy, which captures the extent to which the cultural and creative sectors contribute to a city's economy in terms of employment, job creation, and innovation;
- Enabling Environment, which identifies the tangible and intangible assets that help cities attract creative talent and stimulate cultural engagement.

The report shows that small cities, such as 's-Hertogenbosch, may have an advantage when it comes to cultural and creative vitality. The city now ranks third among small cities in Europe:

> 's-Hertogenbosch is a medieval city, among the oldest in the Netherlands, featuring a cosy and intimate atmosphere, a beautiful historical centre and a lively city centre with numerous bars and restaurants. It is known as the birthplace of the world famous painter Hieronymus Bosch. The 500th anniversary of the death of the painter in 2016 was used as an important opportunity to link the cultural legacy of the city with contemporary creativity and tourism. In addition to a major exhibition, which then moved to Madrid, other initiatives were initiated – from the Bosch Heritage Experience (to complement the exhibition in cooperation with animation companies) to the Bosch Art Game.
>
> (Montalto et al. 2017: 64)

How do cities such as 's-Hertogenbosch effectively punch above their weight, particularly in terms of culture and creativity? We see this as

Photo 2.1 Opening of the Bosch500 programme, town hall, 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

a question of resource use, largely informed by a clear vision of what the city needs. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, Mayor Ton Rombouts always championed the need to invest in education and culture as means of increasing the engagement and capacity of residents. This vision mirrors the work of Pier Luigi Sacco and his collaborators (Sacco and Blessi 2007; Sacco and Crociata 2013) on local development. They argue that providing opportunity in a small city is about more than attracting jobs or coffee bars. Because the resources of small cities are limited, the emphasis needs to be on capacity building as well as simply providing work. The model illustrates the importance of combining economic clustering (basic growth factors, as outlined by Porter 1980) with increased attractiveness (as in the creative class approach of Florida, 2002) and capacity building (following Sen 1999). Putting these three perspectives together, Sacco and Blessi see the critical dimensions of cultural development as being related to 12 factors (Table 2.1).

These 12 factors can in turn usefully be grouped into five main areas:

- Quality (Quality of Cultural Supply, Quality of Local Governance, Quality of the Production of Knowledge);
- Genius Loci (Development of Local Entrepreneurship, Development of Local Talent);
- Attraction (Attraction of External Firms and Investments, Attraction of External Talent);
- Sociality (Management of Social Criticalities, Capability Building and Education of the Local Community, Local Community Involvement); and
- Networking (Internal Networking, External Networking).

Table 2.1 Critical dimensions of cultural development (after Sacco and Blessi 2007)

Quality of Cultural Supply (QCS)	A cultural milieu of organizations and institutions that represent and organize the local creativity base, providing challenging cultural standards, making the local cultural supply palatable to wider, global audiences.
Quality of Local Governance (QLG)	Local administrations credibly committing to enhancing the coordination of and cooperation between local actors around a shared, socially equitable vision based on knowledge development.
Quality of the Production of Knowledge (QPK)	A strong base of educational, research, and knowledge transfer institutions with at least a few areas of excellence.
Development of Local Entrepreneurship (DLE)	The availability of (merit-based) opportunities and facilities for local people to develop new entrepreneurial projects in knowledge-related sectors.
Development of Local Talent (DLT)	A stimulating and motivating social and cultural environment that encourages young talent, rewarding and providing them with opportunities to showcase their work.
Attraction of External Firms and Investments (AEF)	The creation of the legal, financial, logistic, environmental, and sociocultural conditions for relocation of knowledge-related firms and attraction of external capital.
Attraction of External Talent (AET)	Creating the logistic, sociocultural conditions for embedding talent in the local milieu as part of the development of individuals' professional career and relationships.
Management of Social Criticalities (MSC)	The use of culture and knowledge-related activities and practices as tools for the mediation and the rehabilitation of socially critical situations.
Capability Building and Education of the Local Community (CBE)	Community-wide initiatives aimed at fostering a systematic and widespread accumulation of intangible assets, especially in terms of access to knowledge-intensive experiences.
Local Community Involvement (LCI)	Promoting participation in knowledge-related initiatives and practices by all local communities.
Internal Networking (INW)	Strong networking among all local stakeholders with strategic interests, and fostering close, regular cooperation and coordination in their activities.
External Networking (ENW)	Establishing a dense, stable web of relationships with other places facing similar challenges to develop system-wide, knowledge-intensive cultural, social, and economic links.

This analysis suggests that local development involves far more than providing amenities or attracting firms or talent. It also depends on the generation and circulation of knowledge, strengthening the social fabric, addressing critical social issues, and building networks. In addition, cities should work on the quality of facilities, the development of local capacities, and the social fabric. As Pratt (2014: 5) suggests:

> cities have also undergone an unprecedented phase of redevelopment and change the world over; arguably, the last 50 years being their most tumultuous, particularly with regards to culture [...] The built form of the city is the stage and actor in cultural change. [...] Such change does not only concern material infrastructure, but also its governance, and relationships with other cities and regions, nationally and internationally.

In gathering the necessary resources, therefore, there are three main areas that we need to consider:

i people, talent and socialities;
ii networks that link people and resources together; and
iii processes of resource accumulation and use: governance, investment, capacity building, and attraction.

This chapter concentrates on the role of people and talent, and the need to develop places and spaces in which people can meet and interact. Chapter 3 deals with the stakeholders that need to be brought together to marshal resources and support, then Chapter 4 examines the role of networks and Chapter 5 deals with issues of governance.

Competing with Scarce Resources: Does Size Matter?

The size advantages of large cities are well documented. Meijers, Burger, and Hoogerbrugge (2016) argue that large cities offer a range of resources that need a minimum population size to be supported, such as amenities, suppliers, and a large labour pool. Large cities also support more efficient information search and more opportunities for face-to-face contact, which stimulates knowledge dissemination and accumulation. As Giffinger et al. (2008: 1) note in their analysis of European medium-sized cities, smaller cities "have to cope with competition of the larger metropolises on corresponding issues, (and) appear to be less well equipped in terms of critical mass, resources and organizing capacity".

Discovering the resources of a small city and using them effectively is an important key to success. Of course, for smaller cities there is a relative lack of just about all resources, owing to their small size. But as Giffinger et al. (2008: 4) further argue,

> size alone is not a sufficient explanation of a cities' competitive position. In the real world, size does not always determine a city's function. There are examples of smaller cities which are endowed with specific specialized functions normally only to be found in larger ones.

Meijers et al. (2016) also show that both size and connectivity in (inter) national networks positively contribute to the presence of metropolitan functions. Cities can therefore "borrow size" through being well embedded in (inter)national networks, and being a tourist destination linked to flows of mobile consumers also helps to sustain more metropolitan functions because it gives a boost to the resident population. Similar, albeit short-lived, effects can be created by staging events. According to Meijers et al. (2016), "borrowed size" occurs when a small city has functions, amenities, or performance levels normally linked to larger cities. City networks help smaller cities achieve some of the benefits of agglomeration, and it is at the local level rather than the regional scale that borrowed size effects are seen. They conclude that borrowed size is a network phenomenon. Network economies are therefore beginning to complement the traditional concept of agglomeration economies.

This challenges traditional urban theory, which suggests there is only one way to achieve agglomeration economies, and that is to become a bigger city. This logic explains why cities compete with each other to attract businesses, people, and investment. They also compete to take over neighbouring administrations to achieve economies of scale and become more efficient and more powerful (even if these benefits are not always clear: Bönisch et al. 2011). But network economies are more complex and require new strategies.

Small cities need to position themselves in networks in ways that accentuate their strengths relative to other places. They can do this, for example, by using:

1. Differing resources. Small cities often have different qualities – unique heritage resources, industries and events – that they value. Simons (2017: 604) shows in the case of the Incubate Festival in Tilburg, in the Netherlands, that people saw this event as unique "because we are not number one in looks, appearance and those things. So I think, this was something that made people from Amsterdam come to Tilburg. And they will not come for the fair [...] or a traditional music festival [...] Because they have those things themselves." As larger cities become more like "clone towns" with similar amenities and events, there are opportunities for small cities to rethink how they use their unique assets.
2. Differing positions. Small cities can take position in their networks. Even if places have similar assets, those cities that are at the centre or

hub of the network can gather more power and influence. Colombo and Richards (2017) illustrate this in the case of Barcelona, which established itself as the centre of an international electronic music network, even though many cities around the world were staging versions of the same festival. Because the "original" event was staged in Barcelona, this became the reference point to which the entire network had to return (see Chapter 4).

3 Differing levels of flexibility. Small cities need to use the advantages that they have, in terms of short communication lines and personal trust, to be more flexible than their larger counterparts.
4 Differing collaboration strategies. By choosing who to collaborate with, and on what basis, small cities can build a unique profile of assets that is not available to other places.

So competing with other places is not about the volume of resources, but more about how these are used. We are no longer just talking about the comparative advantage of cities, but also their competitive advantage (OECD 2009). Comparative advantage can be gained through amassing resources (markets, suppliers, raw materials), whereas competitive advantage is about how these resources are used. "What really matters is HOW a city grows big, not how big a city grows. Design matters. When people suggest a city is getting too big, shift the conversation from quantity to quality" (Planetizen 2016).

So our aim in this book is to shift the conversation from quanties to qualities, from agglomeration to networks, from big to smart. Such a paradigm change often means finding a catalyst to start people thinking in new ways, including about the nature and use of resources.

Moving from Urbanization to Urbanity?

If we want to shift the discussion about small cities, then we also need to move focus from urbanization processes, which are usually linked to city growth and size, to the question of urbanity: what makes a city feel like a city? Montgomery (1998) links "good urban places" with urbanity or "urban quality". He argues that "successful urban places must combine quality in three essential elements: physical space, the sensory experience and activity" (1998: 96). Zijderveld (1998: 20) takes a more cultural approach, equating urbanity with urban culture: "The symbolic infrastructure of a city is its urban culture, its urbanity." Urbanity is a distinctly urban economic and civic culture that gives people a collective sense of identity and a distinct sense of solidarity. Seen as a cultural phenomenon, urbanity is less likely to be directly linked to city size. Indeed, Tittle and Grasmick (2001) found that city size does not affect factors such as anonymity or tolerance. Their analysis calls into question the assumed direct relationship between urbanism and

urbanity, and suggests that social and cultural factors intervene in this relationship.

The specifically cultural features of urbanity are highlighted in discussions about the "new urbanity" and its role in urban identity. Silver (2017: 412) in particular highlights the role of "urban scenes" that thrive on "dense contacts, the concentration and growth of activity". But, in contrast to Montgomery's earlier formulation, he sees scenes as both a dependent and an independent variable of urban life, produced by and producing urbanity. Arguably such scenes can thrive even in very small places, as Patrick Brouder (2012) notes in his analysis of "creative outposts" in peripheral areas.

Ultimately the question is whether small cities can offer similar qualities, and therefore quality of life, to those available in bigger cities. There are two basic schools of thought on this issue: the established theories of regional development, based on localization economies, and the "amenity growth" paradigm offered by Florida and others (van Heur 2012). Florida advocates attracting people by creating a tolerant, diverse atmosphere. Many studies following Florida have tended to suggest that large cities are best for attracting the creative class, because they have a large, diverse population. However, Storper and Scott (2009), drawing on localization economies, argue that industries produce regions, rather than regions producing industries, and that changing the basic structure of a region takes a long time. Adding new amenities will only produce marginal change. So small cities, just like large ones, have to use what they have effectively in order to succeed. And because they have less in the way of resources, they have to be better than large cities at using those they have.

Analysis of data from the 2015 Eurobarometer survey on the quality of life in 79 European cities throws interesting light on this discussion (European Commission 2016). In general, there was a negative correlation between the population size of the city in which people live and their satisfaction with facilities and other factors affecting the quality of life ($r^2 = -0.266$). In almost all cases, people living in smaller cities scored their quality of life higher. The only exception was the ease of finding a job, which scored higher in larger cities. Satisfaction with schools and sports facilities were particularly likely to be correlated with city size, with smaller cities scoring higher than large ones. Similarly, there were less problems with noise and people tended to be more satisfied with living in smaller cities.

When we compare the top 10 and the bottom 10 cities in the quality of life table (Table 2.2), we see that the cities with the highest quality of life are nearly 5 times the size of the bottom 10 on average. Of course, there are also cultural factors at play here, with the top 10 being dominated by northwestern European cities, and the bottom 10 being exclusively drawn from the south and east of Europe.

Table 2.2 Ranking of European cities in terms of quality of life

City	*Country*	*Population*
Top 10 cities (average population 577,000)		
Aalborg	Denmark	203,448
Zurich	Switzerland	384,786
Munich	Germany	1,450,381
Groningen	Netherlands	195,418
Cardiff	UK	357,16
Graz	Austria	265,778
Belfast	UK	338,907
Luxembourg	Luxembourg	89,836
Vienna	Austria	1,863,881
Oslo	Norway	618,683
Bottom 10 cities (average population 2.7 million)		
Marseille	France	852,516
Lisbon	Portugal	547,631
Bucharest	Romania	2,106,144
Heraklion	Greece	140,73
Sofia	Bulgaria	1,260,120
Istanbul	Turkey	14,025,646
Athens Metropolitan region	Greece	3,900,000
Naples	Italy	972,638
Rome	Italy	2,865,945
Palermo	Italy	673,073

Source: Eurobarometer (European Commission 2016).

As the Cultural and Creative City Monitor (Montalto et al. 2017: 24) shows, cities of all sizes can be successful at creating vibrancy and offering a high quality of life:

> The polycentric pattern of "Cultural Vibrancy" may indicate that cities of diverse size can be successful in attracting and retaining educated and creative individuals, thus favouring the development of smaller cities or more peripheral areas. According to recent literature, in a post-industrial economy, for the same job and same monetary returns, given a choice, workers would seem to prefer amenity-rich locations with plentiful cultural and entertainment opportunities.

The attractiveness of small cities is also reflected in the temporary mobility of people in terms of tourism flows. Although the biggest cities tend to have the highest number of tourists in absolute terms, recent decades have seen a shift towards smaller cities, particularly as these

Table 2.3 Annual growth in overnight stays in European cities (top 10 fastest-growing cities per period)

1998–2004		*2004–2012*		*2012–2015*	
City	*Tourism growth rate (% per annum)*	*City*	*Tourism growth rate (% per annum)*	*City*	*Tourism growth rate (% per annum)*
Tallinn	21	Lyon	14	Porto	20
Berlin	11	Hamburg	10	Ljubljana	13
Rome	11	Berlin	10	Lisbon	11
Ljubljana	10	Ljubljana	9	Heidelberg	10
Barcelona	9	Porto	8	Seville	10
Cordoba	8	Tallinn	8	Milan	8
Milan	7	Munich	8	Copenhagen	8
Madrid	6	Copenhagen	7	Amsterdam	7
Budapest	5	Barcelona	6	Berlin	7
Hamburg	5	Oslo	6	Budapest	7
Mean population size	1,662,186	Mean population size	1,080,179	Mean population size	970,748

Source: Analysis of city tourism data from TourMIS.

have become better connected through the growth of budget airlines. The average population size of the top ten fastest-growing tourist cities in Europe declined from 1.6 million in 1998–2004 to under 1 million in 2012–15 (Table 2.3).

This analysis indicates that small cities may fall short in terms of quantity, but can offer qualities that people increasingly value. This means that small cities should take a new look at the qualities of their resources.

Small cities can draw on a wide range of resources or assets, including arts and cultural institutions, historic downtowns, natural beauty, and outdoor recreation (EPA 2015). Small cities may not have as many physical resources as bigger ones, but they can usually offer a sufficient range of facilities for most people. The types of resources or amenities offered by cities vary enormously, and include tangible features such as people (consumers, producers, volunteers, entrepreneurs) and the physical cityscape (hard infrastructure and the visual appearance of the city) as well as intangible features such as urbanity, creativity, lifestyle, and events. We start by analysing one resource that cities and their citizens create themselves: public space.

Public Space and Urban Amenities

Public space is vital to the life of all cities. This is where the city comes to life, where the users of the city meet, interact with and confront each

other. This is also why the act of placemaking is very closely tied to improving the quality of public spaces and places.

The range of public spaces in even the smallest city is large, as Amin (2008: 9) suggests:

> public spaces come in many forms: open spaces of different kinds such as parks, markets, streets and squares; closed spaces such as malls, libraries, town halls, swimming pools, clubs and bars; and intermediate spaces such as clubs and associations confined to specific publics such as housing residents, chess enthusiasts, fitness fanatics, anglers, skateboarders, and the like. In turn, every public space has its own rhythms of use and regulation, frequently changing on a daily or seasonal basis: the square that is empty at night but full of people at lunch-time; the street that is largely confined to ambling and transit, but becomes the centre of public protest; the public library of usually hushed sounds that rings with the noise of school visits; the bar that regularly changes from being a place for huddled conversation to one of deafening noise and crushed bodies. There is no archetypal public space, only variegated space-times of aggregation.

Some of these spaces, such as restaurants, museums, libraries, and theatres, have a specific function and schedule, whereas the open public spaces of the city are more accessible, have function overlap and flexibility. Open public spaces in particular are sites where togetherness can be experienced, even in the accidental sense of "throwntogetherness" (Amin 2008). The essential quality of public space is that it is (or should be) accessible to all, enabling a sense of equity among the users of the city. Public space is a place for people to meet and create the public sphere, a common ground for the activities and rituals that bind the community (Madanipour 1999). The use of public space also has an important symbolic role, projecting civic power, but also enabling protest and dissent.

Different forms of public spaces also enable different kinds of use and social interaction. Public parks around the world are arenas for shared enjoyment of the open air, for entertainment, for relaxation and display. In southern China, parks become locations for informal performances of Cantonese opera (Lin and Dong 2017). In Latin America, Setha Low's (2000) anthropology of the plaza shows how different groups appropriate, negotiate, and create public space through the use of formal squares. Magnani (2006), writing about the use of public space by youth in São Paulo, Brazil, describes how metro stations and street corners are converted into routes, patches, and "turfs". In the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, different groups jostling for space mark out their territory and identity through the music they make, and compete in a series of battles for

"sonic supremacy" between adherents of gospel music, funk, *forró*, and samba (Oosterbaan 2009). The appropriation of public space by particular groups is often a response to a lack of available space. In South Africa, for example, McConnachie and Shackleton (2010) show that in small towns, relatively poor suburbs (basically black townships) are characterized by up to 14 times less public green space per capita than more affluent ones.

Spaces and opportunities to meet become an important part of the functioning of the city. It has been argued, for example, that the creative industries effectively constitute a network (Potts et al. 2008). These networks require a range of meeting spaces, such as the new "creative clusters" (Marques and Richards 2014).The creative scene in cities often consists of a formal "upperground", consisting of theatres and galleries, knowledge-intensive industries, and formal boards and partnerships, and a more informal "underground" that includes online blogs, communities of practice in squatted warehouses, and informal bars and cafés as popular meeting places (Cohendet, Grandadam, and Simon 2010).

As Amin (2008: 7) notes, "only the brave or foolhardy would wish to question the importance of retaining vibrant and inclusive urban public spaces". But retaining and maintaining public space is becoming harder in the face of privatization, commercialization, and growing surveillance. Cities under pressure to cut public spending have encouraged more commercial use of parks and other public spaces, generating income from events, concessions, and licenses that often limit the public use of the space in favour of commercial exploitation (Smith 2015). Amin (2008: 9) comments,

> even the most creatively managed civic spaces – the historic square cleared of motorized traffic, the street or bazaar that hums with the noise of market stalls and pedestrians, the busy and well-kept park that offers a pleasant and safe haven to all – are places of highly qualified interaction.

As noted in Chapter 1, the "human scale" of a city is often related to such interaction and conviviality in public space. Malcolm Miles (1997) argues that the "convivial city" requires a "new urban discourse" in which modernism is softened by diversity and disorder. Following the philosophy of Jane Jacobs, he advocates the development of mixed uses, personal space, expression, and common interest. Mixed use is often an almost natural outcome of the differing speeds of development in different areas of large cities – but small cities may have to work harder to retain mixed use.

One of the current challenges in maintaining a mix of uses is the copying of development models. As Tara Brabazon (2014) has recently pointed out in a perceptive analysis in the journal *Fast Capitalism*, there

are deep problems with the generalization of urban development models across the globe. Usually these models are developed and sold by international consultants, architects, and development companies, with little knowledge of, or regard for, the places they are designing solutions for (Ponzini, Fotev, and Mavaracchio 2016). Because of the increasingly visual consumption of cities, iconic buildings have become part of the place-marketing weaponry. They also tend to be expensive, and their iconic value often only lasts until another city creates a more interesting icon (Richards 2017). The result is at best a series of "look-alike" cities boasting the same basic infrastructure and a bland, globalized feel and atmosphere. At worst, there is the danger of creating misfunctional places unsuited to improving the quality of life of their inhabitants. But there are interesting alternatives for small cities, as the MONA museum in Hobart, Tasmania, shows (Box 2.1).

Box 2.1 Hobart, Tasmania: the MONA effect

In Hobart, Tasmania the Museum of Old and New Art (MONA), described by its owner David Walsh, as a 'subversive adult Disneyland', has generated a stream of international visitors to this island city of 200,000 (Franklin 2014). The museum opened in January 2011 in a working-class suburb of Hobart, and since then it has attracted 1.4 million people, including many overseas visitors. It was cited by *Lonely Planet* as a significant catalyst for Hobart's cultural rejuvenation, ranking it 7th Best City in the World in 2013. The *Sunday Times* dubbed MONA "the most exciting addition to the Australian cultural landscape since the Sydney Opera House. It makes the Saatchi Gallery, in London, look like a warehouse. It's Tate Modern with a sense of humour" (Franklin and Papastegiadis 2017: 5).

MONA also succeeded in attracting visitors in the winter with the Dark Mofo event. In 2013, the first edition of the festival drew 128,000 attendees, which rose to 280,000 in 2015 and more than 427,000 in 2017. In the most recent edition participants were treated to music by Pussy Riot, a controversial artwork by Hermann Nitsch featuring the carcass of a bull and 500 litres of blood, and the opening of the Museum of Everything, the first travelling museum for non-academic artists and private art-makers. Over 1,000 people turned up at dawn to mark the winter solstice with the now traditional nude swim in the Derwent river. Dark Mofo was deliberately organized to attract tourists in the middle of winter to leverage tourism funding for the financially stretched

museum. The investment by Tourism Tasmania in the festivals run by MONA has paid off, with hotel occupancies high and new hotel capacity in the pipeline. MONA now also has plans for its own five-star hotel, dubbed HoMo.

But MONA insists that culture comes first:

> The secret of our success with our audience is that we don't care too much about our audience. Ok, so we care. We want people to have a good time at Mona and to take something more meaningful away; but this is not the intention around which the whole operation resolves. [...] We focus on – as I said before – being ourselves first.
>
> (Pearce 2015)

Surprise is also a big part of the "Mona effect". The museum made news because owner David Walsh wanted to change how art is experienced in a museum. He calls Mona an anti-museum, which uses the human body, and the subjects of sex and death, as highly inclusive themes. The Mona Effect is also different from the Guggenheim Effect, because it is based largely on intangible culture and creativity rather than a building.

Maintaining Distinction: The Role of Culture, Leisure, and Events

A number of recent studies have focused on the role of specific facilities in attracting and retaining people, or the "quality of supply" as outlined by Sacco and Blessi (2007). For example, Brabazon (2015) focuses on what she calls "unique urbanity" in smaller cities (or "third-tier cities"), which she argues is supported by the "GLAMS" – Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums. The use of these resources is often complicated by the fact that local government structures are not good at making use of them, because of the separation of "planning" and "building" from arts, culture, and community development and the conservative conceptualizations of "art" and high culture that tend to dominate cultural policies. Even small cities therefore have a range of tangible resources at their disposal that they can use as a stimulus to improving the quality of life. Every city has public spaces, and every city has a location. Even the cityscape itself, taken as a whole, can be seen as a resource.

In this respect, larger cities often have the edge. The UNWTO report on *City Tourism and Culture* (2005) suggests that larger cities have a

greater stock and a broader spectrum of cultural resources to attract tourists. The accumulation of "real cultural capital" over time generally gives bigger cities an advantage (Richards 2001), so small cities have to be more strategic in their building projects. Bucci, Sacco, and Segri (2014) argue for endogenous culture-led growth. Cultural investment has a positive impact on economic growth and on the level of income provided that the economy is sufficiently "culture-intensive". Lorentzen and van Heur (2012) therefore emphasize the importance of cultural and leisure resources for small cities.

It is also interesting how many of the small cities analysed by Brabazon (2015) and Kresl and Ietri (2016) are essentially physical resource-based. They have declining or high-tech industries, knowledge institutions, leisure or locational assets. In the case studies analysed by Kresl and Ietri (2016), the combination of university and health care facilities seems particularly important. This "Eds and Meds" combination is also analysed by Parrillo and de Socio (2014), who characterized them as "export industries", bringing in research funding and stimulating technical innovation, and bringing in students and patients from a wider catchment area.

Again, we see the important role of education in many small cities, which is one of the cornerstones of the development philosophy espoused by Ton Rombouts as Mayor of 's-Hertogenbosch. Bucci et al. (2014) widen this to include the complementarities between educational and cultural assets. They argue that while acquiring skills is important, it is equally important to be able to make creative use of such skills.

Educational institutions therefore have an important role in the development of the small city. The role of universities in stimulating growth in small cities is underlined by a large number of case studies, particularly in the United States. For example, Water Valley in Mississippi (population 3,380) is located close to the University of Mississippi, and like a lot of small towns it has period architecture ripe for renovation. Many new small businesses have therefore opened up to take advantage of relatively low entry costs (Sanphillippo 2017). Interestingly, this is a town that has had very little development since the 1930s, and therefore offers a relatively untouched period cityscape. But the major factor stimulating growth seems to be the presence of the university. Florida (2009) also points to US Bureau of Labor Statistics that show lower unemployment levels for college towns.

"Soft infrastructure" has also become a vital element of the distinctiveness of places. For example, Turok (2009) developed a model of the factors that help to create distinctiveness for cities. He groups the many factors that can make cities distinctive into those related to production or consumption. In terms of production there is the tangible

industrial structure, as well as the less tangible skills, knowledge, and occupations related to industrial production. The consumption factors producing distinctiveness include the built environment and amenities (more tangible) and image and identity (intangible). These consumption-related factors, and in particular the intangible aspects of image and identity, are much more amenable to alteration than the production-related factors. This, according to Turok, explains why cities tend to engage in branding campaigns to try and make themselves distinctive rather than trying to alter the more tangible aspects of the city, which takes much more time. The role of branding is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Another important soft resource that all small cities have is events:

> Events are of local, national and international importance. They are important signifiers of personal, community, national and globalised identity. They represent opportunities for celebration and commiseration, for rejoicing and for resisting. They are political and politicised, ritualistic and regenerative [...] Events touch everyone in one way or another, yet understandings of their impacts and outcomes remain underdeveloped.
>
> (Foley, McGillivray, and McPherson 2012: 1)

Events have become important tools for cities to use in supporting their policies. They can be a stimulus for economic growth, cultural development, social cohesion, and image-making. Events have become a means of putting cities on the map. For larger cities, staging mega-events is often seen as a must. Los Angeles, for example, has bid to host the Olympic Games ten times (and been successful twice). For smaller cities, events are also important as a means of attracting attention in the absence of significant hard infrastructure.

Events are far more significant than the couple of days they are open to the public. An event is effectively a framing device that can be used to focus energy and attention, moving projects and programmes forward and initiating change. Brabazon (2014) argues that while larger cities may have a sufficient profile and resources to ensure a steady flow of attention, smaller ones often have to work hard to attract any attention at all. Brabazon distinguishes in descending size order between first-, second-, and third-tier cities, or what she terms the “fast, the slow and the stagnant”. The fast, global cities almost don’t need more attention – they already attract enough because of their size, and are able to stage mega events and create mega icons that will ensure the attention keeps flowing. For smaller second- and third-tier cities, the trick is to use events to concentrate resources so that you can attract attention at least some of the time for your city (Box 2.2).

Box 2.2 Eventful places: the pop-up revolution

One of the important qualities of big cities is their high population density, which allows them to provide a wide range of services within a small area. In small cities there may not be the permanent density of population to support services or amenities all the time, in which case temporary provision may be a potential answer. The current pop-up revolution is seeing new events and spaces being created in cities across the world. Because the philosophy of pop-up is bottom-up, it can be employed in a range of situations where government for various reasons is unable or unwilling to act. In Finland, the refusal of the authorities to issue a restaurant licence was the spur for a group of entrepreneurs to launch Pop-up Restaurant Day in Helsinki. They found that restrictions did not apply to pop-up restaurants that only opened for one day. The resulting Restaurant Day event has been tremendously successful, and now has four editions a year in Helsinki. "Based on voluntary participation and own initiative, anyone can open a popup restaurant for the day. Popular places include parks, street corners and courtyards, as well as private apartments and offices in wintertime. Your imagination is the limit for your unique restaurant concept and menu. The inspiration behind the event is to share restaurant experiences, have fun and enjoy the community" (Helsinki This Week, 2017).

The influence of the event is now global, with almost 800 restaurants taking part in 25 countries in 2012, and further growth in subsequent years: "Restaurant Day is the world's largest food carnival. During the first five years of quarterly global food carnivals all together over 27 000 pop-up restaurants by over 100 000 restaurateurs have catered for over 3 million customers in 75 countries" (Restaurant Day 2017). Timo Santala, one of the founders of this event, says: "Restaurant Day is a food carnival, where anyone can set up their own restaurant, cafe or bar for a day, anywhere they want. It happens four times a year and it's a celebration of food culture, crazy restaurant concepts and togetherness."

The Finnish capital also hosted the Streat Helsinki event in 2014, which showcased street food. Over 20,000 people visited the event, which featured 37 street kitchens as well as a conference that attracted 500 delegates. By 2015, Streat Helsinki grew into an 11-day-long feast attended by 30,000 people. As a result of this event, "great street food can now be found in Helsinki on every day (and night) of the week. Street food entrepreneurs

have anchored in the city year-round and Streat Helsinki has been joined by several independent street food events" (Streat Helsinki press release, 2016). These types of pop-up events provide support and content for the city's progressive food policy.

Pop-up urbanity is usually prevalent in big cities where rents are higher, but it is beginning to appear in smaller places as well, with the temporal dimension serving to create temporary density. The example of Christchurch in New Zealand shows how important this can be for small cities, also as a way of addressing social problems. Hit by earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 that devastated the city centre, Christchurch had to find ways to reconstruct the city and urban life. A wide range of grass-roots projects helped to fill empty spaces and give life to the city. Community organizations were established in the aftermath of the first earthquake, and they created a raft of small-scale events and interventions in the damaged urban fabric. Another example of creative placemaking in Christchurch is the city's participation in PARK(ing) Day, "an annual worldwide event where artists, designers and citizens transform metered parking spots into temporary public parks". PARK(ing) Day helps to raise awareness of the need for human-scale cities and pedestrian-friendly neighbourhoods. The pop-up principle can be extended into many different directions, such as the provision of accommodation, such as the Linz Pixel Hotel created for the 2009 European Capital of Culture, or food, such as the Conflict Kitchen project in Pittsburgh that serves dishes from countries with which the United States is currently in conflict.

Events play an important part in this process, as the Cultural and Creative City Monitor indicates (Montalto et al. 2017). A total of 168 cities were selected for analysis, based on three criteria:

1 Cities which have been or will be European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) up to 2019, or which have been shortlisted to become an ECOC up to 2021: 93 cities.
2 UNESCO Creative Cities: excluding overlap with the ECOC, a further 22 cities.
3 Cities hosting at least two regular international cultural festivals running until atleast 2015: a further 53 cities.

In other words, those cities considered to be most culturally vibrant and creative are also those cities that tend to have lots of events, or to be "eventful" (Richards and Palmer 2010). As well as attracting attention

Table 2.4 Cannes Festival visitors

	2003	*2015*
Professional visitors	18,926	32,465
Press	3,747	4,660

Source: Cannes Festival Reports.

to small cities, events are effectively a temporal resource. However, as noted by O'Toole (2011: 8), "Unlike many physical assets an event is one of the few assets that appreciates of increases in value over the years." The tendency for events to build activity, networks, and reputation over time also provides opportunities for cities to develop events into "temporal nodes", which have important effects beyond the timeframe of the event itself. Many events now act as "field-configuring events" which attract people and media attention within a given sector or field nationally or internationally. While many such events are held in large cities, many are also staged in small cities. For example, Cannes, a small French coastal town of less than 70,000 people, is visited by around 37,000 film professionals and media during the annual film festival (Table 2.4).

In most cases the cities associated with field configuring events regularly host such activities. This allows the city to gain a reputation in a certain field or sector as the "place to be". So repetition becomes an important aspect of building the relationship between events and the city. One-off events often deliver less than they promise. An important reason for this is that they are often parachuted into the city without sufficient thought for the fit between the city and the event, or how the legacy will be developed afterwards. This is why we advocate the development of holistic programmes, rather than one-off events. A programme is a relational device that links stakeholders in the city and beyond to a series of actions that together are designed to produce beneficial effects. Many cities have been able to develop events into more complete programmes to increase their resonance. This is the case, for example, in Manchester, which staged the Commonwealth Games in 2002 and then developed the Manchester International Festival (MIF), which was launched in 2007 as "the world's first festival of original, new work and special events" (Manchester International Festival 2017). As Bayfield (2015: 112) reports, the MIF has:

> been keen to represent itself as explicitly connected to this more recent history revolving around the Commonwealth Games, with the official evaluation of MIF07 stressing that: "The Festival was conceived as a way of building on the success of the Commonwealth Games. The Games were evaluated to have been a major success and a very significant contributor to the positive profile and economic

> well-being of Manchester, raising awareness and positive attitudes about the City amongst the resident population, nationally and internationally."

Because events bring people together, they are increasingly being used as a means of stimulating face-to-face contact, and of building and circulating knowledge. The role of events as knowledge hubs is examined by Podestà and Richards (2017) in the case of Mantua (Italy). They find that the knowledge generated by the festival has a double effect, serving as a connector that enables the event to act as a mediator between actors in the literary field, which in turn magnifies the knowledge dissemination function of the festival. The combination of local embedding of networks and the projection of knowledge into wider networks helps to raise the profile of the city and its position as a knowledge hub. Comunian (2016) also underlines the knowledge-generation effects of events, and the role of temporary clusters in shaping career opportunities for artists and stimulating local economic development. Artists learn and exchange knowledge in the temporary cluster provided by the festival.

Staging events also helps to give meaning to places. As Pløger (2010: 864) notes, an event creates a desire to be in a specific place at a particular time, creating significance through its forms of visibility and modes of articulation. This can be particularly important in small cities, as Kraft (2006: 43) shows in her analysis of the Nelson Mandela concert in Tromsø, Norway. This event had an important role in "ritualizing place" and helping to put this small Arctic city on the map. She argues that "events are shaped by a global discourse, which emphasizes the uniqueness of place and locality. Through the staging of mega events, people are provided with opportunities for thinking about themselves and their locality."

Just like public space, events can also take shape in the city. The way in which event resources are organized gives them a distinctive form, and also changes the way they relate to the city. As Wynn (2015) shows in the case of American music festivals, the physical form of the events gives them a different relationship to the city. He cites "citadel" festivals like Coachella, which confine themselves to a single paid space; "core" festivals like Nashville's CMA Fest, which have different venues and include both paid and free events; and "confetti" festivals like Austin's SXSW, which are integrated into the urban fabric as a whole. These different configurations also have different effects: a confetti pattern has high accessibility and enables spontaneous interactions, but lacks the media impact of a "citadel" festival, which is highly visible, but relatively inaccessible.

People and Talent

The rise of events shows that the positioning of cities has come to be defined as much by intangible factors as by bricks and mortar. The

rise of the symbolic economy, the growing importance of visual culture (Campos 2017), the need to attract and retain "knowledge workers" or the creative class have emphasized the importance of the attractiveness of cities. This "people-based view" of the resources of the city highlights the need to develop, attract, and retain human capital. Proponents argue that not just industry and jobs, but also creativity and atmosphere (Florida 2002) or amenities (Clark 2003), can attract people. The types of facilities that appeal to the "creative class", and therefore support an attractive atmosphere, include a wide range of elements of "soft infrastructure". This can encompass the face-to-face contacts that are facilitated by urbanization, knowledge networks, or cyberspace (Caragliu, Del Bo, and Nijkamp 2011), creative networks (Németh 2016), cultural and leisure amenities (Gospodini 2001), the specific image or identity of the place, or the presence of traditions (Comunian, Chapain, and Clifton 2010). In essence, soft infrastructure determines the attractiveness of a city, as opposed to the hard infrastructure that underpins its functioning. Hard infrastructure makes it possible to live in a city, whereas soft infrastructure makes it desirable.

One of the problems is that the intangible elements of soft infrastructure are hard to define and even harder to manage. This includes the "atmosphere" of place, facilitating creativity and personal contacts. The most important connector between all of these elements of soft infrastructure is people. People construct and use amenities and provide diversity, creativity, ideas, and flexibility for cities:

> People form the core of cities; cities need to be designed for all citizens and not just for the elite, for the tourists, or for the investors.

Photo 2.2 Bosch500 volunteers, Centraal Station 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

> People should be regarded as the key city asset and not as a demographic or social problem.
>
> (European Commission, Directorate General for Regional Policy 2011: 34)

As Ton Rombouts, former Mayor of 's-Hertogenbosch, emphasizes, people build a city. The success of a city depends on finding good people, activating them with good ideas, and giving them the resources they need to make these ideas happen. His basic formula is: Good people × sufficient budget. "Every project needs a soul and 20 helpers." The "soul" is a dreamer, a motivator, a visionary—as we see so often in successful cities. Chapter 4 looks at how vision can drive programmes; but in terms of people, success often comes because leaders are able to choose the right people to help them (see Box 2.3).

Box 2.3 The people of 's-Hertogenbosch

There are not many surviving Bosch artworks, but to see them all you would need to visit 16 different cities around the world. Hoever, the cities that now house his art provide no context to the man, his work, or his world. To understand Bosch, people need not just to see his work, but also the place where they were made. Bosch's city is more than a collection of impressive medieval buildings; it is also about the people who live in the city and their culture and creativity. The pride people have in the city and the welcome they provide is important to the atmosphere of 's-Hertogenbosch. So one of the important aims of the Bosch500 programme in 2016 was to bind Hieronymus Bosch to the city, not just during the exhibition, but also for posterity. This was an important reason to develop a multi-anual programme, starting in 2010 and lasting until 2016 and beyond.

From the beginning it was clear that the residents of 's-Hertogenbosch (the *Bosschenaren*) would have a crucial role to play in the programme. A substantial sum was therefore allocated by the city to stimulate participation. The aim was to make the residents of the city the VIPs of the event.

Research on local attitudes to Bosch started in 2006. Residents were asked how they viewed the idea of organizing the 500th anniversary celebrations. The results were surprisingly positive. Most residents (83%) agreed that a painter who had been dead for almost 500 years could play an important role in the positioning and imaging of the city. In 2015, over half the population indicated that they would like to see the paintings.

(*Continued*)

The 2016 programme had a "triptych" form, borrowing from the alterpieces painted by Bosch. The three main elements were:

- Visions of the City: mainly designed to involve the citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch, with a strong sociocultural component.
- Visions of the Fantasy: inspiration for creative makers and audiences curious about the beauty of the known and the unknown.
- Visions of the Mind: inspiration for the thinker and the scientist, turning old wisdom and insight into new perspectives for the future.

The third "panel" of the triptych, Visions of the Mind, required the most preparation time. Researching and restoring many of Bosch's paintings took six years prior to the opening of the exhibition. The main cultural elements of the programme also required new productions and international co-productions and collaborations. In the first years of the programme much attention was paid to these ambitious programme elements, seen as important for realizing the big dream for the small city.

But this period also coincided with the economic crisis, and attention for Visions of the City, the element most related to the citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch, began to wane. The research on the paintings was initially uninteresting for the local audience, and their engagement waned. Complaints began to be heard from residents and local organizations. At a time when subsidies for culture were declining, the ability of the Bosch500 project to attract public and private funding positioned it as a drain on the city.

Matters came to a head in 2013, when the directors of a number of local cultural institutions openly criticized the programme and the organization in the regional newspaper. A series of negative articles were subsequently published by the newspaper, and suddenly flagging local support for the event emerged as the greatest risk factor.

In 2013 the Bosch500 Foundation took some drastic measures to turn the tide of negativity. A Bosch500 Panel was set up, with members from all strata of society, but with much knowledge about the state of the city. Critics were invited to participate as well. This helped to create a more positive climate, and the Panel came up with the idea of staging a Bosch Lottery, in which 500 residents of Den Bosch won free entry to a special preview of the exhibtion, which was a great success.

In order to maintain contact with residents a regular Bosch500 Café event was set up. This provided informal information about the development of the programme to interested individuals and organizations. A coordinator was appointed to gather local ideas, and to bring these together into a coherent whole, resulting in dozens of local initiatives. Local cultural organizations were invited to make proposals for special Bosch activities within their regular programming.

Information was provided via the media, newletters, social media, a regular Bosch500 page in a local newspaper, and brochures containing the monthly programme. During this campaign, special attention was paid to local businesses. They could join the Bosch Experience route, which featured figures from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* painting. Shops could transform their window displays into a "Garden of Earthly Delights" with stickers and other materials. Restaurants and cafés were also encouraged to undertake special marketing activities supported by the campaign, such as a special Bosch Menu.

Although the local business community remained sceptical about the Bosch Year until the last moment, in 2016 restaurants were full to bursting and had double sittings. Shops also saw their sales increase. Gradually this also stimulated a shift in pubic opinion, particularly as praise began to appear in the national and international media. The Bosschenaar, shopkeepers, businesses, schools, and local organizations all gained pride in the city.

More than 1,600 volunteers were involved with the programme, as guides in the city or the museum. This extraordinary group of hosts were trained for the Bosch Year. Visitors to the city were received by 350 of the volunteers in distinctive blue jackets, who showed them the way in many different languages. They were quickly dubbed "the blue angels" by locals—the embodiment of the hospitable city of 's-Hertogenbosch. They added to the positive experience of visitors, who gave the city an average score of more than 8 on a 10-point quality scale.

The criticisms of the programme that emerged during the preparation phase contrasted strongly with the success of the events in 2016. Not only the exhibition but also the Visions of the City programme had a great influence on this change of attitude. In the Visions of the City a large number of ideas from residents of Den Bosch were also implemented. The efforts made to engage people in the programme paid handsome dividends.

Events to Mobilize People

The experience of 's-Hertogenbosch shows that events can play an important role in mobilizing people, and local people often play a key role in events as volunteers. There are many large events that would not happen without volunteers, particularly cultural and sporting events. In recent years, for example, the number of volunteers recruited to help stage the European Capital of Culture event has ranged from 87 in Marseille in 2013 to 7,500 in Mons in 2015.

Table 2.5 indicates that the effectiveness of cities in harnessing volunteers varies considerably. In general, smaller cities tend to have higher levels of volunteering for such programmes than larger ones. For example, the city of Mantua in Italy (population 49,154) hosts a major literary festival, Festivaletteratura, which attracted 135,000 people for its 20th edition in 2016. As Podestà and Richards (2017) have emphasized, volunteers (or *Magliette blu*, "blue T-shirts", 150 in 1997, 700 in 2013) are a key aspect of the event. Not only do they perform tasks such as giving information, stewarding, driving, web editing, introducing guests, and taking photos, but they also act as an important source of knowledge diffusion for the event. Volunteers bring knowledge with them to the event, but afterwards they also act as ambassadors for the city, helping to disseminate their increased knowledge and information about the event to the wider world.

The knowledge generation and dissemination functions of these ambassadors have also helped Mantua in other ways, with the city becoming Italian Capital of Culture in 2016. This event gave a particular boost to cultural tourism, with the Gonzaga Palace attracting 242,346 visits, compared to 169,585 in 2015 (an increase of + 42.9%). This also provided the springboard for conservation and restoration of major cultural sites in the city.

Table 2.5 Volunteers in the European Capital of Culture Programme, 2010–2015

	Population	*No. of volunteers*	*Volunteers per 1,000 population*
Mons 2015	94,981	7,500	79.0
Pécs 2010	145,347	780	5.4
Tallinn 2011	440,950	1,610	3.7
Pilsen 2015	169,000	515	3.0
Umeå 2014	121,032	300	2.5
Turku 2011	186,030	422	2.3
Guimarães 2012	158,124	300	1.9
Istanbul 2010	14,800,000	6,159	0.4
Košice2013	240,688	60	0.2
Marseille 2013	855,393	87	0.1

Source: city reports.

Photo 2.3 Participants at the opening of the Bosch500 programme in the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

A study of the Manchester International Festival (MIF) also indicated that volunteers can be a key resource. Over 700 people applied to be volunteers at the MIF in 2013, 95% of them from the Greater Manchester area. As in the case of Mantua, volunteers not only carry out essential tasks, but provide an "alternative network" that can present a different view of the event and the city. Volunteers are important in generating "buzz" about the festival, and spreading the message through word of mouth: "I think if I'm promoting anything to them it's the vibrancy, the diversity, and the amount that's actually going to be going on in those three weeks, rather than an impression of what the Festival means because I think it means different things to different people" (Bayfield 2015: 166).

One issue noted by Bayfield in the case of the MIF was the "us" and "them" culture that can be created between the (professional, full-time) festival organizers and the (part-time, unpaid) volunteers. Although such barriers can be problematic, they also seem inherent in the organization of many programmes. As Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) observed in the case of festivals in Catalunya, there are often groups of insiders and outsiders, and those closest to the heart of the event gain a feeling of exclusivity that can often act as a motivating factor. In many cases volunteers are motivated by the prospect of one day being closer to the "core" of the festival.

Many cities and organizations have come to rely on volunteer labour to cover many key tasks: "Budget stress and pressure to find new and creative ways to do things has led city officials to explore several different strategies for serving their communities, including volunteers."

(League of Minnesota Cities 2013). Research in Minnesota revealed that fire services, parks and recreation, senior services, and libraries are the areas where volunteers are used most. In 70% of cities, volunteers supplement city staff, and small cities report using more volunteers than larger cities. Some of the challenges the city faced in implementing the volunteer programme and in using volunteers have been establishing guidelines and policies to ensure appropriate use of volunteers, ensuring positive and valued experiences for volunteers, and gaining staff acceptance for working with and training volunteers to assist.

Cities are also now actively beginning to harness the power of volunteers to meet their own objectives. As Nesta (2016: n. 7) points out, the "move away from a transactional model of public services" is encouraging cities "to make the most of the time, energy and skills of residents". Nesta advocates the use of the Cities of Service Model, which was developed in the United States and is based on:

- strong leadership within the city/local authority;
- a clear set of objectives linked to priorities within the city/local authority;
- a feasible set of actions that can be practically carried out by volunteers that responded to the identified priority;
- a keen focus on impact relating to the objective rather than just volunteer numbers. (Nesta 2016: 6)

The idea is that cities should be working with, rather than just delivering to, citizens. This provides a fit with emerging new governance models and the idea of the "city as platform" (see Chapter 5). In our view, programmes provide the basis for mobilizing people, ideas, and resources. The research on the Bosch500 programme indicated the power of this programme to mobilize citizens, associations, and politicians in order to achieve the aims of the city. For example, as Agterberg (2015) shows, the Bosch Parade artistic event acted as a network bringing voluntary, sporting and cultural organizations together in 's-Hertogenbosch, increasing their self-confidence and self-respect as well as giving them attention. This in turn led to a boost in participation in voluntary work in the city.

Towards New Ways of Thinking about Urban Resources

As Lorentzen and van Heur (2012) have observed, large cities have an inbuilt advantage when it comes to the quantity of resources—they have more of everything. This may give them a comparative advantage, but small cities need to think about how they can attain competitive advantage by making better use of the assets they have, control or can influence. The analysis in this chapter has shown that urban resources are not just physical, but also intangible, social, and often network-based.

Photo 2.4 Local winners of the Bosch500 Lottery for tickets to the "Visions of Genius" exhibition (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

In order to make the best use of these "soft" types of resources, cities have to find new ways of thinking about and dealing with them.

A major challenge with both hard and soft infrastructure of cities is that they are both resistent to change. Hommells (2005: 329) identfies three types of resistance or "obduracy" in cities: resistance linked to persistent mental models and frames; embedded or multiply anchored obduracy; and obduracy as momentum or long-term cultural tradition. In fact, the lock-in problem may be more pervasive than has been suggested in much of the urban studies literature, because it applies not just to available resources but also to the thinking and action of people in the city. As Shove (2014) describes in the case of infrastructure, materials and their arrangement can become critical for the ways in which people think about places. Much infrastructure and also many ideas last longer than the complexes of practices they used to belong to. The future will be shapred not just by the resources that we have, but by how we use them and think about them.

In order to create the maximum potential for change, we need to think not just in terms of configurations of physical resources in the city (as is the case in much placemaking), but also in terms of the practices that are anchored in those resources, and which also increase the obduracy of those very resources. To achieve real change in the city, we need to alter the routine of existing practice, the agreed way of doing things. This may generate resistance, but discord may be more fruitful than consensus at moments that the city really needs to change. As Sewell (1996) observes, an event, in the sense of a moment of change, occurs when people perceive a gap between expectation and reality.

Very often the stimulus from change comes from without, when the city is faced with a new reality that differs for the perceived order. In the past this has resulted from major shocks in the economic system, such as de-industrialization and economic restructuring. One opportunity of the current moment is that we are seeing a major shift in the way in which many urban systems operate – from analogue to digital, from top-down to bottom-up, from government to governance, from supply chains to networks, from competitors to collaborators. All of these externally driven changes provide opportunities to rethink the way that cities operate and articulate with the external world and their citizens (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4 Co-creating programmes in Umeå, Sweden

Umeå is a city in Swedish Lapland, with 120,000 inhabitants, located 700 km north of Stockholm. In 2014 Umeå became the northernmost ECOC ever held. Umeå was traditionally a centre for trade, engineering, and forestry, but it has also recently attracted some IT and research companies, thanks to the presence of Umeå University. The city has invested heavily in the cultural sector since the 1970s as a way of increasing Umeå's attractiveness as a place to live. The city development strategy evisaged a substantial growth in population and public space, but implementation faltered through lack of political will and financial resources. A turning point came with the awarding of the ECOC title.

As a small, remote city, Umeå realized that it would need to make very effective use of what it had. It did this by developing a co-creation model for the programme, based on a quintuple helix approach involving the muncipality, local people, the cultural sector, the university, and local business (see also Chapter 4). Open meetings were held to gather ideas, and seed funding was made available to allow small organizations to realize their plans. open-source development, crowd-funding, and crowd-sourcing to involve the citizens of Umeå in projects (Näsholm and Blomquist 2015).

The ECOC team developed a platform to enable the emergence of project ideas in a bottom-up fashion. The platform was embodied in the project website, public meetings,and the glass-house meeting space in the central square. The platform enabled meetings and collaborations between different stakeholders including projects, funders, volunteers, associations, and people with ideas. The ECOC team functioned as a gatekeeper, ensuring projects met the programme guidelines, but also helping to translate the goals of the programme into usable criteria and tools for small projects.

The bottom-up nature of the programme was underlined by the absence of a traditional programme director. The artistic director constructed a framework based on the values of the programme, enabling new ideas to emerge. Transparency was also symbolized by the glass-house constructed in the city's central square in 2010. Groups could use the space free of charge to organize and promote their activities. Although arguably intended as a marketing tool, it became so popular that it was later moved to the Granö Beckasin attraction and activity area, where it is still used as a meeting room.

The advantages of this co-creation approach include eliciting new ideas, broadening the concept of culture, broader support, and an extension of networking possibilities. However, it also increased the challenges of programme governance (see Chapter 5). The popularity of the programme is reflected in the fact that 71% of Umeå's residents attended an ECOC event, which also helped widen access to culture by producing events in locations outside the city centre. The number of hotel overnights increased by 21% in 2014, far above the long-term average for the ECOC (Fox and Rampton 2015).

The interconnectedness of placemaking practice, which involves resources, meanings and creativity, means that we need to think about the challenge of changing the city as a multidimensional problem. Cities need to bring resources together in new creative ways to give them new meanings. This may be obvious in the creative reuse of old buildings, but it can also be applied to other types of resources, including public space, events, and traditions. For example, the Mundial Festival in the Dutch city of Tilburg was successful for many years as a world music event held in a peripheral park. But in 2013, with resources becoming tighter, the festival decided to support municipal policies to develop the new public space around the station in the heart of the city. In addition to creating a new intimate atmosphere, the move solved the festival's budgetary problems by removing the cost of tents and other temporary infrastructure that had been needed in the park. The change of location meant new resources were available from the city, and the new, smaller spaces stimulated more social interaction. It also brought the festival into contact with new areas of the creative scene in the city, as new groups were attracted by the edgy, inner-city atmosphere of the new site.

Conclusions

Resources are vital to the placemaking process. In the past, cities have often seen themselves as physcal entities in which change is brought about by bricks and mortar, and people adapt to the new shapes of the city.

But the new economy is rapidly broadening the range of resources that cities have to consider. So we should find new ways of thinking about resources: moving from hard to soft infrastrcture, from permanent to temporary structures, from economy to capacity (education), and from top-down to bottom-up development patterns. These create new opportunities for linking local stakeholders (the focus of Chapter 3) as well as building new network connections to identify opportunities outside the city (Chapter 4). Both of these shifts help the city to compete and collaborate more effectively, but they also imply a change in governance, an issue dealt with in Chapter 5.

References

Adema, P. (2010). Garlic Capital of the World: Gilroy, Garlic, and the Making of a Festive Foodscape. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Agterberg, N. (2015). *The Social Network of the Bosch Parade*. Dissertation in International Leisure Management, NHTV Breda.

Amin, A. (2008). Collective Culture and Urban Public Space. *City* 12(1): 5–24.

Bayfield, H. (2015). Mobilising Manchester through the Manchester International Festival: Whose City, Whose Culture? An Exploration of the Representation of Cities through Cultural Events. PhD thesis, University of Sheffield.

Bellini, N., and Pasquinelli, C. (2017). *Tourism in the City: Towards an Integrative Agenda on Urban Tourism*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Press.

Bönisch, P., Haug, P., Illy, A., and Schreier, L. (2011). Municipality Size and Efficiency of Local Public Services: Does Size Matter? IWH Discussion Paper no. 18/2011. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:101:1-201112215432

Brabazon, T. (2014). Go to Darwin and Starve, Ya Bastard: Theorizing the Decline of Third Tier Cities. www.uta.edu/huma/agger/fastcapitalism/11_1/home.html

Brabazon, T. (2015). *Unique Urbanity? Rethinking Third Tier Cities, Degeneration, Regeneration and Mobility*. Singapore: Springer.

Brouder, P. (2012). Creative Outposts: Tourism's Place in Rural Innovation. *Tourism Planning & Development* 9(4): 383–96.

Bucci, A., Sacco, P. L., and Segre, G. (2014). Smart Endogenous Growth: Cultural Capital and the Creative Use of Skills. *International Journal of Manpower* 35(1/2): 33–55.

Campos, R. (2017). On Urban (In)Visibilities. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 232–49. London: SAGE.

Caragliu, A., Del Bo, C., and Nijkamp, P. (2011). Smart Cities in Europe. *Journal of Urban Technology* 18(2): 65–82.

Clark, T. N. (2003). Urban Amenities—Lakes, Opera, and Juice Bars: Do They Drive Development? In Terry Nichols Clark (ed.), *The City as an Entertainment Machine*, 103–40. Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Cohendet, P., Grandadam, D., and Simon, L. (2010). The Anatomy of the Creative City. *Industry & Innovation* 17: 91–111.

Colombo, A., and Richards, G. (2017). Eventful Cities as Global Innovation Catalysts: The Sónar Festival Network. *Event Management* 21(5): 621–34.

Comunian, R. (2016). Temporary Clusters and Communities of Practice in the Creative Economy: Festivals as Temporary Knowledge Networks. *Space and Culture* 20: 329–43.

Comunian, R., Chapain, C., and Clifton, N. (2010). Location, Location, Location: Exploring the Complex Relationship between Creative Industries and Place. *Creative Industries Journal* 3(1): 5–10.

Crespi-Vallbona, M., and Richards, G. (2007). The Meaning of Cultural Festivals: Stakeholder Perspectives. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27: 103–22.

Della Lucia, M., Trunfio, M., and Go, F. M. (2017). Heritage and Urban Regeneration: Towards Creative Tourism. In N. Bellini and C. Pasquinelli (eds), *Tourism in the City: Towards an Integrative Agenda on Urban Tourism*, 179–92. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International.

EPA (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency) (2015). *How Small Towns and Cities Can Use Local Assets to Rebuild Their Economies: Lessons from Successful Places*. Washington, DC: EPA.

European Commission, Directorate General for Regional Policy (2011). *Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, Visions, Ways Forward*. Luxembourg: European Union.

European Commission (2016). Quality of Life in European Cities 2015. *FLASH EUROBAROMETER 419*. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy.

Ferilli, G., Sacco, P. L., and Noda, K. (2015). Culture Driven Policies and Revaluation of Local Cultural Assets: A Tale of Two Cities, Otaru and Yūbari. *City, Culture and Society* 6(4): 135–43.

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Florida, R. (2009), Town, Gown, and Unemployment. www.creativeclass.com/_v3/creative_class/tag/bureau-of-labor-statistics/

Foley, M., McGillivray, D., and McPherson, G. (2012). *Event Policy: From Theory to Strategy*. London: Routledge.

Fox, T., and Rampton, J. (2015). *Ex-post Evaluation of the European Capitals of Culture 2014*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Franklin, A. (2014). *The Making of MONA*. Melbourne: Penguin.

Franklin, A., and Papastegiadis, N. (2017). Engaging with the Anti-museum? Visitors to the Museum of Old and New Art. *Journal of Sociology*: https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783317712866

Gibson, C. R. (2010). Place Making: Mapping Culture, Creating Places: Collisions of Science and Art. *Local-Global: Identity, Security, Community* 7: 66–83.

Giffinger, R., Fertner, C., Kramar, H., and Meijers, E. (2008). City-Ranking of European Medium-Sized Cities. Centre of Regional Science, Vienna University of Technology. www.srf.tuwien.ac.at/kramar/publikationen/IFHP2007.pdf

Gospodini, A. (2001). Urban Waterfront Redevelopment in Greek Cities: A Framework for Redesigning Space. *Cities* 18(5): 285–95.

Helsinki This Week (2017). Restaurant Day. https://helsinkithisweek.com/events/restaurant-day–2015

Hommells, A. (2005). Studying Obduracy in the City: Toward a Productive Fusion between Technology Studies and Urban Studies. *Science, Technology & Human Values* 30: 323–51.

Kraft, S. E. (2006). Place Making, Mega Events and Ritual Effervescence: A Case Study of the Nelson Mandela Concert in Tromsø, 11th June 2005. *Temenos* 42(2): 43–64.

Kresl, P. K., and Ietri, D. (2016). *Smaller Cities in a World of Competitiveness*. London: Routledge.

League of Minnesota Cities (2013). Cities Using Volunteers: Analysis and Case Studies. /www.lmc.org/media/document/1/sotc13_volunteers.pdf?inline=true

Leary-Owhin, M. E. (2016). Exploring the Production of Urban Space: Differential Space in Three Post-Industrial Cities. Bristol: Policy Press.

Lin, M., and Dong, E. (2017). Place Construction and Public Space: Cantonese Opera as Leisure in the Urban Parks of Guangzhou, China. *Leisure Studies*, DOI:10.1080/02614367.2017.1341544

Lorentzen, A., and van Heur, B. (2012). *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. London: Routledge.

Low, S. M. (2000). *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Low, S. M., and Smith, N. (2006). *The Politics of Public Space*. London: Routledge.

Madanipour, A. (1999). Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities? *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26(6): 879–91.

Magnani, J. G. C. (2006). Urban Youth Circuits in São Paulo. *Tempo Social* 17(2): 173–205.

Manchester International Festival (2017). About Us. http://mif.co.uk/about-us/

Marques, L., and Richards, G. (2014). Creative Districts Around The World. http://creativedistricts.imem.nl/

McConnachie, M. M., and Shackleton, C. M. (2010). Public Green Space Inequality in Small Towns in South Africa. *Habitat International* 34(2): 244–8.

Meijers, E. J., Burger, M. J., and Hoogerbrugge, M. M. (2016). Borrowing Size in Networks of Cities: City Size, Network Connectivity and Metropolitan Functions in Europe. *Regional Science* 95(1): 181–98.

Miles, M. (1997). *Art, Space and the City*. London: Routledge.

Montalto, V., Moura, C., Langedijk, S., and Saisana M. (2017). *The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor: 2017 Edition*. Brussels: European Commission.

Montgomery, J. (1998). Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban Design, *Journal of Urban Design* 3(1): 93–116.

Näsholm, M. H., and Blomquist, T. (2015). Urban Strategies for Culture-Driven Growth: Co-Creating a European Capital of Culture. *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business,* 8(1), 58–73.

Németh, Á. (2016). European Capitals of Culture: Digging Deeper into the Governance of the Mega-event. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4(1): 52–74.

Nesta (2016). *Cities of Service UK: Capturing the Skills and Energy of Volunteers to Address City Challenges*. London: Nesta.

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) (2009). *The Impact of Culture on Tourism*. Paris: OECD.

OECD (2013). *Innovation-Driven Growth in Regions: The Role of Smart Specialisation*. Paris: OECD.

Oosterbaan, M. (2009). Sonic Supremacy: Sound, Space and Charisma in a Favela in Rio de Janeiro. *Critique of Anthropology* 29(1): 81–104.

O'Toole, W. (2011). *Events Feasibility and Development: From Strategy to Operations*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Parrillo, A. J., and de Socio, M. (2014). Universities and Hospitals as Agents of Economic Stability and Growth in Small Cities: A Comparative Analysis. *Industrial Geographer* 11: 1–28.

Pearce, E. (2015). Our Secret. Paper presented at MONA EFFECT 4: Regenerating City and Region through Art Tourism? 18 Sept. 2015, Hobart.

Planetizen (2016). www.planetizen.com/node/78437/how-cities-grow-big-not-how-big-cities-grow

Plöger, J. (2007). Bilbao City Report. Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, report 43. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/3624/1/Bilbao_city_report_(final).pdf

Pløger, J. (2010). 'Presence-Experiences: The Eventalisation of Urban Space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28(5): 848–66.

Podestà, M., and Richards, G. (2017). Creating Knowledge Spillovers through Knowledge Based Festivals: The Case of Mantua. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2017.1344244

Ponzini, D., Fotev, S., and Mavaracchio, F. (2016). Place-Making or Place-Faking? The Paradoxical Effects of Transnational Circulation of Architectural and Urban Development Projects. In A. P. Russo and G. Richards (eds), *Reinventing the Local in Tourism: Producing, Consuming and Negotiating Place*, 153–70. Bristol: Channel View.

Porter, M. E. (1980). *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors*. New York: Free Press.

Potts, J., Cunningham, S., Hartley, J., and Ormerod, P. (2008). Social Network Markets: A New Definition of the Creative Industries. *Journal of Cultural Economics* 32(3): 167–85.

Pratt, A. (2014). *Cities: The Cultural Dimension*. "Future of Cities" working paper. London: Government Office for Science.

Restaurant Day (2017). More about Restaurant Day. www.restaurantday.org/en/info/about/

Richards, G. (2001). *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Wallingford, Oxon.: CABI (Centre for Agriculture and Biosciences International).

Richards, G. (2017). Eventful Cities: Strategies for Event-Based Urban Development. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 43–60. London: SAGE.

Richards, G. and Palmer, R. (2010). *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Regeneration*. London: Routledge.

Sacco, P. L., and Blessi, G. T. (2007). European Culture Capitals and Local Development Strategies: Comparing the Genoa and Lille 2004 Cases. *Homo Oeconomicus* 24(1): 111–41.

Sacco, P. L., and Crociata, A. (2013). A Conceptual Regulatory Framework for the Design and Evaluation of Complex, Participative Cultural Planning Strategies. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37(5): 1688–1706.

Sanphillippo, J. (2017). Re-inhabitation of Small Town America. www.newgeography.com/content/005533-re-inhabitation-small-town-america

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sewell, W. H. (1996). Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille. *Theory and Society* 25: 841–81.

Shove, E. (2009). Everyday Practice and the Production and Consumption of Time. In E. Shove, F. Trentmann and R. Wilk (eds), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life: Practice, Materiality and Culture*, 17–34. Oxford: Berg.

Shove, E. (2014). Working Paper 10. Presented at the workshop "Demanding Ideas: Where Theories of Practice Might Go Next", 18–20 June, Windermere, UK.

Silver, D. (2017). Some Scenes of Urban Life. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 408–29. London: SAGE.

Simons, I. (2017). The Practices of the Eventful City: The Case of Incubate Festival. *Event Management* 21(5): 593–608.

Sleutjes, B. (2013). The Hard and Soft Side of European Knowledge Regions. Amsterdam: Help UVA-VU report 1.

Smith, A. (2015). *Events in the City: Using Public Spaces as Event Venues*. London: Routledge.

Storper, M., and Scott, A. J. (2009). Rethinking Human Capital, Creativity and Urban Growth. Journal of *Economic Geography* 9(2): 147–67.

Tittle, C. R., and Grasmick, H. G. (2001). Urbanity: Influences of Urbanness, Structure, and Culture. *Social Science Research* 30(2): 313–35.

Turok, I. (2009). The Distinctive City: Pitfalls in the Pursuit of Differential Advantage. *Environment and Planning A* 41(1): 13–30.

UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organization) (2005). *City Tourism and Culture*. Madrid: UNWTO.

van Heur, B. (2012). Small Cities and the Sociospatial Specificity of Economic Development. In A. Lorentzen and B. van Heur (eds), *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, 17–30. London: Routledge.

Wynn, J. R. (2015). *Music/City: American Festivals and Placemaking in Austin, Nashville, and Newport*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zijderveld, A. C. (1998). *A Theory of Urbanity: The Economic and Civic Culture of Cities*. London: Transaction.

3 Placemaking Process
Putting Things on the Move

The Place of Small Cities in a Globalizing World

Cities used to be relatively self-contained places that served the hinterlands around them. They were marketplaces, workplaces, administrative centres. Each city knew its place in the national hierarchy, with ideas, resources, and power trickling down from the capital city to smaller cities in the periphery. As globalization took hold, this clearly organized city system began to change. Transnational investment, trade, and government policies have stimulated the decentralization of national economies, creating new patterns of urban growth (Markusen, Lee, and DiGiovanna 1999). "Second cities" such as Barcelona, Hamburg, Pittsburg, Osaka, and Cape Town began to challenge the capitals, seeking to improve their position by attracting jobs and investment.

The outcome of this new field of inter-urban competition is far from clear. Many argue that size matters in urban networks. In the past, larger cities have tended to grow faster at the expense of smaller ones. Larger cities have in some cases become more important than the countries they are located in, forming "city-states" that see their new function as global rather than local. Other cities, deprived of the protection they once enjoyed from the nation-state, began to decline, and are now less relevant. Smaller places have been particularly prone to the pressures of globalization as investment and jobs have been attracted to larger centres with better communications and larger workforces. Older cities in Europe and North America have lost out to emerging cities in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

But not all agree that the largest will inevitably prosper. There have been many examples in recent years of smaller cities successfully competing for resources and talent despite the apparent disadvantages of their size. These include the city of 's-Hertogenbosch (population 150,000), the main case used in this book, but also Hobart in Australia (200,000), Umeå in Sweden (120,000), or Óbidos in Portugal (12,000), which are among the cases mentioned in the current volume. In our view, small cities can also be competitive. They just need to know how to compete effectively.

One of the key ideas introduced in previous chapters is that small cities should think in terms of programmes; coordinated series of actions

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-3
This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

and projects fed by a big idea or dream. But moving from dream to reality, from idea to programme, is not always easy. It requires several steps to "put things on the move", a practical part of the urban process that is often ignored in academic research. In this chapter we examine how cities can implement their visions in programmes that can improve the quality of life for all users of the city.

Where Do We Want To Be in 25 Years?

To develop and implement a programme, cities need to have a strategy, and that strategy needs to indicate a direction for the city. The scope of the strategy also needs to be ambitious – from 25 to 30 years, or a generation (Richards and Palmer 2010). Desire is an important aspect of this: small cities must often operate outside their comfort zone, and will not achieve anything without the desire to take risks and achieve important things. The strategy also needs to provide a motive for others to collaborate, because the small city can't do it alone.

To establish a place for itself on the global stage, a city needs to think about its positioning. In terms of cities, most will attempt to develop a brand strategy that will differentiate it the eyes of key stakeholders (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005). This will involve a positioning that demonstrates the competitive advantage of the city. Competitive advantage does not depend on resource endowments but on the use of resources – so a city can improve its performance by being better or differently organized. Competitiveness is also not a zero-sum game: increased competitiveness of one city will not diminish the competitiveness of others – a fact neatly disguised in the many city rankings available.

According to Ratcliffe (n.d.) five essential ingredients to be found in successful competitive cities are:

- vision;
- entrepreneurship;
- specialization;
- social cohesion;
- governance.

In other words, the city needs to think about where it wants to be (vision), how it will get there (entrepreneurship and specialization), and how to bring together the resources to achieve the vision (social cohesion and governance). Ratcliffe argues that "all municipalities should work on the principle that every town or city can be the best in world at something". Lorentzen and Van Heur (2012: 6) echo this, but qualify it in terms of small cities being best within a niche:

> New futures [...] can be developed by new actors through the identification of new opportunities related to particular global market

> niches and it is through niche strategies that at least some small cities can become global players.

They also agree with Kresl (1995) that strategy needs to be future-oriented, specializing in activities that allow cities to make a positive choice among alternative futures, rather than passively accepting their lot. Cities should establish priorities, decide on a field, and be future-oriented. In choosing a strategic position, small cities often have more options than they think. As Joks Janssen outlined in an interview, positioning is a question of making choices about the what, the who, the when, and the how. Cities usually concentrate on the "what" question, but they should also consider:

- Who – which icons can we use?
- When – choosing the right moment, keeping the momentum.
- How – using networks, knowledge, and skills.

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, the who and the when may seem relatively obvious. Of course, the city needs to claim Hieronymus Bosch, its famous son, and celebrate in 2016 the 500th anniversary of his death. But this was not at all obvious a few years before the event. In 2006, when the idea for a Bosch celebration was taking shape, many doubted if this was a serious option: Bosch was a historical figure, viewed by many as stuffy and irrelevant and long ignored by the city because it lacked any of his artworks. The eventual choice of Bosch was a brave one, forged by a belief in the power of a painter whose vision echoed down the centuries and across the globe. For Joks Jansen, 's-Hertogenbosch is therefore not just a niche player, but a "niche star".

Positioning for a small city is therefore a question of where we want to compete (nationally or internationally?), when we want to compete (all the time, or at a moment of our choosing?), and against whom we want to compete. But increasingly, in the network society the question is not just whether we need just to compete, but also how we can collaborate with our competitors, who can often become (if only briefly) our partners.

Stakeholders of the Small City

The reorientation of urban networks under globalization forced cities to find new external partners, which also encouraged them to gather internal support to deal with these new links effectively. As Verwijnen (1999: 14–15) put it, the external pressures on cities forces them to change internally:

> The increased competition between European cities has led to a new paradox: the more competition the cities confront from the outside,

> the smoother they must operate on the inside. Cities can no longer afford a freewheeling situation, but need to harness their internal resources. Urban policies become both the instrument itself and act as the showcase of this effort. A dynamic urban policy becomes part of the image of a city and acts as a catalyst for its symbolic economy.

In order to compete, cities therefore have to work more effectively with both internal and external partners, or stakeholders. A stakeholder is "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the firm's objectives" (Freeman 1984: 25). For cities, this involves a wide range of organizations and individuals both within and outside the city who have a direct or indirect interest in the city and what it does:

> Stakeholder theory therefore requires managers to consider the full range of stakeholders in their unique operational setting; and to ensure the involvement of these actors to build ethical, equitable and successful relationships between an organisation, and individuals, and networks of stakeholders.
>
> (Todd, Leask, and Ensor 2017: 496)

Even in small cities, the range of potential stakeholders in development processes is vast. Baker (2007) lists the following participants in terms of branding a small city: association executives, businesses, Chamber of Commerce members, Convention and Visitor Bureau members, community leaders, developers and investors, the city's Destination Marketing Organization (DMO) staff and marketing vendors, front-line tourism employees, government, local media, lodging and hospitality executives, not-for-profit groups, opinion leaders, political leaders, religious leaders, sports representatives, visitor attractions and services, and volunteers in visitor centres. All of these groups should ideally be analysed and assessed, for example using stakeholder analysis, which identifies stakeholders and their interests, and assesses their influence and relationships (Brugha and Varvasovszky 2000).

But the context in which stakeholders operate is also important. Larson (2009) uses the "political market square" (PSQ) as a metaphor to understand the interactions and the dynamics of event networks. Different actors can gain access to the PSQ where they can interact with each other in ways that produce change to a greater or lesser extent. She identified different types of PSQ, including:

- the jungle – a tumultuous PSQ;
- the park – a dynamic PSQ;
- the garden – an institutionalized PSQ.

Larson argues that many previous studies of event networks have been premised on the existence of an institutionalized "garden" in which

order and continuity will generate success. If there is a stable governing regime in the city, then it may be possible to maintain the garden. But often the level of turbulence is high, meaning that many cities have to deal with a more chaotic "jungle" of stakeholder relationships. Arguably, city networks can work in similar ways. Different actors or stakeholders can enter the PSQ of the city, and try to influence the way in which the city develops. In smaller cities, single actors may often have a great deal of influence in the PSQ. This is evident in "company towns", where the single largest employer effectively runs the city.

With so many different people and groups involved in making important decisions about the future of the city, it is not surprising that power struggles ensue. The ability of different stakeholders to influence the direction of change will depend on their perceived influence and importance, which of course are also subject to change. The work of Gray (1985), for example, indicates that stakeholder networks move through stages of problem-setting, direction-setting, and implementation. In the initial problem-setting phase, stakeholders are identified and legitimacy is established. In the direction-setting phase, ground rules for collaboration are developed, and a shared vision is created. Finally, the shared vision is institutionalized into a vehicle for reaching shared goals.

Stakeholder Engagement

To operate effectively, a city needs to engage its different stakeholders. Stakeholder engagement can be generated through a range of approaches including meetings, interviews, surveys, hotlines, newsletters, and websites (Yang 2014). The main methods of stakeholder management include: power–interest matrix, Stakeholder Circle methodology, and Social Network Analysis.

- In the power/interest matrix, stakeholders are categorized by their levels of power and interest in the programme. The programme management team has to pay attention to each type of stakeholder and apply different engagement approaches.
- The Stakeholder Circle methodology is a relatively systematic method for stakeholder management. It identifies and prioritizes key stakeholders and helps to develop an appropriate engagement strategy and communications plan (Bourne 2006).
- Social Network Analysis focuses on the relationships between pairs of stakeholders in a network (e.g. Jarman et al. 2014 explored social networks in the festival city of Edinburgh).

In the case of the Bosch500 programme in 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, the power of politicians was high, because they provided a large chunk of funding, but their interest was relatively low. In contrast, the cultural

sector had a high level of interest because of the cultural content of the programme, but a relative lack of resources gave them a low level of power. Local citizens showed interest in the programme, but particularly in the early stages of programme development felt they had little influence. Such asymmetric relationships raise questions of stakeholder inequality: Who is the programme for? Who should benefit and in what ways?

In developing stakeholder engagement, attracting attention is the key point. People need to be aware of the issues before they can see them as important, let alone act (Bartels 2013). Attention is what allows us to focus on specific elements of our environment – a kind of psychological highlighter. Attention is also limited – in terms of duration and capacity. It is important to grab people's attention and focus it on the issues that we want highlighted. The city needs to create a "mutual focus of attention" (Collins 2014) and reward people for their attention in some way – if they pay attention, they should find things that matter to them.

For example, Németh (2016: 52) examined the ways in which two European Capital of Culture (ECOC) host cities engaged their stakeholders. Pécs 2010 in Hungary had a strategy for the engagement of actors from the beginning. Connections to nearby settlements and the wider region around Pécs created the potential for using a larger pool of cultural assets to enrich the programme. But Pécs could not fully exploit the opportunity to generate creative synergies by building cooperative relationships across the wider region. Very limited resources were invested in ensuring the active participation of the third sector, and these were focused purely on the city itself. So eventually the engagement of the surrounding region in the ECOC was low. In contrast, in Turku in Finland, engagement of the wider region was not made explicit at first, so it did not develop in a top-down fashion. Rather, engagement emerged from the bottom up, largely because of the open and transparent way in which the programme was constructed. For example, the call for proposals set no limits on the type of organizations that could submit ideas, or on their location. The experience of Luxemburg in staging the ECOC in 2007 also emphasized the importance of inclusion and engagement. One of the main aims of the event was to bring together different parts of the "Greater Luxemburg Region", spread across Luxemburg, France, Germany, and Belgium. The idea of the Greater Luxemburg Region was important to the politicians in Luxemburg, but less important to ordinary people in other parts of the region. Cross-border events therefore tended to be less well attended than the main events staged in Luxemburg itself (Luxemburg and Greater Region 2008).

Developing a Vision as Programme Focus

The Luxemburg example shows the importance of a shared vision. A vision should say something important to people that grabs their

attention, but it should also say why it is important – why it matters to them. The vision should answer some key questions, such as who we are, where we come from, what we want, and where we want to go in future. A vision statement gives a picture of what is possible or desirable for the future. A trajectory from past through present to the future gives conceptual continuity, even if the overall aim may be to break with the past.

A vision can also be incorporated into a mission statement, which sets out the purpose or role of the organization: a statement describing the organization's reason for existence (see Box 3.1). A vision statement should reaffirm core values that are generally seen as positive, and reflect community aspirations. Continual review and refinement of the vision should help to set parameters for future activities.

Box 3.1 Examples of vision statements for smaller cities

The examples of visions developed by several smaller cities show some characteristic elements. They tend to focus on:

- what the city is (or its DNA);
- what it wants to be (the big dream);
- what it will provide (aspiration);
- different audiences the vision encompasses (who the dream is for).

Quality of life is often the goal, or aspiration, and an important part of the vision. Many of the key ideas are repeated across many cities, because essentially all cities want the same things: a healthy, prosperous community that provides opportunities while protecting the environment and community values. Even so, there are significant variations in terms of the scale of the vision (regional, national, international roles) and the types of amenities emphasized.

Pilsen, Czech Republic (pop. 169,033)

Pilsen wants to be an economically strong, modern city competing on the European level. […] Pilsen will develop its status as a cultural and social centre, not only on the regional level but also in the wider arena.

Corcoran, Minnesota (pop. 5,400)

The City of Corcoran will expand opportunities for its residents by supporting life cycle housing, recreational amenities, a vibrant

(*Continued*)

business community, and a strong downtown city center while preserving its natural character and agricultural roots.

Bellevue, Washington (pop. 130,000)

Bellevue is known as a hub for global business. Bellevue has it all. Bellevue will lead, catalyze and partner with our neighbors throughout the region. Bellevue is characterized by high-performance government. Getting into, around and through Bellevue is a given. Bellevue is the place to be inspired by culture, entertainment and nature. Bellevue is a caring community where all residents enjoy a high quality of life.

City of Page, Arizona (pop. 7,247)

The City of Page is a clean, financial responsible, diverse and vibrant community that respects the quality of its environment, fosters a sense of community and family, encourages a healthful, active lifestyle and supports a wide range of business opportunities to promote a prosperous economy.

Richmond, British Colombia (pop. 218,307)

The Strategic Management Plan outlines a vision-driven strategy for the City of Richmond to manage change. Together, the vision, mission, and core values which follow provide the anchor for organizational priorities, strategies, and actions.

Richmond says about its vision: "The Vision statement for the City of Richmond is meant to provide a clear image of where the organization is heading over the next decade or two. It is meant to capture the spirit of the organization and to inspire its workforce and partners to work towards a vibrant future. The vision reflects the hopes for the City of Richmond for the future."

Mercer Island, Washington (pop. 24,098)

Mercer Island is not an island unto itself. The community is part of a regional complex that affords housing, human services, jobs, transportation, cultural and recreational opportunities.

In relative terms, Mercer Island is a young community. Its passion to shape its own future as well as participate as a regional partner has been guided by the City's adherence to a collection of intrinsic values.

The vision for Aarhus, Denmark (pop. 269,022) is:

Aarhus – a good city for everyone

A city with room for development. Everyone should be able to take responsibility for their own life and use their own skills. Together we should help those who need help. There must be room for difference and diversity. Integration must be our strength.

Aarhus – a city that does not stand still

A city with a strong and innovative business, cultural and educational life. New ideas must be cultivated and tested in untraditional collaboration forms. We must be at the forefront of developments and the application of new technology. We must have an international outlook and stand out among the best.

The vision encapsulates the past and present of the city, as well as providing a view of the future. As Lorentzen and van Heur (2012: 6) note, "potential is identified or ignored through the lens of particular discourses and actors develop imaginaries of urban futures based on their own interpretation of potentialities and informed by their own particular orientation, interests and biases." If the dream of the city is not shared, it can safely be ignored.

The problem with many vision statements is that they lack direction. If we want to have a prosperous, happy community, what do we need to do?

Seeking Inspiration for a Shared Vision

Creating a shared vision requires inspiration. Not only should the vision be inspired by the city itself, but it also needs to inspire the different stakeholders. It needs to be distinctive, have meaning, and give purpose.

Even when the city has many resources to work with, placemaking still needs to make creative use of them. There are many different ideas that can be used to develop a city image, identity, or brand. In many cases, a distinctive and inspiring story can be found in the history of the city: important former citizens, events, products. But it is important to choose the right bit of history and make it interesting and engaging for internal and external audiences. We look at how cities can discover and use their identity or cultural "DNA" in more detail in Chapter 6.

But linking the DNA of the city effectively to place, to contemporary issues, and to future challenges requires a great deal of creativity. Many branding campaigns fail because they are clever, but they fail to engage people, or to say anything about the city's vision. 's-Hertogenbosch

learned this the hard way with its attempts to develop a city marketing campaign in the 1990s. One of the problems was that the starting point was not positive. Because the city had no university, it didn't want to promote itself as a "thinker city", and as it had no major industries it couldn't compete with its larger neighbor, Eindhoven, as an "industrial city". So it chose the remaining category of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1995) trilogy of city types: the trader city. 's-Hertogenbosch could reasonably lay claim to the title, as it has always been an important agricultural marketplace. But the resulting branding of the city as the "meeting city" meant little to people inside or outside 's-Hertogenbosch. People can meet anywhere, so what is so special about a meeting city? The slogan was even pilloried by the city's football fans, who published postcards depicting their clashes with police using the "meeting city" slogan.

City marketing slogans and logos have often met with opposition from stakeholders, particularly when they consider them to be bereft of meaning. This was the case in Auckland, New Zealand, when the city first changed its long-standing image as the "City of Sails" to a simple capital "A" (also used by Antwerp in Belgium) and then to "the place desired by many". The last designation met with particularly strong resistance. As Orsman (2016) reported, there was uproar at reports that the proposed new global brand was worked on by three project staff over two years, while 115 council staff attended workshops at a total cost of NZD 500,000.

Unless the vision is anchored in the DNA of the city, it is likely to lack distinction or conviction. Particularly as the focus of place marketing shifts from tangible to intangible assets, it is also likely that circulation of ideas among policymakers will lead to less and less distinction. For example, Hernandez (2010) argued that light festivals have been globalized through the activities of international consultants and networks. Giordano and Ong (2017) go beyond the vision of a simple serial reproduction of tourism policies, to reveal the increasing "local globalness" (McCann 2011: 120) of tourism policy transfer. A light festival may have some claim to local globalness in a city such as Eindhoven, where for a century light bulbs were produced and where new forms of lighting are still invented (Bevolo 2014). But for other cities, a light festival is simply a useful way of highlighting architecture or creating installations to attract mobile consumers.

A local source of inspiration is important, as the 's-Hertogenbosch experience shows. Hieronymus Bosch himself drew inspiration from his city. From his atelier on the market square in 's-Hertogenbosch, Bosch sketched the scenes of medieval life buzzing around him, but transformed these into fantastic and phantasmagorical characters and images. The return of his paintings in 2016 to the place they were made more than 500 years earlier was not just a nostalgic homecoming, but also a chance to re-embed the paintings in the city. Because it was not possible to ask

Photo 3.1 Bosch statues on the Bosch Experience trail (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

the Prado Museum to send the Garden of Earthly Delights, Bosch's most famous painting, to the exhibition (see also Chapter 6), the advice from the Efteling Theme Park was to bring the painting to life in the cityscape itself. Figures from the painting were reproduced in three-dimensional form and placed at strategic sites around the city, so that encounters with Bosch and his work were almost unavoidable. The Bosch Experience light show also brought scenes for the paintings to life every night for several months during 2016. The story of homecoming was given dramatic power by the large number of surviving works that the exhibition secured (17 of the 24 paintings and 19 of the 20 drawings)—at that point the largest exhibition of Bosch's work ever staged. The *New York Times* labelled it "One Helluva Homecoming" (Rachman 2016). The UK *Telegraph* described the work of curator Charles de Mooij in gathering them as "a feat of stamina and silver-tongued curatorial cunning" (Stooke 2016). The story also acquired power because this global event took place in such a small city. In London or New York such a show might have received a warm welcome, but not the sheer disbelief and sense of wonder that it managed in 's-Hertogenbosch. The story of Bosch, his work, and his city had the power not just to stage the exhibition but to gather funding, media attention, and stakeholder engagement. It also reflected the city itself, as the city's annual report for 2016 argues:

> Hieronymus Bosch was an innovator. He renewed painting with an unrivaled imagination. This imagination we still see in the core qualities of our city. That's why we are welcoming Hieronymus home after 500 years.
>
> (Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch 2017)

Photo 3.2 Bosch Experience kidsproof (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

It seems that distinctive ideas are rooted in the DNA of the city.

Building Placemaking Partnerships

To sustain stakeholder interest and successfully implement the vision, the city needs tools of engagement. New mechanisms that cities often employ to generate external engagement include economic development agencies, trade agencies, and city marketing bureaus. The diplomatic function previously fulfilled by nation-states has been augmented by the cities and regions with their own lobbyists, ambassadors, and representatives.

In the networked, globalized urban world, it is essential to build partnerships. For small cities this is even more crucial, because they often lack the scale and resources to do things alone. Politicians have long understood the need for collaboration with neighbouring cities or surrounding regions, but the idea of collaborating with partners in far-flung regions, different countries, or on the other side of the globe is relatively new. In Europe, many cities have been introduced to remote collaboration through European Union projects, which generally require the participation of partners from different countries to qualify for funding. But most of the partnerships developed in this way have been opportunistic, and often fade quickly once the funding from Brussels runs out.

Developing more stable and useful external partnerships requires continuity, coherence, and coordination. On a practical level, partners need to know who they are dealing with and what their capabilities and limitations are. On a more prosaic level, they need to know what the

city stands for – why it would be a good partner and how it fits with the needs and aspirations of partner cities.

As Bayfield (2015) remarks in the case of Manchester, for example:

> Continuity is important – The development of the networks which allow the Manchester International Festival to exist are contingent upon a number of factors, particularly the city's stable political leadership (Manchester has been a Labour-led council for over 40 years, with the Leader and Chief Executive holding their positions for 19 and 17 years respectively) and the shared visions that can emerge from such stability.

This also underlines the fact that building effective partnerships requires leadership (see also Chapter 4). Leadership also becomes important for the development of a coherent agenda or "story" for the city, essential both for communicating effectively with the outside world and for bringing internal stakeholders together to deal with external challenges. In recent decades, new urban coalitions and partnerships have emerged that span public, private, and voluntary sector organizations. These new "regimes", according to Clarence Stone (1989), provided a more effective way than adversarial politics of getting things done. Regimes pursued their own policy "agenda" in ways that the civic administration alone could not. Mossberger and Stoker (2001) identify several key elements of Stone's regime thinking, and summarize a regime as an informal but relatively stable group bridging public and private interests, able to survive different administrations with its own policy agenda. Over time, a regime can reach consensus over policy through collaboration.

Regimes are usually linked with large cities that can bring together a range of influential stakeholders and significant resources to address urban problems. But collaboration doesn't have to be developed in a top-down fashion. In Japan, local placemaking initiatives have developed in response to increasingly neo-liberal development policies. The meaning of the Japanese term for this process, *machi-zukuri*, is, as Sorensen (2002: 308) notes, "largely vague and context-dependent. Restrictively speaking, this term can be understood as small-scale planning projects that incorporate local residents into the decision-making process." Fukaya is one of the small cities that illustrates this process, which Chang (2015) also refers to as a form of "rhizomatic placemaking" (see Box 3.2).

As Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa Nicodemus (2010: 3) emphasize in their concept of "creative placemaking": "Cross-sector partnerships are fundamental."

> In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, nonprofit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts

and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired.

Box 3.2 Rhizomatic placemaking in Fukaya, Japan

Fukaya is a city of 144,000 people located 75 km northwest of Tokyo. During the feudal era, the city was a prosperous post-town on the historic Nakasendo highway through the mountains from Edo (now Tokyo) to Kyoto. Its economy has an important agricultural base, but the population of the city centre began declining in 1965 as a result of suburbanization.

In 2000 the municipality proposed a new master plan for the city centre. The plan proposed two land readjustment projects for comprehensive urban renewal. The aim was to create a new urban core with wider roads, new parks, and consolidated land holdings. Such projects are financed by subsidies from municipal, prefectural, and national government, and by land contributions from all participating land owners. This implied the demolition and/or relocation of many existing structures, leading to the destruction of the historic urban landscape.

Conflict over the redevelopment plans for the centre of Fukaya led to the creation in 2002 of a *machi-zukuri* dedicated to the revitalization of downtown Fukaya through preserving and utilizing historical buildings and creating a more attractive townscape. Resistance from the community led to a more inclusive planning approach, based on building social capital and working with all major stakeholder groups in the community (Sorensen, Marcotullio, and Grant 2017).

Fukaya illustrates that conflict can also be a stimulus for collaboration, and that ideas about directions for change can also be generated in a bottom-up fashion. As cities need to do more with less, the use of such grass-roots energy streams becomes more important.

Small-scale placemaking interventions can be relatively self-contained. But making the city as a whole requires extensive collaboration – gathering knowledge, skills, and resources from elsewhere. But the partnerships a city needs do not just spring into being. They must be conceived, structured, and managed. The key elements of the process are described below.

Inspiration

As Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus (2010) argue, partnerships often stem from inspired individuals with vision and persistence. This is also true of many of the examples in this book, which often start with a single driven individual who can convince others of the power of their dream. In many cases this is also the mayor or civic leader.

Selection

Second, successful initiators choose partners—and not too many—who bring complementary skills to the project. As Gray (1985) indicates, the initial selection of partners also needs to address issues of legitimacy. If the stakeholder group is not perceived to represent legitimate interests in the city, then it will not be able to gather support or resources. The selection therefore needs to consider issues of representation and equity.

Sometimes, this may also mean working with critics of the programme. In Turku, Lähdesmäki (2013) describes how local groups attacked the lack of provision for "alternative" or youth culture in the ECOC programme. Eventually, this spawned an activist project called "Turku – European Capital of Subculture 2011". This eventually became a multi-annual project mirroring the official ECOC itself. The Director of the official programme tried to get the activists to participate and to get funding, space, and publicity for their cultural aims. But the activists did not want to be swallowed up by the official version. Similar oppositional groups emerged in other ECOCs, such as Cork, Stavanger, and Linz.

Putting Processes in Place

Once a partnership is formed, it needs to have structure. The second phase of Gray's collaboration model is "direction-setting" – establishing ground rules, developing a shared vision, ensuring equitable power distribution. In the longer term, the stakeholder collaboration needs to be institutionalized to ensure continuity, and structures should be put in place to secure and manage resources. Important decisions need to be taken about the form of governance (see Chapter 5), and the effect this may have on all stakeholders involved.

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, an arm's-length organization, the Bosch500 Foundation, was established to develop and implement the multi-annual Hieronymus Bosch programme. This was largely because of the financial limitations of the municipality, but also to create an independent body that could operate between different stakeholder groups. We provide more details on the functioning of the Foundation in Chapter 5.

Mobilizing People and Resources

The formation and institutionalization of the partnership are just the first steps. Getting things done means putting people and resources on the move, and keeping things moving, often for years or decades.

In a network, you have only a small number of things in your own hands. Most of what you do depends on others, and therefore on the ability of the partnership to motivate people and stimulate action. As Bærenholdt (2017) shows in the case of the small Danish city of Roskilde, in the networked experience economy, the way people and materials move and meet is crucial for initiating programmes, and to keeping them moving.

Bærenholdt (2017: 339) emphasizes that the relations that underpin programmes are not just accidental, but based on "connective authenticity"; ultimately, "[p]eople move to make things together with others, in intersection with key sites that materially afford these processes, in the messy and multiple spatialities and temporalities of creativity." Creativity in this conception is not linked to a particular class or industry, but constitutes a driving force that can mobilize people around ideas that are rooted in specific practices and places. This is clear in the case of 's-Hertogenbosch. The exhibition staged in 2016 was based on expert knowledge of the painter and staged in the city of his birth, all of which helped to give connective authenticity to the enterprise. The material rooting in place and the historic DNA of the city in turn gave power to the story of the city and the exhibition as a homecoming, not only as a return, but as a new point of departure. Roskilde had a very similar experience in the development of the Viking Ship Museum and the Roskilde Festival, the twin elements that underpin the success of this small city. Enthusiasm, volunteering, and big dreams helped to keep these projects going until they could be smelted into a much bigger programme of economic and cultural development.

Employing Creativity to Bring Everything Together

All the previous steps make no sense if they cannot be integrated into a programme that gives shape and substance to the vision. Even when things are moving in the right direction, it only takes a relatively small incident to derail the whole programme. The networks that were formed in Roskilde or 's-Hertogenbosch were not fortuitous, but the result of creative thinking inspired by a big dream. The Bosch Cities Network, for example, was a master stroke that enabled 's-Hertogenbosch to position itself as the hub of knowledge about Hieronymus Bosch, even though it did not possess a single one of his paintings. But to obtain this position, the city realized it also had to offer something to the other cities, which it did in the form of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project, which

generated collective knowledge about Bosch, building on his legacy to the benefit of all the cities. This also underlines the importance of recognizing others as legitimate stakeholders in the network.

Giving Meaning to the Programme

At the end of the day, a programme should mean something to people. And because the network of stakeholders is much larger than the small band of enthusiasts needed to drive the programme forward, that meaning should be widely shared by people in the city and elsewhere. This meaning can be something concrete – like jobs, income, quality of life. But it also needs to have a symbolic meaning: the place itself should mean something to those living in it. This goes beyond a narrow concept of identity, which often sticks to small groups or neighbourhoods; it must mean something to those who share the place with each other. In 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, the meaning of the Bosch500 programme was related to the homecoming of Hieronymus and the conservation of his legacy, but also to the economic growth of the city, the development of pride, identity, and social cohesion, the development of creative industries, and the education of children throughout the Netherlands. A successful programme should have meaning not just for the city itself or its citizens, but also for the wider world.

Planning vs Programming

In traditional placemaking the focus is usually on planning – a rational, logical approach to change, usually focused on the physical environment. Programming is different, because it inherently involves a temporal element, and is more geared to the relationship between time and space and resources than traditional planning approaches.

As defined in Chapter 1, a programme integrates a coherent series of strategic actions that are developed over time to maximize the effects of civic policies and increase the quality of life of those using the city. The programme guides the process of generating content from the DNA of a city, the content that people eventually see and experience (Richards and Palmer 2010). The programme also leads and directs, because it has a vision that guides the selection and presentation of content. Programming the city becomes a process of curation, through which elements are selected, arranged, and presented to tell a story about the city and its aspirations. In the case of the Dutch city of Rotterdam, for example, the portfolio of events curated by Rotterdam Festivals is based on the story that these events can tell about the city (Rotterdam Festivals 2016). Of course, it takes time to develop a programme, as we discuss in more detail in Chapter 8. But small cities can begin with a small project and grow towards a large programme. Each of the steps in growing the

programme takes time, and the process of building a dream involves the need to create room for upscaling.

What are the important aspects of the programme for a small city?

Timing

Programmes are developed over a period that can last from a few days to several years. Major programmes designed to change places and the lives of those who live there are usually long-term and multidimensional. In the staging of individual events, timing is usually reduced to a question of length (how many days?) or period (when should it be held?). In a complete programme, however, the interplay of different programme elements means that more complex questions arise, also relating to the pace of events and the tempo of the city (see Chapter 8).

Theme

Programme content needs to be easily readable and digestible, which in turn requires narrative or theming to provide coherence and structure. A theme can express a complex agenda in an easily accessible way, and give people and communities material to develop their identities (Gottdiener 2001). Themes help make the event readable and recognizable by tying different programme elements together (Richards and Palmer 2010). Many cities have developed themes for year-long events such as the ECOC, but some have also developed multi-annual themed programmes. For example, Lille, the ECOC in 2004, launched "Lille 3000" as a legacy programme after the ECOC, and has held a series of events every three years since (see also Chapter 7 for the legacy effects of this event).

Space

A programme needs space to develop. This can be formal spaces such as theatres or concert halls; but very often informal spaces such as squares, streets, or ruined buildings can also provide interesting arenas for events and presentations. Small cities can benefit enormously from the showcasing of different spaces in a programme, as in the case of Festivaletteratura, a long-running literature festival in Mantua, Italy. As one festival stakeholder said: "I find it really stimulating when unconventional venues that usually are closed to public are used for the occasion. Over the years this use has allowed me to feel more and more part of my city and to be proud of it with friends and contacts not from here." Over 89% of survey respondents at the festival thought that the use of such locations enhanced the cultural heritage of the city, and over 80% agreed that it stimulated new contacts between actors in the city (Podestà and Richards 2017).

Similar effects were also seen in the aftermath of the 2007 ECOC programme in Sibiu, Romania. This picturesque medieval city managed to develop considerable new streams of cultural tourism, as well as improving its image and feelings of social cohesion among residents (Richards and Rotariu 2015). One notable effect of these developments was increased visitation in the Lower Town, a formerly run-down part of the city. This in turn led to economic development in the area and an upgrading of the urban fabric and public space. Spaces make events, but events can also make spaces.

Density

Different densities of programming can be used to achieve different aims. A programme that extends over a long period of time with recurring events can be used to support regular activities and institutions such as museums, theatres, and cinemas. On the other hand, a concentration of activities in one place over a short period of time can be used to give a feeling of liveliness. In this way, events may add to the kind of temporary densification of the city discussed in Chapter 2. Richards and Palmer (2010: 110) argue that "the intensity with which that space is used is vital in determining the atmosphere and festive 'feel' of a city".

Audiences and Publics

Of course, a programme only comes to life when people participate. The number of people attending a programme is usually the most important indicator of success, and often the only thing that is measured. The number of people flocking to an important event in a small city can often be newsworthy in itself, as the Hieronymus Bosch exhibition in 2016 indicated. But many other small cities have achieved similar feats. Weimar in Germany was ECOC in 1999 and this city of 65,000 suddenly attracted over 300,000 visitors who generated almost 600,000 overnight stays. The welcome extended by the small city to cultural visitors was not a one-off, however. The city has recently housed 900 migrants fleeing to the European Union from Syria, Afghanistan, and Africa (Lyman 2017).

Wider publics include people reached via the media, and increasingly via the internet. Although it may not bring the immediate economic impacts that are usually associated with physical attendance, media coverage still has important publicity value and can add to the longer-term reputation of the city and the legacy of the event (see Chapter 7).

Programming the city therefore requires different skills and knowledge compared with the planning process. It needs new alliances to be formed with the stakeholders who produce, consume, and benefit from it. To engage the different stakeholders of the city in its programmes, the city needs a coherent storyline that links to the DNA of the city.

Conclusions

In bringing the disparate stakeholders of the city together to develop and support programmes in a small city, it is important to inspire people with a dream they can believe in. In the early stages of development, the dream may be created and shaped by the "soul" of the programme and a small group of helpers. But to move the city forwards, that dream should be shared by the city as a whole. Sharing the dream means not only inspiring others with the power and creativity of the idea, but also recognizing the legitimate stake of others in that dream.

Forming an alliance or collaboration of stakeholders is an important step, and this needs to be followed by actions designed to mobilize people and resources to develop the programme. Leadership, often from the public sector, can play a key role in this, but it is also important to enable bottom-up processes to emerge. Throwing the net wide can help to generate new ideas, activate different resources, and bring original approaches into the programme. Creativity is applicable to the content of a programme, as well as all aspects of programme development, including visioning, meaning-making, and gathering resources.

The programme development process is rarely smooth. There will inevitably be resistance to change and envy directed towards those who successfully extract value from the programme. Cities need to think about managing these conflicts as and when they arise, and preferably find ways of embracing conflict. If there is opposition, confront rather than avoid the criticism, and act when needed.

As cities increasingly take on an enabling role, they need to draw upon the knowledge, skills, and resources of a larger group of actors. As well as managing internal stakeholder relationships, small cities should also pay more attention to the development of external relations – the development of the networks that can deliver new opportunities and sources of value – an issue that is addressed in the following chapter.

References

Bærenholdt, J. O. (2017). Moving to Meet and Make: Rethinking Creativity in Making Things Take Place. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 330–42. London: SAGE.

Baker, B. (2007). *Destination Branding for Small Cities: The Essentials for Successful Place Branding.* Tualatin, Ore.: Creative Leap Books.

Bartels, G. (2013). Issues en maatschappelijke problemen: Wat zijn issues en hoe ontstaan ze? PhD thesis, Tilburg University.

Bayfield, H. (2015). Mobilising Manchester through the Manchester International Festival: Whose City, Whose Culture? An Exploration of the Representation of Cities through Cultural Events. PhD, University of Sheffield.

Bevolo, M. (2014). The Discourse of Design as an Asset for the City. In G. Richards, L. Marques, and K. Mein (eds), *Event Design: Social Perspectives and Practices*, 65–77. London: Routledge.

Bourne, L. (2006). Project Relationships and the Stakeholder Circle. Paper presented at PMI Research Conference, Montreal, Canada, July. www.pmi.org

Brugha, R., and Varvasovszky, Z. (2000). Stakeholder Analysis: A Review. *Health Policy and Planning* 15(3): 239–46.

Chang, C.-H. (2015). *Place-Making under Japan's Neoliberal Regime: Ethics, Locality, and Community in Rural Hokkaido*. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; published by ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Collins, R. (2014). *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Eurocities (2010). *A Shared Vision on City Branding in Europe*. Brussels: Eurocities.

Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Melbourne: Pitman.

Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch (2017). *Gemeente Verslag 2016*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch.

Giordano, E., and Ong, C. E. (2017). Light Festivals, Policy Mobilities and Urban Tourism. *Tourism Geographies* 19(5): 699–716.

Gottdiener, M. (2001). *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*, 2nd edn. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Gray, B. (1985). Conditions Facilitating Interorganizational Collaboration. *Human Relations* 38(10): 911–36.

Hernandez, E. (2010). Comment l'illumination nocturne est devenue une politique urbaine: la circulation de modèles d'aménagement de Lyon (France) à Puebla, Morelia et San Luis Potosí (Mexique). PhD thesis, Université Paris-Est.

Jarman, D., Theodoraki, E., Hall, H., and Ali-Knight, J. (2014). Social Network Analysis and Festival Cities: An Exploration of Concepts, Literature and Methods. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 5(3): 311–22.

Kavaratzis, M., and Ashworth, G. J. (2005). City Branding: An Effective Assertion of Identity or a Transitory Marketing Trick? *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 96(5): 506–14.

Kresl, P. K. (1995). The Determinants of Urban Competitiveness: A Survey. In P. K. Kresl and G. Gappert (eds), *North American Cities and the Global Economy: Challenges and Opportunities*, 45–68. New York: SAGE.

Lähdesmäki, T. (2013). Cultural Activism as a Counter-discourse to the European Capital of Culture Programme: The Case of Turku 2011. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 16(5): 598–619.

Larson, M. (2009). Joint Event Production in the Jungle, the Park, and the Garden: Metaphors of Event Networks. *Tourism Management* 30(3): 393–9.

Lorentzen, A., and van Heur, B. (2012). *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. London: Routledge.

Luxemburg and Greater Region (2008). *Luxembourg and Greater Region, European Capital of Culture 2007: Final Report*. Luxemburg: Ministère de la Culture, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche.

Lyman, R. (2017). What Makes Good Neighbors? In This German City, It's Not Good Fences. *New York Times*, 2 May. www.nytimes.com/2017/05/02/insider/what-makes-good-neighbors-in-one-german-city-it-might-not-be-the-fences.html?mcubz=0

Markusen, A. R., and Gadwa Nicodemus, A. (2010). *Creative Placemaking*. Washington, DC: Mayors' Institute on City Design and the National Endowment for the Arts. www.nea.gov/pub/CreativePlacemaking-Paper.pdf

Markusen, A. R., Lee, Y. S., and DiGiovanna, S. (eds) (1999). *Second Tier Cities: Rapid Growth Beyond the Metropolis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McCann, E. (2011). Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101(1): 107–30.

Mossberger, K., and Stoker, G. (2001). The Evolution of Urban Regime Theory: The Challenge of Conceptualization. *Urban Affairs Review* 36(6): 810–35.

Moss Kanter, R. (1995). Thriving Locally in the Global Economy. *Harvard Business Review*, 'Best of 1995': 1–11.

Németh, Á. (2016). European Capitals of Culture: Digging Deeper into the Governance of the Mega-event. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4(1): 52–74.

Orsman, B. (2016). Auckland's Brand Not so Desired. *New Zealand Herald*, 12 Nov. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11746553

Podestà, M., and Richards, G. (2017). Creating Knowledge Spillovers through Knowledge Based Festivals: The Case of Mantua. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2017.1344244

Rachman, T. (2016). For Hieronymus Bosch, One Helluva Homecoming. *New York Times*, 4 Mar. www.nytimes.com/2016/03/05/arts/design/for-hieronymus-bosch-one-hell-of-a-homecoming.html?mcubz=0

Ratcliffe, J. S. (n.d.). Competitive Cities: Five Keys to Success. www.chforum.org/library/compet_cities.shtml

Rennen, W. (2007). *CityEvents: Place Selling in a Media Age*. Amsterdam: Vossiuspers

Richards, G. (2017). From Place Branding to Placemaking: The Role of Events. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 8(1): 8–23.

Richards, G., and Palmer, R. (2010). *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*. London: Routledge.

Richards, G., and Rotariu, I. (2015). Developing the Eventful City in Sibiu, Romania. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 1(2): 89–102.

Rifkin, J. (2005). When Markets Give Way to Networks… Everything Is a Service. In J. Hartley (ed.), *Creative Industries*, 361–73. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rotterdam Festivals (2016). *Jaarverslag*. Rotterdam: Rotterdam Festivals.

Sorensen, A. (2002). *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge.

Sorensen, A., Marcotullio, P. J., and Grant, G. (2017). *Towards Sustainable Cities: East Asian, North American and European Perspectives on Managing Urban Regions*. London: Routledge.

Stone, C. N. (1989). *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946–1988*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Stooke, A. (2016). Hieronymus Bosch, "Visions of Genius", Het Noordbrabants Museum: A Tour de Force. Review, *Daily Telegraph*, 11 Feb.

Todd, L., Leask, A., and Ensor, J. (2017). Understanding Primary Stakeholders' Multiple Roles in Hallmark Event Tourism Management. *Tourism Management* 59: 494–509.

Verwijnen, J. (1999). The Creative City's New Field Condition. In J. Verwijnen and P. Lehtovuori (eds), *Creative Cities. Cultural Industries, Urban Development and the Information Society*, 12–35. Helsinki: University of Art and Design.

Yang, R. J. (2014). An Investigation of Stakeholder Analysis in Urban Development Projects: Empirical or Rationalistic Perspectives. *International Journal of Project Management* 32(5): 838–49.

4 The Art of Collaboration

Finding External Partners and Keeping Them on Board

Collaboration as a New Mindset

The basic art of collaboration for cities lies in creating shared interests – convincing people to think not only "What can the city do for me?" but also "What can we all do for the city?" The external networks developed by 's-Hertogenbosch and other cities have proved crucial in helping them to achieve things the city alone could not. This chapter considers the principle of "network value" applied to smaller cities.

We have already seen that small cities operate in an expanding universe. They should increasingly think about strategies that fit not just the local or regional context, but also national, continental, or global agendas. Scaling up to these levels requires collaboration. Collaboration with partners in the city or local region is one option, but finding partners nationally or internationally is increasingly important.

Collaboration also requires a new mindset for small cities. Cities have long been told they need to compete to survive. The literature is full of league tables and rankings designed to show who is competing best. But a major shortcoming of most studies is that they tell you how to compete (for example by attracting more creatives), but they don't tell you how to collaborate effectively. In the previous chapter we underlined the fact that you don't have to own all the resources you need to make your city successful; you can also borrow resources from other places. But this requires a collaborative as well as a competitive mindset.

Competing well in the contemporary economy means collaborating well, even with those you consider to be your competitors. For cities this can be broader than the "coopetition" practiced by many companies, who collaborate when it is opportune and compete when necessary. It includes the idea that just as cities provide public goods for their citizens, they can also provide public goods that they and other cities can use to improve themselves. This is clear in the development of city networks, where knowledge about best practice is freely shared. But networks can also be developed for specific strategic purposes.

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-4
This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

These kinds of networks facilitate not just the stakeholders of the city itself, but also non-stakeholders as well. The basic principle is that an improvement in the performance of individual cities benefits all cities and their stakeholders in the longer run.

Towards New Forms of Partnership

The shift from linear models of value creation based on specific value chains to models of network value creation has important implications for cities as well as companies. The growing linkage of cities, companies, and individuals in the network society means that value can be created through networks as well as through traditional value chains. Many studies underline the importance of a city's embeddedness in large-scale networks of all kinds – firms, capital, knowledge, people, goods – for its performance (Taylor 2003; Bel and Fageda 2008; Neal 2013). We are used to the idea that being the member of a network brings benefits to its members, but in fact, being a member of a network is not enough.

The city also needs to choose a position in its networks, and understand how to extract value from them. Increased network embeddedness is arguably a measure of how well cities know their networks and can take advantage of the opportunities they offer. As Ward Rennen (2007) shows, the creation of value is the result of interactions between networks of actors in the city and beyond. The concept of network value (explained in more detail later in this chapter) improves on Porter's (2008) value chain analysis, which is rigid and sequential. In a network, other actors may benefit first, others may benefit more, but the important point for the city is to extract the value it needs from its networks.

The way in which value is being generated in networks is also changing. Peter Hesseldahl (2017) argues that in the "WE-economy", what matters are solutions made for the particular context rather than products and services. "New value is created through digital platforms, which coordinate networks of co-creators – not internally in companies, at factories or offices." Traditional roles such as employer, employee, consumer, citizen, planner, or politician lose their meaning. The norms of social obligations and the distribution of profits in society are challenged, so that the city which wants to benefit all of its users needs to think in new ways about the nature of those benefits. In the future, the city may have to think about itself more as a "platform". Platforms, Hesseldahl explains, "coordinate available resources into solutions. Platforms match suppliers and users. Platforms enable interaction and collaboration in the superstructure."

As Hessaldahl (2017) notes, there is a contradiction in the new networked economy: "We need to build trust and relationships, we need collaborators and communities. On the other hand, the flexibility we

demand, requires that our connections are loose and interchangeable." So the city needs not just the tight bonds that are forged by close collaboration within the city, but also the looser alliances that can be forged with those in other cities. This chapter draws out some of the major challenges and opportunities facing cities as they strive to increase their network value.

The Where of Network Building

Short (2017) notes that there is now a "global urban network" in which ideas and models tend to circulate. Cities are learning from each other, and forging partnerships that can support learning and other mutual benefits. Small cities, however, may think they cannot operate in these global networks, and instead look to those close at hand; regional or national collaborators. The example of 's-Hertogenbosch illustrates that networking has to be pursued at many different levels simultaneously to maximize the benefits. There is a basic division between the global "space of flows", dominated by larger urban centres, and the "space of places", or the realm of everyday life, which is usually the primary focus of small cities (Borja et al. 1997). The place of spaces is fragmented, and economic reach is limited. To operate in the global space of flows, smaller cities need to build new relationships that can articulate the global and the local levels.

We saw in Chapter 3 that the competitive environment of cities forces them to think about both internal and external stakeholders. In building networks, in linking to the wider world, there is also the question of whether our partners should be close to home or far away. Seeking partners in our own backyard has the advantage that we know who we are dealing with, and we may have a shared culture that eases collaboration. On the other hand, the closest neighbours are often perceived as our biggest competitors, so there is a tendency to look for partners further afield, where new opportunities can also be found. Meijers, Burger, and Hoogerbrugge (2016) present some evidence that the effects of (inter)national networking are greater than those of regional networking. Working with the places around you may mean that you are fishing in the same pool; wider connections bring new ideas and new opportunities.

Growing experience of networking also means that cities increasingly recognize the virtues of collaboration in many different ambits. Graham (1995) noted that competitive urban strategies of the 1980s were complemented in the 1990s by a greater balance between competition and collaboration. This was partly achieved by inter-urban network formation. But there was a lack of research to distil the lessons of collaborative strategies. Cities involved in networks often go through a steep learning curve, which can be difficult in the early stages of network formation but which often bears fruit in the long run (see Box 4.1).

Box 4.1 The challenge of local networking: Brabantstad, the Netherlands

Brabantstad is a network of five cities in the Province of North Brabant in the Netherlands. 's-Hertogenbosch is a member of this network, together with Eindhoven, Helmond, Breda, and Tilburg.

The process of network development went through a number of phases spanning over 15 years. During that time the cities, working together with the province, forged links and developed joint actions. These activities were progressively marked by increasing mutual trust, learning, and confidence in the power of the network. As Ton Rombouts remarked: "First talking, then going to get money together is easy, and costs nothing. Then it was investing together. You had to invest yourself, so why not multiply resources by investing together? The next phase was giving. Not just being in the network to take something for yourself, but working to improve the network so that everybody benefits more."

Not only did the cities learn from the successes of collaboration, but lessons were also drawn from failure, such as the 2018 European Capital of Culture bid. A report compiled by the city of Helmond, one of the participants in the Brabant bid for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC), reflected on what had been learned (Gemeente Helmond 2013). The joint funding of the ECOC bid was recognized as a big step further in cooperation in Brabantstad. Even though each city had its own priorities, which meant that the programming was in many cases predetermined, they managed to reach agreement on a very complex financial model. "Looking back, it can be concluded that, given the complexity of the project, the cooperation in Brabantstad has achieved a great deal."

Among the lessons learned from the ECOC collaboration were:

- Intense administrative cooperation based on a shared ambition, gives opportunities to raise quality throughout the Province.
- Common goals must be balanced to reflect the profiles and interests of each of the partners.
- The involvement of civil-society organizations provides vital support and new connections, implying that steering should be bottom-up rather than top down.
- Broad embedding in social and policy areas is necessary, as is the realization that "culture" implies more than just the cultural sector.

(*Continued*)

- Joint investment creates a horizontal working community, which optimizes the production of energy, knowledge, experience, and networks.
- Involvement of formal bodies (municipalities and regions) is a way of safeguarding the ambition.

In the case of Brabantstad it seems that such inter-city networks can deliver benefits to the partner cities, but it is necessary to invest together in order to make the most of the opportunities available and to gain leverage in other networks.

Networks and Knowledge Flows

Knowledge is arguably the most important resource that circulates in social networks. Simmie (2003: 43) emphasizes that "one of the essential inputs to innovation is new knowledge". In the traditional view of economic clusters, knowledge dissemination is facilitated by spatial proximity of producers, leading to the spillover of knowledge in knowledge-rich urban environments. Large cities are generally seen as the hubs in knowledge networks, fuelled by the large number of face-to-face contacts that they offer. But the knowledge hegemony of large cities is increasingly being challenged by the development of new communication technologies, which make it possible for people to be connected even in the smallest places.

Face-to-face contacts in larger places of course increase the embeddedness and trust in knowledge exchange, but there are also alternative mechanisms emerging. The sharing economy, for example, is largely based on new mechanisms for building trust in the absence of personal contact. The growing mobility of professionals and the increase in events designed to provide temporary meeting spaces for different fields or sectors means that we can meet many people that we do not have close contact with in our own city.

As Joks Jansen stressed in his interview, there is a need for cities to develop networks in order to use knowledge effectively. Cities have long been able to do this through formal knowledge institutions such as universities (see Chapter 2), but other options now exist. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, the city was long disadvantaged by the lack of a university. It had tried since the 1940s to persuade the Ministry of Education that it was worthy of one, but the choice fell on nearby Tilburg instead. Decades later the city decided to found its own knowledge institution, the Jheronimus Academy of Data Science (JADS). 's-Hertogenbosch partnered with Eindhoven University of Technology and Tilburg University, the two existing universities in the Province of

North Brabant, to make this possible. The Academy itself recognizes its role as a hub of knowledge flows, globally and locally. in its vision: "JADS serves as an ecosystem in the province North-Brabant, focusing on value creation for business and society based on data insights with a foundation in education and research."

Of course, one of the essential qualities of knowledge is its mobility. This is one of the important drivers of "knowledge spillover" in traditional cluster theory; co-location of companies benefits them through the knowledge that flows from one to another:

> activity in one area has a subsequent broader impact on places, society or the economy through the overflow of concepts, ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital. Spillovers can take place over varying time frames and can be intentional or unintentional, planned or unplanned, direct or indirect, negative as well as positive.
>
> (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy 2015: 15)

The transfer of knowledge from one city to another can therefore be beneficial, allowing cities to innovate, develop new ideas, services, and facilities. But there is also the potential for negative impacts, such as other cities copying ideas and devaluing the original idea. So how can cities ensure that they benefit from the knowledge that they generate and invest in?

Our research on knowledge-based festivals shows that embedding knowledge in place is extremely important in maximizing the value of knowledge creation and ensuring positive rather than negative knowledge spillovers between places. In the case of a literary festival, such as Festivaletteratura in Mantua, Italy, the generation and circulation of knowledge is facilitated by a range of mobile actors, including authors, literary agents, the media, and festival volunteers (Podestà and Richards 2017). The key to embedding the knowledge produced into the festival location is to develop long-term, reciprocal relationships with these groups. Authors and volunteers who return year after year help to embed the knowledge produced in the small city of Mantua as the "hub" of knowledge production. This is the same process 's-Hertogenbosch has tried to stimulate through establishing the Hieronymus Bosch Research and Conservation Project and the Bosch Cities Network, as the next section describes.

Network Development in 's-Hertogenbosch

Network development was an important driver for the Bosch500 programme. Networks were developed in most cases by the organizing body, the Bosch500 Foundation, and covered a wide range of areas linked to

Photo 4.1 Bosch Young Talent Show (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

the main elements of the programme. The networks were local, regional, national, and international in scope.

At local and regional level more than 150 organizations were involved, from institutions such as the Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre, municipalities, marketing organizations such as Visit Brabant, and commercial organizations such as the Efteling theme park. At national level, partners included the Dutch Wind Ensemble, Avans Hogeschool, and the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions (NBTC). International contacts came mainly through the Bosch Cities Network and the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (see below).

The possibility for a small city such as ‘s-Hertogenbosch to create networks and to take a leading position with the support of the partners was a serious challenge. Achieving this goal requires a major effort from a small city, particularly when it has a relatively weak position in terms of the ownership of resources (in this case paintings by Bosch). A number of tools were used to secure the city’s position in the different networks:

- Knowledge: bringing together an expert team and linking them to the city.
- Innovation: using the latest research and restoration techniques.
- Money: the city managed to access different sources of government funds, subsidies, and sponsorship.
- Urgency: the “now or never” deadline of 2016 worked as an accelerator for the project.
- Inspiration: by using Bosch and his timeless, universal themes as inspiration for collaboration and co-productions.

- Lobbying: lobby work was conducted at the highest levels, including the national government, Minsters, Dutch embassies, and the Dutch royal family.
- Sympathy for the underdog: a small city with big dreams can count on a fair amount of sympathy, and that can work in its favour against larger players, as the episode with the Prado Museum showed (see Box 4.2).

The major networks used to support these strategies are described below.

International Knowledge Network: Bosch Research and Conservation Project

The most important international network – the "core" network – that laid the basis for the success of the Bosch programme was the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP). This network was the result of an innovative strategy developed with the Noordbrabants Museum and the Radboud University in Nijmegen. The essence of the plan was that 's-Hertogenbosch would use the 500th anniversary of Bosch's death to take the lead in a major research and restoration project. Although Bosch's work has been researched by the different museums that own them, this research took place at different times, using different techniques and equipment. The new project was a chance to develop a comparative overview of all Bosch's work.

A multidisciplinary team of scientists and photographers travelled to as many museums as possible in the period 2010–2015. They worked with local conservators and restorers to study and document the works, using modern techniques with standardized procedures. Most of the works attributed to Bosch were examined, with infrared photography and macro-photography providing high-resolution images that provided new insights into the works. In Venice, a triptych from the collection of the Gallerie dell'Accademia was restored, and in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges, the *Last Judgement*. At the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam, the only Dutch museum with works by Bosch, a painting of St Christopher was restored, and in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, *St Jerome at Prayer* was intensively restored.

The research was initiated by the Bosch500 Foundation, the Noordbrabants Museum, and the Radboud University in Nijmegen, supported by Queen's University, Kingston (Ontario, Canada), and Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg (SRAL) in Maastricht. The project was coordinated by Dr Matthijs Ilsink, art historian at Radboud University. The team delivered new attributions, which were joyfully announced, but also uncovered paintings formerly attributed to Bosch that were not made by the artist himself. This led to disappointment, intense discussions, criticism, and irritated museum directors. The work of the BRCP laid the basis for discussions about the loan of works, and the

Noordbrabants Museum managed to agree a number of contracts with other museums. At the same time the Bosch500 Foundation helped to gather funding for the exhibition.

The research was overseen by a scientific committee composed of an international group of researchers, restorers, and conservationists. Members came from institutes such as the Prado Museum in Madrid, the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

International Cultural Network: Bosch Cities Network

The Bosch Cities Network illustrates some important principles of networking for small cities. The network established by 's-Hertogenbosch to create links with the cities that hold paintings by Hieronymus Bosch brought together some ostensibly unequal partners. The network included the cities of Berlin, Bruges, Brussels, Frankfurt, Ghent, Lisbon, London, Madrid, New Haven, New York, Paris, Rotterdam, Venice, Vienna and Washington. Many of these cities would count themselves as "world cities".

's-Hertogenbosch was able to establish itself as the hub in an international network thanks to the power of the story of Bosch. The city played such a strong role in the life of the painter that even 500 years later it was impossible to separate him from his birthplace. This is very different from the histories of modern painters, who are often very mobile during their lifetime (Picasso, for example). The international contacts provided by the network were used to develop exhibitions, dance and theatre performances, festivals, cultural routes, films, animation, games, apps, and more. It was also the basis for exchange projects and co-productions in 's-Hertogenbosch and many of the partner cities, which will also have an effect long beyond 2016.

Particular attention was paid to museums that have works by Bosch. These contacts were used to develop collaboration with cultural institutions in 's-Hertogenbosch, especially with festivals. These collaborations supported the exchange of ideas and the development of co-productions that brought artists and makers into contact with each other. These contacts led to co-productions at festivals in 's-Hertogenbosch in 2014, 2015, and 2016.

For example, in 2014 the B-Project was presented during the Cement Festival in 's-Hertogenbosch. This included a series of performances around five young choreographers from the UK, France, Belgium, Italy, and Austria inspired by panels by Bosch from museums in London, Paris, Rotterdam, Venice, and Vienna. The artists then travelled in 2014 and 2015 to these different European cities to perform their choreography there. This led to a follow-up project called Dancing Museums, which also attracted funding from the European Union programme Creative Europe.

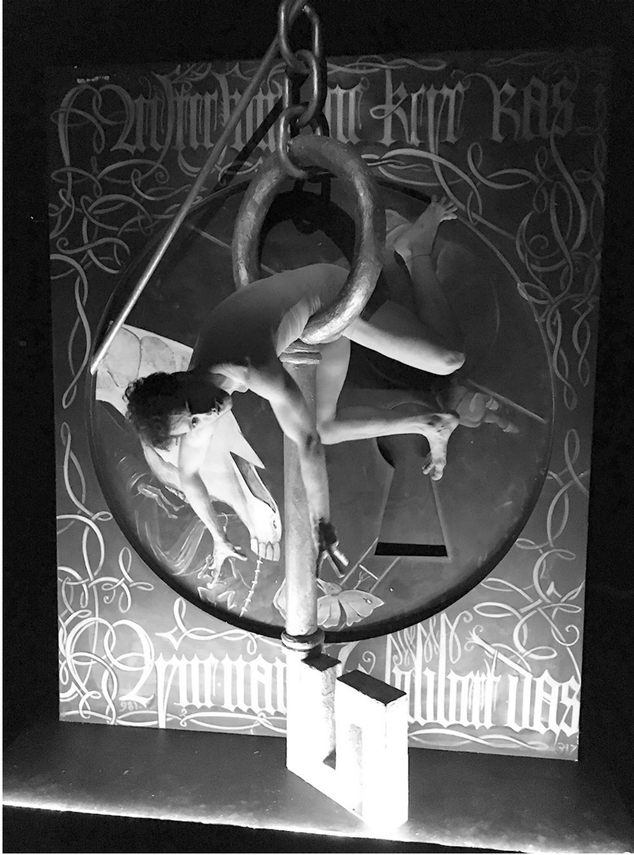


Photo 4.2 "Hieronymus B", performance by the Dance Company Nanine Linning, a co-production of the Bosch Cities Network (photo: Lian Duif).

Major partners include the National Gallery in London and the Louvre in Paris, but the project also included MAC/VAL museum in Vitry-sur-Seine in France and the Ceramics Museum in Bassano del Grappa in Italy.

In 2015 the performance *In Search of Europe* by the Zuidelijk Toneel theatre company attracted much attention. This project was developed by Lucas Man and Matthijs Rümke on the basis of a European journey during the course of which they spoke to experts on Bosch, Thomas More, Copernicus, Luther, and Machiavelli about the period of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. In 2016 the Bosch Cities Network commissioned the opera *Bosch Beach*, composed by Vasco Mendonça (Lisbon), based on a libretto by Dimitri Verhulst (Gent). Director Kris Verdonck translated Bosch's juxtaposition of heaven and

hell into a modern context. The opera is set on the white beaches of Lampedusa in Italy, where tourists lie sunbathing while refugees wash up in rickety boats. The opera travelled to Bruges, Gent, ‘s-Hertogenbosch (during the November music festival), Lisbon, Frankfurt, and Brussels. The dance production *Hieronymus Bosch, the Garden of Earthly Delights* by the Marie Chouinard Company, a production within the Bosch Cities Network, is still touring in Europe and North and South America.

The network established by the small city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch managed to stimulate a vast quantity of cultural work inspired by Bosch, which in turn helped to feed and support the network itself.

Efteling–Heritage Network: Bosch Experience

Bosch drew his inspiration from the city of ‘s-Hertogenbosch *c*.1500, from the perspective of his atelier on the market place. The link between painter and city is a fertile source of inspiration for storytelling: stories about the painter, his work, his time, and his city. The Bosch500 Foundation sought new, exciting perspectives to give shape to the painter and his story. The search for inspiration led to an unexpected network based on the link between cultural heritage and the world of edutainment. Together with the largest theme park in the Netherlands, the Efteling, and various heritage organizations, a concept was developed for an experience route in the city of the painter: the Bosch Experience.

The basis for this concept was the fact that the most important of Bosch’s works, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, did not feature in the exhibition. Instead, an experience concept was developed to turn the city itself into a giant representation of this famous painting. Through the

Photo 4.3 Local children participate in Bosch Experience (photo: Lian Duif).

placement of three-dimensional giant versions of Bosch figures around the city, visitors could experience the painting at first hand, and also gain new perspectives on the world of Bosch. This trail in his footsteps generated an interesting collaboration between cultural heritage and a leisure attraction. The Bosch Experience allowed the public to encounter Bosch and his world in an attractive and accessible way. The Garden of Earthly Delights game on the Bosch app allowed children and adults to hunt Bosch's creations in the city centre. The Heaven and Hell cruise on the medieval river channel around the city included video mapping images projected from the boat onto the walls of the "hell hole". The Miraculous Climb to the roof of the Saint John's Cathedral brought visitors eye to eye with the grotesque figures on the gable. The Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre presented reproductions of the works of Bosch, which remained after 2016.

The final element of the Bosch Experience was the light and sound show "Bosch by Night" in the market square. This 15-minute projection brought Hieronymus Bosch to life in the place where he made his masterpieces: his atelier-residence. The displays were supposed to start soon after the opening of the exhibition in the Noordbrabants Museum, but the start had to be delayed when two of the facades that formed part of the "screen" collapsed. When the "Bosch by Night" show finally started, it proved a good means of persuading people to stay longer in the city. As the projections could only start after dark, people had to wait, and were therefore more likely to spend money in the city. Research indicated that over 30% of visitors ended up staying longer in the city than they had planned to. This provided a positive impulse for the shops and restaurants in the city. A total of around 50,000 people saw the shows, which lasted until December 2016.

Photo 4.4 "Bosch by Night" show in the market square (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

The "Bosch Experience Route" also offered other possibilities for the shops and restaurants to participate in marketing activities. The "Bosch Specials" campaign included specially designed material to turn shop displays into a Garden of Earthly Delights. The Bosch Experience Route included participation from the Saint John's Cathedral; the Friends of 's-Hertogenbosch; the Jheronimus Bosch Art Center; the Confraternity of the Illustrious Lady; the Groot Tuighuis Museum; SOCH (a group of shops and restaurants in the city centre); and the Efteling theme park.

Brabant Museums Network: Bosch Grand Tour

Collaboration around the programming and collective marketing of the seven large museums in the Province of Brabant was initiated by the Bosch500 Foundation. Under the banner of the Bosch Grand Tour, the museums presented 13 exhibitions that formed the backbone of a year-long cultural programme. The Noordbrabants Museum and the Stedelijk Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch, the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, the Museum of the Image (MOTI) in Breda, and the Textile Museum, Natuurmuseum Brabant, and De Pont in Tilburg all exhibited contemporary interpretations of Bosch themes and the world of the medieval painter.

The programme included works by many leading contemporary artists, including Jan Fabre, Jan van Eyck, Pieter Breughel de Jonge, Gurt Swanenberg, Jeroen Kooijmans, Nacho Carbonell, Fernando Sánchez Castillo, Jake and Dinos Chapman, Gabriel Lester, Pipilotti Rist, Joep van Lieshout, Persijn Broersen, Floris Kaayk, and Studio Smack.

Photo 4.5 Bosch Grand Tour exhibition "New Lusts", Moti Breda (photo: Lian Duif).

This was the first time that these museums had ever worked so intensively together – even though the province has other possible collective themes, such as the work of Vincent van Gogh. The programme attracted large numbers of visitors from the Netherlands and internationally, far exceeding the original target of 260,000 (see Chapter 7), and also created much more media attention than the individual museums could have achieved on their own.

This collaboration was unique in terms of both programming and marketing. The aims of the programme as formulated by the museums were:

- to strengthen the image of Brabant as a cultural region, particularly in terms of art and culture;
- to increase the number of visitors from outside the region, both national and international;
- to increase the visibility of the major museums in Brabant;
- to develop a sustainable product–market combination on the basis of the Bosch Grand Tour;
- to develop cross-selling between the different museums;
- to lay the basis for a common marketing, press, and communications strategy with a shared brand.

Audience development was also seen in terms of repeat visits and a growth in visitors over the age of 60. Some museums also saw a growth in group visits.

Ad ‘s-Gravesande also noted other effects of this regional collaboration. Because ‘s-Hertogenbosch had insufficient hotel capacity, many visitors stayed in other cities in the region. The Bosch500 Foundation therefore used projects such as the Bosch Grand Tour and the Fanfari Bombari project for local musical groups to create closer links between Bosch and the wider region of Brabant.

Photo 4.6 Artworks inspired by Bosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

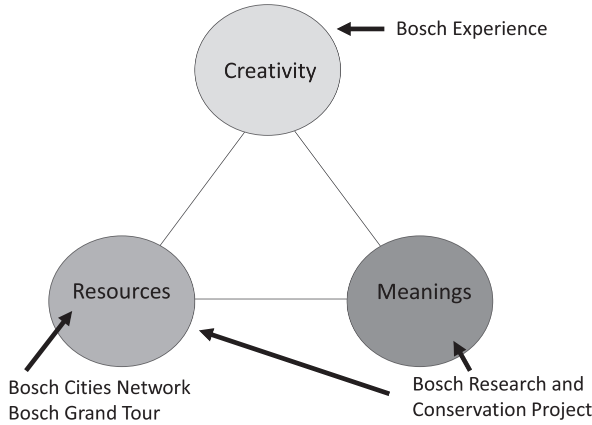


Figure 4.1 The contribution of networks to the main elements of placemaking.

The Networks in a Placemaking Perspective

Each of the different networks formed by 's-Hertogenbosch had its own role in supporting the Bosch500 programme and contributing to the placemaking process (see Figure 4.1). The most crucial network was the BRCP, which produced the knowledge that supported the programme, created attention and helped to position 's-Hertogenbosch at the centre of the other networks and secure the Bosch legacy for the city. Having put itself at the hub of the Bosch Cities Network, 's-Hertogenbosch could secure the paintings, the vital resource that supported the Bosch500 programme. But given the need to fill the gap left by the absence of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (which remained in the Prado), the city also needed to bring the painting to life by recreating it in the physical spaces of the city. It did this with the help of the Efteling theme park, who also helped to develop the projection staged in the market square during 2016.

What's In It for Us and Them?

What induces cities to work together rather than compete? Size is here also an issue, because smaller cities often need to collaborate in order to achieve things. But in essence, all cities can be persuaded to collaborate if they perceive it is beneficial to do so. This is the basic idea behind Social Exchange Theory (Homans 1958): people will collaborate as long as the benefits of collaboration outweigh the costs.

But the benefits gained by the cities working together don't have to be equal in terms of quality or quantity. In the BRCP, for example, 's-Hertogenbosch offered knowledge and resources to other cities in return for the loan of Bosch's paintings. Most cities were happy to have their priceless works researched and restored in lieu of a loan or fees,

but ironically the closest of the Bosch cities, Rotterdam, wanted a fee for their loans, offset by the restoration costs. This underlines the fact that not everybody will be satisfied with the same benefits – the "What's in it for me?" will depend a lot on their own priorities, a challenge recognized in the case of the Brabantstad network (Box 4.1).

According to Gray (1985), collaboration does not mean compromise or giving up power; rather, it is about sharing power, although this requires any existing power disparities to be rectified first. A good example of how pre-existing power disparities can negatively affect network collaboration can be found in Larson's (2009) "political market square" model (introduced in Chapter 3). She describes how the interactions are determined by the interests (goals, values, desires, expectations) of actors, which will cause them to behave in certain ways. Actors with mutual interests will tend to collaborate, while actors with opposing interests tend to play power games. In the short term, opposing interests may lead to conflict, although in the longer term Larson noted a tendency for conflict to be replaced by collaboration, as actors became more focused on mutual interests.

In many networks, therefore, collaboration can coexist with competition. This goes against the "mantra" of inter-city competition that has been prevalent for decades (Pasquinelli 2013), but it is a phenomenon that has become so prevalent in the contemporary economy that it was dubbed "coopetition" in the case of firms by Dagnino and Padula (2002). Traditionally, cities have competed against one another for resources, power, and attention. But they are now recognizing, along with many companies, that competition and collaboration can often be combined. Poisson-de Haro and Myard (2017) identify a number of instances, largely drawn from the cultural and creative sectors, where coopetition is successfully practiced, including the Italian opera world and museum marketing networks. The process of coopetition is illustrated in Montreal, Canada, where a total of approximately 40 companies and hundreds of artists make their living in the circus industry. Montreal is recognized around the world for its circus arts, and its many companies simultaneously collaborate while also being in competition with each other. Poisson-de Haro and Myard (2017) show how a coopetive network approach in Montreal can ameliorate challenges including labour shortages and the interplay between creativity, innovation, and profitability. For example, consumers need constant new product offerings, yet this need for novelty is correlated with the difficulty of anticipating the success of a particular project. Poisson-de Haro and Myard (2017) found that several structural factors encourage the emergence of coopetition: a lack of resources, government support, uncertainty as a result of creativity, and network dynamics.

Coopetive situations require an understanding of the balance between the competitive and cooperative aspects that coexist simultaneously. To mitigate competitive tendencies, the advantages of cooperation must also

be obvious and clearly established. Firstly, identifying a common objective at the outset helps to reduce uncertainty and to divide tasks fairly in order to establish a common goal. Secondly, the goal of cooperation implies a research process that goes beyond short-term economic interests.

According to Thibert (2015a), there is little research on what collaboration between cities can achieve. This is because different types of collaboration have different effects, the effects of collaboration may not be immediately apparent, and collaboration is often a strategy to avoid taking action:

> collaboration begets collaboration and can be effective under certain conditions and over time, but collaboration itself often is not enough to move the needle, at least not for the kinds of urgent problems our cities and regions are facing.
>
> (Thibert 2015b)

Cities, as relatively complex bodies, often find themselves competing with other cities, but also needing to collaborate with those same cities to meet their goals. This is a fairly common situation in tourism, for example, where at the level of individual cities each might be competing with its neighbours to maximize its own tourist revenue, but will also gain from collaborative marketing to increase the appeal of the region as a whole, and therefore the flow of tourists to all cities in the region.

As Pasquinelli (2013) points out, coopetition strategies may be difficult to apply to cities, because of increased complexity, differing aims, and issues of ownership. Even so, coopetition may be a more natural way forward for cities than for many firms. “Cooperation across administrative borders is, thus, a way to deal with global competition and enhance competitiveness for those places that share networks of services, and businesses” (Pasquinelli 2013: 3).

Cities ultimately have a number of reasons for wanting to engage in coopetive arrangements: firstly, to reduce the cost of operations or services, secondly, to increase the scope of action, particularly at the international scale, and thirdly, to exploit opportunities available at higher administrative levels (such as the European Union).

Symbolic facilities and events play an important role in in developing collaborative networks, such as the Øresund Bridge between Denmark and Sweden or the European Capital of Culture. Even though such grand gestures can provide a symbolic focus for coopetive networking, this strategy is not without problems. Pasquinelli (2013) argues that interterritorial brands can suffer from a lack of authority and legitimacy. This is particularly true when political ambitions are high and ideas abstract, removed from the daily lives of voters. Hospers (2006) argues that this is the case for the Øresund Euroregion, and it is also true of the Luxemburg Greater Region idea linked to the 2007 ECOC

(Luxemburg and Greater Region 2008). As Pasquinelli (2013) points out, there are often political ambitions behind a cross-border networking project which are often removed from pure "market" rationale, and thus from pragmatism. This means that other partners also have to be introduced to the rhetoric of the project and be persuaded that the ends justify the means. In some cases this may work, in others it may not (Box 4.2).

Box 4.2 Building a relationship with the Prado Museum in Madrid

's-Hertogenbosch is not the only city with a special relationship with Hieronymus Bosch. Madrid can also claim a strong link to Bosch (or *el Bosco*, as he is known in Spanish) because of the paintings that Spanish King Phillip II collected for his palaces there.

The Prado was a natural partner in the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP), and Madrid was one of the key members of the Bosch Cities Network. These links with Madrid were carefully cultivated through diplomatic overtures that included the patronage of the royal families of the Netherlands and Spain. They were also developed with the help of the Carlos de Amberes Foundation in Madrid. His Majesty King Juan Carlos is a member of the Foundation, as is the Ambassador of the Kingdom of The Netherlands to Madrid.

However, the relationship with the Prado proved problematic, because the Madrid museum saw itself as a much more important player than 's-Hertogenbosch and its small, provincial museum. Once 's-Hertogenbosch had developed the concept for the exhibition, it was relatively easy for the Prado to stage its own exhibition immediately afterwards, benefiting from much of the legwork done by the Dutch city. The relationship was further strained by the reattributions of works in the Prado to followers of Bosch, a finding of the BRCP that the Prado refused to accept.

Further problems in the relationship also emerged when the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam requested a loan of the *Haywain* picture from the Prado in the period just before the exhibition in 's-Hertogenbosch. This took the premiere for this painting away from Bosch's home city.

Although the relationship with the Prado proved problematic for 's-Hertogenbosch, the publicity around the findings of the research project ultimately created far more attention as a result of the Prado's complaints. The behaviour of the larger museum was not seen in a good light, and created sympathy for the underdog (see also Chapter 6).

The evidence suggests that physical and symbolic icons help to consolidate international networks (Pasquinelli 2013). Because networks are intangible relational structures, it seems they need to be made more tangible in order to supply a sense of place and/or purpose for the network. In contrast to place-branding strategies that rely directly on the DNA of a specific place, collaborative networks depend on symbolic representations to generate meaning, values and identity. Equally importantly, these symbols also help to focus the attention of network members on the steps that need to be taken to achieve the programme goals, and therefore to maintain momentum.

A city's dreams can provide the initial impetus for collaboration or co-opetive relationships, but these must be pragmatically based in concrete benefits for the partners. In the case of the Bosch500 networks, all the Bosch Cities could benefit from the research and conservation work on the paintings as well as from the increased attention focused on Hieronymus Bosch himself. The museums could hope to benefit from increased visitor numbers, and the Efteling increased its own expertise in staging cultural experiences and working with partners in the heritage field. The heritage organizations in the city had increased visitor numbers and an improved visitor experience.

Building Knowledge Networks

It is perhaps natural for cities to think about collaboration with other places primarily in political or policy terms. But policy networks alone are not enough, because the complexity of urban problems means that administrations cannot deal with them on their own. For example, in the field of urban ecosystems, Ernstson et al. (2010) shows that no single public body is capable of dealing with ecological issues, and that involving civil society networks is more effective.

This echoes the findings of the research by Ferilli, Sacco, and Noda (2015) in Japan, where they find bottom-up approaches to be more effective in stimulating growth in small cities (see Chapter 2). The indications are that collaboration through quintuple helix models incorporating public administrations, business, the voluntary sector, citizens, and knowledge institutions are a good starting point. The innovations produced by such networks are not just technological, but can also include products, services, and social innovation. Baccarne et al. (2016) conclude that the quintuple helix is a useful concept to understand and analyse how knowledge is created and exchanged in an urban environment. They note that helix models have a strong theoretical nature, but that one approach that tries to implement such models in a structured way is the "living lab" approach.

Living Labs (LLs) are defined by the European Network of Living Labs (ENoLL) as "user-centred, open innovation ecosystems based on

systematic user co-creation approach, integrating research and innovation processes in real life communities and settings" (ENoLL 2017). Living Labs incorporate practice-driven organizations that facilitate open, collaborative innovation, as well as real-life settings where these innovations can be analysed and assessed. Living Labs mediate between different stakeholders, such as citizens, research organizations, companies, cities, and regions, to support value co-creation and rapid implementation of innovations.

Knowledge networks should involve a wide range of stakeholders who can give us access to the knowledge and resources we need to both compete and collaborate effectively. Some cities have done particularly well in implementing a quadruple or quintuple helix model:

> Eindhoven in the North Brabant region of the Netherlands is a good example of a city that is doing nearly everything right by building a close relationship between city, the universities and research centres and the SMEs.
>
> (Baccarne et al. 2016)

Such successful collaboration models in cities are often the result of well-structured placemaking initiatives. The provision of new spaces for the different network actors to meet becomes particularly important in this regard.

Stimulating Collaboration: Meeting Spaces, Places, and Moments

As Cohendet et al. (2010) argue in the case of the "creative city", knowledge transfer takes place within defined circuits between different groups and "scenes" in the creative sector. One of the essential requirements of this system is physical spaces where people can meet and validate new cultural forms, or "playgrounds of creativity" such as cafés, squares, and museum foyers. Such places and events organized in them can be a means of connecting the "underground", "middleground", and "upperground" of the city, as Cohendet et al. describe them.

The upperground is the is "the level of formal institutions such as creative or cultural firms or institutions, whose specific role is to bring creative ideas to the market", and the underground comprises "creative individuals such as artists or other knowledge workers, who are individuals not immediately linked to the commercial and industrial world". These two opposites are linked by the middleground, "which is the level where the work of communities is decisive in designing the grammars of use and other common platforms of knowledge necessary for the knowledge transmission and learning that precedes innovation in those geographically bounded innovative environments" (Cohendet et al. 2010: 92). The

collaboration between these different parts of the system is seen as vital in supporting a healthy cultural and creative economy.

However, collaboration between actors in different parts of the system may be inhibited by the tendency to advance group or institutional interests at the expense of the cultural ecology as a whole. Much of the criticism of creative city policies, for example, has been based on the tendency to further neo-liberal agendas that support consumption rather than production, and formal as opposed to informal structures and processes. In Cohendet et al.'s terms, this has tended to favour the upperground and marginalize the underground, and may actually weaken rather than stimulate creative production. Challenges to the increasingly top-down imposition of creative city policies has therefore begun to emerge, as d'Ovidio and Cossu (2017) find in Milan. They describe the activities of the New Centre for Arts, Culture and Research, which was established in an abandoned building by a group of artists and cultural workers in 2012. They argue that this example of a bottom-up initiative originating in the underground has been successful in supporting different kinds of artists, providing an alternative international artistic node in the city, and providing high-quality, avant-garde culture that otherwise would not be seen.

Most of the analysis of such "creative scenes" has been done in relatively large cities such as Montreal and Barcelona, which have larger creative industries bases. In these cities it seems that links between the three levels are provided by informal public spaces and particularly by events. Many studies of the European Capital of Culture have underlined the role of this event in stimulating collaboration between the different parts of the cultural systems and in giving the network actors new confidence in their activities (Richards, Hitters, and Fernandes 2002). Events can also act as a meeting space for (potential) collaborators. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, Agterberg (2015) showed that participation in the Bosch Parade event (an artistic parade of floats inspired by the works of Hieronymus Bosch on the river in the city centre) led to increased self-respect, self-confidence, and ability to work together for local cultural groups. The event has also helped many stakeholders to improve their networks, and in some cases the Bosch Parade also brought new career opportunities for individuals in the cultural sector. Another advantage for many is the media attention they receive.

In smaller cities, the likelihood that the creative sector will consist of such well-defined layers is much lower. As Teun den Dekker and Marcel Tabbers (2012) argue in the case of the small city of Venlo, in the south of the Netherlands, small cities lack creative critical mass, but they have a more compact "crowd" of creative people who are easy to find and communicate with. Such individuals are arguably also more likely to have affinity with the city and its "DNA" in comparison with the creative class of large cities, who are basically there for the opportunities

and amenities. Venlo is currently redeveloping the "Q4" neighbourhood into a cultural and creative hotspot. This was an area that was affected by problems with population decline, dilapidation, and drug-dealing. The first step in the redevelopment process was to invite the creative crowd in Venlo to move in and kick-start the cultural and social rejuvenation of the area, which now boasts substantial new housing and a new music centre. Similar developments have taken place in other small cities, such as the Portuguese town of Óbidos (Box 4.3).

Box 4.3 Developing the literary village in Óbidos, Portugal

Óbidos is a town of almost 12,000 people one hour north of Portugal's capital city, Lisbon. In 2001 Telmo Faria, the newly elected Mayor, initiated a development strategy called "Creative Óbidos", designed to transform the mainly rural-based economy through culture and creativity. As Faria stated, the work that they started "is based on a crucial idea: We must innovate and develop unique projects when we are faced with a territory that is small or depressed; when we feel that we can only depend on ourselves and on our talents and ideas to turn the situation around." To put the strategy into practice, two municipal companies were created to manage the local initiatives: Óbidos Requalifica and Óbidos Patrimonium. These two municipal companies were designed to make the local administration more nimble. Óbidos Patrimonium oversaw culture and events, while Óbidos Requalifica concentrated on urban regeneration through projects such as the development of the Technology Park of Óbidos.

Between 2008 and 2011, the Municipality led the European Union network URBACT II, "Creative Clusters in Low Density Urban Areas". This international network included a number of other small cities, including Barnsley (UK), Catanzaro and Viareggio (Italy), Enguera (Spain), Hodmezovasarhely (Hungary), and Mizil (Romania). This collaboration led to the "Óbidos, Literary Village" concept, a public–private partnership project using literature as a tool for economic and social development. The city worked with José Pinho, owner of the famous Ler Devagar bookshop in Lisbon, to use literature as a lever to develop the creative industries, provide new creative spaces, and attract creative talent. Through this programme, 11 bookshops opened in the town, as well as new art galleries and new platforms such as Óbidos TV and the Municipal Portal. The number of visitors has increased, and exceeded 135,000 in 2014, 80% of whom were foreign tourists (Centeno 2016). The town gained membership of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network

(*Continued*)

in 2015. The Literary Man hotel opened in 2015, with 30 rooms and 45,000 books. The city is moving from using events with mass appeal, such as the International Chocolate Festival, towards a more diversified and sustainable approach (Selada, Cunha, and Tomaz 2012). To increase its virtual connectivity, the municipality has provided hotspots and public spaces with free internet access.

Telmo Faria completed the maximum term of 12 years as Mayor in 2013, just as the Literary Village concept was being consolidated. The Óbidos events agenda now includes the FOLIO – International Literary Festival, the International Chocolate Festival, the Baroque Music Season, the Contemporary Art Month, the Medieval Fair, the Opera Festival, the Harpsichord Season, and an annual Christmas festival.

Selada et al. (2012) identify the success factors in Óbidos as:

- an integrated strategy combining creative and cultural consumption and production projects with creative education and environmental sustainability;
- creating as well as attracting the creative class, by shifting towards creative education;
- using its geographical embeddedness to anchor network connections with cities in Europe and Portuguese speaking countries such as Brazil;
- emphasizing local identity and DNA, including natural, cultural, historical and symbolic values;
- strong and stable governance.

Even when people are involved in collaborative projects, however, this does not automatically result in collaborative action, even in small cities. In many cases people stick to their own "silos". Breaking down these traditional barriers can be a major task, and often requires the introduction of "turbulence" into the system, either externally (such as adverse macro-economic conditions) or internally (through specific policies to encourage cross sectoral collaboration). Getz (2017) therefore argues that turbulent networks might be more innovative than stable ones.

Taking Position to Create Network Value

As Thibert (2015b) argues, "collaboration may not be enough" to stimulate real change. The important thing for small cities is to make sure that they are in a position to initiate change and influence agendas. When working in networks, an important strategy is to become a hub, and not

just a network node. The hub is where everybody else must come, and that position gives power.

The development of a network hub function is illustrated by Richards and Colombo (2017) using the example of the Sónar Festival. Founded in Barcelona 20 years ago, it has expanded into a global network of electronic music events worldwide. The network value generated by Sónar has different effects for different members of the network. For Barcelona, as the hub of the Sónar network, it creates considerable reputational value as the "place to be and be seen". The convergence of the "scene" on Barcelona in turn generates economic impacts and supports the wider electronic music industry in the city. For the other cities in the Sónar network, the effects depend on the type of event they host, whether it is a "taste of Sónar" that displays artists from elsewhere or a locally embedded event that can build the local music scene. This is an example of a deliberate policy of inter-urban network building that combines the resources, knowledge, and skills available to many cities worldwide. Interestingly, this initiative did not stem from the city of Barcelona itself, but from entrepreneurial activity. This also illustrates that networks can be formed from the bottom up.

The increased benefits from network-based collaboration have been characterized as "network value" by Richards and Colombo (2017: 74), which they define as "the value that can be created through the linkages provided by a network, above the value created by the links available to individual network members alone". This is because:

> network value will tend to increase with the size of the network, as this provides more potential linkages, and therefore opportunities, for each member. In a traditional value chain, economic value is added in each successive level of the chain, in a linear fashion. In a value network, actors may increase the value they can extract not just by expanding the number of network links they have, but also by obtaining a more central role in the network.

Richards and Colombo (2017) identify a number of implications from the concept of network value:

1. Total network value will be positively related to network size. As they grow, network economies increase the benefit to all those connected, producing a win–win situation.
2. Actors will compete to establish a more central position in the network, since this yields greater potential network value.
3. The actual network value available to each actor will depend on their ability to utilize their network linkages and position to extract value from the network.

In many cases the symbolic capital created by achieving a certain position in the "scene" delivers much more value than the purely economic spin-off that most events (including Sónar) usually underline as a major source of value creation (Richards and Colombo 2017: 83).

Box 4.4 Frederikshavn: the Palm Beach of northern Denmark

A palm-fringed beach would not usually be associated with Frederikshavn, perched at the top of Denmark. However, the creation of Palm Beach with imported Italian palm trees became a symbol of change in this small northern Danish city (Lorentzen 2012). Hit hard by unemployment after the closure of the shipyards in the late 1990s, Frederikshavn has developed many innovative projects to attract tourists and new residents. It is aiming to become the first small city in the world to rely exclusively on renewable energy.

The city's slogan, "From shipyard city to host city", marked the new focus on experience creation. Lorentzen (2008) shows that the development of the experience economy in the city was supported by the provision of a number of key permanent experiences (Palm Beach, House of Arts, a new Arena) as well as regular events (Festival of Lights and Rock Party) as well as unique events, such as visits by Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Now it positions itself as the "Little Big City", suggesting that it can provide a much larger range of experiences than one would expect in a small place.

Lorentzen (2010) also discusses how the experience economy has been institutionalized in Frederikshavn, being applied in many different ways, including stimulating economic growth, building identity, attracting new citizens, and improving quality of life. These actions were supported by the creation of networks, such as the Frederikshavn Event, a network organization that brought together hotels, the shipping company, Arena Nord, and the Chamber of Commerce. The city (pop. 23,500) was considered too small for a traditional cultural agenda, so many bottom-up initiatives were adopted – no idea was considered too crazy.

One such initiative was the Days of Tordenskiold, based on the life of a Danish sea hero. This festival included ships visiting the city, street theatre, and animation. It had 1,200 visitors to the first edition in 1998, and this rose to 42,000 in 2010. This event has a wide range of beneficial effects, such as the involvement of 1,000 local volunteers and the use of the event in the national marketing of Denmark abroad.

The success of such events has encouraged the municipality to take a leading role in experiential staging. Fisker (2015) points to a number of different experiential transformations in the city, including material (creative spaces), symbolic (from shipyard city to host city), and institutional (Frederikshavn Event).

This is a process that began in the late 1990s, and spanned more than a decade before substantial benefits became apparent. The success of the experience development strategy meant that it was also applied to connecting Fredrikshavn to the outside world. The International Strategy (Fredrikshavn Kommune 2008) talks about being curious about the world and being able to attract the world so that it can enrich the city:

"To Frederikshavn it is important that our citizens and guests can easily access a world of experiences all the year round. Therefore, Frederikshavn will promote the international experiences and arrangements. We will support the international experiences taking place in our community and at the same time we will endeavour to create relation between the efforts made within the tourist field and the initiatives taken within the culture, events, sports, food, art, music and trade fields for the benefit of citizens and guests."

Frederikshavn will give its citizens access to a world of experiences by:

- contributing to enable all citizens to gain unique international experiences of different nature and size;
- endeavouring to enable tourists to participate in arrangements and events that can assist growth in the tourist business;
- supporting cultural arrangements of any nature and size that are of importance to our local community and the individual citizen;
- utilizing the twin town cooperation in a more active way in order to allow citizens to benefit from it, and to contribute to giving them new experiences;
- supporting the business cooperation opportunities that have an international angle.

Analysing the Lighting Festival, Freire-Gibb and Lorentzen (2011: 165) quote Frederikshavn's Mayor as saying: "Taking unconventional approaches leads to the creation of something special. When we work together, across all kinds of boundaries, we can achieve things that we could never accomplish alone." The creation of new networks was also crucial, one business executive declared, because they opened doors that were not obvious before.

Conclusions

Because small cities tend to have fewer resources at their disposal, they need to be more resourceful and make use of the possibilities offered by networking. Cities have long been used to place-based collaboration, working with other regional or national cities to achieve things they would not be able to do alone. But the new era of networking between the global space of flows and the local space of places provides new opportunities.

Cities now have the possibility of networking internationally, even globally. In many cases, working with distant cities is less problematic than working with neighbours. Even though there may be increased challenges in terms of cultural differences, there are more opportunities than are available close at hand. The trend towards thematic networking emphasizes this fact. When 's-Hertogenbosch wanted to start a network of Bosch cities, it had to look abroad. Working with cities in networks also provides more opportunities for coopetition. The lack of integration between the economies of distant cities means that they can happily collaborate in one area while competing in another.

The lack of proximity and integration often requires the development of common symbols that can underpin collaboration. These often take the form of iconic structures or events. But they have to be imbued with meaning for all the partners in order to make the collaboration work. In the case of the Bosch Cities network, the universal value of the paintings was an important common denominator.

The development of networks can be an effective means of creating value for the partners. But ensuring that your city benefits from this

Photo 4.7 Art experts from the Bosch Research and Conservation Project present a rediscovered Bosch painting (photo: Marc Bolsius).

increased value means understanding the process of value creation. As the Bosch Cities network shows, position in the network is key. ‘s-Hertogenbosch, as the creator of the network, was able to adopt a central position that enabled it to extract maximum value. Other cities, even national capitals such as Madrid or London, had to settle for a secondary role. Even when Madrid tried to capture increased value by replicating the idea of a Bosch exhibition, it could not replicate the symbolic value that ‘s-Hertogenbosch was able to generate in its new role as the knowledge hub for Hieronymus Bosch.

One of the most important lessons for cities, both small and big, to learn from the contemporary art of networking is that it is important to ensure a win–win situation for participants, and to apply a co-opetive rather than a competitive mindset. This is a major challenge, since it requires a major change in attitude. This is also something that can be fostered by visionary leadership and effective governance, as we will see in the next chapter.

References

Agterberg, N. (2015). *The Social Network of the Bosch Parade*. Dissertation in International Leisure Management, NHTV Breda.

Baccarne, B., Logghe, S., Schuurman, D., and De Marez, L. (2016). Quintuple Helix Innovation: Urban Living Labs and Socio-Ecological Entrepreneurship. *Technology Innovation Management Review* 6(3). https://timreview.ca/article/972

Bel, G., and Fageda, X. (2008). Getting There Fast: Globalization, Intercontinental Flights and Location of Headquarters. *Journal of Economic Geography* 8(4): 471–95.

Borja, J., Belil, M., Castells, M., and Benner, C. (1997). *Local and Global: The Management of Cities in the Information Age*. London: Earthscan.

Centeno, M. J. (2016). Óbidos, Literary Village: Innovation in the Creative Industries? In ENCATC (ed.), *Cultural Management Education in Risk Societies: Towards a Paradigm and Policy Shift?!*, 41–51. Brussels: ENCATC.

Cohendet, P., Grandadam, D., and Simon, L. (2010). The Anatomy of the Creative City. *Industry and Innovation* 17(1): 91–111.

Dagnino, G. B., and Padula, G. (2002). Coopetition Strategy: Towards a New Kind of Interfirm Dynamics for Value Creation. Paper presented at EURAM 2nd Annual Conference, Stockholm School of Entrepreneurship, 8–10 May.

den Dekker, T., and Tabbers, M. (2012). From Creative Crowds to Creative Tourism. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 4(2): 129–32.

d’Ovidio, M., and Cossu, A. (2017). Culture Is Reclaiming the Creative City: The Case of Macao in Milan, Italy. *City, Culture and Society* 8: 7–12.

El Nasser, H. (2012). More Small Towns Thinking Big. *USA Today*, 16 Oct. www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2012/10/16/small-towns-think-big/1637047/

ENoLL (2017). What are Living Labs? www.openlivinglabs.eu/node/1429

Eraydın, A., Köroğlu, B. A., Öztürk, H. E., and Yaşar, S. S. (2008). Network Governance for Competitiveness: The Role of Policy Networks in the Economic Performance of Settlements in the Izmir region. *Urban Studies* 45(11): 2291–2321.

Ernstson, H., Barthel, S. Andersson, E., and Borgström, S. T. (2010). Scale-Crossing Brokers and Network Governance of Urban Ecosystem Services: The Case of Stockholm. *Ecology and Society* 15(4): 28. www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol15/iss4/art28/

Ferilli, G., Sacco, P.-L., and Noda, K. (2015). Culture Driven Policies and Revaluation of Local Cultural Assets: A Tale of Two Cities, Otaru and Yūbari. *City, Culture and Society* 6(4): 135–43.

Fisker, J. K. (2015). Municipalities as Experiential Stagers in the New Economy: Emerging Practices in Frederikshavn, North Denmark. In A. Lorentzen, K. T. Larsen, and L. Schrøder (eds), *Spatial Dynamics in the Experience Economy*, 64–80. London: Routledge.

Fredrikshavn Kommune (2008). International Strategy. https://frederikshavn.dk/PDF%20Dokumenter/politikker_og_visioner/erhvervs_og_energiomraadet/International%20strategi%20-%20engelsk%20version.pdf

Freire-Gibb, L. C., and Lorentzen, A. (2011). A Platform for Local Entrepreneurship: The Case of the Lighting Festival of Frederikshavn. *Local Economy* 26(3): 157–69.

Gemeente Helmond (2013). Raadsinformatiebrief 91. www.helmond.nl/BIS/2013/RIB/RIB%20091%20Evaluatie%20deelname%20Culturele%20Hoofdstad.pdf

Getz, D. (2017). Developing a Framework for Sustainable Event Cities. *Event Management* 21: 575–91.

Government Technology (2016). Thinking Big: 6 Innovative Ideas from Small Cities. January 11. www.govtech.com/internet/Thinking-Big-6-Innovative-Ideas-from-Small-Cities.html

Graham, S. (1995). From Urban Competition to Urban Collaboration? The Development of Interurban Telematics Networks. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 13(4): 503–24.

Hesseldahl, P. (2017). WE-economy: Beyond the Industrial Logic. http://we-economy.net/what-is-the-we-economy/the-book/

Homans, G. C. (1958). Social Behavior as Exchange. *American Journal of Sociology* 63(6): 597–606.

Hospers, G.-J. (2006). Borders, Bridges and Branding: The Transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space. *European Planning Studies* 14(8): 1015–19.

Kresl, P. K., and Ietri, D. (2016). *Smaller Cities in a World of Competitiveness*. London: Routledge.

Larson, M. (2009). Joint Event Production in the Jungle, the Park, and the Garden: Metaphors of Event Networks. *Tourism Management* 30(3): 393–9.

Lorentzen, A. (2008). *Knowledge Networks in the Experience Economy: An Analysis of Four Flagships Projects in Frederikshavn*. Aalborg: Institut for Samfundsudvikling og Planlægning, Aalborg Universitet.

Lorentzen, A. (2010). New Spatial Strategies in the Danish Periphery: Culture, Leisure and Experiences as Levers of Growth? In *Workshop: The Experience Turn in Local Development and Planning*, 1–9. Aalborg, Denmark: Dept of Development and Planning, Aalborg University.

Lorentzen, A. (2012). In A. Lorentzen and B. van Heur (eds), *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, 65–79. London: Routledge.

Luxemburg and Greater Region (2008). *Luxemburg and Greater Region European Capital of Culture 2007: Final Report*. Luxemburg: Ministère de la Culture, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche.

Meijers, E. J., Burger, M. J., and Hoogerbrugge, M. M. (2016). Borrowing Size in Networks of Cities: City Size, Network Connectivity and Metropolitan Functions in Europe. *Regional Science* 95(1): 181–98.

Näsholm, M. H., and Blomquist, T. (2015). Co-creation as a Strategy for Program Management. *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business* 8(1): 58–73.

Neal, Z. P. (2013). *The Connected City: How Networks are Shaping the Modern Metropolis*. London: Routledge.

Pasquinelli, C. (2013). Competition, Cooperation and Co-opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-territorial Branding. *Urban Research & Practice* 6(1): 1–18.

Podestà, M., and Richards, G. (2017). Creating Knowledge Spillovers through Knowledge Based Festivals: The Case of Mantua. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2017.1344244

Poisson-de Haro, S., and Myard, A. (2017). Cultural Cluster Coopetition: A Look at the Montreal Circus World. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences/Revue*. doi/10.1002/cjas.1448

Porter, M. E. (2008). *Competitive Advantage: Creating and Sustaining Superior Performance*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rennen, W. (2007). *CityEvents: Place Selling in a Media Age*. Amsterdam: Vossiuspers.

Richards, G., and Colombo, A. (2017). The Barcelona Sónar Festival as a Global Events Hub. In J. Ambrecht, E. Lundberg, T. D. Andersson, and D. Getz (eds), *The Value of Events*, 73–86. London: Routledge.

Richards G., Hitters, E., and Fernandes, C. (2002). *Rotterdam and Porto: Cultural Capitals 2001. Visitor Research*. Arnhem: ATLAS.

Selada, C., Cunha, I., and Tomaz, E. (2012). Creative-Based Strategies in Small and Medium-Sized Cities: Key Dimensions of Analysis. *Quaestiones Geographicae* 31(4): 43–51.

Short, J. R. (2017). *A Research Agenda for Cities*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Simmie, J. (2003). *Innovative Cities*. London: Routledge.

Taylor, P. (2003). European Cities in the World City Network. In *The European Metropolis 1920–2000*. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1765/1021

Taylor, P. J., Ni, P., Derudder, B., Hoyler, M., Huang, J., and Witlox, F. (2012). *Global Urban Analysis: A Survey of Cities in Globalization*. London: Routledge.

*Thibert, J. (*2015a). *Governing Urban Regions Through Collaboration: A View from North America*. London: Routledge.

Thibert, J. (2015b) Beware the Collaboration Trap. http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/environmental-faith/thibert/

Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (2015). Cultural and Creative Spillovers in Europe: Report on a Preliminary Evidence Review. https://ccspillovers.wikispaces.com/Evidence+review+2015

5 Governance

The Art of Getting Things Done

Introduction

To govern is to exercise power over a territory. Cities used to be governed. The government laid down the law, and the citizens followed. In the 20th century this began to change, as more bottom-up modes of running things emerged. In the shift towards governance, power is devolved to broader groups. Government runs on rules and controls, but under governance, orchestration and facilitation are key. A number of tendencies have converged to stimulate the shift from government to governance, including the effects of globalization, Europeanization, devolution, growing pressures on the welfare state, criticism of traditional methods of delivering public services, the democratization of technology, the rise of collaborative culture, and big data (O'Reilly 2017; UN-Habitat 2017). The idea of cities as having centralized administrations and complex bureaucracy is beginning to change. Citizens are becoming more involved in the way cities are run, and classic models of top-down government are transforming.

According to UN-Habitat (2017):

> governance is defined as a process of co-ordinating actors, social groups, and institutions to attain particular goals, discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments.

"Governance" covers the different ways in which the management of cities is organized, and the processes that ensure the long- and short-term aims of the city are realized. In other words: "Urban governance is the software that enables the urban hardware to function" (UN-Habitat 2017). As Lorentzen and van Heur (2012: 6) argue, "it is through urban governance that the structural context is interpreted, challenged and transformed. Potential is identified or ignored through the lens of particular discourses and actors develop imaginaries of urban futures based on their interpretation [...]."

To be effective, governance should be:

- democratic and inclusive;
- long-term and integrated;

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-5

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

- multi-scale and multilevel;
- territorial;
- proficient in and conscious of the digital age.

External changes have forced urban governments to change their approach from a narrower role of government, concerned mainly with ruling the city itself, to a broader governance role concerned with orchestrating a wide range of urban processes and stakeholders. This shift from government, or ruling the city, towards governance, or coordinating or managing the city, brings a wider range of stakeholders into play. Local authorities shift from having "power over" places, to trying to orchestrate the "power to" achieve things (Dovey 2010). Governance is a wider concept than government, because governance involves interaction between formal institutions (legislature, executive, and judiciary) and those of civil society.

With the collapse of managerialism and the emergence of the neoliberal city, the essentials of urban governance needed to be reinvented. Broadly, there was a consensus that politicians and planners had to be much more innovative and entrepreneurial, "willing to explore all kinds of avenues through which to alleviate their [i.e. cities'] distressed condition and thereby secure a better future for their populations" (Ward 2011: 726). How this should be done was less clear, especially given the necessity of "selling" this vision to a varied cast of internal and external stakeholders (Hannigan and Richards 2017). Not least is the challenges of most cities becoming more fragmented – increasing the problem of trying to deal with the "haves" and the "have nots" that inhabit the same places. Thinking about issues of equity is therefore important, because this supports the development of sustainable and inclusive strategies. All stakeholders, including those with least power, should have a say in how cities are run (FDi Magazine 2016).

This chapter examines how the shift from government to governance has changed the way that small cities deal with their inhabitants and the external world. It also considers the challenges in creating governance models that can help places effectively position themselves in a globalizing world.

The Economic Challenge: Attracting Resources

These days cities have to think a lot more about how to attract resources of all kinds from elsewhere. There is abundant evidence that the relative role of funding from central government for cities is declining in many places.

A global study by United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG 2016) presents financial indicators related to subnational governments in 101 countries. This study reveals that the average size of municipalities is 56,000 inhabitants (most places are small, after all!). It concludes that size matters for the financial position of cities, because it affects

their ability to reap the benefits of scale economies in service provision, raise money through taxes, and attract attention on the global stage. Subnational governments get around half their income from grants and subsidies, and around one third from tax revenue.

In the USA, the share of local government revenue from non-tax sources has remained fairly steady since 1977, at 60% of general revenue. However, the composition of non-tax revenue has changed. The portion from intergovernmental transfers declined from 43% of general revenue in 1977 to 36% in 2013, while revenue from charges and fees increased from 15% to 23% (Tax Policy Center 2017). The need to generate revenue from services means that cities increasingly have to think about their users, which includes not just residents, but all those who use services from or in the city (tourists, investors, etc.).

Bartle, Kriz, and Morozov (2011) also present data from the US which illustrate a rise in intergovernmental transfers from the beginning of the 20th century up to the 1970s, followed by a progressive decline thereafter. In 1902, transfers accounted for less than 7% of municipal funding, peaking at over 42% in 1975, and falling to less than 38% in 2007. In contrast, income from charges rose from 11% in 1950 to almost 24% in 2007. They suggest that "it is possible that state aid may have crested", and they question whether property taxes can continue to be increased to make up the shortfall. Instead, there seems to be a growing reliance on charges, with local governments effectively becoming service providers. This is stimulating many cities to find new ways of generating income from their citizens and visitors. For example, many cities in Germany have introduced culture and tourism taxes in recent years. Weimar, the small city which was European Capital of Culture in 1999, was one of the first.

In India, Sahasranaman and Prasad (2014) identify a tension between available funds and the functions of local governments. Small cities in particular find it hard to raise the revenue they need to meet minimum service levels. This is often because they lack the skills and capacity necessary to secure and administer funding effectively.

Governance: The Enabling Framework

Securing the funds to be able to implement policies and strategies is just one part of the problem. Cities also need to devise effective governance structures to implement the city's agenda together with other stakeholders.

Models of Governance

Jon Pierre (1999) analyses four different models of urban governance: managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare.

- The managerial model has become increasingly important in recent decades, as cities have responded to financial stress by trying to control costs, raise revenue, and increase efficiency. However, many cities do not have the flexibility required to operate a managerial governance model effectively.
- Corporatist governance tends to be found in the industrial, advanced democracies of western Europe. It sees local government as a system for the inclusion of social groups and organized interests in the urban political process, and is used to create consensus and to steer public–private partnership. The main challenges of this model are fiscal discipline and a high level of dependence on a positive economic climate.
- Pro-growth governance is characterized by close public–private interaction in order to boost the local economy. This depends on shared interests in economic growth on the part of the administration and local business interests. It is far less participatory, and is linked to the politics of local economic restructuring.
- Welfare governance is most common in cities with low growth levels that are dependent on economic transfers from the state. Such cities are usually found in declining industrial areas, particularly in western Europe and the United States. They combine mass political involvement with a hostile attitude towards private business.

Table 5.1 gives an overview of these different governance types.

These different governance models are ideal types, and in practice can overlap or be mixed in different cities. The point that this analysis makes, however, is that governance arrangements reflect particular political positions and will also influence the way in which a city develops. One important question posed by Pierre (1999) is whether cities can proactively choose a particular governance model, or whether these models are artefacts of external dependencies and tensions within the city administration. In most cases the governance arrangements will tend towards a mix of legacy factors and political orientation. But it seems that the main choice for cities is which interests they wish to serve through their governance arrangements.

In addition to the types of governance coalitions that can be identified, cities can also structure their administrations in different ways. In the United States, DeSantis and Renner (2002) identified seven different types of administrative structures, although they found that the mayor–council and council–manager systems were the most common. The council–manager system (52%) combines a commission form with a strong administrative component, concentrating all administrative powers in a single official. The mayor–council system (32%) has a separation of power, the mayor serving as chief executive officer and appointing a city manager subject to the approval of the council. In the US system,

Table 5.1 City governance models (after Pierre 1999)

	Managerial	*Corporatist*	*Pro-growth*	*Welfare*
Participants	Emphasizes professional participation over elite political involvement	Intra-organizational model of participation	Business elites and senior elected officials with a shared interest in growth	Local government officials and state (national) officials and bureaucrats
Objectives	Enhancing the efficiency of public service production and delivery	Distributive, ensuring that the interests of the organizations' membership shape urban services and policies	Long-term economic growth	Securing the inflow of state funds to sustain the local economy, and redistribution
Instruments	Contracts with for-profit organizations for public services, new strategies of managerial recruitment	Inclusion, deliberation, and consensus	Urban planning, mobilizing resources from government, infrastructural development, and image enhancement	Political and administrative networks with higher levels of government
Outcomes	Helped increase service production efficiency, bringing in private-sector expertise	Reduced fiscal discipline and inequalities between members of favoured organized interests and other social groups	Local political choice tends to increase growth in the local economy	Economically unsustainable in the long term

the mayor is "strong" when executive power is centralized, the mayor directs the administrative structure, and the council does not oversee daily operations. The "strong mayor" arrangements have the advantage that the mayor is more able to pursue agendas on behalf of the city as a whole. In Europe, there is even more variation in administrative arrangements and in the role of the mayor, who may be a mere figurehead in some cases, and may be directly elected or appointed by central government. As Kresl and Ietri (2016) put it, "every country has its own story" in terms of administrative structures. Smaller cities also show more variation than large ones.

The type of governance regime and the administrative arrangements of the city will affect the city's ability to act and to develop programmes.

For example, cities with a welfare model will probably emphasize social inclusion, whereas a managerial model will tend to promote more private-sector involvement. In some cases, cities are now starting to develop specific governance models that provide more flexibility and freedom of action, often specifically to address this problem. Many programmes are run by arm's-length organizations, as in the case of the Bosch500 programme (see Box 5.1). Lorentzen and van Heur (2012) also note that small cities have distinct strategies of governance for cultural and leisure projects.

Box 5.1 Governing the Bosch500 programme

In order to develop and execute the Bosch500 programme, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch established a specific arm's-length organization, the Bosch500 Foundation. The responsibilities of the Bosch500 Foundation were:

- the development of the programme;
- the organization and implementation of the programme;
- attracting sponsorship;
- lobbying in support of sponsorship and subsidy applications;
- financial management;
- marketing and promotion of the Bosch500 programme.

The municipality was responsible for

- the policy context;
- reception of visitors in the city;
- city marketing, representation, and public affairs.

The municipality, as "client" for the programme and main funding body, also determined the conditions under which the work would be undertaken. One of the important advantages of this construction is that it enabled actors in the city to assume risks they would not normally accept, supported by the Bosch500 Foundation with the backing of the municipality. For example, this construction enabled the relatively small Noordbrabants Museum to take the risk of organizing the "Visions of Genius" exhibition. The museum had never previously organized an exhibition of this size, or participated in a major international research project such as the Bosch Research and Conservation Project.

The Bosch500 Foundation was a small team, which grew from 5 to 6 people in 2010 to 10 staff in 2016. In practice, it operated in close consultation with the municipality, which took an active

(*Continued*)

role as "client" in overseeing the development of the programme. A coordinator was also appointed to oversee the "Visions of the City" element of the programme. The Foundation also worked with the municipality to ensure that city policies in areas such as economic development, accessibility, traffic management, and city marketing were adjusted to deal with the expected impacts of the event.

Bosch500 Artistic Director Ad 's-Gravesande brought considerable experience of programme management from his work with the Holland Festival and the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) programme in Amsterdam in 1987. He was also part of a large national and international network in the world of art and culture. He could open doors, generate cooperation, and form international networks. Initially there was local resistance to the choice of an artistic director from outside the city. But he was supported by a strong supervisory board, which backed the artistic director in terms of programming and expenditure.

An analysis of the relational context of the Bosch500 Foundation (Beuks, Knitel, and De Wijs 2011) indicated that the Foundation was primarily dependent on the municipality thanks to the client–contractor relationship embedded in the design of the programme. The Foundation was also strongly connected to cultural-sector stakeholders in the city because of the primarily cultural nature of the programme content. However, there were weaker links with facilitating organizations, such as the tourist information office. Marketing power was needed to support this National Event from strong regional and national tourism marketing organisations such as Visit Brabant and the NBTC. Initially the links with the private sector were also fairly weak prior to the event because businesses were not aware of the potential benefits that they could extract from the programme.

According to Ad 's-Gravesande, although the governance between the municipality and the foundation was well organized, the governance of components in the implementation of the programme was not always in order. This was mainly due to the complexity of the programme. For example, the rights issue with museums ultimately led to a curious paradox. The scientific research facilitated collaboration with the museums, but it could also cause problems if the museums did not like the results. In the case of the Prado, the reattribution of some of their Bosch works resulted in some of the promised material not coming to 's-Hertogenbosch.

This analysis indicates that the ability of the Foundation to act was influenced by its structure, funding, and positioning.

Programme Governance

The experience of the Bosch500 Foundation, as well as that of many cities that have used similar governance structures to develop major programmes, indicates that a more holistic view needs to be developed to cope with complex programmes. In the past, programmes have often been managed by breaking down the programme into projects which then contribute to the overall goal of the programme. But, as Näsholm and Blomquist (2015) point out, such approaches tend to be too focused on top-down control mechanisms, and lack the flexibility required to deal with a turbulent environment. Instead, programmes should try and align projects with the strategic aims of the city as well as the changing environment. This can arguably be achieved through co-creation strategies guided by a series of core values and high-level goals, within which individual stakeholders can follow their own agendas. In this way, programme management becomes less of a question of distributing resources (such as project subsidies) and more a question of aligning the activities of co-creation partners with the aims and values of the programme. This is basically the approach adopted by the Danish city of Aarhus in developing the ECOC in 2017 (Aarhus 2017, 2015). When the programme governance is well aligned with the aims of the city and the external environment, this can lead to the development of more permanent structures. There are a number of examples of this in ECOC host cities, such as Antwerp, Lille, Bruges, and Rotterdam (Richards 2017).

In some cities and regions, new models of "place governance" or "network governance" are also being developed. The concept of place governance is related to the placemaking work pioneered by the People for Public Spaces movement in the United States. In the case of the city of Adelaide in Australia, for example, the CEO implemented a mode of governance that was based on thinking about the role of public space as an essential arena for interaction between the citizens. His approach was based on making better use of public space by creating community capacity to self-govern, and by stimulating cultural change within government to allow this to happen (Swope 2015). One interesting aspect of this example, as well as a host of other placemaking initiatives, is that they are often kick-started by events. Events provide the catalyst for bringing people together in public space, and engaging them in thinking about the uses of that space and the type of place they want to live in. Regular events in public space become a kind of practice, or ritual, which begins to change the nature of that space. By closing off streets and creating new spaces of interaction, people begin to take back ownership of the city.

Some commentators are also now beginning to suggest that the city itself can learn a lot from the way in which events are organized and

staged. Many major events attract temporary populations larger than many small cities, and cities face considerable logistic problems in terms of getting people to and from the event, waste disposal, safety and security, and crowd management. Because event organizers need to solve these problems in a short space of time, they have often become very adept at finding solutions, and they have fewer barriers to action than civic administrations. Staging events also requires flexible funding models and organizational skills that are often in short supply in cities. As Németh suggests in the case of the ECOC, events can provide potential models of multi-level governance. She argues that ECOC governance is multi-scalar, process-based, and flexible, in contrast to the more rigid structures usually found in place-based administrations. This also makes it more suited to the turbulent conditions of contemporary city administration than the more stable arrangements that worked well in the past.

Network Governance

New models are also emerging in the sphere of network governance. Whereas regimes are essentially internal networks established for the purpose of achieving a specific policy agenda for the city, broader coalitions are also possible. Increasingly the network of the city needs to be expanded to include external actors as well. Pasquinelli (2013) analysed a wide range of network governance arrangements and found a great variety of forms, including collaborative schemes led by public authorities and private–public partnerships involving a wide range of actors. Eraydın et al. (2008) also reviewed studies of network governance, and identified two main drivers for urban networking. Firstly, as the complexity of public problems increases, public administration shifts towards network relationships with a wide range of different organizations in order to spread and improve decision-making. Secondly, collaboration and cooperation networks have become essential for achieving competitiveness and synergy and capitalizing on global opportunities. Networks provide economies of scale and scope, and cities can gain a collective competitive advantage from having a concentration of economic activity and population within easy reach – a factor of particular importance for small cities. Eraydın et al. (2008: 2293) argue that “networks among cities and regions are important in their level of competitiveness”. They identify two basic types of networks: those aimed at strategy-building and knowledge-sharing; and action-oriented networks aimed at policy implementation. In the case of the Izmir region in Turkey, they found that the competitiveness of the settlements is not closely related to population size, but rather to the number of network connections they have. These findings indicate that in addition to the individual assets of cities, their relational capacities within networks are

important. They suggest that cities should pay more attention to building new networks to obtain greater synergies from acting together.

New networks can be built in a number of ways. For example, Provan and Kenis (2008) identify three basic models of network governance:

- Participant-Governed Networks (as in the case of Brabantstad – see Chapter 4).
- Lead Organization–Governed Networks (e.g. the Bosch500 Foundation – see also Box 5.2).
- Network Administrative Organization (such as the Eurocities network).

Németh (2016: 42) also argues that the "network capital" developed through cooperative stakeholder alliances can be mobilized by events, which can create new collaborations. Linkages can remain long after the event, adding to the network capital of the stakeholders and therefore also the "place" (locality/region). Increasing network capital is a long-term process that requires a phase-spatial framework of governance. Németh compared the network-forming processes of Pécs (ECOC in 2010) and Turku (ECOC in 2011). She found that in both cities new linkages were formed largely between organizations from different sectors (public, business, civic groups, and small artistic enterprises). She argues that it is important to introduce unconventional types of collaboration which can create interesting synergies, which in turn can lead to more inclusive governance practices. Developing network capital and making participants aware of the network value they can extract as a result of participation (see Chapter 4) is essential to avoid the process of "silo formation", in which communication and collaboration are basically limited to discrete fields or sectors.

Box 5.2 Direct control of the Picasso-Aix Programme, France

Soldo, Arnaud, and Keramidas (2013) analyse the governance of the Picasso-Aix 2009 cultural programme in the community of the Pays d'Aix in the South of France. This region consists of 34 member municipalities and more than 350,000 inhabitants. In 2009 many events on the relationship between the painters Picasso and Cézanne were funded and labelled the "Picasso-Aix" season. The programme had a total budget of €6 million (15% of which was private sponsorship). The main exhibition "Picasso-Cézanne" was the fourth-ranked exhibition in France in 2009 in terms of visitors and the first-ranking in the provinces. The total programme attracted over one million visitors, 29% of whom were foreign tourists.

(*Continued*)

The organization of the programme required the formalization and consolidation of partnerships. This was achieved through a framework agreement that committed the partners to the programme over several years, while allowing some flexibility in the organizational and financial structures. One of the main advantages of this local authority-led initiative was that it forced different departments of the region to work together, attacking the historically silo-based structure of the administration.

Soldo et al. (2013) suggest that a number of key steps are needed to make such a regional governance system work. These include a diagnosis of the human resources needs (skills and knowledge not available internally), an analysis and prioritization of stakeholders, and a unifying cultural theme for the different actors to cohere around. Once these steps are taken, they argue that direct control can give the public authorities more decision-making power and scope for action. It can also act as a tool for organizational change and learning in bureaucracies used to working in closed silos.

These insights extend the idea of Kresl and Ietri (2016) that smaller places can strengthen their position by joining networks to "borrow size". In addition to borrowing size, the concept of network value also suggests that smaller places can use networks more effectively to generate greater value from the network. The question is therefore not just which networks to join, but also how to use them. Not all network members will achieve the same advantages, because some can apply better competitive and relational strategies to their networking.

In contrast to the fairly well-studied urban regimes, there is relatively little evidence on the outputs that network governance can achieve. But the evidence from a number of inter-city networks suggests that more can be done when a sufficient level of trust is developed to enable the partner cities to be generous with each other (see Box 4.1). The network needs to act as a transparent facilitator, which may be at odds with the functioning of lead organization networks. The challenge is to maintain transparency and equity between network members while still enabling each member to achieve their own (sometimes very different) aims. The networks developed around the Bosch500 programme show that partners are not equal, so a leader – a hub for the network – is needed. The lead partner also needs to monitor the process and secure the funding. But of course there will also be discussions about the divisions of benefits. Some partners will always gain more from networks, even if they don't contribute as much as some others. When the network works for a common goal, does it matter if you have free riders? In the case of Bosch, only 's-Hertogenbosch could maintain the coherence of the networks,

because of the importance of the story, and the city's ability to carry the costs.

In the business world, Libert, Beck, and Wind (2016) identify "network orchestrators" who create a network in which participants interact and share in the value creation. Other network partners will be happy to cede a key position to the orchestrator as long as they perceive they are also deriving value from the network. In the case of the Bosch Cities Network, for example, the leading role of 's-Hertogenbosch was legitimized not only because of the historical links with the painter but also because the city was invested in researching, restoring, and exhibiting his works, increasing the visibility and value of the works held by all network members.

With the new opportunities offered by the digital age, there are also other possible sorts of network organization that can be developed. O'Reilly (2017) argues that governments should think of themselves as platforms that let things happen. Cities have an inbuilt legitimacy in terms of place-based platforms, and these can provide the resources and energy for developing programmes and projects that can benefit all users of the city (such as the co-creation-based programmes developed in Umeå (Sweden) and Graz (Austria)). In order to organize, initiate, and develop its programmes, governance needs to be organized on different levels, not just in a top-down fashion. Culture, creativity, public space, and other essential resources are no longer the preserve of government, but can be organized and utilized in a bottom-up, self-managing fashion.

Developing Regimes to Get Things Done

Expertise is no longer centralized in the civic administration, but distributed throughout the city and its populace. This is important for small cities, because it implies that one of the previous disadvantages of small places, namely a lack of specialized knowledge, can at least be partly overcome by using distributed knowledge. In the concept of "City as Platform", data are open, which makes governments more porous, stimulates cross-sectoral cooperation, and creates more engagement between citizens and the places they live in. The city as platform concept emphasizes bottom-up participation in the same way as open-source software is developed (Bollier 2015). These principles can also be applied to links between cities.

How can a small city turn itself into an effective platform? In an increasingly turbulent external environment it is important for the municipality to take the lead in platform construction to provide stability and equity of access for the stakeholders. For example, the Dutch city of Amsterdam collects projects and ideas on its Smart City platform. Anybody can contribute material, as long as it relates to one of the six main themes: Infrastructure & Technology Energy, Water & Waste, Mobility, Circular City, Governance & Education, and Citizens & Living. The city

also contributes a lot of relevant information through its Open Data programme, enabling citizens and organizations to use and exploit municipal information, for example in the development of apps. This enables others to extract value from the platform, rather than the platform being just a collecting point for ideas and information. Events can be an important part of the platform provided by the city, because they are flexible, catalytic, and can bring together different fields and sectors within the city. A good small-city platform should be open, equitable, stable, and useful, enabling actors to generate network value and network capital.

Ultimately the aim of the platform should be to turn information into knowledge, which can then be used to generate value for the city. Links should be made between the platform and the different institutions and groups in the city, for example using a quadruple or quintuple helix model. The inputs of various stakeholders can be orchestrated via a series of events, themed around issues of importance for the city and its citizens. In this way the platform itself can potentially become part of the programme of the city, for example by creating future scenarios and bringing together artists, writers, and ordinary citizens to debate ways forward for the city.

The problem with a platform approach to governance is that it involves a high level of uncertainty and risk in comparison with more formal structures. The city can provide the platform, but it has little control over the ways in which the platform will be used, or the outcomes it will generate. This is arguably an important point at which the city needs to trust its citizens, who after all are also the ultimate beneficiaries of the development process.

Making links with other cities, collaborating in projects and programmes, or developing platforms are part of the normal run of things for cities these days. Few are without a town twinning programme, an events office, or a host of project managers. But how do things shift up a gear, from having the parts of the puzzle in place to actually getting things moving?

This is a question directly addressed in the context of the Danish city of Roskilde by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt (2017). His basic question is how such a small city (pop. 50,046) manage to initiate the processes that led to the development of one of the world's biggest rock festivals and the experimental Viking Ship Museum. The Roskilde Festival started in 1971, inspired by Woodstock, and quickly grew to a peak attendance of 100,000 in the 1990s. The Viking Ship Museum originated as an archaeological excavation of five longships, and gradually grew into a full-scale museum. The turning point came with the launching of a replica Viking ship in 2004, which sailed around the world, drawing attention to the museum and its relatively modest home. The success of the Viking Museum and its interactive, engaging experiences eventually led to a new project, the RAGNAROCK Museum for pop, rock, and youth culture, which opened in 2016.

Bærenholdt argues that what has happened in Roskilde is an example of how thinking about economic development has shifted from clusters

towards creativity and actor-networks. In Roskilde there are many dimensions of face-to-face contact, but this has little to do with collocation of firms or labour markets – rather, it springs from "particular moments when people have moved in order to meet each other and make things together". Bærenholdt suggests that, rather than considering the conditions for creativity (e.g. Florida 2002), we need to look at the relations that are decisive in making things happen. This is often difficult because these relationships are fluid, and creative scenes are mobile and distributed. Often there is no obligatory meeting point – instead, connections are often created through events and the production of new spaces. In this way, mobile creators encounter mobile publics – at events that literally "take place" in the city. These events stimulate the "fellowship" (or shared co-presence) that provides the sparks and develops the social obligations performed through people's practices of "moving in order to meet", developing network capital. Larsen and Urry (2008: 93) argue that "network capital is the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with individuals who are not necessarily proximate, which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit".

Uncertainty is perhaps one of the biggest challenges for a city, which after all is supposed to provide a high level of certainty and security for its residents. But without a certain level of uncertainty and risk, it is difficult to achieve new, important things. Bærenholdt (2017) quotes an essay by Tim Ingold:

> In this tension, between the pull of hopes and dreams and the drag of material constraint, and not in the opposition between cognitive intellection and mechanical execution, lies the relation between design and making. It is precisely where the reach of the imagination meets the friction of materials, or where the forces of ambition rub up against the rough edges of the world, that human life is lived.
>
> (Ingold 2013: 73)

One of the problems is that cities have traditionally been relatively conservative institutions. Cities don't take risks – companies do. But things have changed in recent decades as cities have been forced to become more entrepreneurial (Hall 1996; Jessop and Sum 2000). Jessop and Sum argue that entrepreneurial cities have existed for centuries, but that recent decades have forced many more cities to adopt an entrepreneurial, opportunity-seeking stance. Many cities do this at a relatively simple level, such as maintaining an office or lobby capability in the capital city, or in Brussels or Washington. Jessop and Sum identify three features of an entrepreneurial city:

- Innovative strategies ae designed to maintain or enhance economic competitiveness relative to other cities.

- These innovative strategies are explicitly formulated and pursued in an active, entrepreneurial fashion.
- The promoters of the city adopt an entrepreneurial discourse, narrating and marketing it as entrepreneurial.

As in the case of entrepreneurial firms, in some ways being small is an advantage. Smaller cities often have less bureaucracy, and given the right structures they can move more quickly, and being small generates the element of surprise. Everybody expects big things to happen in big cities, but when they happen in small places, people sit up and take notice.

Leadership

One of the important success factors for many cities is a relatively high degree of continuity in administration, leadership, and collaboration. Continuity of leadership is more easily assured in cities where the re-election of the mayor or other civic leader is possible, or where the mayor is appointed for a longer period by the state. In Sibiu, Romania, for example, a period of significant progress was overseen by Mayor Klaus Johannis, who was in office from 2000 to 2014 (see Box 5.3); and in 's-Hertogenbosch the development of the Bosch500 Programme was overseen by Mayor Ton Rombouts, who was in office from 1996 to 2017. In the case of Johannis, stability was the result of his victory in four successive elections, whereas Dutch mayors such as Rombouts are appointed to the post by the monarch. In both cases, however, the long period in power was essential to building a stable regime that helped to achieve a clear policy agenda. Within such regimes, collaboration and consensus are vital. When asked about the most important aspect of his work, Rombouts replied: "Connect, connect, connect. I have always tried to bring three groups together: people who want to organize things, that is the citizens, business and government." This is the essence of a regime, which can work in small cities as well as in big ones.

But bringing different groups together in a coalition is just a first step. Then things must happen – the dreams have to be created and realized. In fact, what the small city with big dreams needs relates to the development of three different types of practices:

1. practices of mobilization;
2. practices of visibilization;
3. practices of sensibilization.

Practices of Mobilization

The types of urban regimes analysed in the literature are usually coalitions of key actors who come together to mobilize resources to achieve a

Box 5.3 Leadership from the Mayor in Sibiu, Romania

The ECOC staged in Sibiu in 2007 seems to have strengthened the local growth regime headed by the Mayor, Klaus Johannis, who was often personally credited with successfully using the event to attract investment and improving Sibiu's image. The Mayor was overwhelmingly re-elected in 2004 (with 88.7% of votes), 2008 (83.3%), and in 2012 (77.9%). The success of his political coalition was largely linked to economic performance, particularly in terms of securing international funds for major projects such as the renovation of the town centre and the new airport.

Many stakeholders interviewed by Richards and Rotariu (2016) commented specifically on the role of the local authority, and in particular the Mayor, in bringing about change. There was a feeling that the authorities had been effective in attracting resources, not just for the ECOC programme itself, but also for the general development of the city. Some respondents also emphasized the fact that the German background of the Mayor had helped in the search for funding, particularly as much of the renovation work was paid for with money from Germany:

"[...] Another advantage that our city enjoyed is that it received significant funding from the Government, the Ministry of Culture and from Germany, following the steps taken by mayor Klaus Johannis. Many events took place in Sibiu and these were enjoyed by a large number of foreigners and locals alike. Following this with a significant increase in the city economy. In my opinion yes. What has followed in this project was to improve national and especially international image of Sibiu, attracting visitors, improving social links" (guesthouse owner, Sibiu).

specific strategic agenda for the city. Such political regimes have tended to act in a top-down fashion, although as we have noted there is increasing scope for more inclusive, bottom-up models. But in all cases the direct involvement of municipal government, which can act as power-broker and ensure openness and equity, is essential. The municipality can act to identify and gather the resources required to initiate programmes.

Practices of Visibilization

One of the challenges of mobilization is that much of the work occurs behind closed doors, through meetings, discussions, and lobbying. A programme not only needs resources, but it also needs to become visible

for the stakeholders and attract attention from within and outside the city. Otherwise resistance is likely to come from those who feel excluded from the mobilization process. Practices of visibilization can include formal programmes of branding and marketing, such as those described in Chapter 6. These are usually aimed at achieving media coverage and support from citizens and other stakeholder groups. But visibilization is not just a top-down process, but also a grass-roots process that can involve all the actors using the city (Box 5.4).

For example Citroni and Karrholm (2017) examine the notion of “publicness” in the context of the use of public space, which they do not link to any particular practice or social group. Instead, they refer to “a register of interaction and a regime of visibility”. They argue that publicness is often driven by events which introduce a “stranger’s perspective”, enabling reflection upon the broader implications of practices. The three principles of visibilization, according to Citroni and Karrholm (2017), are:

1 events that render elements that otherwise remain in the background particularly visible;
2 events that visibilize everyday complexity more openly through everyday practice and repetition;
3 building the overall “public regime” in which practices are embedded.

Contemporary events, regardless of content or context, can activate visibilization procedures, as in the case of the Bosch500 programme.

Practices of Sensibilization

Making a programme visible is also just a first step in a long process. In order to maintain the momentum of a programme, it needs to be understood and used by people on a regular basis. A major challenge is the fact that programmes are often conceived by individuals or small teams working in a particular political, social, or disciplinary context. To reach wider audiences among the users of the city, the programme concept needs to be made accessible to others. This arguably involves:

- Translation: interpreting the often technical or academic language of project conception into everyday, accessible language. In the case of the Bosch500 programme, the world of Hieronymus Bosch was interpreted in terms of universal themes that were relevant for residents and visitors as well as the global media.
- Adaptation: making the content of the programme relevant and immediate for audiences and publics. For Hieronymus Bosch, the basic technique was to use Bosch’s work as inspiration for contemporary productions. These often related to pressing issues in the

contemporary world, such as the refugee crisis portrayed in the performance of the Bosch Beach opera (see Chapter 4).

- Empathy: even if the message of the programme is communicated via techniques of translation and adaptation, it will have limited effect unless people feel they are connected to it. In the case of Bosch, empathy could be established in the story of return, of the paintings finally coming home after 500 years. The "David and Goliath" aspect of the achievement of 's-Hertogenbosch as a small city among the giants of the art world also exerted a strong emotive appeal.

Box 5.4 Santa Fe: visualizing the artistic dream

Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, has a population of fewer than 70,000. Bypassed by the railway in the 19th century, the city declined and lost population. But it subsequently recovered thanks to the presence of an artistic community and indigenous crafts, which in turn provided the knowledge base for the establishment of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. The city has leveraged these assets to increase its attractiveness and economic vitality. According to Florida (2002), Santa Fe has more cultural assets per capita than any other city in the United States. It has the highest percentage of writers and authors in the labour force of any US city, and houses 75 non-governmental arts organizations and 250 private galleries.

The artistic ethos of the city also led to the founding of the Santa Fe Opera House in 1956. Using $200,000 of his parent's money, John O. Crosby developed a unique institution that has staged 2,000 performances of 164 operas, with an estimated economic impact of more than $200 million a year. Unlike a conventional opera house, the sides are open to the elements, providing a unique link between art and place, hailed by the *New Yorker* as "A miracle in the desert".

In 2005 Santa Fe strengthened its international links by becoming a UNESCO Creative City in Design, Crafts and Folk Art, becoming the first US city in the UNESCO network. This was followed with the development of a creative tourism programme and the hosting of the 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism. The city hosts many events, including the International Folk Art Market, the largest of its kind in the world, attracting 20,000 visitors a year. In 2011, the city launched "DIY Santa Fe Art Month".

Santa Fe has long been aware of the need for strategic planning, in 1912 drawing up its first urban plan, which designated Spanish

(*Continued*)

Pueblo Revival as a unified building style. The 2007 vision for the downtown area argues: "The historic downtown should be an economically vital and ecologically sustainable place where new and existing retail and commercial establishments serve both local and visitors' needs" (City of Santa Fe 2007: 3). In 2015 the city launched "Culture Connects: Santa Fe", a community-based planning exercise. "Through a series of creative, hands-on input sessions, we explored notions of culture, shared our dreams for Santa Fe's future and created a 'roadmap' to realize our vision." A prototype asset map was developed "to illuminate how the sensory experience of culture is manifested throughout the community".

The planning process has included bringing together people, places, practices, and policies. In particular, practices are seen not just in terms of what has been done before, but also as a way of improving things through repeated effort, or the ritual of doing.

The Fluidity of Practices

Practices of mobilization, visibilization, and sensibilization emphasize the need to embed certain processes into the day-to-day running of the city. Only when these practices become part of the city's routine can they achieve the inner smoothness of operation that Verwijnen (1999) argued is vital in meeting global competition and building collaboration.

A growing body of work on social practices highlights the way in which certain actions and activities can become routines or rituals that in turn begin to structure our actions (Shove, Pantzar, and Watson 2012). Once certain practices are established, they can become very hard to change, and lead to path-dependency in decision-making, or what Collins (2004) refers to as an "interaction ritual chain". Cities are no different. A certain routine or "way of doing things" is an essential basis for the culture of a city. But it can also prove a barrier to change. Cities are also constrained by their own physical development, because a city is a collection of material objects as well as a gathering of people. Material objects constrain people; however, people can also "move" objects by giving them new meaning. For example, the Lille 2004 ECOC programme helped to get residents and external stakeholders to view the city as a lively, colourful European metropole rather than as a dreary northern French coal-mining centre.

Very often the new meaning is injected into the system by visionaries, leaders, or "switchers". Németh (2016) points out that programmes are often built on the assumption that people should be given what they want, to ensure broad support. The reality, however, is that very often people don't really know what they want until they see it. To meet this

reality, the city vision should focus on giving people what they will come to want in the future.

Németh argues that events such as the ECOC can be a model of the fluid governance structures need to stimulate change, because they are focused on making the city a different place. An event-type governance model offers flexibility, because it is usually designed to be temporary, flexible, and nimble. In the case of Turku (ECOC in 2011), emergent contestation and external uncertainties led to reconsideration of the programme, and a reduction of large infrastructural plans. Németh (2016: 70) suggests that we can see events such as the ECOC as:

> a suitable test ground for developing engagement and governance practices and routines in places. Relatively limited financial resources still encourage the inclusion of a wide set of stakeholders, whose participation means a more diverse range of interests, which in turn, require more complex and innovative engagement and negotiating processes.

In *Music/City: American Festivals and Placemaking in Austin, Nashville, and Newport*, Wynn (2015) also examines the use of “festivalization” as a means of developing cities. He argues that events serve a central function in processes of placemaking because they provide the “liquid urban culture” that can make things happen in cities. Events, or as Wynn dubs then “occasions”, can make places because of their catalytic function within urban systems. However, as Richards (2015) points out, not all events can change things. In fact, many more events are “iterative”, serving to reinforce the status quo rather than challenge it. Relatively few events can be seen as “pulsar” events capable of acting as catalysts that physically or symbolically change places, although these are often the types of events that cities need.

Conclusions

The way in which cities are governed is changing into a more bottom-up, flexible system of governance, of enabling people to do things. Cities are in a good position to gather ideas and information that can help people to achieve their aims. The problem is being able to direct all of these individual desires into a momentum that will enable the city as a whole to prosper.

Guiding programmes requires vision, and holding fast to the ideal, the goal, and understanding the need for risk are important for the leaders of the contemporary city. As Kim Dovey (2010) emphasizes, there is a strong link between power and desire. The ability to achieve needs to be linked to the desire to achieve. How do we build these qualities into networks and governance structures? The development of platforms as enabling structures provides an opportunity to harness collective

desires, and events and programmes can give us the means of pushing these dreams forward. Events can have a key role in the city as structuring actors, as catalysts, and as inspiration for practices of mobilization, visibilization, and sensibilization.

In designing a governance structure for programmes and platforms, it is important for the organization to have a mandate that enables them to act. This is based on achiving legitimacy in terms of organization and being able to access resources. The organization of the programme should be transparent and compact. Partnership is vital for small organizations to achieve things, but it is not always possible to act together. Sometimes the organization has to take the lead in order to act quickly, without too much consultation. So general agreements about the direction and values of the programme are important.

References

Aarhus 2017 (2015). *European Capital of Culture Aarhus 2017: Strategic Business Plan*. Aarhus.

Bærenholdt, J. O. (2017). Moving to Meet and Make: Rethinking Creativity in Making Things Take Place. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 330–42. London: SAGE.

Bartle, J. R., Kriz, K. A., and Morozov, B. (2011). Local Government Revenue Structure: Trends and Challenges. Public Administration Faculty Publications, Paper 4. http://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/pubadfacpub/4.

Beuks, J. A., Knitel, K. W., and De Wijs, I. (2011). *Een onderzoek naar het netwerk rondom de meerjarige, internationale manifestatie Jheronimus Bosch 500*. Tilburg: Tilburg University.

Bollier, D. (2015). *The City as Platform: How Digital Networks Are Changing Urban Life and Governance*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

Citroni, S., and Karrholm, M. (2017). Neighbourhood Events and the Visibilisation of Everyday Life: The Cases of Turro (Milan) and Norra Fäladen (Lund). *European Urban and Regional Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776417719489

City of Santa Fe (2007). *Santa Fe Downtown Vision Plan*. Santa Fe, NM: City of Santa Fe.

Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

DeSantis, V. S., and Renner, T. (2002). City Government Structures: An Attempt at Clarification. *State and Local Government Review* 34(2): 95–104.

Dovey, K. (2010). *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power*. London: Routledge.

Eraydın, A., Armatlı Köroğlu, B., Erkuş Öztürk, H., and Senem Yaşar, S. (2008). Network Governance for Competitiveness: The Role of Policy Networks in the Economic Performance of Settlements in the Izmir Region. *Urban Studies* 45(11): 2291–2321.

FDi Magazine (2016). European Cities and Regions of the Future 2016/17. http://www.fdiintelligence.com/Rankings/European-Cities-and-Regions-of-the-Future-2016-17?ct=true

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure and Community*. New York: Basic Books.
Hall, P. (1996). *Cities of Tomorrow*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
Hannigan, J., and Richards, G. (eds) (2017). *SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*. London: SAGE.
Ingold, T. (2013). *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*. London: Routledge.
Jessop, B., and Sum, N.-L. (2000). An Entrepreneurial City in Action: Hong Kong's Emerging Strategies In and For (Inter)urban Competition. *Urban Studies* 37(12): 2287–2313.
Jones, C., Hesterly, W. S., and Borgatti, S. P. (1997). A General Theory of Network Governance: Exchange Conditions and Social Mechanisms. *Academy of Management Review* 22(4): 911–45.
Kresl, P. K., and Ietri, D. (2016). *Smaller Cities in a World of Competitiveness*. London: Routledge.
Kvistgaard, P., and Hird, J. (2017). The Role of Trust, Empathy and Patience in Destination Development. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/draft/AgHnofNGPwoSUwAAAV5hIARbFbNYJzFYoAGjkelhAKNbYqWU16qx6MiyyiKAU-j8_C0ptC0
Larsen, J., and Urry, J. (2008). Networking in Mobile Societies. In J. O. Barenholdt and B. Granas (eds), *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern European Peripheries*, 89–101. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Libert, B., Beck, M., and Wind, J. (2016). *The Network Imperative: How to Survive and Grow in the Age of Digital Business Models*. Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business Review Press.
Lorentzen, A., and van Heur, B. (eds) (2012). *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. London: Routledge.
Näsholm, M. H., and Blomquist, T. (2015). Co-creation as a Strategy for Program Management. *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business* 8(1): 58–73.
Németh, Á. (2016). European Capitals of Culture: Digging Deeper into the Governance of the Mega-event. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4(1): 52–74.
O'Reilly, T. (2017). *WTF? What's the Future and Why It's Up to Us*. New York: HarperCollins.
Pasquinelli, C. (2013). Competition, Cooperation and Co-opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-territorial Branding. *Urban Research & Practice* 6(1): 1–18.
Pierre, J. (1999). Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics. *Urban Affairs Review* 34: 372–96.
Provan, K. G., and Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18(2): 229–52.
Richards, G. (2015). Events in the Network Society: The Role of Pulsar and Iterative Events. *Event Management* 19(4): 553–66.
Richards, G. (2017). From Place Branding to Placemaking: The Role of Events. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 8(1): 8–23.
Richards, G., and Rotariu, I. (2015). Developing the Eventful City in Sibiu, Romania. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 1(2): 89–102.

Sahasranaman, A., and Prasad, V. (2014). Sustainable Financing for Indian Cities. http://financingcities.ifmr.co.in/blog/category/municipal-finance/

Shove, E., Pantzar, M., and Watson, M. (2012). *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How It Changes*. London: Sage.

Soldo, E., Arnaud, C., and Keramidas, O. (2013). Direct Control of Cultural Events as a Means of Leveraging the Sustainable Attractiveness of the Territory? Analysis of the Managerial Conditions for Success. *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 79(4): 725–46.

Swope, C. (2015). Adelaide's Peter Smith on "place governance". *Citiscope*, 29 Apr. http://citiscope.org/story/2015/adelaides-peter-smith-place-governance

Tax Policy Center (2017). Briefing Book. www.taxpolicycenter.org/briefing-book/what-are-sources-revenue-local-governments.

Thibert, J. (2015a). *Governing Urban Regions Through Collaboration*. London: Routledge.

Thibert, J. (2015b). Beware the Collaboration Trap. http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/environmental-faith/thibert/

UCLG (2016) Subnational Governments Around the World: Structure and Finance. www.uclg-localfinance.org/sites/default/files/Observatory_web_0.pdf.

UN-Habitat (2017). Governance. http://unhabitat.org/governance/

van Heur, B. (2012). Small Cities and the Sociospatial Specificity of Economic Development. In A. Lorentzen and B. van Heur (eds), *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, 17–30. London: Routledge.

Verwijnen, J. (1999). The Creative City's New Field Condition. In J. Verwijnen and P. Lehtovuori (eds), *Creative Cities: Cultural Industries, Urban Development and the Information Society*, 12–35. Helsinki: University of Art and Design Helsinki.

Ward, K. (2011). Entrepreneurial Urbanism, Policy Tourism and the Making Mobile of Policies. In G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds), *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, 726–37. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wynn, J. R. (2015). *Music/City: American Festivals and Placemaking in Austin, Nashville, and Newport*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

6 Marketing and Branding the Small City

Introduction

It is a truism that cities face more competition in global markets, which means they need to brand themselves and tell engaging stories to create distinction. But, as we have argued in the foregoing chapters, it is not just the brand or the story of the city that needs to be improved, but also the reality. How can place branding and place identity development make small cities better?

As Pasquinelli (2013: 2) argues, cities need to position themselves in a "market of geographies" by first improving their reality and then communicating their unique advantages, drawing the attention of others. The key is to make yourself attractive, not for others, but for the people living in the city. Then visitors, investors and new residents will also come.

It is also clear that marketing is changing. As the Singapore Tourist Board (STB 2016: 4) stated recently, "traditional marketing is no longer enough to cut through the clutter" of cities striving to position themselves on the global stage. Cities need to think more strategically about what they are marketing and to whom. Increasingly, traditional forms of city marketing are giving way to broader concepts of place marketing and branding that take a more holistic approach to positioning the city.

In this chapter we consider the different placemaking strategies that small cities can employ to position themselves, including the use of storytelling, branding, and free publicity.

Building the Place Brand

The rise of place competition has increased attention for the role of brands for cities. Essentially a brand is a feature of a product, service, or place that distinguishes it from others. The fundamental purpose of a brand is therefore to differentiate and to create added value, either for suppliers or consumers, or both (Wood 2000).

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) point to some challenges in the application of marketing principles to cities. Firstly, although cities are

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-6

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

more often engaged in marketing and branding themselves, very few marketing specialists have considered the spatial dimension of branding cities as opposed to physical products or services. Cities also tend to follow the latest marketing and branding "fads": "public sector planners have long been prone to the adoption, overuse and then consignment to oblivion, of fashionable slogans" (p. 507). At its simplest level, place branding can be seen as the application of product branding to places. However, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005: 510) argue that

> A place needs to be differentiated through unique brand identity if it wants to be first, recognised as existing, second, perceived in the minds of place customers as possessing qualities superior to those of competitors, and third, consumed in a manner commensurate with the objectives of the place.

Cities therefore become brandable if their distinctive nature (or DNA) can be distilled and communicated. The challenge is that a city has many different stakeholders, who may also have different views of the identity and therefore the brand of the city. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) propose that the city can develop different brands for different audiences or stakeholder groups. In essence the city becomes a "corporate brand" with different "products" or benefits that appeal to different users of the city. Developing this corporate brand means associating the place with "stories" about the place. As de Certeau (1984) argues, stories work to transform places into spaces and spaces into places. They also organize the play of changing relationships between places and spaces. The stories of place can be embedded in the city through planning, programming and design, infrastructure development, and orgware (organizational software or practices that provide the city with a way of acting), and then they need to be communicated to different publics in order to generate both "organic" and "induced" attitudes and reactions to the city.

Box 6.1 Graz: a city searching for distinctiveness

Graz, a city of 286,000, is not exactly small, but as Austria's second city it has always been in the shadow of the capital, Vienna. When it organized the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in 2003 it took the opportunity to have a dig at its larger rival, launching a poster campaign labelling Vienna as "the most beautiful suburb of Graz". The problem for this comfortable city was creating a distinctive brand. But as Kornberger (2014: 185) explains, "In the case of Graz, the search for uniqueness led paradoxically, to

its opposite; the harder Graz tried to define its spirit, the more it started to resemble every other city that had embarked on the same journey." The problem was that the more Graz tried to define its identity, the more abstract the concepts became, and the more like other cities Graz began to sound. He argues that the meanings of the city could not be encapsulated in slogans, because the essence of the city is: "small streets, friendly people, the warm light on a summer's evening, the traditional cuisine, the smallness and bigness of the city" (Kornberger 2014: 186).

The epiphany in Graz was the realization that brands are increasingly created through interpretations and meaning-making activities of stakeholders, rather than the city administration. This of course leads to a diverse range of brand interpretations and readings. The solution was to adopt an open-source approach to the brand, organizing the diversity and complexity of fragmented authorship. Rather than specific brand content, the Graz approach depends on style. The brand becomes based not on a model but on a mode of doing, a style embedded in the placemaking practice of the city.

The unique style of a city, the way of doing things, ensures the consistency of an open-source brand. The city brand of Graz became a shared language people use as opposed to a particular message. The city brand should function like an app. The brand became a platform upon which storytellers could expound their version of the city. But by using the platform, there would be a coherence between very different messages, between the university talking to prospective students and the manufacturing firm talking to prospective investors.

The problem is that open-source branding leaves the content to a wide range of stakeholders. The brand manager is left to manage the platform and ensure that stories adhere to the style – in other words, the task of the curator. This underlines the challenge of the shift from government to governance, and the challenge of developing new strategies for bottom-up modes of creative placemaking and branding.

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) identify three main strategies for city branding:

- "personality branding" (or the "Gaudí gambit" after the success of its Barcelona application);
- "flagship construction" (or the "Pompidou ploy" after the *grand projet* at the Paris Beaubourg);
- "events branding" (such as the Olympic Games or the European Capital of Culture).

Branding is therefore not only a means of projecting the identity of the city externally, but also a tool for urban development and governance. Eshuis and Klijn (2017) also see branding and governance strategies as symbiotic: cities align their policies and urban development with the brand to strengthen their effect of their policies. They suggest that branding is utilized to achieve three important governance functions:

1. It provides specific images about policy problems and solutions, thereby influencing perceptions and shaping decision-making.
2. It activates and binds actors to urban governance processes, thereby securing their cooperation.
3. It communicates simple images and associations to the outside world, notably the media, in a much more effective way than releasing large policy documents and in-depth statements that may remain unread.

Eurocities (2011) argues that a wide range of stakeholders should be involved in branding a city. This includes the city's government, the private sector, tourism, and civil society. Stakeholder involvement should be based on:

- partnership: the stakeholder representatives need to work together using a partnership approach, to ensure buy-in and brand credibility;
- leadership: the stakeholder partners need strong leadership to overcome any internal differences and to ensure progress and effective decision-making;
- continuity: continuity is fundamental in both the partnership and in the leadership, to ensure a long-term strategy and brand durability;
- shared vision: stakeholders must share a vision for the future of the city if they are to formulate a clear brand strategy;
- action-based implementation: to implement the brand strategy and create the brand, stakeholders must agree an appropriate set of actions at each stage.

In many small cities the branding and marketing process must also involve engagement of external stakeholders. Communicating with external audiences also requires creativity on the part of small cities. Using the tourism industry and/or the media then becomes an important strategy for reaching these external parties. In the city of Bruges, for example, the communication and marketing of the programme developed for the ECOC in 2003 was undertaken by the tourism department rather than the cultural department of the city. This later morphed into Brugge Plus, the platform for cultural programming in the city.

Ward Rennen (2007) developed the CityEvent model to describe the process by which cities, their events, and the media begin to form a mutually dependent system. The interests of the city in selling itself and improving its image has synergies with the needs of the media to increase

advertising revenues and the need for event organizers to build prestige and recognition for an event.

Rennen sees the branding of cities in terms of a "reordering and renaming of place, thereby proposing a networked ontology of place". It is difficult to separate the city from its events and programmes in terms of the ordering of space, the relationships between stakeholders, and the role of the media in projecting the image and identity of the city.

Developing the Brand

According to Ristilammi (2000), the development of a new brand for the Øresund region between Denmark and Sweden started with the "orchestration of attention" and the creation of a positive feeling of expectations for the future of the region. This shows the importance of generating attention in order to align stakeholders around a specific project or the development of a brand. Ristilammi identifies three temporal phases of brand-building – initiation, integration, and identification – which are signalled by the achievement of subsequent levels of cooperation, i.e. functional, relational, and symbolic (Table 6.1).

Eurocities (2011) describes in more detail the process of brand building in the Finnish city of Tampere, which took a total of six months. The process was directed by a project group, with representatives from the city of Tampere and its region's marketing unit, a consultancy agency, and a communications agency. A steering group tested and commented on the work of the project group both online, using intranet tools, and also in workshops (functional collaboration). There was a users' group to comment on the work, share ideas, and keep others informed, and an influence group to spread the word about the branding work being undertaken. The influence group consisted of decision-makers, business people, academics, city representatives, politicians, artists, and sportspeople (relational collaboration). However, as the work of branding the city has progressed, Tampere has become more concerned to enable the city's residents to be more involved in decision-making (symbolic collaboration):

Table 6.1 Brand-building for cities (after Ristilammi 2000; Eurocities 2013)

Brand-building phases	*Collaboration level*	*Branding process*
Initiation	Functional	Planning the process and naming the participants Analysing the city's current situation
Integration	Relational	Structuring the brand identity Structuring the communication strategy
Identification	Symbolic	Designing the branding Using the brand

"The aim is to write the story of Tampere and all its residents" (City of Tampere 2017).

To write such a story, the narrative of the contemporary city can be used to develop elements of uniqueness, reputation, fascination, and surprise. These elements can then be communicated as a city brand in terms of core messages, images, and signs. How, when and where these brand elements are communicated depends on the overall brand strategy. The Eurocities project (2011) identifies the emergence of different types of brand strategies for cities:

- the umbrella brand strategy, which delivers a flexible brand that can convey different aspects of the city, such as its economic, touristic and cultural aspects;
- the glocal brand strategy, which consists of a global statement combined with a local positioning, based on clear local aspects;
- the global brand strategy, which focuses on the brand as a global reference, such as the name of the city, enriched with elements of design that reflect the values of the city, its energy, pulse and positioning.

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, there is evidence of the Bosch500 programme having moved the focus of the brand, from an umbrella brand for city marketing towards a glocal brand. However, discrepancies between the ambitions of the Bosch500 programme and other stakeholders in the city have meant that progress towards creating a global brand has been slow. Even though the Bosch branding helped to put the city on the map, the organization of the legacy has not been structurally sound enough to take the city to the next level.

Photo 6.1 Live broadcast of the opening of the Bosch exhibition on Dutch national television (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Cities Need a Story

The brand has to be loaded with meaning, so cities increasingly need to develop and distribute their stories, and enable others to co-create and spread those stories. As the Singapore Tourist Board (STB 2016: 5) argues:

> we must first have a great story, one that is of Singapore and its unique identity and history, told in endless ways by different people. It is about being confident in who and what we are, and not be everything to everybody. In the digital age of hyper-rich content, the problem is curation: the collection, management and distribution of data.

The STB (2016) outlines three basic ways brands tell stories:

1. The What: stories that describe what the essence of the brand is. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch the Bosch500 brand revolved around the role of the city as the birthplace and home of Bosch and his work.
2. The How: stories that describe how the product benefits the consumers and help them achieve something. The Bosch500 story was based on universal values that could help people understand the world, how it has changed and their own role within it. It also provided cultural and creative content that enabled people to make their own stories based on the themes of Bosch.
3. The Why: stories that describe why the Brand exists and why they do the things they do. These are about vision, values and purpose. This is what builds trust and authenticity most with consumers. The higher purpose of conserving and enriching Bosch's legacy for the world was the raison d'être for the Bosch500 programme.

In the case of a city, such brand stories are complex and cannot be carried by a single body – they must be shared by the different stakeholders in the city. This is something that was central to the development of the story of 's-Hertogenbosch and its Bosch500 programme.

Telling the 's-Hertogenbosch Story

The main aim of 's-Hertogenbosch was to bind its most famous son, Hieronymus Bosch, to the city. This was a challenging ambition for a city that does not possess a single work by the painter. For years this was the reason that the city and its residents turned their backs on Hieronymus and his legacy. The city was suffering from a collective inferiority complex: Bosch was the city's most famous resident, but because his paintings were spread across the globe he was considered the "lost son".

Birthplace as Claim

It was not until 2001 that people began to realize that there was more to the Bosch legacy than just the paintings. In that year the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam organized an exhibition of a number of his artworks as part of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) celebrations. This prompted a tentative initiative to organize a small-scale Bosch programme at the same time in ‘s-Hertogenbosch. This included cultural activities inspired by Bosch and his themes, such as heaven and hell and the seven deadly sins. Potential was seen in the multifaceted nature of the painter and his works: his inspirational and imaginative power, and the potential for storytelling based on Bosch and his era (the late Middle Ages). Also because of the unexpected media attention for the birthplace of Bosch, the year 2001 became a tipping point, giving the citizens of ‘s-Hertogenbosch the courage to reclaim Hieronymus Bosch for the city. This stimulated the first ideas for a commemoration year in 2016, the 500th anniversary of his death: the dream began to take root.

Claiming Is Complex

The first ideas for a large-scale commemoration in 2016 were linked to the realization that much needed to happen and that a great deal of preparation time was needed. In particular, if the lost son was to return home in the shape of his artworks, many years would be needed to secure agreement for the loan of paintings from the different museums around the world that housed them. But there were also other issues. The city needed to lay claim to Bosch and ensure that his work would always be linked with the city. One way of doing this was to develop a multi-annual programme in which contemporary artists could use Bosch as an inspiration for their work. This also gave opportunities to display the many different facets of Bosch and his legacy to a wide range of audiences.

This was important because a decade ago Bosch was relatively unknown and unloved by the Dutch public. Research on his image in 2006 showed that he was seen as an old-fashioned, stuffy medieval painter (LAGroup 2006). In contrast, Bosch was much better known internationally, although the link with his birthplace was still not made by most people.

The challenge of linking Bosch and his city was therefore complex – not only because of the lack of paintings, but also because his image needed to be renewed and deepened. The multi-annual cultural programme provided a basis for more depth and an updating of his themes.

Photo 6.2 Children playing in the "Garden of Earthly Delights" (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Luckily, 's-Hertogenbosch did not have to start from zero with the Bosch brand. There were a few existing elements to build on, such as the Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre, and some developments in research on the painter's work. There are also many physical locations in the city linked to Bosch, such as his workshop, his house, St John's Cathedral, the Brothership of Our Lady, the Marketplace, and the Binnendieze river, which all provided material for storytelling about Bosch and his city in the late Middle Ages. The heritage institutions conserved the elements of the story, and with the help of the Efteling theme park these were transformed into an engaging experience using modern multimedia techniques. The visitor could follow the footsteps of Bosch in his own time. By linking Bosch locations, the city laid claim to the painter, a claim to being *the* Bosch city, the unique, authentic Bosch hub. The paintings may be spread around the world, but only 's-Hertogenbosch could say that their creator was born, lived, worked, and died in the city. This contrasts with artists such as Van Gogh or Picasso, who lived and worked in many different places, who all must share their artistic legacy. Bosch learned to paint in 's-Hertogenbosch and his complete oeuvre was created there. The link between artist and city was so strong that Hieronymus even changed his surname from Van Aken to Bosch so that his clients knew where to find him.

Perhaps the most important element of the claim to Bosch was the development of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP), which for the first time investigated almost all of his work, and used the most advanced techniques to uncover new knowledge about the

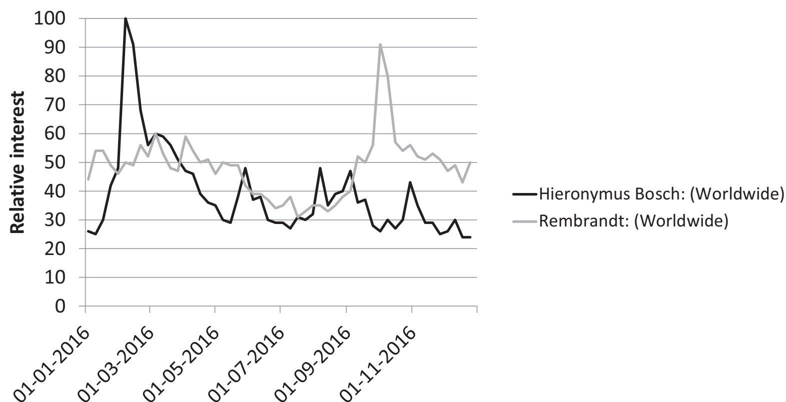


Figure 6.1 Google search trends: Hieronymus Bosch vs Rembrandt, January–December 2016.

paintings (see Chapter 4). This international research effort read as a thrilling medieval detective novel. It generated an incredible amount of international media coverage and gave Bosch's mysterious work new life: more exciting, unusual, and more relevant than ever before.

Storytelling and Free Publicity

Free publicity is the touchstone of marketing in the digital age. Free publicity feeds on the attention generated by engaging stories, such as the Bosch story. The Bosch exhibition, the broad cultural programme, and the research generated a huge amount of publicity locally, nationally, and especially internationally. This interest even briefly overshadowed Rembrandt, one of the greatest art icons of the Netherlands (Figure 6.1).

If we measure the publicity generated against the marketing investment, these activities were incredibly effective. The media coverage was strongly linked to an unusual mix of elements to generate attention and free publicity. The exhibition brought together the largest number of Bosch paintings ever exhibited, in the place they were created 500 years earlier. The exhibition included 17 of the 24 remaining paintings and 19 of the 20 drawings. The fact that these works came from 14 different museums in 10 countries also made this an astonishing achievement. This also created a one-in-a-lifetime opportunity. The tension in the build-up to the exhibition was increased by the Bosch research. The new revelations, the attributions, but also the rejected works stimulated surprise, discussion, and controversy. The fact that the Prado was not happy with having some of

their "Bosch" artworks attributed not to the artist himself but to his followers was a source of friction. But even this friction eventually turned out to be positive from a PR point of view. Having two paintings fewer in the "Visions of Genius" exhibition did not reduce visitor numbers or media attention. And the negative reaction of Madrid, and the lofty position taken by the big city, only helped to increase the sympathy for 's-Hertogenbosch. In the end, the importance of the intangible story (the paintings coming home) was more important than the disagreement over the tangible artefacts (whether the paintings in the Prado were really by Bosch or not).

Welcome Home, Hieronymus!

The "Welcome Home, Hieronymus!" campaign emphasized the return of Bosch and his work in the city of the master, 500 years after his death. It was launched in November 2015 by the Noordbrabants Museum and the Bosch500 Foundation, with support from the Netherlands Bureau for Tourism and Congresses and the publicists Bolton and Quinn from London. Press coverage reached a peak around the opening of the exhibition "Hieronymus Bosch: Visions of Genius" in February 2016. This generated an unprecedented amount of press and media attention, eclipsing even the Van Gogh Year in 2015 and the reopening of the Rijksmuseum in 2013. Almost all of this coverage presented Bosch in the context of his birthplace, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch. This meant that one of the most important aims of the Bosch Year, linking the painter irrevocably with the city, was achieved.

The multi-annual Bosch500 programme was an unparalleled multi-dimensional event spread over seven years. In total, 1.7 million people visited different elements of the programme in person: 300,000 in the period 2010–2015 and 1.4 million in 2016. The attention for the painter and the pride generated in the city made it possible to invest considerable resources in the exhibition and other projects. This in turn acted as a catalyst to engage stakeholders and to generate further investment by the private sector.

The programme presented a renewed image for the previously "old-fashioned" medieval artist. In particular, by linking contemporary artists to the programme the city was able to give a contemporary edge to Bosch's image. The research programme, the collaboration with the Efteling theme park, and the production of contemporary art all helped to increase the scope and value of the painter's legacy. In the end, much more was invested in cultural production than in marketing, and very little of the promotion budget went on expensive media campaigns. This is because, as NBTC Director Jos Vrancken observed, the city worked with its own DNA to fuel the marketing effort, not with superficial image-making (Box 6.2).

Box 6.2 City icons and DNA: Jos Vrancken and Ad 's-Gravesande

Jos Vrancken, Director of the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions (NBTC), emphasized that the importance of cities is strongly influenced by history, by their DNA. This historic DNA creates local support and engagement. Icons strongly identified with cities makes them recognizable, but this may have advantages and disadvantages. Take the image of the Netherlands as the land of tulips, clogs, and windmills. These images can at times seem old-fashioned and inflexible, but they can offer new opportunities as well. Windmills are more than heritage; they are also sources of inspiration for stories about the struggle with the water and innovation.

An icon such as Hieronymus Bosch can work on different levels: recognition, attractiveness, cohesion, and pride. They can be a hook to hang other things from. Sometimes an icon can be so strong that it leaves no room for others – it is like a big tree that overshadows everything else. Sometimes it is necessary to prune the big tree to throw more light on new ideas. Strong icons can also lead to internal competition.

For a small city such as Salzburg in Austria (pop. 150,000), the choice to concentrate on Mozart as a strong icon is logical – there is little competition in the city itself. But at national level Mozart has a high abstraction value, and is one of the overarching icons for Austria. Internationally, Mozart is just one of the propositions for Austria as destination; for Salzburg he is *the* icon.

Compare this with Bosch, who is *the* international proposition for 's-Hertogenbosch, but for the Netherlands just one potential icon. It is like a giant composite photo. From a distance you see one image, but as you get closer you begin to see the many different images that compose the whole. The priority for cities such as 's-Hertogenbosch is to lift their icons out of the local context to the next level of abstraction and recognition. This also means that you have to think more broadly about Bosch, about more than the local painter who broke through to the international stage.

In taking icons to the next level, Ad 's-Gravesande, artistic leader of the Bosch500 programme, emphasizes the importance of a physical link between the icon and the city, an authentic location that reminds us of their physical presence. A pilgrimage site, a birthplace, a workplace, a residence. In the case of Bosch, the medieval street pattern allows us literally to walk in his footsteps, along paths he would still recognize. The most successful

examples also tie the icon to place through research, creating links to a university or research institute. The icon also forms the inspiration for cultural programming in the city, and special occasions are celebrated with theme years such as the Mozart Year, Rubens Year, and the van Eyck Year. These events create a sense of urgency that helps to attract attention and visitors. For the small city, there is the problem of laying claim to the icon. Take Rembrandt – he was born in Leiden, but made his name in Amsterdam. Leiden as a small city has not been able to lay claim to Rembrandt, while Amsterdam has his atelier and the major exhibitions.

Jos Vrancken sees the legacy being developed through continuation of the local value proposition offered by the city of the artist, but this also needs to be linked to higher abstraction levels. This is one area where the Bosch500 programme has so far fallen short. Bosch is bigger than ever in his own city, but is he now bigger in the world? Only by developing the universal elements of the Bosch story, and expanding the "DNA strings" beyond the city, can you ensure a broader continuation of the legacy. The research programme offers new opportunities to engage international knowledge networks and to stage new Bosch exhibitions. Although we cannot exhibit all the paintings together again, single works could be used as the centrepiece for "one masterpiece" exhibitions. This "one masterpiece" model is also an interesting example of the growing role of intangible heritage in contemporary society. Instead of many physical artworks, the emphasis is placed on curation, interpretation, framing, and the presentation of new knowledge about a single artwork.

Jos Vrancken also argues that 's-Hertogenbosch should develop the research on the connections with Bosch on two levels:

1 Hieronymus Bosch as artist, with his strongly visual work and the outcomes of the research (an important element of the value proposition in 2016).
2 Bosch as exceptional story, as part of the DNA of the city. The ideal combination is to link the person with the story of the city, which can create deeply embedded values.

This also provides opportunities for collaborative marketing, because Bosch fits well with other stories, such as the current "Holland City" approach of the NBTC. You can see Holland as one city in which different neighbourhoods each have their own story, their own colour. The Bosch500 approach fits this story perfectly. Bosch gives colour to the city, adds weight to the destination.

(*Continued*)

For the future this needs to be turned into a legacy, which has two elements:

1 A value proposition that you need to retain and build on.
2 Linking the DNA strings with the next level up. This did not go well in 's-Hertogenbosch.

Actions for the future therefore include the development of more Bosch exhibitions (one masterpiece shows), highlighting the painter as person and artist, and more abstract, higher-level elements. These abstract elements can also be linked with other parts of the story of the city.

In terms of publicity, the effect works from outside in. First there is attention from the international media for something exceptional about the city, then the national media and finally the local press follows with positive coverage. This eventually leads to positive local effects: the hairdresser, the shoe shop, the bar owner, all see the positive economic effect, and local pride increases.

Clearly, stories linked to the DNA of the city that are developed at the right level can be very powerful tools. The Bosch story combines universal values of return, redemption, heaven and hell. The city was also able to exert an indisputable claim to the story, which in turn became a lever to bring the paintings home to 's-Hertogenbosch in 2016.

What makes a good icon for a city? Ad 's-Gravesande sees advantages in a historical figure, because we often know less about them, and the story has to be created around their life. They also date more slowly than contemporary icons. Visitors now flock to see Michael Jackson's Neverland, but for how long?

People are often more powerful as icons than buildings. People are usually better able to seize the imagination, and their lives can form a better basis for a story. This is particularly the case with artists, because in addition to the person, you also have their artistic legacy to work with. Art follows fashion, and even the oldest icons can come back into focus. This was the case with the Bosch exhibition in 1967, which was an unexpected hit. Bosch's phantasmagorical images struck a chord with the hippie era, and his art was used on LP covers, such as the third Deep Purple album (released in 1969).

What makes a good story for the small city? Ideally, it should be a story that has many dimensions that can link to the different facets of the city. The Bosch story has a number of key elements that facilitate this. It has elements of nostalgia (return of the paintings, the lost son), the underdog position of the city relative to Madrid or Rotterdam, the

Photo 6.3 Bosch Parade in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

link to universal themes, the lack of competing elements in the city, the link to the DNA of the medieval, monumental city, and links to contemporary culture and creativity.

We can also understand these principles by looking at poor stories. ‘s-Hertogenbosch had already experienced this with the attempt to brand itself as a “meeting city” in the 1990s. The meeting city concept has a basic “what”, but it lacked meaning; the “how” and particularly the “why”. Why meet in ‘s-Hertogenbosch when there are so many other places to meet? What will meeting in the city help me to achieve? The neighbouring city of Breda also recently faced a similar problem, when after months of deliberation it came up with the story of Breda as an “international link city” (*internationale schakelstad* in Dutch). The city clearly provides links of many kinds, in terms of being a transport hub, a distribution centre, and a popular place to party. But the “link” concept is also bereft of meaning. After a few months the link city concept was replaced by the strapline “Breda Brings It Together” (*Breda brengt het samen*). The argument is that the DNA of the city is based on a combination of diversity and togetherness:

> Our new city slogan is based on Breda’s position: the unique location, a place where it is good to work and live in a green and historic environment where people meet and pay attention to each other.
>
> (Gemeente Breda 2017)

Better, perhaps in terms of creativity, and making use of the physical aspects of the city, but still struggling in terms of meaning: lacking a real story, a story of the city.

The argument of Jos Vrancken about the different levels of the story of the city provides some interesting parallels with the notion of social capital. The DNA of the city is something shared by those living in the city – it is what binds them together, just like the "bonding social capital" described by Putnam (2000). Similarly, the more abstract stories – or DNA strings, in Vrancken's terms – are opportunities to link to others outside the city, in the same way as "bridging social capital" does. The DNA as locally embedded material feeds the feelings of community, of local pride, of visceral understanding. This is the "Visions of the City" part of the tryptic structure of the Bosch500 programme. The links of the story to other levels and locations are more abstract, about the transferability and exchange of ideas between different communities. This equates to the "Visions of the Mind" part of the Bosch programme. When people think about marketing, they often jump to the image that will be projected of the city – but as in the case of Bosch, the image is just one part of the story. The development of the DNA of the city, of bonding capital is essential to ensure support, to animate the programme with local pride. But without bridging capital, the ability to reach out and connect with other people and other parts of the story of the city, this creates little value. Each link to another actor, another place is potentially added value for the city (see the discussion of network value in Chapter 4).

But as well as the physical (Visions of the City) and cognitive (Visions of the Mind) aspects of the story, we need something to initiate and drive the narrative. This is where the third element of the Bosch500 programme, Visions of Fantasy, came in. This provided inspiration for creative makers and audiences curious about the beauty of the known and the unknown. Creativity and curiosity became drivers of the process of linking past and present, residents and visitors, cities and regions.

Extensive use was also made of new media to generate attention for Bosch. One of the big challenges of the many possibilities now available via new technologies is the sheer diversity of channels that can be used. One potential solution is to try and integrate the different media to produce a more integrated approach.

In 's-Hertogenbosch the sheer richness of Bosch's work and imagery provided many options. For example, the attempt to stimulate the curiosity of different publics via the Visions of the Mind segment of the programme included a documentary on the research process for the project and the development of the knowledge created into different multimedia products. The documentary *Jheronimus Bosch, Touched by the Devil* directed by Pieter van Huystee followed the work of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project team as they worked on the paintings worldwide. The film was shown at cinemas throughout the Netherlands and abroad. This was followed by the interactive documentary *Jheronimus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*, which combines sound, music, video and pictures into a guided tour of his most

famous painting (Marketing Tribune, 2017). The documentary has been viewed by over 1.2 million people, and audience is international, with a very high dwell time. The next phase is the Virtual Reality documentary *Jheronimus Bosch, the Eyes of the Owl*, which enables the viewer to move through the Garden of Earthly Delights at their leisure.

From Vision to Brand

A good story is important in generating attention, and in providing a focus that stakeholders can gather around. But this also needs to be translated into a powerful brand. These principles are illustrated by the development of Manchester's Original Modern Brand.

The development of the "Original Modern" concept for the city of Manchester was designed to be an aspiration rather than advertising: "it was not the intention for Original Modern to be any kind of slogan or strapline, it was supposed to be an ethos to pursue, and an ethos to pursue across any area of activity" (Bayfield 2015: IV20, artist).

The concept was designed to make a contribution to the city by introducing a new idea, being progressive, challenging convention, thinking globally and being ambitious (Marketing Manchester 2009):

> "You can say Manchester, Manchester, Manchester as much as you want, but you've got to have a story to tell, and we can't always be telling the story of our past, we have to be telling the story of our present and our future as well" (IV14, Marketing Manchester employee). It is this emphasis on storytelling, therefore, that connects with the emphasis upon Manchester International Festival as articulating the brand, and presenting a particular vision of the city, and introducing it to new publics.
>
> (Bayfield 2015)

The Original Modern concept gave the power to name and brand, producing opportunities for some, but with the potential to exclude others. Bayfield (2015) concludes: "it has become apparent that Manchester International Festival has been positioned by the cultural and civic elites of Manchester as part of a carefully articulated historical trajectory as encapsulated through the ethos of Original Modern." The emphasis was on telling "urgent stories of our time", in order to position Manchester as innovative and continuously relevant.

The stories of the city have been told through different editions of the festival: "I think absolutely there are elements, every iteration of the Manchester International Festival, that people love because of their Manchester-ness." This develops a situation in which a shared culture can develop and is carried forward by the practices of the Festival and its participants. The power to name and brand the city therefore becomes a crucial aspect of the storytelling needed to put the city on the map.

Box 6.3 Gathering community support in Guimarães

The Portuguese city of Guimarães (pop. 52,000) was European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in 2012. The ECOC in Guimarães had an ambitious mission in: "Closely involving the community to generate a vibrant creative energy in Guimarães, contribute towards the city's urban, social and economic regeneration, consolidate its resources and culture and create new dynamics and larger cultural landscape in people's memory and aspirations, changing the way they view the world" (Guimarães Strategic Plan 2010/2012).

The communication campaign, with the slogan "You are part of it", introduced not long before the start of the title year, was very well received by the local population. The G-shaped heart logo was particularly successful; merchandise using the logo was popular with citizens, and many commercial enterprises (small and large) displayed the logo. The logo was adaptable and workshops were held on how to put it together. Citizens and businesses were encouraged to develop and adapt the logo, and logo kits were distributed to local shops. The result was that a large variation on the logo became evident throughout the city. This proved a huge success: businesses and citizens took ownership of the brand, they personalized it and displayed it in shop and restaurant windows throughout the city centre. The city centre was still full of logos in shop fronts and restaurants the year following the event. Around 87% of ECOC visitors said they recognized the Guimarães 2012 logo (Richards 2014). A very high proportion of foreign tourists also recognized the logo (80%), even though very few were travelling because of the ECOC. This suggests that their awareness had increased dramatically once they arrived in the city. This seems to suggest that the campaign to involve local citizens and business in the promotion of the logo worked well.

Project organizers in the city felt that communication and marketing activities were well organized and effective. There was a high degree of visibility in the local media, and many stakeholders also felt that national promotion was effective. The evaluation report by the University of Minho indicates that there was a peak in media attention for the ECOC around the opening with 2,583 reports in January 2012, and the total media value of the ECOC was estimated to be over €35 million (Universidade do Minho 2013).

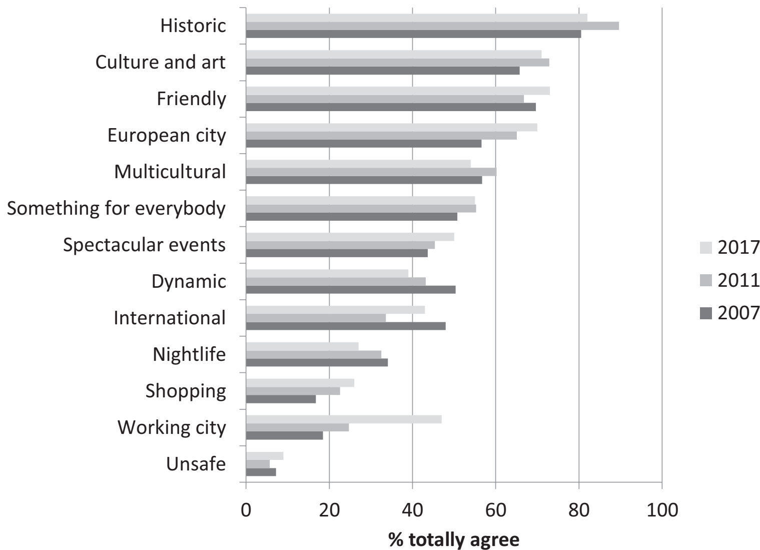


Figure 6.2 Perceived images of Sibiu from resident and visitor surveys, 2007, 2011, and 2017.

The Romanian city of Sibiu (pop. 155,000) managed to literally put itself on the map and brand itself as a "European city" by staging the ECOC in 2007. This event not only attracted large numbers of visitors but also generated considerable media interest, thanks to the surprise effect of a Romanian city that most people had never heard of becoming European Capital of Culture. As the 2007 event also coincided with Romania's entry to the European Union, one of the big aims in staging the event was to make the city feel part of Europe. This seems to have succeeded, at least in the eyes of people living in and visiting the city. If we compare the results of surveys held in the city annually since the ECOC in 2007, it appears that the perception of the city as "European" has consistently increased over the last 10 years (Richards and Rotariu 2015). There is also a steady growth in the appreciation of shopping and spectacular events, and between 2011 and 2017 in particular there was a big increase in people seeing Sibiu as a "working city" (Figure 6.2).

As we saw in the case of Graz (Box 6.1), one of the branding challenges for small cities is that developing distinctive brand concepts is becoming harder. Something that is rooted in the local may mean nothing to visitors. On the other hand, global ideas can also be problematic. Cities tend to copy one another, or "borrow" good ideas, leading to "serial reproduction" (Richards and Wilson 2006). In a review of local authorities in the Netherlands, Bonink and Richards (2002) found that many

places converged around similar themes, such as nature, location, or dynamism. In many cases this leads to places using the same or similar themes to develop their image. Four different municipalities were found to have exactly the same slogan: "surprisingly multifaceted". There is also a differentiation in projected image by muncipality size. The smallest municipalities (pop. <30,000) tend to link themselves with nature, those with between 30,000 and 100,000 residents tend to emphasize industry and the largest places (>100,000 residents) project themselves as knowledge and cultural centres.

As the Eurocities (2013) report argues, distinctive images can be developed by using a form of "urban semiotics", combining the elements of the city with specific stories taken from the city narrative. Common elements include:

- people, since it is disappointing to still see official image banks comprised mainly of buildings and empty city landscapes;
- architecture and built environment, or the "poetics of the cityscape";
- city icons, old and new.

The Romanian city of Alba Iulia (pop. 60,000) used its historic role in the building of modern Romania to position itself as a "spiritual capital" in its place branding. Nicolaie Moldovan, Alba Iulia City Manager, commented: "We designed a logo that represents our citadel. The new identity was presented and applied everywhere. But beyond all the shiny bling bling, what matters is the strategic foundation."

Shrewsbury, a quaint market town in England (pop. 71,715), needed something to set itself apart and attract attention. It has no major landmark, so instead the place-marketing campaign focused on the individuality of the place with the customizable slogan "A Shrewsbury One-Off Since ________".

> The logo, printed on rubber stamps and stickers, gives shop owners the latitude to personalize the slogan to fit their wares. "Since 5:15am" for a pastry chef, or "Since 1552," for the town's castle visitor center.
>
> (Co.Design 2012)

Chattanooga, Tennessee (pop. 173,778), decided to adopt a self-deprecating approach to city branding, knowing that any campaign is likely to come in for criticism:

> Chattanooga's endearingly lo-fi song-and-dance solution features actual start-ups, people, and places around "Cha Cha Land." Clearly, no city is perfect, literally or figuratively, but the video campaign knows what it is (silly) and who it's speaking to (young tech

> workers), with a slender budget and over-the-top slogan, belted out with a wink. People are always going to roll their eyes at city PR campaigns (especially locals). At least Chattanooga figured out that it's best to be in on the joke.
>
> (Bliss 2017)

Conclusion

Strategic development of a place brand is essential in differentiating the small city. In this process, it is important to link the local and the global using the DNA of the city. This provides the essential embedding of the image and the story of the city in place, while developing the potential for global projection. A strong story, firmly embedded in the DNA of the city, provides a basis to claim elements of globalized culture and overcome potentially competing stories or claims. A strong story also provides the basis for free publicity, because it can engage the media and subsequently the target audiences. The ideal figures to feature in such a story will be widely recognizable, with many facets to their character or their work that provide the basis for many different storylines. As networks become more important for the small city, it becomes even more important to develop place-based DNA and identity to give a sense of place to the space of the network. Because the network is essentially relational, these place-based stories are important in making networks more tangible.

References

Bayfield, H. (2015). Mobilising Manchester through the Manchester International Festival: Whose City, Whose Culture? An Exploration of the Representation of Cities through Cultural Events. PhD, University of Sheffield.

Bliss, L. (2017). A Ridiculous City-Branding Campaign We Can Get Behind. Citylab, 12 Apr. www.citylab.com/equity/2017/04/a-ridiculous-city-branding-campaign-we-can-get-behind/522696/

Bonink, C., and Richards, G. (2002). *Imagovorming van gemeenten in Nederland. Een rapport voor het Cultuurfonds van de BNG*. The Hague: Bank der Nederlandse Gemeenten.

City of Tampere (2017). The Tampere of the Future Will Be Built on the Ideas of its Residents. www.tampere.fi/en/city-of-tampere/info/current-issues/2017/05/12052017_1.html

Co.Design (2012). A British Town Tries to Reinvent Itself for Tourists, Via Branding. www.fastcodesign.com/1670339/a-british-town-tries-to-reinvent-itself-for-tourists-via-branding

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eurocities (2011). A Shared Vision on City Branding in Europe. www.imagian.com/kuvat/eurocities_city_branding_final-smul%5B1%5D.pdf

Eurocities (2013). Integrated City-Brand Building: Beyond the Marketing Approach. Reporting note on the City Logo-Eurocities thematic workshop Utrecht, 2–4 Oct. urbact.eu/…/CityLogo/…/reportOslo_citybrand_management-citylogo_tw01_01.pdf

Evans, G. (2003). Hard-Branding the Cultural City: From Prado to Prada. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(2): 417–40.

Gemeente Breda (2017). Breda presenteert nieuwe stadsslogan: 'Breda brengt het samen'. https://www.breda.nl/breda-presenteert-nieuwe-stadsslogan-breda-brengt-het-samen

Kavaratzis, M., and Ashworth, G. J. (2005). City Branding: An Effective Assertion of Identity or a Transitory Marketing Trick? *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 96(5): 506–14.

Kornberger, M. (2014). Open Sourcing the City Brand. In P. O. Berg and E. Björner (eds), *Branding Chinese Mega-Cities: Policies, Practices and Positioning*, 180–92. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

LAGroup (2006). *'s-Hertogenbosch*. Amsterdam: LAGroup Leisure & Arts Consulting.

Marketing Manchester (2009). *Original Modern*. Manchester: Marketing Manchester. www.marketingtribune.nl/media/nieuws/ 2017/03/[cross-media-innovatie-2017]-ingrid-walschots-over-de-interactieve-document/index.xml

Marketing Tribune (2017). Ingrid Walschots over de interactieve documentaire Jheronimus Bosch, De tuin der lusten.

Pasquinelli, C. (2013). Competition, Cooperation and Co-opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-territorial Branding. *Urban Research & Practice* 6: 1–18.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rennen, W. (2007). *CityEvents: Place Selling in a Media Age*. Amsterdam: Vossiuspers.

Richards, G. (2014). *Guimarães and Maribor, European Capitals of Culture 2012*. Arnhem: ATLAS.

Richards, G., and Rotariu, I. (2015). Developing the Eventful City in Sibiu, Romania. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 1(2): 89–102.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2006). Developing Creativity in Tourist Experiences: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture? *Tourism Management* 27: 1209–23.

Ristilammi, P.-M. (2000). Cultural Bridges, Events, and the New Region. In P. O. Berg, A. Linde-Laursen, and O. Lofgren (eds), *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: The Making of the Øresund Region*, 95–108. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

STB (Singapore Tourism Board) (2016). *STB Marketing Strategy: Of Stories, Fans and Channels*. Singapore: STB.

Universidade do Minho (2013). Guimarães 2012: Capital europeia da cultura. Impactos económicos e sociais. Relatório intercalar. Guimarães: Fundação Cidade de Guimarães.

Wood, L. (2000). Brands and Brand Equity: Definition and Management. *Management Decision* 38(9): 662–9.

7 Impacts and Effects

Reaping the Rewards and Counting the Costs

Introduction

The acid test of any policy is how effective it is in meeting its objectives. Assessing success or failure requires measurement and analysis. Monitoring and evaluation should therefore be built into any development programme. This is usually the intention, although the reality is that evaluation is often an afterthought. One of the reasons that most evaluation comes too late is the long trajectory often required to get a programme up and running. Why should cities bother about measuring the effects of a programme that hasn't even started? The simple answer is that if you only start measuring when a programme begins, you have no baseline – no data from "before" to measure the results of the programme against.

Not only is much evaluation too little, too late, but it also often fails to ask the right questions. How many cities crow about the important social and cultural effects of their programmes for different user groups, but then end up just counting the amount of money spent by visitors? The economic effects may be seen as important by many politicians, because they help to justify investment, but for the places those politicians represent, the cultural and social effects will probably last longer and be more important than the short-term injection of money.

Another common issue in programme evaluation is language. We are very used to the idea of programme or event impacts – how much money or media mentions did the event generate? But impacts are only short-term effects – what happens as an immediate result of the programme. The longer-term effects, which may include increased social cohesion, feelings of pride, increased profile of the place, or the attraction of new residents or investors, tend to be more important in the final analysis.

Establishing the Desired Effects

When a city embarks on a new programme, it should be clear about what it wants to achieve. The achievements of a programme will include both direct, short-term impacts and more general, long-term effects.

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-7
This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

For example, the Hieronymus Bosch (Bosch500) Programme in ‘s-Hertogenbosch aimed to:

- maximize the economic impact of the Bosch500 programme through careful planning and the development of partnerships and networks;
- improve the cultural, social and physical fabric of the city;
- increase social cohesion;
- support the development of the image of the city;
- stimulate long-term change and renewal in the city.

In order to achieve these aims a sophisticated programme had to be devised, which linked the internal stakeholders (residents, businesses, employees, cultural sector, etc.) with external stakeholders (visitors, politicians, media, etc.). These stakeholders could also interact with the programme in different ways, for example in social, cultural, or economic terms. Some goals of the programme were short-term (e.g. generating more visits to the city in 2016) and others long-term (putting the city on the map and improving cultural facilities).

This complex range of aspects could also be examined for different stakeholders and over different periods of time. The *impacts* of the programme included the things that happened as a direct result of the activities organized, such as more visitors coming to the city to visit the exhibition “Visions of Genius”, whereas the *effects* or outcomes relate to the longer-term changes that the programme could leverage indirectly, such as increased external interest in the city, more international awareness of Bosch and his works, or increased feelings of pride and belonging among residents (Table 7.1).

Most event or programme impact studies focus on the short-term impacts that are relatively easy to measure, such as the amount of money spent by visitors, or tickets sold. These are things that can be counted, and presented in the form of easily understood figures and graphs.

Table 7.1 Programme impacts and effects

Impacts	*Effects/outcomes*
Increased income	Sustained economic development
Increased visitor numbers	Long-term tourism growth, new residents
Media coverage	International contacts, more people know the city exists, greater belief in own ability
Growth in business turnover	Local pride and belonging
Increased buzz and animation	Growth in social capital
More art exhibitions	More artists locating in the city
More events	Increased organizational capital
Event investment, temporary jobs	New firms and permanent jobs

But these impacts are often also a one-off. A visitor to a mega event may never come back to the city. In the long term, a smaller but sustained growth in visits will be more beneficial, as will softer effects of increased social cohesion or local pride or more cultural vitality. But these multi-dimensional effects are less easy to put into numbers, and may only be evident over a longer period of time.

As Don Getz (2017: 588) points out, both extrinsic and intrinsic approaches to the value of programmes can be taken:

> Events and portfolios are valued according to different models, one stressing extrinsic values defined by tourism, place marketing or economic development in which events are assets and a return on investment must be generated. In the intrinsic valuation model events and portfolios are not subject to external or quantifiable criteria, they are valued for their contributions to society, culture or the environment.

From this perspective, one of the most important outcomes for a city may be achieving sustainability, which is "a process of becoming rather than an end state" (Getz 2017: 588). Choosing what to measure is therefore of the utmost importance.

Measuring the Things That Count in a Programme

When measuring, we need to be clear about the objectives of the programme, so that we can see if these were met (did it do what it was supposed to?). But in addition to the effectiveness of the programme in meeting objectives, we should also try and measure what is actually important to the city and its people.

For example, during the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in Rotterdam in 2001 many blockbuster events were organized, which helped to attract over 2 million visits in total. However, when people in the cultural sector were asked about the part of the programme that they felt was most important, they talked about relatively small events, such as "Preaching in Another Person's Parish". This brought religious leaders from different faiths together to preach about important issues in holy places belonging to other religions. Although not large in terms of number of visitors or economic impact, it had a profound effect on those who did attend, and it was one of the things that people remembered years later. How an event makes people feel can be just as important as the size of the crowd or how much money was generated.

Even with targeted projects, however, one needs to remain aware of the difference between efficiency and effectiveness. Rotterdam 2001 also had a number of events aimed at ethnic minority groups, who make up almost half of the city's population. Our research found that minorities

tended to attend events targeted at them, which was an indication that the programme was efficient in reaching the intended audience. However, ethnic minorities did not tend to participate in the other elements of the programme, indicating that little had been done to stimulate integration (Hitters and Richards 2002).

Programmes can also be important in supporting the identity of communities and of the population of cities as a whole. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, over 80% of residents agreed that Hieronymus Bosch was a good icon for the city. This shared identification also points to another important effect of placemaking: the development of social cohesion. In the development of the Bosch500 programme, measurements were made of different aspects of social capital among a representative sample of residents. This showed that there was a strong link between the level of social capital and support for the programme and intention to participate. Those with higher levels of social capital were more likely to agree that the programme would develop a lasting link between the painter and his city, and were more likely to feel engaged in the programme (Dollinger 2015).

However, the data also show an important influence of geography on the level of social capital and participation in the programme. Richards (2017) shows that peripheral areas of the city, which are predominantly newly developed suburbs or former villages recently incorporated into 's-Hertogenbosch, had less engagement with the programme and also much lower levels of social capital and identification with the city. This shows the challenges of trying to increase involvement and engagement, even when the identification with Bosch as a figurehead was relatively high. One can try, as 's-Hertogenbosch did, to increase participation of marginalized groups through incentives, but it is by no means certain that participation will continue after the incentives are withdrawn.

Legacy and Leverage

When it comes to the longer-term effects of a programme, we tend to talk about legacy or leverage effects, or what is left behind. Gold and Gold (2017) chart the way in which legacy has recently become an important part of the Olympic Games. They trace the first informal appearance of legacy thinking to a meeting Lausanne in 2002, at which Hiller (2003: 102) suggested that legacy could be seen as a "positive end result that benefits the city in some way". Basically, the idea of legacy equates with the cross-generational equality principle of sustainability: the event should also leave something behind for future generations. However, the "something positive" alluded to in Hiller's formulation is rather vague: what should be left behind for whom?

The concept of planned legacy was framed in a more proactive way by Chalip (2006), who proposed that event outcomes could be posed in

terms of leverage: "Leveraged outcomes are those which are pre-planned and would have not have occurred without associated 'strategies and tactics'" (p. 112). Leverage can be related to the notion of "activation" – a concept which highlights that positive action needs to be taken in association with events to achieve desired effects. This is a more proactive view than legacy, which has a relatively passive idea of "leaving something behind".

One example of a proactive approach to event legacy comes from the Lille 2004 ECOC, which was designed to re-image this post-industrial northern French city as a modern metropolis. The success of the ECOC programme in mobilizing people was evident from the very first day: the opening party attracted 730,000 people, threatening to overwhelm the city. Sensing the popular enthusiasm, the organizing team, led by Didier Fusillier, quickly decided to extend the one-year programme into an ongoing event entitled "Lille 3000: The Voyage Continues" (Paris and Baert 2011)

> Lille 3000 was born in the wake of Lille 2004, in order to maintain this dynamic impulse and to confirm the predominant cultural role of the city in Europe. Described as a gate towards the future, Lille 3000 aims to explore the richness and complexity of tomorrow's world. Not being a biennale, neither a festival, Lille 3000 is an invitation to discover different cultures through contemporary art from all over the world, in events shared by the whole population right in the heart of the city.
>
> (Douniaux 2012)

The Lille 3000 programme was a deliberate leveraging effort designed to capitalize on the cultural, social, and economic impacts generated in 2004. The programme was designed not as a regular event, but rather as a sporadic cultural impulse. Lille 3000 has so far staged four very successful editions, the first in 2006/7 generating one million visits, and the fourth 1.5 million. One of the reasons for this success was continuity, with the 2004 Director Didier Fusillier staying involved until 2015, and Martine Aubry continuing as Mayor to this day, some 16 years after her initial election. As Guintcheva and Passebois-Ducros (2012: 62) found, "Even eight years after (the 2004 ECOC), respondents cited them spontaneously as a symbol of the region's political commitment to cultural policies."

The first Lille 3000 programme was organized despite resistance from the Lille Métropole region – but the subsequent success "seems to have reduced the opposition, and Lille 3000 has no longer been so criticized by local decision-makers since then" (Paris and Baert 2011: 41). There are also a number of other long-term effects of Lille 2004, such as a process of strategic cooperation with neighbouring local authorities, which

Photo 7.1 King Willem-Alexander visits 's-Hertogenbosch for the opening of the Bosch exhibition (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Paris and Baert (2011) argue had never been possible previously, and the opening of a new branch of the Louvre Museum in nearby Lens (pop. 36,000).

A successful programme without legacy or leverage planning can have important long-term effects, but arguably less than might have been achieved with these in place. For example the Bosch500 programme was enormously successful in many areas, including tourism generation, media attention, and social cohesion. But even though some thought was given to the actions needed to maximize these effects before the event, little was finally done to secure the long-term effects. The foundation organizing the Bosch500 programme did ensure that some elements of the programme would continue in the years after 2016, such as the Bosch Heaven and Hell Cruise and the Bosch Experience. But much more could have been done to embed Bosch in the city as a source of creative inspiration for the future. What little legacy planning there was happened more by accident than design.

The question of "leverage", especially for the small city, also relates to the contribution to the cost of programmes that can be leveraged from sources other than the municipal budget itself. For example, for the 2015 ECOC, the Belgian city of Mons only funded €3 million out of the total investment of €70 million – less than 5% of the total budget. Most of the remaining investment came from higher levels of government (€50 million) or partners in the city (€12 million). In other words, the city managed to leverage 95% most of the necessary budget elsewhere, creating a significant inflow of resources for the city. 's-Hertogenbosch also managed to leverage significant resources from outside the city for

the Bosch500 programme. About 30% of the budget came from the Municipality, meaning that the city managed to leverage 70% of the required resources (see Table 7.2). This underlines the fact that network building and collaboration are essential to economic leverage.

Measuring Change

As noted above, many evaluation programmes begin too late – once the programme has already started. To demonstrate the full effect, a baseline needs to be established against which changes can be monitored. Ideally this should be set at least a year before the programme is due to begin, and data relating to the event activities should be collected from this period onwards. Although some things can be measured in retrospect (e.g. using regularly collected statistics on the city, such as business turnover or cultural participation), other desirable indicators will relate to the event itself, and therefore need to be measured through primary research.

In some cases a general review may provide a baseline against which the development of different sectors of the city can be measured. The Irish city of Galway (population 75,529) developed an economic baseline study ahead of its designation as European Capital of Culture for 2020 (Whitaker Institute 2015). This reviewed the social background and different economic sectors of the economy, including tourism, food, creative industries, and retailing. This indicated, for example, that overseas tourism to Galway increased by over 10% between 2013 and 2014. This is important to know, because events such as the ECOC are often linked to increases in tourism – but this study shows that there is already healthy growth that has no link with the forthcoming ECOC year. So one would expect any forthcoming evaluation of the 2020 ECOC to consider whether the event managed to generate a growth in tourism above what might already be expected. The assertion that an ECOC can add 10–12% to overnight tourism in a city (Palmer 2004) is widely quoted, although in more recent years the average has fallen to around 8% (Falk and Hagsten 2017). However, few studies relate tourism growth during the ECOC year to the general rate of urban tourism growth in Europe. As tourism in general is currently growing at around 4% per year, this means that the real additional growth in terms of ECOC-related tourism may now be as little as 4%.

Much more detailed information can be generated from a specific baseline study for an event or programme, because this can be related to the aims of the activity itself. The baseline study developed for the ECOC bid for Brabantstad, a group of five Dutch cities competing for the 2016 title, gives some idea of the possibilities (van Bommel et al. 2011). Among the aims of the proposed programme were increased vitality in the cultural sector, increased cultural participation, and greater cultural

networking. These dimensions were examined through specific research studies looking at the attitudes and behaviour of cultural and creative actors in the different cities. This revealed that the programme proposal had resulted in increased networking between cultural operators, particularly outside the region. For almost three-quarters of those operators participating in a network, this had led to new projects. Levels of support for the project from residents were also high, at least initially. One of the problems revealed in the assessment was that although people identified very strongly with the formal administrative region of North Brabant, they were much less likely to feel linked to the abstract city network of Brabantstad. This supports Pasquinelli's (2013) contention that it is far easier to brand places using tangible symbols than abstract ideas.

Identifying Indicators

The question of what indicators to use is one of the most important decisions in effect monitoring. For many cities it may seem a simple process of identifying the different elements of the programme and then measuring how many people came, how much they spent, and whether the locals felt good about it. But in fact the effects of a programme have an important theoretical component: the effects that are expected (and which we can plan to measure) are a result of our theories or ideas about how the programme will operate. For example, in the tourism field there are innumerable studies that demonstrate the economic impacts that can be generated by attracting visitors. In terms of social effects, many studies argue that programmes can increase the social capital and social cohesion of communities (Richards, de Brito, and Wilks 2013). But when you have a large project with many different activities and expected effects, you will often have to deal with many different theoretical perspectives in designing the evaluation research.

As already outlined in Chapter 2, Sacco and Blessi (2007) developed a model of programme effects based on the different types of capital developed. In their study of Lille and Genoa, ECOCs for 2004, they assessed the development of capacity, as suggested by Sen, the development of competitiveness, based on the work of Porter and increased attractiveness, based on the ideas of Richard Florida. To measure these different effects they developed a set of 12 indicators, grouped into five major areas: Quality, Genius loci, Attraction, Sociality and Networking (see Table 2.1).

This model was also applied in the baseline study for Brabantstad (van Bommel et al. 2011) and later considered in the context of the ECOC bidding process as a whole by Richards and Marques (2016). This was refined into a conceptual model for cultural programme investment (Richards 2014). This model indicates that investment in culture through a specific programme can be expected to generate an increase in different kinds of capital, including natural, physical, human, social, and cultural (Figure 7.1, Box 7.1). The need to integrate these different

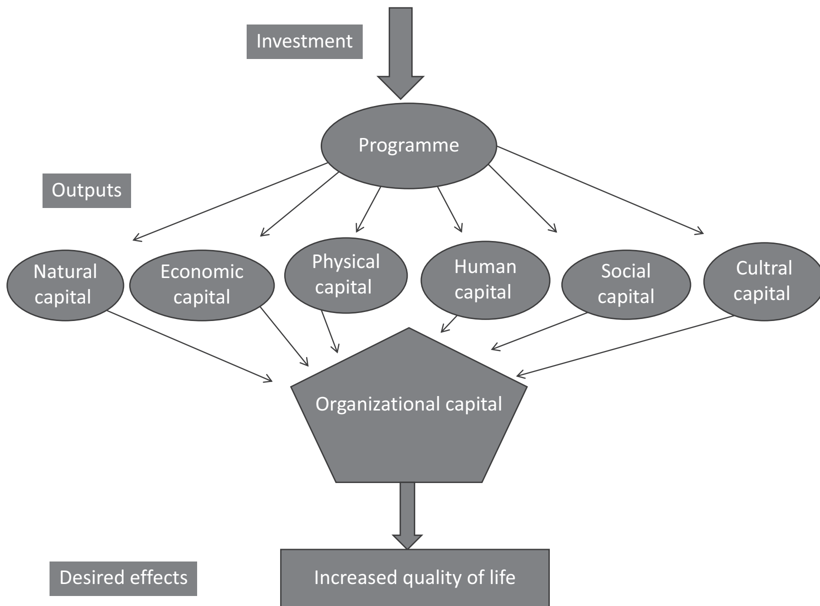


Figure 7.1 Return on programme investment model (after Richards 2014).

Box 7.1 Impacts of the Bosch500 programme in 2016

The Bosch500 programme increased all of the forms of capital shown in Figure 7.1. It attracted an estimated 1,400,000 additional visitors to events in the Bosch500 programme in 2016, including 422,000 who visited the exhibition "Visions of Genius" and 185,000 international visitors. The volume of visits was exceptional, doubling the normal annual number of event visitors to the city (Rekenkamercommissie 2016). The visitors in 2016 generated more than €150 million in additional direct spending, and media value of almost €50 million (national and international) was also created. The events organized in the framework of the Bosch500 programme helped to increase the "eventfulness" of the city, which now has more event visitors per 1,000 residents than any other in the Netherlands (Respons G50 Evenementenmonitor 2016). 's-Hertogenbosch has now become a big small city for events.

This influx of people had many important impacts. Firstly, there was a visible increase of foreign visitors in the streets, adding to the feeling that the city was receiving international attention.

(*Continued*)

Tourists also filled the restaurants, bars, hotels, and shops, generating a significant economic impact. In the first half of 2016 turnover in restaurants, bars, and hotels grew by 10% compared with the same period in 2015, and the turnover of shops increased by over 3%. The business sector, at first very sceptical about the benefits of the Bosch500 programme, finally began to be convinced by the tangible effects. A number of business leaders in the city even went as far as to pledge funding for future event programmes.

The visitors' experience of the programme and the city was of high quality. All elements of the programme scored 8 or more on a 10-point scale, and the intention to revisit 's-Hertogenbosch was also high (92% of domestic visitors, 64% International). The event also had a strong impact on the Dutch population as a whole. In 2016, 20% of the Dutch population visited the city (not all for Bosch500), and 16% said they would certainly visit in 2017, while 36% of the population indicated they might visit – which indicates strong potential for future tourism growth.

Perhaps more importantly, the painter Hieronymus Bosch was irrevocably linked to the city of his birth, providing a lasting legacy not only for the city but for the art world as a whole. The experience of the programme also made the residents of 's-Hertogenbosch proud of Bosch as an icon for the city, and had the effect of increasing social cohesion. 58% of residents indicated that their pride in the city had increased as a result of the programme, and almost half said that they felt involved in the events in 2016. Two-thirds of residents also felt that the programme had strengthened the cultural climate in the city.

The programme also won a large number of prizes, including: the Global Fine Art Awards 2016; the title EuroNederlander of the Year; the Apollo Award "Exhibition of the Year 2016"; Dutch Public Event of the Year 2016; The Dutch Data Prize; the Gouden Giraffe 2016; The Network City Marketing Award 2016; and the Europa Nostra Award 2017. These awards added to the publicity value of the programme.

Network development was also an important effect of the Bosch500 programme, because it brought together many people and organizations from different sectors. In addition to the four major networks established by Bosch500 (see Chapter 4), more informal contacts also played an important role in strengthening the cultural climate in the city. As one interviewee remarked: "Bosch500 is really a catalyst for a number of contacts we have made. Some links are more intense than others, but it brought

parties into contact with each other and enthused them" (Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017: 34)

The development of the legacy will continue, as the Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre will develop and run the Bosch House, the new interpretation centre to be created in the former residence and studio of the painter. But in spite of the success of the Bosch500 programme, there is also a feeling that the Municipality and local politicians have lost sight of the importance of securing the legacy. The departure of Ton Rombouts as Mayor will probably also add to the potential gap that may emerge after the completion of the programme.

This shows the wide range of different impacts that can be stimulated by a well-organized programme. However, longer-term assessment will be needed to evaluate what long-term effects emerge.

capital forms into a single programme in turn should increase the organizational abilities of the city concerned, which should enable the city to apply the increase in different forms of capital to improving the quality of life. This gives an idea of the return on programme investment and its eventual effect on the quality of life.

Increased Economic Activity

Many programmes developed by small cities seek to attract tourists, who can bring increased economic activity, develop atmosphere, and support creative production. The number of visitors coming to a small city can sometimes be larger than the local population. Researching the longer-term tourism effects of the ECOC, Falk and Hagsten (2017) conclude that particular types of cities tend to benefit most:

> long-term effects (of the ECOC) can only be observed for a subset of cities that are not necessarily large and are characterized by a wealth of historical and cultural attractions. Typically, the reason behind this is a subject for further analysis, but speculation could be that these cities held a hidden potential for increased tourism that was unlocked in connection with the ECoC event. Traditional historical and cultural sites and capitals do not have large amounts of hidden secrets.

Tourism gains were larger for second-tier cultural cities (Weimar, Tallinn, Guimarães, Salamanca, and Graz – all of which are relatively small) than for larger industrial cities.

Local Pride and Social Cohesion

One of the most notable effects of the Bosch500 programme was the increase in the level of pride residents felt in their city. When asked if the programme had increased their pride in their city, 21% of residents agreed in 2015, this proportion growing to 58% in 2016. These results mirror earlier research by Wood (2005) in Blackburn (UK), where she found that civic pride increased among residents after attendance at local cultural events. Her research also suggested that a sustained programme of events would be even more likely to produce sustained increases in local pride.

A high level of local pride was also reported in research on the start of the La Vuelta a España cycle race in Drenthe in the north east Netherlands (van Gool et al. 2009).

> Among the residents there was a lot of support for and commitment to the event and they were proud that the event had taken place in their region. They were positively surprised by the event and thought that it was economically and psychologically important.

Another cycle race start, this time for the Giro d'Italia, brought significant impact to the the small Danish cities of Herning (47,765) and Horsens (57,517) in 2012. Peter Sørensen, Mayor of Horsens Municipality, said:

> The Giro start 2012 in Horsens shows how a sporting event can create involvement and popular festival with thousands of spectators along the route in East Jutland. The whole community plays with us when we have the big events. There is a folk party and lots of side events, and this concept has helped to place Horsens on the map as the leading concert city.
>
> (Horsens Kommune 2012)

An art event in Japan has also helped to put some very small places on the map as well as building community cohesion and pride. The Setouchi Triennale is a landscape art festival held in and around the Inland Sea in Japan. Launched in 2010, the Triennale has attracted a growing audience of cultural tourists from Japan and elsewhere. The 2016 edition attracted over a million visitors, over 130,000 of whom came from abroad (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2016). The landscape art is scattered around the shores and islands in the Inland Sea, an area that has long suffered from depopulation. Over 70% of island residents agreed that holding the Triennale contributed to revitalization of the local community, particularly because it brought the communities into contact with visitors from many different backgrounds. In addition to

the many visitors, 7,000 volunteers worked on the programme in 2016. Thanks to the Triennale, many of the islands are now attracting families and young people to settle permanently.

Increased social cohesion is also one of the effects noted by Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) in their studies of cultural events in cities in Catalunya, Spain. In particular they note the tendency for local event programmes to strengthen local identity in the face of globalizing forces, allowing the local space of places to link effectively with the global space of flows, while not being overwhelmed by external forces.

Image of the City

One of the problems for many small cities is that they have no strong image in the eyes of the outside world, who often don't even know about their existence. So organizing programmes is often seen as a means of "putting the city on the map". The challenge is that image is a much more difficult thing to measure than economic impact. This is particularly true when the aim of a programme is to influence the outside world, since many of the target audience may never have visited or even heard of the city.

There is a lot of indirect evidence to suggest that a programme such as Bosch500 can have a significant image effect. Research by the Netherlands Board of Tourism and Conventions indicated that the Bosch500 programme had generated around €47 million in media value (including €20 million internationally), measured in terms of the numbers of press articles and TV and internet coverage. As shown in Chapter 6, this media coverage stimulated more interest in Hieronymus Bosch worldwide, with articles appearing in newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Guardian*. But there is also the question whether this media coverage increased general recognition of 's-Hertogenbosch abroad. In Belgium and Great Britain, recognition seems to have increased slightly. On the list of spontaneously mentioned Dutch cities, in Belgium 's-Hertogenbosch was in 13th place and in Britain 17th, a slight increase over 2014 for both countries. For Germans, however, 's-Hertogenbosch is recalled considerably less often, being in 32nd place compared with 25th in 2014 (Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017). But it is very difficult to judge why spontaneous awareness was lower in Germany when over a fifth of the visitors to the "Visions of Genius" exhibition in 2016 were German.

Change in the image of a city is difficult to measure, particularly when you are trying to assess the image projected to the outside world. This means that image changes are often assessed indirectly, for example through press coverage. Garcia (2005) conducted a qualitative longitudinal study of the personal and media narratives developed around Glasgow's image and identity in the period 1986–2003. She found that the 1990 European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in Glasgow had

Photo 7.2 Visitors along the Bosch Parade in 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

a significant positive impact on the city's image, and that tourism and economic renaissance are seen as the main legacies of the ECOC. "The existence of internationally recognized 'success stories' such as Glasgow has enhanced the prestige of the programme and generated growing expectations in cities aspiring to improve their image and boost their tourist economy" (p. 863).

In the case of Sibiu, in Romania, Richards and Rotariu (2015) found significant and sustained image effects as a result of the ECOC staged in the city in 2007. Surveys of residents found that a majority agreed that the city had benefitted from the ECOC programme in many ways, including image improvement, increased economic activity, social cohesion, and quality of life (Table 7.2).

Most residents also perceived an increase in media attention for Sibiu as a result of the programme. In 2017, over half of Sibiu residents agreed that there had been an increase in media coverage of the city as a result of the programme, and this figure was even higher for foreign visitors (68%). The data from the Sibiu research also show that the programme and resulting media attention had a measurable impact across Europe as a whole. The proportion of European tourists ranking Sibiu among their top five cultural destinations in the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Surveys (Richards 2010) shows a marked increase in 2007 (Figure 7.2). Although the rankings for Sibiu declined subsequently, they were still higher in 2009 than before the 2007 programme. Similar patterns are also evident for the ECOCs in Luxemburg (2007) and Liverpool (2008).

Table 7.2 Perceived impacts of the 2007 ECOC on Sibiu 2007–2017 (residents only)

	% totally agree		
"The 2007 ECOC ..."	2007	2010	2017
Improved the image of Sibiu	98	93	91
Brought more money to Sibiu	94	82	81
Improved cultural facilities	89	72	76
Created more social cohesion	67	55	59
Improved the quality of life	53	48	63
Brought Sibiu closer to the rest of Europe		84	78
Overall, Sibiu made good use of the ECOC		79	81

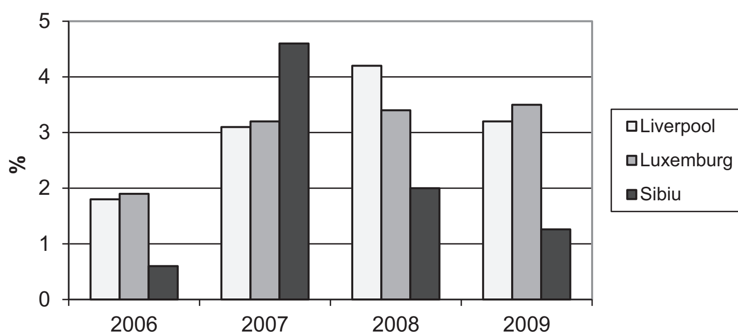


Figure 7.2 European tourists rating Sibiu among their top five cultural destinations, compared with Luxemburg (ECOC 2007) and Liverpool (ECOC 2008).

Rejuvenation of Urban Space

As we argue elsewhere in this volume, image and tourism impacts are probably less important than the effects of a programme on the reality or overall quality of life of a small city. Many cities are now using programmes of events as a deliberate strategy to animate and improve their public spaces. Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus (2010: 3) describe how "in smaller towns, traditional cultural practices and landscapes are transformed into distinctive cultural centers and festivals that revive emptying downtowns and attract regional visitors". They highlight the Fire and Water Festival in the small community of Arnaudville, Louisiana (pop. 1,057), and other events have helped to rejuvenate the cultural life of the town.

There are numerous other examples, particularly in the USA, where small cities have successfully rejuvenated their downtown areas through cultural planning (see Box 7.2).

Box 7.2 Dubuque, Iowa: improving public space through programming and development

Dubuque lost several large employers in the early 1980s. Unemployment reached 23%, and the retail vacancy rate climbed to 55%. Between 1980 and 1990, the city lost 7.8% of its population, and home values fell 9%.

To combat these challenges, a master plan was devised to redevelop the riverfront and physically and psychologically connect the city with the Mississippi River. Though it is one of the city's most important assets, the riverfront was dilapidated and not easy to access. A citizen-driven planning process, Envision 2010, was led by the Community Foundation of Greater Dubuque and supported by the Chamber of Commerce. Participants submitted more than 3,000 ideas, which resulted in a number of projects being taken up in the Port of Dubuque Master Plan, which aimed to transform the Port area into a walkable, mixed-use neighbourhood. The $188 million in funding for the project came from a combination of city, state, and federal sources; the Dubuque County Historical Society; and private investment. The planning process is guided by a 20-year vision, which is supported by five-year goals.

The waterfront is now a lively destination, housing the National Mississippi River Museum and a freshwater aquarium. There is a riverside amphitheatre and an outdoor pavilion that serves as a landmark for Mississippi riverboats and excursion vessels. After these improvements, employment rose from 37,600 jobs to more than 60,000 by 2014. In September 2017 the unemployment rate was 2.7%, compared with the national average of 4.1%. In 2009, IBM announced the opening of a new facility in one of Dubuque's historic downtown buildings, bringing more than 1,000 jobs. The city estimates that "more than one million tourists visit Dubuque annually to ride the riverboats, learn the history, and see the sights".

Significantly, the city is also home to five institutions of higher education, making it a centre for culture and learning. The Arts and Cultural Advisory Commission has provided significant funding for the arts, which has also leveraged considerable community support. Arts activities generate an estimated $47 million in annual economic impact, with 1.2 million people attending events each year.

The city has received a number of recognitions, including the 2010 Forbes designation of Dubuque as the best small city to raise a family in the USA. In 2013 Dubuque was placed third in the All-America City Awards, and in 2014 *USA Today* named Dubuque the fourth "Best American Riverfront". Population growth was almost 9% in the period 2000–2016, with the population reaching 97,000.

Cultural Effects

One of the major aims of the Bosch500 programme was to strengthen the cultural climate of 's-Hertogenbosch. Following the philosophy of Mayor Ton Rombouts, it was assumed that strengthening the cultural sector would have other effects, such as increased cultural participation, increased economic activity, and an overall increase in well-being. The cultural institutions in 's-Hertogenbosch identified the main cultural impacts of the programme as increased mutual cooperation and (inter) national programming. This created many new contacts both nationally and internationally, offering new financial and artistic opportunities. The number of artistic possibilities was also increased through the challenge of updating Bosch. The programme provided more resources to do things that otherwise would not have been possible, and this helped to develop cultural collaboration.

Bosch500 also had an important on cultural participation, with the proportion of residents agreeing that it had increased participation growing from 17% in 2008 to 38% in 2016. In terms of the overall cultural climate of the city, 66% agreed that this had improved thanks to the Bosch500 programme, although this was lower than the 84% who thought it would do so in 2008 (Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017). When asked which parts of the programme should be retained in future, the residents were particularly keen on another exhibition (60% agree) and the Heaven and Hell Cruise (59%). The Bosch Parade (49%) was also strongly supported, reflecting the findings of Agterberg (2015) that this event had helped to increase social cohesion.

In the small Norwegian city of Stavanger (132,000), the ECOC programme in 2008 significantly altered the cultural climate by bringing international collaborators into the city for prolonged periods, and by staging innovative events that linked the city with its rural hinterland. In a highly personal and primarily qualitative assessment of the event, Director Mary Miller and her colleagues reflected on the effects of the programme, in which:

> our priority was to build collaborations – to build a creative community around the projects which would combine artists both amateur and professional, international and local, old and young, where everyone would demand excellence, share ideas and stories, and work together.
>
> (Miller et al. 2009)

These collaborations were built by bringing artists from elsewhere, with performers coming from 59 countries. This was achieved with individual collaborative arrangements between local and international cultural organizations, but also through the creation of artistic residencies which brought leading international companies to Stavanger

to interact with the cultural scene and the local community. The aim was to build a “platform for the future”, which would include not only professional collaboration but also the development of local youth networks. The emphasis on youth reflects the culture and education focus of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, and also underlines the importance of the “soft” effects of programmes:

> We cannot capture, perhaps, the impact we most need to measure: the child who has discovered colour, the youth who learned to shine, the pride in the opening parade, the bursting heart of the first torch-bearing child at Mot Himlalete (an art event on a ski slope), the youth who discovered that his Liverpool peer felt just the same about God – or the lack of him, the senior with dementia who sang after years of silence.
>
> (Miller et al. 2009)

Asle Bergsgard and Vassenden (2011), assessing the situation a few years after the Stavanger ECOC conclude that the programme had achieved important things, particularly in terms of soft effects. These included a feeling that the city could achieve bigger things, that if it could accomplish projects of this magnitude, then there is potential for the future. Some cultural actors were also able to break out of established frames, which stimulated innovation by getting people to work in new and unfamiliar ways. Networking and collaboration increased, although Asle Bergsgard and Vassenden note that the bigger cultural actors tended to benefit most. Although the programme raised expectations and many felt that the cultural life of the city had been strengthened, other respondents also felt that more could have been achieved, and that expectations had not been fully met. Even so, the general raising of aspirations had a positive effect on the cultural sector, increasing professionalism, generating new ideas and methods, and increasing social capital. One of the important points that Asle Bergsgard and Vassenden make is that building social capital is not a zero-sum game: an increase in social capital for some in a small city does not occur at the expense of others.

At the end of the day one of the hardest questions to ask about a programme, but also one of the most important, is “What are you proud of?” (Stavanger 2008, 2009). For Mary Miller, Director of Stavanger 2008, the answer was:

- a programme truly built on culture (rather than economic growth or image change);
- remarkable projects staged in landscapes and nature;
- a comprehensive residencies programme that stimulated creativity and internationalized the ECOC;

- projects that crossed generations, putting children alongside adult participants and professionals.

Most importantly perhaps, Miller was proud of Stavanger having "done things their way": following their own dreams, not those of others.

Counting the Cost

Financing a city-changing programme is not easy. It requires time and effort, but also creativity and thinking outside the box. In 's-Hertogenbosch, as in the case of publicity (see Chapter 6) the financial breakthrough came from outside, not from within. It was the large external sponsors who first began to believe in the story of Bosch, and this also motivated the politicians to give more support.

The city began by investing €8 million. It is striking that the decision to reserve this relatively large amount of money was unanimous. One reason for the strong local political backing was that the money was not given as a blank cheque, but on the basis of a well-reasoned multiannual plan with clear goals and measurable outputs. Politicians could therefore see what the investment could deliver. The money would also only be spent if the exhibition could actually be mounted, otherwise it had to go back to the city. The money was also "new", and not taken from mainstream city marketing or cultural funds. This meant that the existing institutions and events did not need to see Bosch500 as competition for funding.

In the first year of the programme, the Province of North Brabant contributed €1.2 million. This came from the Brabantstad budget (see Chapter 4), and was provided as matching funding for projects from the city. More money was secured from the Province in the shape of ECOC funding, which again was shared over the five cities in Brabant. Den Bosch received the biggest share (€800,000) because it already had matching funding and was ready with a plan.

After the failure of the ECOC bid in September 2013 (Richards and Marques 2015), the city was able to call on the money that had been reserved for this event. The city and Bosch500 lobbied intensively to increase the Province's investment in the Bosch500 programme to €5 million, equal to the investment from central government. The contribution from central government was secured through clever lobbying by the Mayor of Den Bosch. He used the moment when elections had been called and the outgoing party (CDA, also the Mayor's party) could still allocate money remaining in the budget from the previous financial year.

In the case of both the Province and the central government, no use was made of the "usual channels" to secure funding (such as subsidy programmes). Funding was also necessary because the budget for this unique event was far in excess of the amounts available via the normal channels.

So the city lobbied for one-off, exceptional investments, which did not bring it into competition with other cities, events, or institutions. This avoided many of the normal political problems associated with civic funding.

The main challenge with public-sector funds is that politicians and administrators are highly risk-averse. A large-scale event such as Bosch500 is very risky, and prone to external shocks. The external public money therefore only arrived once the programme was already under way and had proven itself to be viable. The first external investments came from large sponsors such as the National Lottery (€1 million), the energy company Essent (€1 million), and the Rabobank (€500,000). They were willing to invest because the city itself had already promised €8 million, and the first steps had already been taken in the Bosch Research and Conservation project. The sponsors were therefore sufficiently confident that the paintings would be secured and that the exhibition would take place. For the sponsors, the "big dream" of Bosch's return seemed far more important than for the Province or the national government. For the public sector, politics were more important. The Province did not want to be seen to favour 's-Hertogenbosch above other regional cities, and the national government did not want to set a precedent that other cities could follow.

The management of such a large budget was complicated, because it was gathered from many different sources with different funding conditions. Much of the funding also only became available once the programme was already running. This required pre-financing from the city, and a careful separation and allocation of money from different sources to different parts of the programme.

For example, the national government wanted to link their investment only to the exhibition, the research programme, and international collaboration. The Province was much more interested in collaboration with other parts of the region, such as the ECOC bid and collaboration between the largest museums in the Province to stage the Bosch Grand Tour and the collaboration with music groups.

For the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, it was important that the exhibition should include a substantial number of artworks by Bosch. The support from local citizens was also seen as crucial by local politicians, and the programme therefore had to be broad and easily accessible for local people. There were even suggestions that the exhibition should be free for residents of the city. The national government (and also the Netherlands Bureau for Tourism and Congresses) placed more emphasis on the national and in particular the international role of the event. In the end, a compromise was forged whereby all Dutch children under 18 could visit the exhibition for free and schools in the whole country were invited to sign up for free guided tours. In the end, 15,000 schoolchildren visited the exhibition free of charge. For residents, a special Bosch500 lottery

Photo 7.3 Community art project with the French artist Olivier Grossetête (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

was developed: the 500 prizewinners were given an exclusive preview of the exhibition.

In terms of grants and sponsorship, particular attention was paid to large national and international funding bodies (such as the Getty Foundation) and sponsors. The sponsors were particularly interested in exposure related to the exhibition and the research project. These were the elements that provided extensive national and international media coverage. One advantage of this was that it avoided competition with sponsors of local events.

In general we can see that high programming and financial ambitions, linked to a big dream, paid off. Large amounts of money are needed to realize big dreams and to fit the scale of national and international financial partners. The financing of the project, and therefore also the financial risks, were made the responsibility of the specially established Bosch500 Foundation. The existing institutions in the city were not able to assume these responsibilities or the associated risks. The Noordbrabants Museum could not assume any risk because they lacked the financial reserves to cover the eventual costs. The municipality of 's-Hertogenbosch therefore considered it important to set up an independent body that could gather the finance and also avoid any financial deficit. The city was also bound by financial rules that prevent it from receiving sponsorship money, and did not think it was appropriate for the Municipality to be responsible for the artistic content of the programme. Large-scale events often lead to substantial deficits, which often have to be covered by the public purse (such as the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976, or early editions of the Salzburg Festival – Waterman 1998). In the case of Bosch500, largely thanks to the success of the exhibition and

Table 7.3 Financial overview of the Bosch500 Programme (2010–2016)

Programme element	*Investment (€)*	%
"Visions of Genius" exhibition	11,500,000	43
Bosch Research and Conservation Project	3,000,000	11
Bosch Professorship	300,000	1
Bosch Experience	1,200,000	4
Bosch Grand Tour	500,000	2
Visions of the City	3,500,000	13
Bosch Cities Network	2,000,000	7
International programme	1,000,000	4
Marketing and communication	2,000,000	7
Legacy investment	600,000	2
Overhead (5%)	1,400,000	5
Total investment	27,000,000	100
Funding sources	*Income (€)*	%
City of 's-Hertogenbosch	8,000,000	30
Province of North Brabant	5,100,000	19
National government	5,000,000	19
European Union	900,000	3
Grants and sponsorship	5,000,000	19
Own income	3,000,000	11
Total income	27,000,000	100

the income this generated, the programme was closed with a positive financial result. A surplus of €400,000 was available to reinvest in the Bosch legacy programme.

The figures in Table 7.2 make it clear that the exhibition "Visions of Genius" took up a large proportion of the budget (43%), but was also responsible for 57% of the direct economic impact in 2016. There were also considerable investments in knowledge generation (the Bosch Research and Conservation Project) and networking (the Bosch Cities Network) that far outweighed the marketing budget. This indicates that the programme invested primarily in content and knowledge development, which then generated a lot of free publicity, media attention, and admiration for the city.

Many in the city questioned the need to make such large investments in the Bosch programme. The total Bosch500 budget of €27 million is equal to €180 per resident, a considerable investment for a small city. Given that most of this investment actually came from outside the city, it can be argued that the residents got good value for their money for the €8 million invested by the Municipality (or €53 per resident). But it is certainly the case that small cities generally have to invest proportionately more in these sorts of programmes than large cities. As Figure 7.3 indicates, cities of under 200,000 people had invested almost 15 times as much per capita in ECOC programmes as cities with over a million people. So for a city of its size, 's-Hertogenbosch was relatively frugal.

Photo 7.4 Locally brewed Jheronimus beer (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

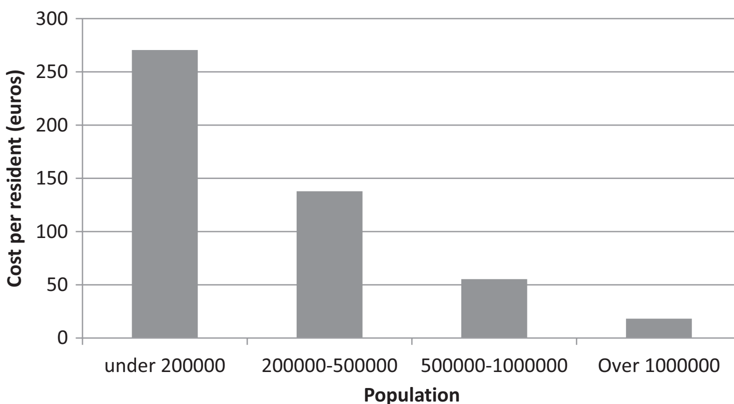


Figure 7.3 Total cost per resident for the ECOC, 1995–2015, by city population size.

Given the need for small cities to spend more per capita to mount major programmes, the risks involved need to be carefully assessed. In the case of the ECOC in Mons in Belgium in 2015, the "risk of the cultural investment" was extremely well managed, according to an assessment by KEA (2016). The keys to this included:

- a budget guaranteed well in advance, increasing confidence among the stakeholders;
- a cultural policy integrated with a long-term development strategy;

- a close relationship between political and artistic actors, which created a relationship of mutual trust;
- ensuring access to culture for as many people as possible;
- implementing a sound financial and economic management model, and separation of artistic and financial responsibilities;
- an ecosystem that placed value on all forms of innovation and creativity.

Thanks to the successful ECOC programme, Mons could create a budget of €5.5 million to fund the Mons 2025 legacy programme. The mission of Mons 2025 includes the production of cultural projects aimed at extending the assets of the European Capital of Culture, cultural networking, economic regeneration through culture, and establishing the brand Mons, Cultural Capital. Activities will include the organization of events in the fields of gastronomy and arts and the creation of a federation of cultural institutions in Mons, with a common cultural communication strategy.

There was widespread appreciation of the programme among residents, 72% of whom agreed that "Mons 2015 will help revitalize the city and the region in 2015 and afterwards". Over two-thirds of residents also agreed that Mons 2015 helped develop a sense of belonging and pride in the city. However, residents expressed more scepticism about whether "everybody benefited from Mons 2015": only 7% of respondents "strongly agreed" and 16% "moderately agreed". The evaluation report therefore concluded:

> Mons 2015 did not succeed completely in every respect [...] [according to] General Commissioner, Yves Vasseur, "Mons 2015 showed that there was a strong demand for friendly contact and the social bond. The major exhibitions were needed to attract visitors and justify trips to Mons. However, cultural actors need to rethink their model and work on smaller projects that can respond to this demand for exchange and sharing."
>
> (KEA 2016: 11)

Costs of Bidding for Programmes

One of the costs often not considered in programme budgets is the cost of acquiring a programme which is externally validated. This is very common in the case of sports programmes, such as the Olympic Games, but it is also becoming more common in the case of other types of programmes (McGillivray and Turner 2017). The ECOC has an extensive bidding process among candidate cities, as do other programmes and titles such as the World Design Capital, European Green Capital, the UK City of Culture, the Spanish Capital of Gastronomy, and the Canadian

Capital of Culture. Although many of these titles will tend to go to larger cities because of their greater resources, small cities are also now becoming increasingly involved in such bidding processes. In recent years the European Capital of Culture title has gone to some fairly small cities, including Guimarães in Portugal (158,000), Matera in Italy (60,000), and Leeuwarden in the Netherlands (108,000).

In their analysis of ECOC bidding processes, Richards and Marques (2015) highlighted the rising costs of bidding, which are generally related to increasing competition for many titles. In the competition for the Dutch ECOC title for 2018, for example, the average bidding budget for the four final bids was over €3 million per city. The bidding process lasted three years and went through two selection rounds, with the cities spending considerable sums on publicity, lobbying, and cultural programming. However, high investment in bidding does not guarantee success: the title eventually went to Leeuwarden, the smallest city in the competition with the smallest budget, and the latest entrant.

The high costs of bidding and the lack of guaranteed success have persuaded many cities to create their own programmes instead. This increases the need to promote and put the programme on the map, but it means that the city is able to follow its own dream rather than implementing somebody else's.

Intangible Programme Costs

Apart from the economic costs involved in organizing and staging programmes, other intangible and non-monetary costs may arise.

Programmes may be linked to social costs, such as temporary disruption and noise, or to longer-term effects such as gentrification. Much of the opposition to cultural and sporting programmes has come from groups opposed to regeneration based on consumption and upscaling of neighbourhoods. The organization of large-scale programmes can have significant impacts on the cost of living and housing. In fact, increasing property values is one of the claimed benefits of culture-led regeneration in urban areas. Rising prices tend to attract more up-market inhabitants with greater spending power. However, this also has the effect of replacing the original residents and also the artists who originally moved in because prices were low. This is what Kern (2016) refers to as the "slow violence" of gentrification. As Oakley (2015) shows, processes of gentrification are also now affecting small cities. Gentrification research has also widened its remit from a concentration on housing to consider "commercial gentrification": the replacements of certain kinds of shops and even pubs by trendy bars and cafés, or what Zukin (2009) calls "boutiquing"; and the links between cultural tourism and gentrification through the development of global consumer taste for certain sorts of spaces (Oakley 2015: 6). However, Stern and Siefert (2010) argue that

creative placemaking can also have beneficial impacts on neighbourhoods without the negative effects of gentrification, particularly if this can build social connections in the community.

This suggests there is a need to avoid spectacle, and to combine a commitment to social justice with a desire to pursue economic development. As we noted in Chapter 5, this should be based on public-sector leadership and planning. This provides the possibility of a new politics of space, particularly based on the potential of festive spaces as a counter to commodification and gentrification. There is a need for a progressive sense of place that combines the space of flows and the space of places, and for smaller-scale, place-based arts organizations combined with broad-based local governance. We would further suggest a need to think more broadly about knowledge generation as a basic resource that can feed into growth in a wide range of sectors, beyond the narrow arts or cultural field. As a number of small cities have demonstrated, knowledge created through programmes and networks can usefully be anchored in place and used to stimulate creative and economic activity by linking internal stakeholders and external networks. This requires the development of effective platforms, ideally based on open-source and co-creation principles. The Bosch500 programme shows the importance of producing new knowledge that can help people to meet the challenges they face – not just artistic knowledge, but also self-knowledge, knowledge of identity, contemporary trends, and creative possibilities.

If a small city houses a major programme, it may also find itself facing costs associated with the additional stress on urban systems and the people delivering the programme. In the case of Stavanger, for example, Miller et al. (2009) describe the problems in mounting the programme, partially caused by an "unworkable management structure". At one stage the local newspaper described the situation as "nothing short of a crisis". Beyond the programme organization itself, however, the additional effort asked of cultural producers and others responsible for content and programming may also take a toll. Asle Bergsgard and Vassenden (2011) cite cases of smaller cultural operators being effectively "burned out" by the intensive work required to stage a year-long programme. The city itself may also have to do a lot of extra work that may not be immediately visible or accounted for. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, there was a considerable amount of planning involved in the supporting policies required for the Bosch500 programme, such as accessibility, street dressing, welcoming and informing visitors, and various small-scale infrastructural measures aimed at improving the visitor experience.

Some programmes have also attracted criticism that they have negatively affected local culture, often through "festivalization". Because large programmes often aim to attract large number of visitors, there is a tendency to towards popular programming – or "Bono and Tall Ships"

as Mary Miller succinctly put it. Such events may have a low access threshold and generate large visitor numbers, but they can also be far removed from the local cultural scene and do little to support the work of local artists or local communities.

Problems of Assessment

The foregoing analysis of the costs and benefits of programmes makes it clear that there is a vast array of factors to consider in assessment. It is important to establish an evaluation system as an integral part of the programme. But even with an evaluation in place, many potential problems can still arise, as the Mons experience of the ECOC shows (KEA 2016):

- The time range of assessment is often too limited. Evaluation reports are usually produced a few months after the official end of the programme, whereas economic and social effects may not be fully evident until many years later.
- The local authorities only become interested in the assessment exercise at too late a stage.
- The official data at national and local level are insufficient.
- Cultural institutions should make greater efforts to collect sociodemographic information on participation in cultural events to better understand changes in the public and its cultural practices.
- Cities should use resources to measure the impact of cultural investment on cross-sectoral partnerships, on the networking of people and institutions, and on new forms of participation generated by the ECOC.

To avoid these problems, cities need to take assessment seriously and plan ahead. They should also try and set up structures that will survive the programme so that monitoring will continue beyond the end of the programme.

> The European Capital of Culture year is just one step in the creation of an ecosystem that sets a value on mutual enrichment between skills and occupations, a form of governance that has demonstrated its ability to get civil society, communities, companies and institutions working towards a common goal. This impressive movement of popular collaboration is the precursor to a situation where the intelligence of the whole community is being used in the interests of the city. As such, cultural investment is a driving force for social innovation – innovation that increases society's capacity for action.
>
> (KEA 2016: 22)

Conclusions

We argue here for a more holistic and sensitive approach to evaluation, which considers the longer-term effects as well as short-term impacts, and which looks at social, cultural, and other "soft" effects as well as the "hard" economic impacts. This is not to suggest that economic impacts should be ignored; the generation of income and jobs is usually one of the most important pillars of urban programmes. But making money has to be seen as just one aspect of the overall aim – one part of making places better.

The holistic assessment of the effects of programmes on the city should therefore take into account all the different capital accumulation processes (social, cultural, human, etc.) that feed into an increase in organizational ability and ultimately help to improve the quality of life. It is also very important to remain aware of problems of attribution. Are the observed impacts and effects in the city actually a result of the programme, or of other factors (as well)? Establishing a link between cause and effect is often a case of taking a long-term view. Measuring a set of indicators over a number of years will also help to separate the short-term impact of a single event from the longer-term cumulative effects of a programme. The time dimension of programmes is central to the analysis in Chapter 8.

References

Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek (2017). *Eindevaluatie manifestatie Jheronimus Bosch 500*, *'s-Hertogenbosch 2016*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch.

Americans for the Arts (2012). Arts & Economic Prosperity IV. www.americansforthearts.org

Asle Bergsgard, N., and Vassenden, A. (2011). The Legacy of Stavanger as Capital of Culture in Europe 2008: Watershed or Puff of Wind? *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 17(3): 301–20.

Chalip, L. (2006). Towards Social Leverage of Sport Events. *Journal of Sport & Tourism* 11(2): 109–27.

Crespi-Vallbona, M., and Richards, G. (2007). The Meaning of Cultural Festivals: Stakeholder Perspectives in Catalunya. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13(1): 103–22.

Dollinger, L. (2015). A Study about Social Cohesion in 's-Hertogenbosch. BA thesis, NHTV Breda.

Douniaux, V. (2012). Lille 3000 Happening. http://www.shift.jp.org/en/archives/2012/12/lille_3000.html

Falk, M., and Hagsten, E. (2017). Measuring the Impact of the European Capital of Culture Programme on Overnight Stays: Evidence for the Last Two Decades. *European Planning Studies* 25(12): 2175–91.

Garcia, B. (2005). Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long-Term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies* 42(5–6): 841–68.

Getz, D. (2017). Developing a Framework for Sustainable Event Cities. *Event Management* 21(5): 575–91.

Gold, J., and Gold, M. (2017). Olympic Futures and Urban Imaginings: From Albertopolis to Olympicopolis. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 514–34. London: SAGE.

Guintcheva, G., and Passebois-Ducros, J. (2012). Lille Metropolitan Art Programme: Museum Networking in Northern France. *International Journal of Arts Management* 15(1): 54–5.

Hiller, H. H. (2003). Toward a Science of Olympic Outcomes: The Urban Legacy. In M. De Moragas, C. Kennett, and N. Puig (eds), *The Legacy of the Olympic Games 1984–2000*, 102–9. Lausanne: International Olympic Committee.

Hitters, E., and Richards, G. (2002). Cultural Quarters to Leisure Zones: The Role of Partnership in Developing the Cultural Industries. *Creativity and Innovation Management* 11: 234–47.

Horsens Kommune (2012). Giro Start 2012 i Horsens i international finale. http://horsens.dk/Nyheder/2012/Oktober/Nyheder/Giro-Start-2012-i-Horsens-i-international-finale

KEA (2016). *Mons 2015—European Capital of Culture: Demystifying the Risk of Cultural Investment*. Brussels: KEA.

Kern, L. (2016). Rhythms of Gentrification: Eventfulness and Slow Violence in a Happening Neighbourhood. *Cultural Geographies* 23(3): 441–57.

Markusen, A., and Gadwa Nicodemus, A. (2010). *Creative Placemaking*. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

McGillivray, D., and Turner, D. (2017). *Event Bidding: Politics, Persuasion and Resistance*. London: Routledge.

Miller, M., Tjomsland, N., Hansen, M. E., Robberstad, K. H., Aae, B., and Wrapson, A. (eds) (2009). *Our Story*. Stavanger: Stavanger2008. www.tram-research.com/Our%20Story%20Stavanger%202008.pdf

Oakley, K. (2015). Creating Space: A Re-evaluation of the Role of Culture in Regeneration. http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/88559/3/AHRC_Cultural_Value_KO%20Final.pdf

Palmer, R. (2004). *Palmer Report on the Capitals of Culture from 1995–2004*. Brussels: European Commission.

Paris, D., and Baert, T. (2011). Lille 2004 and the Role of Culture in the Regeneration of Lille Métropole. *Town Planning Review* 82(1): 29–44.

Pasquinelli, C. (2013). Competition, Cooperation and Co-opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-territorial Branding. *Urban Research & Practice* 6: 1–18.

Ramsey, D., Eberts, D., and Everitt, J. (2007). Revitalizing Small City Downtowns: The Case of Brandon, Canada. In B. Ofori-Amoah (ed.), *Beyond the Metropolis: Urban Geography As If Small Cities Mattered*, 221–44. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Rekenkamercommissie (2016). *Onderzoek beleid en ontwikkeling city-marketing en evenementen maart 2016*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch.

Respons (2016). G50 Evenementen Monitor. www.respons.nl/monitoren-online-databases/g50

Richards, G. (2010). The Traditional Quantitative Approach. Surveying Cultural Tourists: Lessons from the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research

Project. In G. Richards and W. Munsters (eds), *Cultural Tourism Research Methods*, 13–32. Wallingford: CABI.

Richards, G. (2014). Evaluating the European Capital of Culture that Never Was: The Case of Brabantstad 2018. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 6(3): 1–16.

Richards, G. (2017). From Place Branding to Placemaking: The Role of Events. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 8(1): 8–23.

Richards, G., de Brito, M., and Wilks, L. (2013). *Exploring the Social Impacts of Events*. London: Routledge.

Richards G., Hitters, E., and Fernandes C. (2002). *Rotterdam and Porto: Cultural Capitals 2001. Visitor Research*. Arnhem: ATLAS.

Richards, G., and Marques, L. (2016). Bidding for Success? Impacts of the European Capital of Culture Bid. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 16(2): 180–95.

Richards, G., and Rotariu, I. (2015). Developing the Eventful City in Sibiu, Romania. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 1(2): 89–102.

Sacco, P. L., and Blessi, G. T. (2007). European Culture Capitals and Local Development Strategies: Comparing the Genoa and Lille 2004 Cases. *Homo Oeconomicus* 24(1): 111–41.

Saylor, D. (2016). CITY of NIGHT and the Impact of Placemaking. *Forum Journal* 30(3): 37–45.

Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee (2016). *General Report*. Takamatsu: Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee.

Smith, A. (2014). Leveraging Sport Mega-Events: New Model or Convenient Justification? *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 6(1–3): 15–30.

Stern, M., and Seifert, S. (2010). Cultural Clusters: The Implications of Cultural Assets Agglomeration for Neighborhood Revitalization. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 29(3): 262–79.

van Bommel, M., du Long, K., Luijten, J., and Richards, G. (2011). *Brabant-Stad's candidacy for European Capital of Culture 2018. Baseline Study: The Main Conclusions*. Tilburg: PON.

van Gool, W., Oldenboom, E., Ratgers, L., and van Schendel, A. (2009). *La Vuelta Drenthe Holanda: Beleving en economische impact*. Breda: NHTV.

Visit Denmark (2012). Evaluering af Giro-starten 2012: Tilskueroplevelse, turismeomsætning og markedsføringseffekter. www.visitdenmark.dk/sites/default/files/vdk_images/PDF-and-other-files/Analyser/2013/evaluering_af_giro-starten_2012.pdf

Waterman, S. (1998). Carnivals for Elites? The Cultural Politics of Arts Festivals. *Progress in Human Geography* 22(1): 54–74.

Whitaker Institute (2015). *Economic Baseline Summary Overview Galway City*. Galway: Whitaker Institute, NUI Galway.

Wood, E. H. (2005). Measuring the Economic and Social Impacts of Local Authority Events. *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 18(1): 37–53.

Zukin, S. (2009). *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

8 Tempo

Good Placemaking Takes Time

Introduction

The idea for the Hieronymus Bosch programme in 's-Hertogenbosch emerged in 2001. In that year, the Boijmans van Beuningen museum in Rotterdam organized a major Bosch exhibition for the European Capital of Culture (Richards, Hitters, and Fernandes 2002). The exhibition was very successful, attracting 220,000 visitors, 40% of whom came from abroad. The question posed by the Mayor of 's-Hertogenbosch, Ton Rombouts, was: "Why can't we do this in Bosch's home city?" From this original inspiration, it took a further five years until Bosch became identified as a viable icon for his home city of 's-Hertogenbosch, and eight years until the city agreed to fund the programme. This gives some idea of the timescale required to mount a successful and far-reaching programme. Time is therefore one of the key resources that any city needs to realize its dreams.

One of the problems in assessing the effects of long-term programmes is that people often attribute all of the success (or failure) to a single event. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, most people will see the exhibition in 2016 as the major initiator of change, without realizing that this was just the end sprint of a 15-year marathon. In addition, many observers focus only on one specific point or highlight in the programme. This can mean that the changes brought about by the programme as a whole are often attributed to that single event. The transformation of Barcelona is traced to the Olympic Games of 1992, the rejuvenation of Bilbao is attributed to the opening of the Guggenheim Museum in 1997, and so on.

But a closer analysis of successful development programmes reveals that in most cases the transformation takes much longer and is much more complex than it appears. In the case of Bilbao, most attention is paid to the "Guggenheim effect" supposedly caused by the opening of this iconic building in 1997. However, the real transformation of the city started in the 1980s with cleaning up the mess left by decades of metal smelting. A strategic plan was adopted in 1992, providing a vision for the city over a 30-year period. Only then could other programmes, such as the Guggenheim Museum or the new metro, be successful (Box 8.1). As Richards and Palmer (2010) suggest, such transformations take a generation to reach their full effect.

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-8

This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

Box 8.1 Bilbao: a holistic approach to development

Although not a particularly small city, Bilbao demonstrates some important principles of timing in urban development. A programme to revitalize the city and its surrounding districts was launched in 1989, with a long-term vision stretching over the following 30 years. This aimed to resolve the problems caused by deep recession, depopulation, and economic restructuring at the end of the Franco era. The plan covered eight key areas, which included "Transport", "Promoting a compact city able to attract businesses and residents", "Environmental regeneration", without which the city could not be made attractive, "Urban regeneration", which was necessary to address years of physical and social neglect, and "Cultural centrality". The central role for culture included a new metro system designed by Norman Foster and the Guggenheim Museum designed by Frank Gehry. In spite of much attention being paid to the so-called "Guggenheim effect", Bilbao's approach to regeneration was heavily influenced by the experiences of Barcelona, Madrid, and Seville, all of which had developed project-led urban regeneration plans based on hosting major events (Plöger 2007). Plöger's assessment of the Bilbao case shows how a combination of different factors – not simply a new museum – was essential to its success. These factors included:

> favourable timing and a number of intervention factors, such as joining the EU and the subsequent economic boom [...] The recovery of Bilbao has been facilitated by a combination of determined public sector leadership and an existing entrepreneurial culture. This enabled the design of interventions and special agencies to confront the symptoms of the crisis. Several major investments such as the Guggenheim, the new metro system and the water sanitation project were important components of this strategy.
>
> (Plöger 2007: 36)

The Bilbao example underlines the importance of an integrated programme for urban development.

Constructing such a programme requires the collaboration of a wide range of different stakeholders. If other Spanish cities achieved this in the early 1990s through the use of large-scale events, Bilbao had the Guggenheim – a building turned event (Richards 2010). Although the role of the museum in the economic and social regeneration of the city is disputed, it took on enormous symbolic value as a marker of Bilbao before and after its construction.

Places therefore need time. In the prevailing climate of "fast policy" (Peck 2005) time is often in short supply, because politicians want to have results during their mandate – in other words, now. Resisting the pressure for quick wins in favour of the long-term gains is one of the most important qualities of successful transformation programmes. Of course, there is a need to deliver some short-term results so that people will continue to support the idea but, these should not obscure the long-term goals.

Making Time for Change

If your dream is worth achieving, it is worth investing time in. Planning, executing, and building upon a good programme takes a lot of time. A city, as an organization, has to go through a learning process, and acquire the skills needed to operate effectively in its external environment. As with people, this learning process needs time. Richard Sennett (2009) has argued that people need about 10,000 hours to master a skill, equivalent to the seven years of a traditional apprenticeship. For individuals, this initial investment stays with them for life, whereas the city suffers a constant loss of knowledge and skills as people leave and move elsewhere. For a small city, this problem may be even more acute, as the pool of skilled people is smaller in the first place. One of the success factors in many of the small cities we have analysed is an ability to retain key staff. This is also a potential danger of event-based programmes, because cities may attract talented people for a major event, only to see them leave again once the event is over. This is another reason why a multi-annual programme is often more effective that a single event. A multi-annual programme should also give time to build on successes and correct faults, allowing the programme to reach increasingly high levels. These steps should be built into the programme. For example, the Bosch500 programme moved fairly quickly from being an idea for the city into having a national and then international dimension (see Box 8.2).

But time can also be an enemy. Bent Flyvbjerg (2014) estimated that nine out of ten major projects go over budget. His "iron law of megaprojects" is that they are "over budget, over time, over and over again". Most projects end up taking much longer to complete than expected. This arguably results in the "survival of the un-fittest": the projects that get built are those with wildly optimistic cost–benefit projections:

> project promoters often avoid and violate established practices of good governance, transparency and participation in political and administrative decision making, either out of ignorance or because they see such practices as counterproductive to getting projects started.
> (Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter 2003: 5)

The fact is that it now takes more time for projects to get off the ground, particularly if they involve major infrastructure. For example, in 2011,

the average time it took to complete an environmental impact statement on a highway project in the USA was over eight years, compared with two years just after the law was passed (National Environmental Policy Act of 1969).

According to the Regional Plan Association (2012), the major causes of delays in such projects were:

- lack of stakeholder consensus over fundamental aspects of a project forged during the planning phase;
- administrative bottlenecks and outdated procedures within agencies that have insufficient staff capacity and training.

These problems have the potential to dog programmes of all kinds. Very often project promoters find themselves in a difficult position in the early phases. Because they believe in the project, they are convinced it will succeed – but to make it happen, they have to convince others as well. This usually involves some kind of business plan or feasibility study. As Richards and Palmer (2010) have also indicated, the temptation is to inflate the potential benefits to get the project funded.

There have been many cases in which major events or infrastructure projects have failed to deliver the promised benefits. For example, the 1991 World Student Games in Sheffield was initially heralded as a major economic boost for the city, but ended up saddling taxpayers with an enormous debt, which is still being paid off. Bramwell (1997) identified a lack of strategic planning and research, a lack of integration with broad development planning, and a lack of participation as major failings in the Sheffield case. He emphasizes the need for a long-term perspective for such projects. Even though the Games cost more than expected and generated less immediate impacts than expected, in the longer run they did contribute to establishing Sheffield as a centre for major sporting events. Over-optimistic assumptions may convince people to fund a project, but they can also create disappointment, and may harm the credibility of the city.

Choosing Your Moment

Taking time is important, because speed is not the issue, but knowledge, insight, and therefore timing. Some important insights on the importance of timing come from footballer Johan Cruyff:

> What is speed? The sports press often confuses speed with insight. Look, if I start running slightly earlier than someone else, I seem faster. There's only one moment in which you can arrive in time. If you're not there, you're either too early or too late.
>
> (sgxl.nl (2017) 111)

Box 8.2 Building the Bosch500 programme

In the case of the Bosch500 programme, the idea emerged in 2001, 15 years before the main programme was due to start. Concrete plans were not really made until 2006, and the initial funding was only fully secured in 2009. The apparently slow pace of the process was due to the time needed to convert the idea into a vision and then to get the different stakeholders on board. The organization and implementation of a complex programme takes time. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch time was particularly crucial, because the city started from a disadvantageous position – the wannabe art city with no art. The city had a dream of staging a major exhibition of Bosch's work, but it did not possess a single painting by him. This made it important to start early with the preparations, and particularly with laying claim to Hieronymus Bosch as an icon for the city.

One of the first steps was to undertake a feasibility study (TRAM 2007). This was based on a review of similar programmes, and concentrated particularly on events linked to famous painters such as Rembrandt and Rubens. One of the aims of the feasibility study was to examine the extent to which such figures could act as icons for the development of programmes and longer-term effects.

The feasibility study concluded that Bosch indeed had potential to deliver considerable benefits to the city, providing the programme was well organized. One of the most important conclusions of the report was that a multi-annual programme had the potential to generate far more long-term benefit than a single-year event. Based on an analysis of similar programmes, the study concluded that a multi-annual programme had the potential to generate 5% more visitation per year. A number of factors were argued to contribute to this added value, including the increased potential for product development, the addition of a contemporary, creative dimension to the creative life of the city, and the strengthening of Bosch as an icon for the city. But the report also emphasized that a lot of work was needed to realize the full potential of Bosch. It was particularly important to ensure that residents and visitors would also encounter Bosch in various ways in the city.

In terms of the expected impact of the programme, it was estimated that that the multi-annual programme could generate around 600,000 extra visits to the city between 2010 and 2020, which depending on the visitor mix could generate up to €46 million in additional spending. Based on a projected municipal budget of €4.6 million, this would imply a return of around ten times the investment.

(*Continued*)

In the event, of course, these initial figures changed a lot during the 10 years that it took to actually implement the programme. But in the final analysis we can see that the events in 2016 alone generated around €150 million in direct visitor spending, more than five times the projected spend for the entire programme. Even though this impact was based on a much higher investment from the Muncipality (€8 million), the return for the programme in terms of direct spending was almost 20 times this amount (Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017).

The other big change compared with the original plans for the programme was the lack of a central attraction. In the original plans it was envisaged that the house in which Bosch had lived and worked would be developed into a visitor attraction, adding to the impact of the programme in the longer term as well. In fact, there were considerable problems involved in securing the house that was thought to be Bosch's residence and atelier. Negotiations with the owners of the house took more than five years, and once the deal was about to be done, the house next door collapsed. However, this incident actually sped up the negotiation process, because it gave the owners a new sense of urgency.

The most time-consuming elements of the preparation started in 2010, when:

- The first of six years of cultural programming was launched.
- The scientific track, in the form of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project, started with research and conservation work that would last for six years.
- The different national and international networks were formed to provide a basis for collaboration, co-productions, and research.
- The storytelling project around Hieronymus Bosch was started, based on different elements of the programme (research, cultural programme, etc.). This formed the basis for the "story of Bosch", a constant source of marketing and communication material, and in particular free publicity.
- Sponsoring and subsidies were initiated. In most cases this was aimed at multi-annual sponsorship or funding for the entire period of the programme, including the Bosch Year in 2016.

The development of the programme also required careful financial planning. The total budget for the seven year programme was €27 million (see Chapter 7). The multi-annual, multi-dimensional programme with very diverse components was complex. Much

external funding was promised in the first year, but often arrived in stages. The money was also usually earmarked for specific purposes, most notably the research or the exhibition. There were also big differences in the preparation time. For example, the research project ran and needed funding for the whole seven years, while smaller projects were quicker to organize. The costs of the programme averaged around €2.6 million a year from 2010 to 2014, but about half the budget was spent in 2015 and 2016.

This shows that a programme requires time – not just to organize and develop the content, but also to raise and organize the finance.

Tempo involves the use of time, ensuring the right timing. The tempo of a project is important because the creation of a sense of urgency helps to bring stakeholders together, or gives the consumer FOMO – Fear Of Missing Out. Raising the tempo can therefore be a question of increasing the frequency of events, or compressing the space between events, or increasing the information stream about events.

Time is an essential element of programmes and events. Events by definition happen at a specific time, and there is often only one moment at which they can happen. An anniversary is a useful focusing device, but it also creates pressure for the organization – it must happen on the anniversary, not at any other time.

The problem of cooperation is that people's agendas run at different speeds. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, it was clear that the Bosch500 celebrations had to be held in 2016, on the 500th anniversary of Hieronymus Bosch's death. But when 's-Hertogenbosch was working together with other cities in the context of Brabantstad (see Chapter 4), the crucial year was suddenly 2018 – the year that the ECOC title would be held by a city in the Netherlands. The focus on 2018 was a problem for 's-Hertogenbosch, although for the group of cities as a whole it provided a useful part of a multi-annual programme leading up to 2018. The city had to negotiate with its partners over funding, because 's-Hertogenbosch wanted to spend a large part of its budget in 2016 for the Bosch celebrations. In the end the "problem" of the ECOC was solved for 's-Hertogenbosch when the Brabantstad bid for the ECOC failed.

This example also shows how challenges can appear (and disappear) during the long run-up to a major programme. The programme team has to be aware of the emergence of such issues, and must learn how to divide their attention between the many different demands of the diverse stakeholders. One of the major problems of the Brabantstad ECOC bid was that too much attention was paid to political issues and not enough to the citizens and other key stakeholders.

Another aspect of timing, according to Ad 's-Gravesande, was the need to organize the biggest Bosch exhibition in the city of his birth before it could be held elsewhere. In particular, it was important to stage the exhibition before the Prado in Madrid. This was a key motive to launch the exhibition "Visions of Genius" in February 2016. This meant that there was increased attention from the media and the public, and this also benefited the events held later in the year.

Persevering in the Face of Adversity

The biggest challenge for major projects is holding onto the dream in the face of (very often) stiff opposition. Having a critical mass of support is therefore vital, as is belief in the dream. Because the time between conception and execution can be very long, there will often be challenging moments that may threaten the whole process.

Some key challenges emerged in the Bosch500 programme. The first was related to funding. The Municipality had strongly supported the funding of the programme, seeing their €8 million contribution as an anti-cyclical stimulus to the cultural sector and the economy as a whole. But this decision was viewed critically by many, in particular in the media, at a time when resources were tight as a result of the global economic crisis. It was seen by some as a megalomaniac project for the cultural elite at a time when social programmes were being cut. This created a rumbling undercurrent of discontent, which erupted a while later in media coverage of the discontent of the leading cultural institutions (see below).

One means of leveraging the required funds was to increase attention for Bosch500. The Mayor therefore led an initiative to gain the title of National Event Year for Bosch in 2016. This title, awarded by the Netherlands Board for Tourism and Conventions, had previously gone to events such as the Rembrandt Year and the Van Gogh Year, so it was also a recognition of the status of Bosch as an artist of international stature. The title itself did not bring money, but it later allowed the city to apply for national government funding. Timing was again crucial, as the Mayor chose the moment when one of the large political parties was holding a meeting in the city to announce the candidacy.

The souring of relations with the Prado museum in Madrid provided another initial challenge. In 2009 there was not much belief in the Bosch500 programme in 's-Hertogenbosch. The economic crisis was growing and people wanted jobs, not culture. The collaboration with the Prado, vital for the exhibition and the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP), was also running aground. To circumvent the problems with the Prado, the Mayor and his team began to develop a grassroots network of collaborators in Spain, for example through the Carlos de Amberes Foundation. That also did not work, but the

Mayor heard that Dutch Prime Minister, Balkenende, was visiting Spain. The Mayor wanted to get Bosch on the agenda, and to make the leap from a national project to an international one. The Mayor travelled with the delegation to Madrid, and ensured that a paragraph was inserted in the Memorandum of Understanding between Spain and the Netherlands about collaboration around the exhibition "Visions of Genius" and the BRCP. The two Prime Ministers were ready to sign the declaration, but at the last minute the Mayor heard that there was a hiccup: in the Netherlands, the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (which has works by Bosch) wanted the exhibition for itself. However, the presence of the Mayor in Madrid helped to ensure that he had the Dutch Prime Minister's ear, and he held fast to the dream of 's-Hertogenbosch. Sometimes you just have to be in the right place at the right time.

The ECOC bid involving 's-Hertogenbosch and four other cities in Brabant in 2013 was another turning point. The ECOC bid was complex, because the title would be for 2018, and would therefore require a "bridge" to Bosch500 in 2016. The funding mechanism for the ECOC also required each city to contribute €10 million, which was impossible for 's-Hertogenbosch on top of the €8 million already allocated for Bosch. In addition, the money expected to be invested in the Bosch exhibition by the Province was then tied to the ECOC, which meant a delay in funding. In the end, the ECOC bid was not successful, which initially raised more criticism of investment in cultural programmes, and a revision of plans to work together with the other cities. But ultimately the failed ECOC bid provided new opportunities to negotiate with the Province to invest in the Bosch500 programme.

Perhaps more significant was the criticism of the Bosch500 programme by the directors of the leading cultural institutions in the city in 2013. This included the Noordbrabants Museum, the venue for the Bosch exhibition. Perhaps at an earlier stage in the project's development such a move might have proved fatal. But by 2013 almost all of the funding and the works for the exhibition had been secured. The criticism did, however, cause the programme to change course, paying more attention to internal communication and the links with local stakeholders. The organization of the monthly Bosch Café and the development of the Bosch Lottery were direct results of this critique.

The BRCP itself also delivered a setback when the results of research on several paintings was revealed to the public and the media through the documentary on the research. This showed the research team finding new evidence that some paintings were not by Bosch himself, but by one or more of his followers. This caused a row with the Prado museum in Madrid, which then withdrew works from the exhibition. Ultimately, however, this generated more publicity for the programme and for achievements of the smaller city.

Photo 8.1 Bosch500 Café in the theatre in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Photo 8.2 The collapsed building next door to the former house and studio of Bosch (photo: Marc Bolsius).

Finally, just days after the opening of the “Visions of Genius” exhibition in February 2016, the collapse of a medieval building on the market square in ‘s-Hertogenbosch caused the opening of the Bosch Experience to be delayed.

The experience of Bosch500 shows that setbacks can also provide an impulse. They also underline the importance of power relationships in the city and in the networks linking it with the outside world. Even when the city is able to gather the required stakeholders internally and assume

a key position in external networks, these cannot be taken for granted. The actions of the cultural institutions in the city, who effectively turned against the programme being run by the city, shows that other actors will often take up positions that reflect their own short-term interests rather than those of the longer-term programme. Such power struggles may not only provide fatal to a weakly embedded programme, but they can be costly in terms of time, attention, and resources for the organization.

It is very difficult to plan for such eventualities, even though you can be almost certain they will arise. For the small city the basic strategy should be to turn each challenge into an opportunity – as Cruyff also remarked, “Every disadvantage has its advantage.” But the process of turning disadvantage into advantage also takes time. It often requires a change of strategy, tactics, or content of the plan. The planning process is usually a question of choosing your moment to do things, but in the end moments will often choose you. This means that the programme should have the flexibility to change things at a moment’s notice (see Box 8.3). In contrast to disaster planning, which usually has a set strategy for dealing with setbacks, such incident planning often needs to be made on the spot.

Box 8.3 If at first you don’t succeed

Perseverance is an important quality for urban stakeholders. The long lead times needed to implement projects and programmes mean that there are bound to be setbacks along the way. When a project dies or an event bid is rejected, this is often seen as failure, as a defeat for the parties supporting it. How they react can be crucial. Many will be tempted to quietly forget about it, while others will want to pick up the pieces and soldier on. This an important lesson from many failed Olympic and ECOC bids. In the UK, Manchester tried three times for the Olympics before refocusing and bidding for the 2002 Commonwealth Games. The success of this event subsequently spurred the city on to develop more programmes, including the acclaimed Manchester International Festival. The UK city of Newcastle also lost an ECOC bid against Liverpool in 2008. But it used some of the funding that would have gone into this event to stage its own cultural programme, called Culture 10, instead. Burgos in northern Spain also bid unsuccessfully for the ECOC, and then used this experience to become the Spanish Capital of Gastronomy in 2013. This event boosted tourism by over 7% (almost as much as would be expected from an ECOC), and the media value of the year was estimated to be over €7.5 million.

(*Continued*)

In most cases the series of proposals, rejections, and renewed attempts took years. The evidence seems to suggest that larger cities have a greater level of perseverance than small ones. But it is important to learn the lessons from the bidding process, to try and keep the team together, and to retain the organizational capital and, if possible, (a part of) the budget.

Multi-annual Cultural Programming

From a position of disadvantage the Bosch500 programme had to build the relationship between Bosch and his city. Two elements were crucial to this: the return of the paintings to the city where they were made, and the development of knowledge about Bosch's oeuvre through the research project. But this was not enough. The development of content through cultural projects was essential in cementing the bond between Bosch and the city. This also provided the opportunity to deepen the story of Bosch and to develop contemporary interpretations of his work. This involved many different disciplines, including literature, dance, music, theatre, visual arts, and modern audiovisual techniques.

The multi-annual programme offered space and time to develop many different themes related to Bosch across all these different disciplines. The entire city became a canvas on which the many elements of the Bosch Experience could be projected and the story of Bosch unfolded. Residents and visitors could literally tread in the footsteps of Bosch, 500 years later. In this multisensory mix of media and heritage, the presence of physical reminders of Bosch and his time provided important support for the claim to be the City of Bosch. The combination of resources (tangible heritage), meaning (the birthplace and workplace of the master), and creativity (the many different cultural productions inspired by Bosch and his work) was essential for the placemaking practice of 's-Hertogenbosch.

The Bosch Story

A long process of content creation formed the basis for the Bosch story. This included cultural programming, research, restorations, which provided a unique and exclusive source for marketing and communication for the city. The elements of the story became so strong that they generated an extraordinary amount of free publicity both nationally and internationally (see Chapter 6). Throughout the seven years of the cultural programme Bosch became an increasingly popular theme for the media, a theme whose tempo increased as the finale in 2016 approached. The drip-feed of news from the research project and the cultural programming ensured a constant flow of attention for the city.

Photo 8.3 Visitors in the market square in 's-Hertogenbosch watching the "Bosch by Night" show (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Investing in Knowledge to Realize the Dream

The biggest challenge was to make the exhibition of Bosch's paintings possible in the city of his birth. But realizing this dream needed time. It also needed a brilliant plan to convince the leading museums in Europe and the United States to lend their paintings to a provincial museum in the small city of 's-Hertogenbosch. The city had no important artworks it could offer in return for the loan of the Bosch paintings. So a time-consuming route was developed: a large-scale research and restoration programme for the complete works of Bosch. The Bosch Research and

Conservation Project started in 2010, and was completed in 2016. Jos Kolderwij, a leading expert on Bosch, was the originator of the research and conservation idea. He was aware that the museums holding works by Bosch often lacked knowledge about the works and did not always have the expertise to conserve them. He came up with idea of a comparative research project that would generate new knowledge through the use of modern techniques and a thorough comparison of all the paintings.

The experts visited the museums in Europe and America to undertake research on the paintings in situ with resident experts there. After this initial tour, a total of nine paintings were restored by the project. The research of all the paintings was completed just before the opening of the exhibition in February 2016. The project closed with the presentation of a newly discovered work by Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony*, in the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. This dream ending to the first research project focusing on the complete works of Bosch helped to extend not just his oeuvre but also our understanding and knowledge of his work.

Networking Takes Time …

Building a network such as the Bosch Cities Network is a time-consuming business. Making contacts, finding partners, and maintaining the network is not something you should do just before the big event begins. Preparation of the plans needed to convince the members of the network took time. Maintaining the network also generated a lot of work, particularly when things did not go to plan – for example, when the research project attributed a painting in the Prado not to Bosch, but to one of his followers.

… As Does Raising the Finance

The basis for the substantial budget required for Bosch500 was laid in 2008, with the voting of the first €8 million by the Municipality, and with the award of the National Event Year title. The investment by the city made sponsors more willing to fund the programme, and the National Event Year became a lever for national government funding. Sponsors saw an advantage in spreading their support over several years of the programme, and this led to relatively large contributions.

Time Pressure

Events can be a useful tool, because the time discipline they exert helps to focus the minds of stakeholders. Of course, the programme had to culminate with the exhibition that had to be held in 2016, the 500th anniversary of Bosch's death. All the paintings needed to be there in

2016, not a year earlier or a year later. This also determined the amount of preparation time, which was effectively limited to the seven years between the decision by the city to fund the project and the staging of the exhibition in 2016. The programme therefore created its own time pressure; this was stressful, but it also helped to ensure that everybody was focused on making things work on time.

Maintaining the Momentum

Starting several years ahead of the finale might seem to be a good thing, but there were also disadvantages to a relatively early start. The long running time from start to finish – seven years of programming – proved too long to hold the attention of stakeholders, particularly the residents. At the launch of the programme in 2010 the local climate was positive: around 83% of the residents thought it was a good idea to develop the link with Bosch through a cultural programme.

But the economic crisis changed the mood. Fanned by the local newspaper, flames of discontent grew among the populace. What was initially seen as an opportunity for the city turned into "Why do we need to waste money on this project?" This happened at the same time that the team was busy building international contacts for the programme. It turned out that the priorities of the project team and the residents had become very different.

Fielding the Political Questions

One of the problems at this time was that the climate for cultural investment has worsened thanks to the economic crisis. The media and

Photo 8.4 Bosch Dance in the theater of 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis)

sections of the general public began to question the need for cultural funding at a time when money was short for basic services. The loss of the ECOC bid in 2013 increased the volume of criticism, and when the directors of the cultural institutions added their voices to the critical noise, the organization had to take urgent steps to turn the tide of public opinion. A local programme coordinator was appointed, a Bosch500 Café for residents was created, and a Bosch500 panel was launched.

Projects usually require finance and political backing in order to get off the ground. Politicians can be funders of a project, by giving money or resources directly, or they can be facilitators. The politicians will usually ask, “How much will it cost?” (can we afford it?) or “What benefits will it deliver?” (will it help local people and/or secure me votes?). In some cases the arrival of a new administration during the preparation of a major programme can be enough to cause a major upset. This was the case with the ECOC in Vilnius in Lithuania in 2009 and in Pécs in Hungary in 2010 (Palonen 2010). Given the long timespan between the conception and execution of many programmes, it makes sense to anticipate such problems. This was successfully addressed by the organizers of the Valletta 2018 ECOC in Malta. They ensured that an agreement was signed by Malta’s two main political parties agreeing that they would implement the project as planned, regardless of who was in power at the time. This proved very useful, as the Nationalist Party that had overseen the ECOC bidding phase was defeated by the Labour Party in 2013. There followed a change in the governance of the Valletta 2018 programme, but the original concept remained largely intact.

Dealing with the Media

The media can provide vital support in terms of mobilizing public and political support for a programme. But they can also damage or derail a programme if they are not behind it. In many cases courting the international media will be a relatively short interlude, starting one or two years before the programme highlight that will catch their attention. The local, regional, or in some cases also the national media has to be dealt with in the long term. They will be interested in every phase of the project, from the initial conception (the power of the vision) to the development phase (how are we doing?) to the implementation phase (what is happening?) to the post-project phase (the plaudits and/or the fall-out). For a small city, the key media will be the local and regional press and broadcast media, who can be your biggest fan (if they like the idea) or your worst enemy (if they don’t). In many cases pre-existing political positions will mean that the press already has an attitude even before you have explained your vision.

In the case of the Bosch500 programme, the media latched onto the negative mood in the city and nationally regarding cultural investment,

widely attacked as a "left-wing hobby". There was much discussion in the press about the need for funding for programmes such as the ECOC and Bosch500. But in the end this had little impact on Bosch500, basically because the story was so strong and convincing.

Getting the Public on Board

It often takes time for the public to get used to a new idea or a bold vision. In small cities there can be an attitude of "Why change things?", particularly when there are no obvious problems. A long, slow build-up in enthusiasm often develops as people begin to see and experience elements of the programme, or when the city starts to attract attention from outside. This means there is often a need for actions that engage a large number of people in city to make the programme and its aims visible. The staging of highly accessible events and the involvement of locals in generating ideas for the programme can be important at this stage.

In the case of Bosch500, the seven programme years gave time and content to connect the city to Bosch, to lay claim to him. There was also time to work on the reputation of Bosch and to refresh his image. Time was also needed to build and develop the programme: elements that were less successful and did not appeal to the public could be weeded out, so that ultimately, only proven and tested projects were "taken" to the final year. For example, the Bosch Diner cooking competition between neighbourhoods in the city was successful, but proved less interesting for a wider public. The Bosch Young Talent Show also did not appear to have sufficient potential as a platform for young, innovative artists, so both events were dropped from the programme.

Photo 8.5 Visitors during the Bosch Year in 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

There were also inevitable delays in major projects, some of which were not realized in time to become part of the programme. An international animated film (feature-length), a feature film by Peter Greenaway about Hieronymus Bosch, and a Philip Glass opera inspired by Bosch were not completed in time.

It can be concluded that the development and composition of a programme is a continuous process of adjustment, rejection, sometimes wrong choices, sometimes problems with timing, and sometimes poor results. But perseverance and adequate reactions to such challenges can still deliver success.

The Programme Cycle

When all of these different influences on programme development are put together, we can see a form of "programme cycle" emerging. It is impossible to keep all stakeholders focused on the needs of the programme over a number of years, and it is natural that attention fluctuates. But attention can also be generated, steered, and managed by the programme.

Effective attention management is based on an understanding of the reactions of different stakeholder groups to the various development phases of the programme. Figure 8.1 provides a general overview of how the attention of the general public and the media tends to vary over the life of the programme. In the initial phases of programme conception, there is relatively little attention paid, because only a small group of insiders will have full information about the plans and there will be little concrete information that they can communicate to external audiences. Once the key aspects of the concept have been developed and key stakeholders and sufficient funds are in place, then a public launch can be made that will draw attention to the programme and its aims. This is usually followed by a phase in which, for the external publics in any case, little appears to be happening. This is the period of programme preparation, in which important elements of the programme will be arranged, contracts drawn up, and processes and structures put in place. Only when the programme has finally taken shape – or, in the case of the Bosch500 programme, when there were results available from the BRCP – could newsworthy information be published to reawaken public interest. After the presentation of the programme there is another relative lull until the programme actually opens, usually with a high-profile element that will attract a lot of public and media attention. In the case of the Bosch500 programme, events were staged in the years 2010–2015 as a warm-up for 2016; but for most people the real event only began in February 2016 with the opening of the exhibition "Visions of Genius". This attracted a vast amount of media coverage, which in turn also triggered a rush for tickets. Attention remained high throughout the exhibition as people realized that they had little time left to visit, and the exhibition had to

increase its opening hours. Other events can then be developed to provide additional peaks during the main programme period, capitalizing on the attention created by the programme opening.

The post-programme or legacy phase is perhaps the most difficult in terms of attention management, since for the outside world the programme is over. There is a danger of falling off the "legacy cliff", and the programme disappearing into oblivion. One answer may be to build different time dimensions into the programme. One of the problems with the timing of the Bosch500 programme was that there was a lot of activity in the years running up to 2016, when the exhibition functioned as a sharp, relatively short peak in terms of attention and activity, as in Figure 8.1. This led to a long run-in, particularly for the inhabitants of 's-Hertogenbosch, and it proved difficult to keep the interest levels high during this period. An alternative model would have been to balance the investment more evenly between the years before and after the 2016 peak, so that more advantage could have been taken of the buzz created by the exhibition, potentially creating more net benefit (Figure 8.2). A shorter run-up to the 2016 peak of the programme might have been more effective, also leaving more resources to develop an extended legacy-related programme in subsequent years. Increased legacy spending might also have avoided discussions about the investment of the €400,000 "surplus" generated by the Bosch500 Foundation at the end of the programme.

To avoid the potential problem of boring people to death with the same theme, it may therefore be sensible to transform the programme legacy into a different form from the original programme. Lille 3000 did

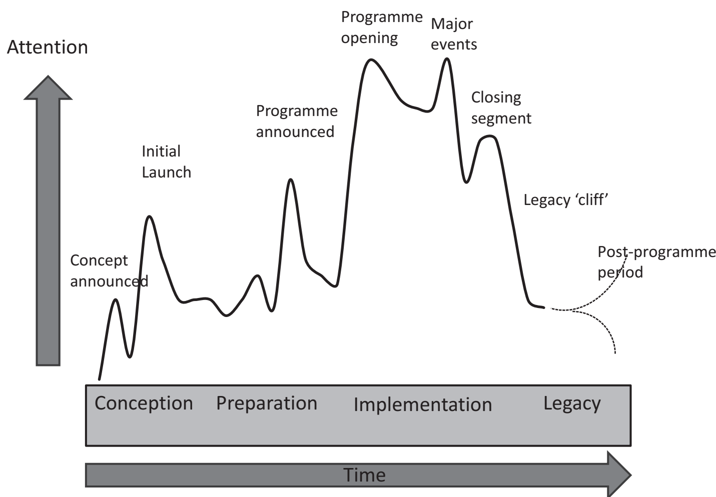


Figure 8.1 Programme attention cycle.

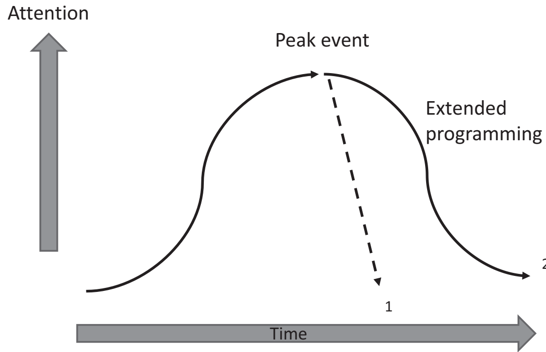


Figure 8.2 A hypothetical extended programme cycle for Bosch500.

this quite effectively by staging event programmes on a triannual cycle, and also by devising new themes that had no direct connection with the original ECOC year in 2004.

Small Cities Can Create Time

Although it may seem that many of the lessons on time may only apply to larger programmes and cities, small cities can also develop their own programming rhythms. For example, Simons (2013) describes the experience of one village in the south of the Netherlands, which stages a festival related to the George and the Dragon story once every seven years. This relatively slow tempo not only makes the event a highly unusual experience, but also gives the village time to prepare for and to recover from the festival. Each edition of the event is unique, because it relies on the work of a new team of people, with fresh ideas and energy. This suggests that the scale of investment, in temporal, physical, human, intellectual, and economic terms, can also be adjusted to suit the scale of the city itself.

One of the virtues often linked to small cities is the slower pace of life. In big cities there is more pressure to produce, and produce quickly. The relative slowness of small can also be viewed as form of backwardness, or of not being in the same league as the metropolis. But Wim van der Donk, Commissioner of the King for North Brabant, argues that the small cities in Brabant, including ‘s-Hertogenbosch, allow artists and creatives to develop away from the spotlight, allowing them to mature and to make mistakes without these immediately being fatal. In the big city you only get one chance, but in the small city there is more support from colleagues and the cultural ecosystem is more positive.

Conclusions

Good programmes need time, and good timing. A well-designed programme should have a long-term perspective that gives the concept time to develop and engage with its publics, and which also incorporates a post-programme period for legacy and leverage.

In order to make the most effective use of time and resources, we argue that multi-annual programmes have a number of advantages over single projects. A long programme can give time for ideas to mature, to marshal resources and work on legacy. But it is also essential to understand the dynamics of the programme and how it interacts with different stakeholder groups over a longer period. It is important to maintain the focus of attention on the programme, and also on the different stakeholder groups involved. A lack of attention can quickly be perceived by stakeholders as a lack of appreciation of their importance, and can create resistance to the aims of the programme.

There is therefore also a need to be flexible, to be able to react to problems as these occur. Ideally, the challenges of programme and stakeholder management need to be turned into advantages. One crucial point is that even a crisis in the programme will ensure an increase in attention, so there are always possibilities to turn the tide of opinion.

References

Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek (2017). *Eindevaluatie manifestatie Jheronimus Bosch 500, 's-Hertogenbosch 2016*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente 's-Hertogenbosch.

Bramwell, B. (1997). Strategic Planning Before and After a Mega-event. *Tourism Management* 18(3): 167–76.

Fisker, J. K. (2015). Municipalities as Experiential Stagers in the New Economy: Emerging Practices in Frederikshavn, North Denmark. In A. Lorentzen, K. Topsø Larsen, and L. Schrøder (eds), *Spatial Dynamics in the Experience Economy*, 52–68. London: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2014). What You Should Know about Megaprojects and Why: An Overview. *Project Management Journal* 45(2): 6–19.

Flyvbjerg, B., Bruzelius, N., and Rothengatter, W. (2003). *Megaprojects and Risk: An Anatomy of Ambition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laursen, L. H. (2013). Palm Beach and Naval Battle: Events and Experiences in a Danish Fringe Area. *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research* 20(1): 75–82.

Niedomysl, T. (2004). Evaluating the Effects of Place-Marketing Campaigns on Interregional Migration in Sweden. *Environment and Planning A* 36(11): 1991–2009.

Palonen, E. (2010). Multi-level Cultural Policy and Politics of European Capitals of Culture. *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift* 13: 87–108.

Pasquinelli, C. (2013). Competition, Cooperation and Co-opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-territorial Branding. *Urban Research & Practice* 6(1): 1–18.

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4): 740–70.

Plöger, J. (2007). Bilbao. City Report, LSE CASEreport 43, London. http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/CASEreport43.pdf

Regional Plan Association (2012). Getting Infrastructure Going. www.rpa.org/article/getting-infrastructure-going-new-approach

Richards, G. (2010). *Leisure in the Network Society: From Pseudo-events to Hyperfestivity?* Tilburg: Tilburg University.

Richards, G., Hitters, E., and Fernandes, C. (2002). *Rotterdam and Porto: Cultural Capitals 2001. Visitor Research.* Arnhem: ATLAS.

Richards, G., and Palmer, R. (2010). *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*. London: Routledge.

Sennett, R. (2009). *The Craftsman*. London: Penguin.

Simons, I. (2014). How to Slay a Dragon Slowly: Applying Slow Principles to Event Design. In G. Richards, L. Marques, and K. Mein (eds), *Event Design: Social Perspectives and Practices*, 78–91. London: Routledge.

TRAM (2007). *Haalbaarheid en effecten van het meerjarenprogramma Jeroen Bosch 500*. Barcelona: TRAM.

9 Lessons for Other Places?

Critical Success Factors in the 's-Hertogenbosch Story

Introduction

We argue that small cities can compete effectively and deliver significant change if they develop engaging and meaningful programmes that meet the aims and needs of the city. But, as the previous chapter outlined, this does not happen overnight, and it requires you to take the chances that come along, or can be created: "You have to take your chances. But sometimes you have to create those chances. Bosch500 was a self-created chance" (interviewee in 's-Hertogenbosch, quoted in Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek 2017: 5).

To identify or create opportunities, places often learn from each other. Ideas are borrowed, models are copied. Many cities have looked to the Barcelona model (Caselas 2002) or the Atlanta model (Stone 1989) and similar sources of inspiration. To what extent can such ideas and models be transferred? To what extent is the small city able to take advantage of the experience of other, often bigger cities? In short, how far can the principles discussed so far in this book be applied elsewhere?

The practice of drawing lessons and transferring successful development strategies from one place to another is much more complex than it may appear at first sight (Wolman 1992). Many factors may impede the successful transfer of experiences between cities (Giffinger et al. 2008):

- Uninformed transfer: the borrowing city has insufficient information about policies / institutional structures in the lending city.
- Incomplete transfer: crucial elements of policies, strategies or institutional structures, which assured success in the lending city were not transferred.
- Inappropriate transfer: insufficient attention was paid to economic, social, political, and ideological differences in the lending and borrowing city.

In the case of specific "models", the problems of transfer may involve all three of these factors: cities may not know enough about how the model works, they many only adopt part of the model, and the model may

DOI: 10.4324/9781351201193-9
This chapter has been made available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.

Photo 9.1 Miraculous Climb to the top of St John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

not be appropriate. This is arguably what has happened in the transfer of "creative city" models in Europe and North America (Evans and Foord 2006) and may be a specific problem for small cities, as Lewis and Donald (2010) suggest in the case of Canada. At the end of the day, however, the identification of best practice strategies is a basic requirement for supporting competitive and sustainable urban development (Giffinger Kramar, and Haindl 2008).

Our contention is that placemaking practice should be grounded in place, through a combination of specific resources, meaning, and creativity (see Chapter 1). This combination of elements provides the means

for change, the reason for changing, and potential ways of achieving change. The resources or materials that the small city has at its disposal, or which it can attain, form the basis from which to work. As outlined in Chapter 2, small cities may have a relative lack of physical resources, but this is becoming less of a disadvantage in the digital age and with the shift from “hard” to “soft” infrastructure. The resources of the city, both tangible and intangible, also relate closely to its DNA, which provides the basis for meaning-making. Creativity and storytelling are then needed to turn that DNA into a connection between the city and its different audiences and publics, as described in Chapters 3 and 4.

The basic triad of resources, meaning, and creativity gives a framework for creative placemaking. But how do you put this placemaking system in action? In Chapter 3 we analysed how placemaking practices can be initiated and maintained over the longer term. In this process there is a particularly important role for the stakeholders of the city, and the networks that connect both internal and external stakeholder groups. In the contemporary “network society”, cities increasingly need to learn how to create, maintain, and use such networks to extract value and provide benefits for all stakeholders. When the whole system is put into action, the results can be impressive, as Chapter 7 indicated. But the road to success is long, as we saw in Chapter 8. It may also be littered with obstacles and setbacks, which also need to be turned into opportunities.

The placemaking system and the elements needed to make it work provide a general framework for action. But how can a city ensure it gets the most out of its placemaking efforts? This chapter distils some of the key lessons from the experiences of the small cities we have analysed, and draws particularly on the experience of ‘s-Hertogenbosch to identify key success factors and potential pitfalls.

Critical Success Factors

A number of other studies have tried to identify the critical success factors for small cities. For example, Lambe (2008) identifies a number of success factors for smaller places:

- In small towns, community development is economic development.
- Small towns with the most dramatic outcomes tend to be proactive and future-oriented; they embrace change and assume risk.
- Successful community economic development strategies are guided by a broadly held local vision.
- Defining assets and opportunities broadly can yield innovative strategies that capitalize on a community’s competitive advantage.
- Innovative local governance, partnerships and organizations significantly enhance the capacity for community economic development.

- Effective communities identify, measure and celebrate short-term successes to sustain support for long-term community economic development.
- Viable community economic development involves the use of a comprehensive package of strategies and tools, rather than a piecemeal approach.

The Small Cities Community–University Research Alliance Mapping Quality of Life project and the Cultural Future of Small Cities project at Thompson Rivers University, Canada, has also tried to distil success factors (Garrett-Petts 2017). The keys to a culturally healthy small city are:

- vital, culturally rich, and diversified downtown;
- authentic, publicly celebrated history;
- high level of cultural participation;
- linking heritage of the city centre to the periphery.

In an Australian context, Collits (2000) summarizes a wide range of different sources on small-city development, and suggests that the following elements appear to be critical to the success of local economic development:

- the creation and maintenance of a dynamic business environment that positively welcomes new investment;
- working to the centre's competitive strengths while broadening the economic base;
- developing and supporting local leadership;
- the development of a positive attitude to change;
- a willingness to be creative in securing new investment opportunities;
- the entrepreneurial flair of local businesses;
- the capacity to add value to existing products and services;
- critical mass achieved through networks and cooperation.

There is a clear overlap in these different analyses, and some elements particularly stand out – leadership and vision, collaboration and networking, creativity, participation, entrepreneurship, risk-taking, and holistic approaches to development. These elements are also reflected in the experience of 's-Hertogenbosch.

Learning from 's-Hertogenbosch?

The experience of 's-Hertogenbosch seems to offer a number of practical implications for other cities (particularly smaller cities) engaged in similar placemaking initiatives.

Political Will and Long-Term Vision

's-Hertogenbosch has been evolving its programmes for nearly twenty years. A long-term, strategic vision is needed to ensure that the event programme gains meaning for all the potential stakeholders. In developing the required vision, the political will and persistence of the Mayor was particularly important. As Ton Rombouts himself emphasized, a mayor should not have their own agenda, unless it embraces the whole city. The leader also needs support: "every project needs a soul and 20 helpers". There is a need for a range of skills in the core team, and/or the ability to draw on wider networks to provide skills that are lacking.

Vision is key. Unless you have a clear idea about what you want to achieve and why, others will not follow. It also needs to be simple enough for others to understand and implement. Ton Rombouts developed programmes for 's-Hertogenbosch based on what he called a "3C" model: Culture, Culture, Culture. He argued that investing in culture was good for the economy and the general quality of life in the city. This simple vision was developed over a twenty-year period and consistently applied.

Many small cities have used cultural development as a tool for regeneration and putting themselves on the map. Culture is important because, as well as stimulating growth, it can also take away prejudice, fear of the other, and narrow views of the world. But you also need to know how to use culture, which makes education essential. The capacity-building dimension of small cities has been emphasized in many studies that have underlined the role of universities and research centres in supporting economic development and initiating change. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, the city suffered from its failed attempts to found a university – a lack that has only recently been addressed through the establishment of a private research institute (named, of course, after Hieronymus Bosch).

Ambition is an important aspect of the vision. Within the developmental trajectory of a network or a city programme, high levels of ambition, or big dreams, provide an important driving force. For cities that may start small in terms of scope and ambition, there are opportunities to make a step change to take things to the next level. For the small city, ambition is usually a necessity: the only way is up.

Consistency

Consistency is needed for the long-term development and implementation of programmes and projects. People will only begin to believe in and trust the agenda if the message has both consistent and coherent. One of the striking features of many successful small places is the continuity of leadership. Cities such as 's-Hertogenbosch, Carmel, Indiana, and Sibiu, Romania, have all developed successful programmes under stable administrations.

Keeping the same leadership is not always possible, but other strategies can be developed to support consistency of goals and means. In the Netherlands, consistent city leadership can be achieved through the system of appointed mayors; but elsewhere the development of urban regimes, collaborative agendas, and broad civic coalitions may help to achieve similar results.

Although consistency is important, it should also be recognized that long-term programmes will require flexibility to confront unexpected challenges. The Bosch500 programme encountered a number of major obstacles over the years, but confronting these enabled the city to find new and innovative solutions. The Bosch Cities Network was created to solve the problem of ‘s-Hertogenbosch having no artworks by Bosch. The Bosch Panel and the Bosch Café were developed to meet complaints about the inward-looking focus of the core team. In these ways the Bosch500 programme was able to turn disadvantage into advantage.

Building Relationships and Forging Collaboration

Within the city the group of helpers, the core team, needs to be assembled. But they also need the support and collaboration of large numbers of people across the city to accomplish things. ‘s-Hertogenbosch also managed to leverage relationships outside the city through a creative use of networks. In the contemporary network society (Castells 2009), making effective use of networks has become essential. Joining networks is one of the most effective ways of “borrowing size” to be able to compete with bigger places. Building new networks to create size can offer even more strategic advantages, as attested by the many networks developed by ‘s-Hertogenbosch (see Chapter 4).

Understanding the principles of collaboration, and particularly working in networks, is therefore vital. Collaboration needs to be both internal (building cohesion and support for the dream) and external (creating new opportunities). Small dreams you can reach on your own, but big dreams need a whole city and a network that extends outwards to gather the necessary resources. In the case of Sibiu in Romania, the international contacts of Mayor Klaus Johannis were important in securing investment, and long-standing cultural ties with Luxemburg were crucial in winning the European Capital of Culture title in 2007. But the programme could not have been successfully developed without a coherent team and broad support from citizens.

It is also important to understand that collaborative links and networks have a developmental trajectory. In general, the better established the network and the more familiar the partners are with each other, the greater the embedded trust and therefore the more effective the network. This development is clear in the Brabantstad network

linking 's-Hertogenbosch with other cities in the North Brabant region. This network developed over a period of 15 years from a talking shop into a combined lobbying tool, into collaborative investment to leverage resources, and finally, into being able to permit individual cities to use the network resources in creative ways (see Box 4.1).

The Small City Needs a Story

One of the advantages for 's-Hertogenbosch was the strength of the story – the story of Hieronymus Bosch is founded on universal values with local consequences. In many key moments in the process there was a need to convince both internal and external stakeholders of the need for investment or commitment. Linking a local story (Bosch as a painter who lived and died in Den Bosch) to universal values (such as the seven deadly sins) created a basis for shared understandings that enabled the city to appeal to a wider (global) audience.

The basic power of the story also needs to be effectively communicated to provide a link to other publics. As Joks Janssen explained, the Bosch story had many elements that could reach and trigger international audiences, including engaging content, iconic strength, universal value, and *kippenvel*, the ability to raise goosebumps. Even though it is a story, it also has to have a firm basis in the DNA of the city, in "facts" that can be communicated and absorbed. Evidence of the story must be visible in the city when the visitor arrives. If all of these elements can be developed, then a city such as 's-Hertogenbosch has the potential to move towards what Joks Janssen calls "storytelling 2.0": the creation of a myth around the icon and the city.

Risk-taking

The successful small city is almost always a risk-taking city. Without risk, nothing new can be created. As Hieronymus Bosch himself said: "Poor is the spirit that always uses the inventions of others and invents nothing themselves." The ability to develop new ideas is also a means of taking the lead and assuming a position in networks and collaborative arrangements.

The small city should not take irresponsible risks, but informed risks. Most small cities do not have the resources to take a chance on expensive infrastructure or elaborate programmes. So they need to be fairly sure things are going to pay off. Sound research and careful analysis is important. Before deciding to launch the Bosch500 programme, 's-Hertogenbosch commissioned research into similar programmes elsewhere to gauge the likely effects, identify opportunities, and quantify the risks. This study foresaw great economic and cultural benefits for the city, but also identified many actions that the city needed to take to

ensure that these benefits would materialize (TRAM 2007). In the end, the city took a calculated risk that paid off handsomely.

Knowing What to Measure

Smaller places need to invest in the placemaking effort, and they need to know whether the effects will be more lasting, widespread, and equitable than those of other potential strategies – such the physical icon-building efforts often found in major cities. At the end of the day, the question is whether the city is better off with a programme or some other strategy.

The successful city is one that knows what it wants, and can tell when it has got there. Measuring the number of visitors or the amount of economic impact is not enough. There needs to be a realistic consideration of what the programme has done for the cultural and social ecology of the city. This should be based on a range of indicators (both quantitative and qualitative) that are measured from before the start of the programme, with structures in place to ensure that measurement can continue to monitor the longer-term effects as well.

Using the Underdog Position

Most small cities will find themselves at a disadvantage relative to bigger, richer, or more popular neighbours. Competing against bigger cities is always a risk. But neutrals will often support the underdog. They have admiration for the courage and persistence of small cities that can make things happen. However, the underdog position is always relative: there is always somebody smaller, poorer, or weaker than you who might be able to win more sympathy. This is something that ‘s-Hertogenbosch learned the hard way when it competed for the European Capital of Culture title for 2018. The bid was led by the city of Eindhoven, which had already developed a considerable reputation as a creative city, and the bid was also backed with considerable resources from the relatively wealthy Province of Brabant. The Eindhoven bid was also clear favourite to win among the “experts”. But eventually the title was awarded to the even smaller city of Leeuwarden, which the jury felt needed the ECOC more because of its disadvantaged position in the periphery. But perhaps this experience helped ‘s-Hertogenbosch to make better use of its own underdog position relative to big cities like Madrid and London when it came to the Bosch500 programme. The media attention and admiration for the achievement in organizing the exhibition “Visions of Genius” was much greater than that attracted by the similar exhibition held at the Prado a few months later. In fact, Madrid came to be seen in a relatively negative light for having “borrowed” the idea from its smaller partner, and for keeping back paintings once the results of the Bosch Research and Conservation Project began to emerge.

Embedding and Support

Cities are better able to take risks and develop substantial programmes when they have widespread support for what they are doing. Building support among the citizens and other key stakeholders is therefore a crucial aspect of any programme. As we saw in Chapter 3, legitimacy is an important aspect of gathering the necessary support. Cities everywhere are clamouring for attention and resources, so it is important to establish a legitimate claim to tangible and intangible resources. 's-Hertogenbosch was able to establish a legitimate claim to Bosch because he was born, lived, worked, and died in the city. Without this, others may have been able to launch competing claims (as the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam tried but failed to do).

Dreams are intangible, ephemeral, and mobile. This gives them considerable power and immediacy. But it also means dreams are vulnerable. To become reality, dreams need to be shared: they need to be owned by more than one dreamer. For small places, it is important to link good ideas, or dreams, to the location. Big cities will take ideas from everywhere, and appropriate them. This also happened to 's-Hertogenbosch, which suddenly found that its idea of a 500th anniversary exhibition for Hieronymus Bosch had been copied by the Prado in Madrid. To counter the gravitational power of the big city, small cities have to ground their ideas in place and load them with legitimacy.

The 's-Hertogenbosch experience reveals a number of key strategies for embedding creative ideas in place:

- *People from here*. Developing a link between people and other mobile elements and the city is an important part of the embedding process. If the city can lay claim to people who have done or made important things, then they can use these assets to put themselves on the map. These assets should be rooted in the DNA of the city, so that they can provide a creative impulse. As Antoni Gaudí noted, "originality consists in going back to the origin". Origin is still seen as an important link, but cities can lay claim in other ways, such as the many cities which have claimed a part of the artistic legacy of Picasso.
- *The local twist*. Even when a story is universal, small cities can also develop their own angle or twist to make it even more interesting to be in that place. 's-Hertogenbosch managed to link the universal story of heaven and hell to the physical fabric of the city through creative placemaking interventions such as the Heaven and Hell cruise. The Canadian city of Chemainus became famous for its murals (Box 9.1), and the city of Gilroy in California positioned itself as "the garlic capital of the world".

- *Emergent authenticity.* Many stories belong to different places, and a city may have many competing stories. Linking a story to a place is often a long process of appropriation, repetition, and social reproduction. Even when a story may not initially be considered "authentic", it can achieve "emergent authenticity" over time as it is accepted and appropriated by people. For 's-Hertogenbosch, the development of the link with Hieronymus Bosch also has a long history, with various attempts to commemorate his life and works over recent decades. But the spur to organize the Bosch500 programme actually came from elsewhere – from the major exhibition organized in Rotterdam in 2001. It also took time for people in the city to become convinced that it was possible to make a success of such an event in such a small city. But eventually the citizens took Bosch to their hearts, and turned out in large numbers to commemorate his anniversary.

The material rooting in place and the historic DNA of the city in turn gave power to the story of the city and the exhibition as a homecoming, not only as a return, but as a new point of departure.

Holistic Approach

Concentrating on a limited range of issues is also likely to deliver more limited benefits. One of the major challenges in urban development in general is the fragmentation of interest groups that makes it difficult to agree and implement agendas. In this sense the role of the mayor or civic leader who can support the general interest of the city above the fragmented interest groups is important. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, Richards (2017: 20) argues:

> The key figures involved in the programme also clearly understood the need for a holistic approach in achieving placemaking goals. This enabled them to overcome divisions in stakeholder interests by giving the programme multiple meanings for different stakeholder groups. This required creative skills in areas such as storytelling and imagineering that go beyond the usual requirements of event management or design. Essentially, rather than developing the usual type of "experiencescape" […] found in the postmodern city, 's-Hertogenbosch has developed a "meaningscape" that acts as an inspiration for the creation of new events and spaces in the city.

Ensuring a Legacy

Legacy planning is now in vogue, particularly for major events (Gold and Gold 2017). As we have seen, however, cities often forget to consider legacy until after the event, rather than building it in beforehand.

Photo 9.2 Co-production by the Bosch Cities Network at the Boulevard Festival in ‘s-Hertogenbosch (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

If cities have big ambitions, they should also try and link that ambition to appropriate legacy planning or “leverage” (Chalip 2006). This means that the city needs to know what it wants to achieve and what it wants the programme to leave behind. This is much more than just the physical legacy, such as new or rehabilitated venues: it also includes the organizational capacity, the increased confidence, and other “soft” factors that are difficult to measure. For ‘s-Hertogenbosch, the most important parts of the legacy are also intangible: the link between the city and Bosch, the increased importance of his work and inspiration, and a growing network of useful partners.

Box 9.1 Chemainus, the "little town that did"

In 1984, Petra Films of Vancouver completed a documentary film based on the amazing comeback of *Chemainus: The Little Town That Did*. This is the story of how a small town (pop. 4,000) in British Colombia, Canada, managed to rejuvenate itself through art.

Local businessman Karl Schutz had been promoting the idea of having large outdoor murals painted around the town. He came up with the idea after visiting Romania in 1971: "We saw the monasteries and the beautiful fresco paintings. They had visitors from all over the world and that's where the idea originated. I thought, my goodness, what an idea to have a tourism industry in Chemainus." But the initial response was not positive. "Everyone thought it was the dumbest idea they ever heard," he said. "So I patiently waited for 10 years."

It was not until 1982 that the first five murals were completed, with support from Mayor Graham Bruce. He was looking to promote economic development using grants from the provincial redevelopment fund. When the local sawmill closed in 1983 with the loss of 700 jobs, others also began to see the potential in the murals dream. The project became embedded in the town through the Chemainus Festival of Murals Society, established in 1987.

Since then a growing number of galleries, studios, and workshops have opened, working with fabric arts, painting, sculpture, gem-cutting, glass-blowing, graphic design, and photography. It has also symbolically and physically become "Muraltown", with the original five murals expanding to a vast outdoor gallery of over 40 murals. Embedding the murals in the town and links with international networks were achieved by hosting the 1st Global Mural Conference in 1998, and the event returned in 2012. The Society can now claim the murals project as "the world's leading community-driven art tourism experience".

Long-serving Mayor Bruce gave early consistency to the initiative, and Cim MacDonald has been Curator of the Chemainus Festival of Murals Society for over 20 years. The local band of helpers also included the Chemainus Revitalization Committee and members of the Chamber of Commerce.

The story of Chemainus reflects many aspects of the experience of 's-Hertogenbosch. In the case of Chemainus, there was no anniversary, but timing was important in having the right climate for the initiative. Implementing the idea also needed persistence and

the vision of a Mayor who provided leadership. The creative drive of an artist helped to shape the city's DNA and give it a role as a hub in the developing networks of street art. This combination of material, symbolic, and institutional elements in the story of Chemainus also reflects the experience of Fredrikshavn (see Box 4.3).

Building a Placemaking Platform

The previous section has outlined some of the key success factors for a small city with big dreams. But how can we begin to put these elements together into a coherent programme? We do not want to present a prescriptive model for small cities: each one is different, unique. Rather than a model, what we advocate here is a mode of doing, a practice of placemaking or citymaking. We think that the emphasis on placemaking is important, because it goes further than place marketing or event-led boosterism.

As Turok (2009) points out, there is a tendency for cities to grasp place marketing and branding to distinguish themselves, because these are easier options than changing the tangible reality of the city. However, we argued in Chapter 6 that a city needs to change its reality as well as its image. This is one important reason why there is growing attention for placemaking. Placemaking differs from place marketing because it aims to stimulate real change in the city to improve the quality of life for all. Changing places is too important to be directed by the marketeers: a broad range of stakeholders should be involved in the placemaking process, including planners, researchers, politicians, cultural organizations, businesses, and local people.

This book has therefore adopted a holistic approach to placemaking, involving the entire city and all of its user groups, rather than concentrating on single neighbourhoods or target groups. In our view, placemaking is a creative activity that should involve the city as a whole, even when the physical changes occur in specific areas. This reflects the shift from a top-down concept of urban planning towards a more flexible idea of programming the city. We also see placemaking as a combination of different elements of the city: the physical and intangible resources that it has or can muster, the meaning that it can give to these elements through expressing the DNA of the city, and the creativity that it needs to employ in telling the story of the city, attracting partners and resources.

Drawing on the current development of "city as platform" concepts (Bollier 2015), we suggest that small cities can support their placemaking efforts by building platforms that can support their programmes over the longer term. Many smaller cities are already members of national or international collaborative platforms, but platforms can also

be established at city level to link internal stakeholders together and provide links to external partners and resources.

The basic aim of the platform should be to facilitate collaboration to increase the quality of life in the city. It should be an open platform accessible to all relevant stakeholders, with transparent governance that allows all to contribute and to benefit. The lessons learned from the networks established by ‘s-Hertogenbosch are important here, because they show how network value can be created within the networks attached to the platform – the connection of actors through the platform has the potential to generate value for all. By bundling the skills, capabilities, and knowledge of the internal and external partners of the city, it should also be possible for the city to achieve a stronger position, or even to become a hub, in national and international networks.

The platform should also clearly benefit residents and other local stakeholders. As cities are increasingly becoming service providers, the city platform is one service it can provide that benefits a wide range of stakeholders and also has the potential to generate resources. The platform can also become a tool for governance, enabling the city to gather information, insights, and opinions from a wide range of actors in the city, stimulating bottom-up creative processes.

The important elements of the placemaking platform include:

- Knowledge generation and dissemination. Knowledge is the basic resource that fuels value creation. By linking together internal and external actors, the small city can increase the scale and scope of knowledge production, and effectively make itself a knowledge hub in specific areas.
- Skills. Small cities also have the challenge of developing their skills base to avoid having to import expertise from elsewhere. One of the basic tools for this is investment in education. Many small cities have been successful thanks to their educational institutions and the talent-attraction function that these can provide. Linking knowledge institutions together can help to provide a critical mass of ideas and creative skills.
- Relationships. Central to all platforms is the creation of relationships. This is evident in the collaborative economy platforms that are now commonplace in different markets (such as Airbnb or BlaBlaCar). These platforms create value by creating new relationships around the use of resources. City-based platforms can also broker such value-adding relationships by linking stakeholders and civic resources.

In Graz, ECOC in 2003, for example, a new platform was built after the event to link cultural actors to cultural venues and spaces. This enabled more effective use to be made of the new spaces created by

the ECOC, avoiding the "white elephant" problem that can afflict venues once the programme that spawned them has ended.

From Planning to Programming

The need for greater flexibility and dynamism in the development of cities implies that cities need to shift from top-down planning systems towards more flexible systems in which occasions and events and programmes begin to provide the pivots upon which urban agendas can turn.

A more dynamic, programme-based approach to urban development implies making events visible in the city and using them to foster collective goals. This is also becoming an important role for many new city platforms. Examples include events-based organizations such as Rotterdam Festivals, Antwerpen Open, and Brugge Plus (Richards 2017), and arts organizations such as the Santa Fe Arts Commission (see Box 5.3).

While some cities are keen to acquire tangible icons, many successful smaller cities have used events and more ephemeral resources to provide the basis for placemaking. Events, as Rota and Salone (2014) argue, may have uneven and unpredictable placemaking effects (particularly in the case of mega-events), but many events also have a regular and rhythmic relationship with places, often being a fixture in the cultural life of a location over decades or even centuries. Their view is that "alternative circuits for the production and consumption of the urban space can be more successfully developed in areas with a strong social and relational capital and distinctive urban identity" (Rota and Salone 2014: 96).

Increasingly scholars are talking about events as a mode of placemaking (Hitzler 2011; Wynn 2015; Richards 2017). Theirs is a positive view of processes of "festivalization" or "eventification". They argue that events provide the potential to transform places, not just during the event itself, but also over the longer term. Events can be a way of thinking about the city. They encourage a city to think long-term, take important decisions, and work with others. But the context of the city as place is needed to overcome the temporal nature of the event, and ensure continuity, legacy, and leverage.

Placemaking should be seen as a process driven by events and projects. Many of the placemaking interventions in the sphere of tactical urbanism, for example, envisage temporary use of spaces and facilities, such as the pop-up restaurants of Helsinki Streatfest, Parking Day installations, or urban beaches. These hybrid space-events are light, nimble constructs that enable cities to adapt more easily to the rapidly changing needs of users. Such interventions and events in cities also have the potential to become temporary creative clusters that can begin to shape the cities around them, as Wynn (2015) shows in the case of music festivals in the United States.

Wynn (2016) goes even further in suggesting that (music) festivals can be a viable alternative to building physical structures, such as museums or stadia. He argues that investment in cultural facilities such as museums in the US is outpacing demand – a phenomenon also seen in Europe in the 1990s (Richards 2001). Wynn argues that festivals represent "a cheaper, more equitable path toward creating culturally vibrant cities, one that requires less public funding and much less steel and glass". He characterizes festivals as more flexible and inclusive:

> Unlike permanent stadiums and museums, festivals are nimble; they're able to switch venues and change up programming if necessary. They're also much more inclusive. Many are free to the public, utilize existing public spaces and cultural assets, spark interactions among community members and nurture positive images of urban areas, especially neighborhoods that might need a boost.

He also warns that people might question the investment in festivals that are ephemeral. But, he argues, "the impermanence of festivals is a feature, not a flaw. Festivals are adaptable, using spaces that might otherwise go unoccupied, and they can act as platforms for existing local artistic groups." We would suggest that the apparent flaw of impermanence can even be transformed into a strength, if events are seen as an integral part of the cultural life of the city. By transforming individual events into coherent programmes, the city can emphasize its own DNA and provide the basis for cultural and creative clusters that feed off the temporal energy of events.

The placemaking platform is therefore a means of linking stakeholders and attracting attention and resources, while framing different aspects of the city in terms of events and projects to develop placemaking outputs.

Potential Pitfalls

It is very tempting to copy other places. In fact, there is a whole industry based on cities "borrowing" ideas from each other – many architects would be a lot poorer if they were not able to sell the same basic masterplan to several different cities (Ponzini, Fotev, and Mavaracchio 2016). However, as Evans and Foord (2006) point out, copying is dangerous, because very often the models don't fit other places.

Over-reliance on Public Funds

In small cities, the role of government is often crucial. It can provide the stability and resources necessary to make change happen. But there is also a potential danger of over-reliance on government funding.

Cultural programmes are often prone to this danger, because in many places cultural funding is drawn to a large extent from the public sector. This can mean that programmes lean too heavily on government, and this is particularly problematic in cultures where people wait for government to take the initiative or provide the funding before they will act.

Events can become vulnerable to policy change, as Simons (2017) shows in the case of the Incubate Festival in Tilburg in the Netherlands. This highly successful and innovative event arguably suffered from receiving substantial public-sector support, which undermined the "alternative" position of the event. It also meant that as soon as the city decided to stop funding, the event collapsed.

Time Becomes the Enemy

The experience of 's-Hertogenbosch also shows that the time required can also be one of the major pitfalls. Although such events provide a sense of urgency and catalysing effect, the time needed for preparation and development can become a problem. Maintaining the attention needed for the programme is difficult, and stakeholders' enthusiasm may wane if they don't see sufficient progress. In the absence of positive results, the media may also begin to concentrate on negative stories about the programme or the organizers.

Using Events, or Becoming "Events-Led"?

Events have advantages for small cities, but also potential dangers. Many have criticized neo-liberal, top-down development agendas that emphasize the use of events to attract tourists, increase consumption, and boost the image of the city (Smith 2015; Rojek 2013). In some cases the production of events can become such an integral part of urban strategy there is a danger of cities staging events for event's sake rather than to further other, more basic policy aims. There is also a potential problem of following a normative model of event or programme development. This may lead to certain groups being excluded from the process.

Becoming event-led in your approach can also imply the narrow focus that many adopt when organizing event programmes. Because of the need to get things done by a certain date, there is a tendency to focus on things that need to be done in order to make the event happen, often to the detriment of wider issues. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, focusing only on the exhibition "Visions of Genius" would have meant no research programme, fewer paintings to exhibit, and less attention from the media and the public.

The Publicity Paradox

Programmes feed on the oxygen of publicity, but this can at times become toxic. The Bosch500 programme benefited enormously from (inter)national media coverage, but also faced opposition from local media, who tended to concentrate more on the costs than the potential benefits. The media can also become a battleground across which the different stakeholders confront each other, argue about the costs and benefits, and try to apportion blame. In a small city, these types of media-driven conflicts can be highly damaging.

Lack of Policy Coordination

One of the biggest shortcomings of the Bosch500 programme was the incomplete activation of supporting policies to ensure that 's-Hertogenbosch could maximize the benefits for the city. Although many discussions were held to identify areas where action was needed, in many cases the desired actions were either insufficient or absent. This particularly applied to the development of accommodation. In the planning process for 2016 it was evident that the city would not be able to accommodate all the tourists who would want to stay overnight, because the city only has 550 hotel rooms. The need for more hotel capacity was already identified as a limiting factor in a report in 2015 (LAGroup 2015), particularly with the Bosch exhibition in sight, which the report estimated would result in a 10% increase in accommodation demand in the city, with a spillover effect into the surrounding region. But there was no further investment in new hotels in the city in the period before or during the event. This was identified as a major problem: tourists who only came to the city for the day would spend far less in 's-Hertogenbosch. The potential loss of income for the city was estimated to be as much as 15% of the total potential economic impact of the programme. In spite of this, no serious effort was made to stimulate hotel investment in the run-up to 2016. Many other ideas were aired as potential solutions, including the temporary conversion of an old prison, or measures to expand the provision of sharing economy-style accommodation (such as Airbnb) to cope with the peak demand. But none of these ideas was implemented.

The Usual Suspects

Ton Rombouts is convinced of the need to assemble a small dedicated team of talented people. But this also carries with it the danger of creating a "clique" that may not respond well to the needs of other stakeholders. As Bayfield (2015) comments:

> As well as the networks of political and economic support highlighted above, interviewees […] stressed that working with the arts

> involves knowing the best people for the job, and in Manchester (as presumably in many other cities), this involves a series of "usual suspects" in terms of cultural production, which are constituted here as networks of the city's cultural and civic elite.

In the case of Manchester, the usual suspects included high-ranking council officials, directors of organizations. and high-profile artists. These are very often the main actors in the conception and/or development of cultural programmes.

Biting Off More Than You Can Chew

We have argued in this book that small cities should dare to have big dreams. But sometimes the ambition can be too high for a small city. The evidence from the 2008 ECOC in Stavanger, Norway, for example, showed that the relatively small cultural sector did not have the capacity to manage large-scale projects, and some organizations were suffering from "exhaustion" by the end (Asle Bergsgard and Vassenden 2011). If the local cultural sector cannot carry the programme, this also increases the danger of many of the benefits "leaking" out of the city as outsiders are brought in to increase capacity.

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, there was also a lack of preparedness for success. Not everybody in the municipality or all the major stakeholders were convinced the programme would work. Who would come to a small city that few had heard of and even fewer could pronounce? As a result, there was a certain amount of small thinking alongside the big dreams. Not all of the preparations that should have been made to receive visitors were made, with a reduced economic impact as a result.

Photo 9.3 "Bosch Beast" spectacle for the closing of the Bosch500 event on 11 December 2016 (photo: Ben Nienhuis).

Box 9.2 Advice from Hieronymus Bosch: the seven virtues and the seven deadly sins of placemaking

What can the small city do to realize its big dreams? In writing this book, we wanted to steer clear of models or prescriptions. Instead, we took inspiration from Bosch himself to identify the seven deadly sins and the seven virtues of programme building. The following dos and don't's of placemaking are based on universal values that Bosch himself depicted in his works.

The Seven Virtues of Programming for Placemaking

Prudence/knowledge = seeing ahead, sagacity. Knowledge can form the basis of your programme, and the link between the programme and the city. Knowledge flows through networks, and links people, providing new opportunities. The Bosch networks generated knowledge through important institutions (including a special Chair at Radboud University in Nijmegen endowed by the Bosch500 Foundation and the BRCP) that gave the project prestige and helped to cement the claim to Bosch. It secured his legacy through the conservation work, and created new knowledge for scholars, the media and ultimately the wider public. This knowledge in turn helped to secure the position of 's-Hertogenbosch as *the* Bosch City.

Justice = regulation of dealings with others. Claim what is rightfully yours. For years the city of 's-Hertogenbosch ignored Hieronymus Bosch because it had none of his paintings. There was no physical evidence for the claim to the icon. But the justice of the claim from the city of his birth, where he worked, where he died, and from which he took his name, eventually became clear. Even when more powerful partners used their weight (as in the case of Rotterdam and the Prado), the just cause of the city was clear.

Temperance = continence, humility, and meekness. A sober and careful approach to planning and finance is important for the programme. Make sure you invest in those elements of the programme that will make a real difference to the city.

Diligence = persistence, effort. Have the courage to stick to your principles. This is often difficult when the development of a major placemaking programme may take a generation, or a major event in the programme takes five years to plan. Also, have the courage to admit mistakes and correct them.

Faith = confidence, trust. Faith is important for the small city with a big dream. You have to ensure that the dream is shared,

that it is built into everything you do. Dare to dream big, and don't make concessions. Small cities can also have world-sized dreams, and world-changing results.

Hope = desire, expectation. Be original! Think out of the box, out of the limits of the small city. Make surprising links: art, culture, science, sport, storytelling, innovation. Also think about how you can link to other (perhaps less obvious) partners.

Charity = love, generosity. In conserving the legacy of Bosch for the world, 's-Hertogenbosch was surprisingly generous. The city with no artworks by Bosch spent large sums of money conserving works it didn't own. But this is also an important lesson for other cities who only think about competition and playing zero-sum games. The investment paid off, for 's-Hertogenbosch, for the other cities, and ultimately for the world as a whole.

The Seven Deadly Sins of Programming for Placemaking

Envy = the desire to have an item or experience that someone else possesses. Envy occurs at all levels. A major event will provoke resistance, particularly from the established institutions, who may see it as a threat and as competition for funding. The persistent negative pressure and attention can have consequences for the programme.

Gluttony = excessive ongoing consumption. In multi-annual programmes you have to manage the finances carefully. Don't "over-eat" at the beginning – save something for later. The Bosch500 programme started too quickly, and should have been built up more slowly and carefully, with smarter financial management. The exhibition and the research took up ever greater parts of the budget, at the cost of other programme elements.

Greed or Avarice = an excessive pursuit of material possessions. The money linked to major projects stimulates greed. For cultural organizations, programme budgets often seem like undreamed-of wealth. Potential partners gather quickly around the money, many eager to fund their own dreams. Not all are interested in the dream of the city, the higher objective of the programme. Be alert to the problem and make clear rules. Emphasize the partners who support the higher goals – make them owners of the project and share the responsibility for the programme.

*Lust = an uncontrollable passion or longi*ng. The desire to be like the big city can often be fatal. Don't be lured by glitzy promises of quick wins and low-hanging fruit, or by shiny models.

Pride = excessive view of oneself without regard to others. Don't be too proud to share your success with others. Emphasize

(*Continued*)

collaboration with institutions, cities, residents, and particularly politicians. In the case of Bosch500, the appointment of a director from Amsterdam was seen as an affront. Why can't we do it ourselves? It should be a programme for the whole city, not just the elite, or Culture with a Capital C. Make sure a broad public can recognize themselves in the programme. That means collaboration with local artists and amateurs. This was the reason for the "Vision of the City" part of the programme, which was rejuvenated just in time to save the project.

Sloth = excessive laziness or the failure to act and utilize one's talents. Don't let your attention wander. It is easy to get lazy in the long-term programme. The organization can get complacent, and not acting in time can mean problems get bigger. Remain alert, take the initiative, be proactive. When the attention of other stakeholders wanes, the organization should be particularly vigilant. Keep an eye on the legacy, make sure you build on success. Particularly for long-running projects, it is difficult to think about life after the programme, even though this is often the most important aspect. It would be a shame to let all those years of effort go to waste.

Wrath = uncontrollable feelings of anger and hate towards another person. Resist criticism and negative publicity, however unjust. The organization should remain calm, even in the face of fierce criticism from collaborators, residents, and politicians, particularly if this is magnified by the media. Take the steam out of the negativity by getting the critics on board.

Can These Principles Be Transferred to Other Places?

Our view is that all cities can learn something from the experiences we have analysed here. But the strategies developed by 's-Hertogenbosch and other successful small cities are not models that can be grabbed off the shelf and applied anywhere. Rather, the success factors that we have identified in this chapter give general indications of strategies and tactics that may also work in other contexts, although each city needs to look at their applicability to its own situation.

We can also identify some aspects of the context of 's-Hertogenbosch that may be difficult to replicate for other cities. These particularly relate to cultural and political factors. If we look at the Dutch context as a whole, then we can argue that the Catholic openness of the southern Netherlands and the system of appointed mayors have both played a role in the city's success. The Catholic culture of the region of Brabant is arguably part of the reason why it is one of the most innovative regions

in Europe. People are willing to share ideas between cities, between firms, and across sectoral boundaries.

There are also differences in governance structures that produce considerable variations in the context and capabilities of small cities, as outlined in Chapter 1. For example, we have highlighted the continuity of political leadership as one of the success factors in the case of ‘s-Hertogenbosch. But this is to some extent due to the city having an appointed Mayor, which enabled Ton Rombouts to serve for more than 20 years. As Bäck, Heinelt, and Magnier (2006) show in their review of European mayors, however, the position and tenue of mayors varies enormously even just within Europe.

Funding for small cities is also a big factor in municipal possibilities. For example, there is a bigger need for North American cities to raise their own money from local taxes or services, whereas European cities can call on a wide range of public funds. In the Netherlands the Bosch500 programme was able to draw support from local, provincial, national, and international sources, which meant a high degree of leverage for the local funding. In the United States, the regeneration programmes championed by Mayor James Brainard in Carmel were criticized for increasing the borrowing requirements of the city.

Concluding Thoughts: The Changing Position of the Small City in the Urban Field

Small cities have long been in the shadow of larger ones, but their position in the global urban field is beginning to change as a result of new technologies, changing resource bases, different work patterns, the negative effects of agglomeration in large cities, and the creative placemaking activities of smaller ones.

The position of small cities is no longer directly related to their population size, the amenities they possess, or the members of the creative class they can attract. They are starting to extract new potential from the use of a wide range of resources, as Sacco and Blessi (2007) suggest in their model of cultural districts (see Chapter 2). In addition to traditional amenities, small cities can now make use of Quality, Genius loci, Attraction, Sociality, and Networking capital to stimulate development. The use of these resources tends to stress networking and collaboration rather than competition. Cities increasingly need to think not only about how they can distinguish themselves through marketing and branding, but also about how they can work with other cities to develop network value and collaborative advantage. Making use of networks implies a shift from planning as a physical process of development into programming as a creative act of dynamically connecting resources and giving them meaning.

A small city can derive meaning from its DNA, but creativity and ambition are needed to avoid parochialism. ‘s-Hertogenbosch was able to

escape the confines of physical size and small-city mentality by daring to dream big, and by avoiding the big city rhetoric of competition. Collaboration in the network society opens up a range of new creative possibilities. Cities can harness these by linking global and local flows, and using the top-down and bottom-up processes in the city itself to make the best use of available resources and stimulate co-creation. Using shared values and high-level goals, the city can build programmes that harness the collective creativity present in the city. The Bosch500 programme would not have succeeded without top-down vision supported by grass-roots involvement of local people and institutions. In the practice of creative placemaking, top-down processes can create the conditions in which bottom-up processes can thrive.

As Oakley (2015) suggests, there is a possibility of creating a new politics of place in the city, utilizing the new spaces created by programming and events. Cities should not simply organize events for animation or tourism purposes, but should construct occasions grounded in the DNA of the city to make a contribution to the quality of life. The development of a programming perspective on the city means we have to think about the temporal as well as spatial aspects of urban places, or what Kern (2015) refers to as "timespace", which includes multiple temporalities and a feeling of eventfulness.

In the past, placemaking has tended to follow urban practices of spatial planning, which concentrates on the development of space in a temporally linear fashion. By shifting from a planning to a programming perspective, cities also have the possibility of developing places through different temporal lenses. As we discussed in Chapter 8, the alternative "3-Ts" vision incorporating time, timing, and tempo can shift the focus from what the city *has* to what it could *become*. The process of becoming involves using a resource (time) to act (timing) and move things in the city (tempo). This has implications for the way in which cities structure themselves. Being able to move at the right time requires flexibility, which can come from the preparation of networks that bring together a raft of actors with shared goals, or from the creation of a platform which links the temporal resources of the city in a way that prepares for action. The injection of a strong temporal perspective adds a new dynamic to placemaking practice, moving from resources (what we have) to dynamics (how we can change to achieve our dream). Small cities have limited resources, so they have to use them wisely and creatively. We have argued in this book that cities should shift their focus from quantity (how many creatives, how many amenities) to quality (how we can improve the quality of the people and things that we have).

In terms of urban theory, we suggest there is a need to consider not just physical size or the presence of amenities in urban development, but also the qualitative and dynamic qualities of cities and their practices of urbanity. Seen as a question of physical size, of course small cities are at

a structural disadvantage (Lorentzen and van Heur 2012). Seen in terms of urban dynamics, it seems that small cities can overcome many of the disadvantages of physical size through creative acts of programming and development. It becomes a question of how the city uses resources, rather than of the volume of resources it has.

Our analysis links to growing discussions about the need to move away from big picture urbanism towards the analysis of the microcosm of the "multiplex, ordinary city" that emphasizes mobility, flow, and everyday practices and the way these are shaped by placemaking actors (Warren and Dinnie 2017). The experience of 's-Hertogenbosch coincides with Warren and Dinnie's description of legitimation practices among place branding actors in Toronto, Canada. Placemaking in 's-Hertogenbosch has also been strongly shaped by small groups of cultural intermediaries, who used narrative and storytelling to give meaning to assemblages of urban resources. Legitimation for placemaking and place branding still has to be fought for, because the value generated by placemaking programmes is not always immediately obvious to key decision-makers in the city. In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch, it could be argued, the most valuable effects of the Bosch500 programme were to secure the legacy of Bosch for the city, and to create flows of knowledge that can continue to channel resources to the city in future. However, the legitimation of the placemaking effort had to concentrate mainly on the economic value of the programme in order to secure the required investment.

The conundrum for creative placemakers is that the significant gap between the "hard" economic narrative and the 'soft" knowledge-based process of value creation in the Bosch500 programme can make the effects appear almost magical to those unaware of the back story. Suddenly, it seems, millions stream to a previously obscure city to visit an unassuming provincial museum. The economic impact of full hotels, restaurants, and shops is just the tip of the iceberg – most of the placemaking effect remains hidden below the surface. Warren and Dinnie (2017) note that place-branding actors find it difficult to legitimize their activities because these are often seen as peripheral. Placemaking can suffer from a similar problem of legitimation, particularly when the full effects of the placemaking effort remain largely invisible. It should be possible to increase the perceived importance of placemaking in the small city, where, as Jos Vrancken observes, there are fewer competing stories than in the metropolis. For the small city, the activities of cultural intermediaries developing placemaking programmes can have a more significant influence on the future development of the whole city.

's-Hertogenbosch succeeded because it was able to use the DNA of the city as the basis of a programme that utilized embedded knowledge to creatively leverage resources. The city's ability to create and lead networks was a crucial factor, as was the leadership provided by a small group of motivated people. The small city needed to make external

connections to achieve internal change. In particular, there was a movement of attention from external to internal networks. By engaging the external world, the city as a whole came to appreciate the importance of the programme.

This process relied heavily on a clear vision, and on moving away from the politics of giving people what they think they want (which is the focus of most urban programmes) towards giving them what they will come to want in the future. In making this shift it is vital to take people with you, and not confine understanding of the story to a small group of "usual suspects". The story of the city should be written through its people, and they should be given ownership. But the meanings developed also need to be more widely shared. This implies creating meaning in terms of both "bonding" forms of meaning (what we have in common) as well as "bridging" forms of meaning (what links us to others). Bonding meanings can help to generate broad support for civic programmes through feelings of belonging. Bridging meanings offer new opportunities by linking the city to new contacts, networks, and horizons.

In effective placemaking practice, it seems important to achieve a successful balance between the elements of resources, meanings, and creativity. An over-concentration on (physical) resources (Figure 9.1a) may lead to the problems of icon-based serial reproduction signalled by Richards and Wilson (2006). Too much attention for meanings (Figure 9.1b) may lead to a parochial approach or an over-reliance on place-branding and place-marketing, which may be far less effective than improving the reality of the city, as Hildreth (2008) suggests. Finally, too much emphasis on creativity (Figure 9.1c) may mean that the programme ends up resembling a creative city strategy, similar to those widely criticized for their superficiality and elitism (Peck 2005; Waitt and Gibson 2009).

When a balance is achieved between the resources, meanings and creativity elements of placemaking (Figure 9.1d), then each aspect provides support for the others. The resources of the city are needed to embed the meanings of the city and make them distinctive. The meanings in turn become a source of creativity, which can be used to leverage more resources and knowledge from the networks connecting the city with the space of flows. Additional resources in turn become a font of new meanings, and so on. This mutual dependency of the elements of the placemaking system can therefore be turned into a virtuous cycle of development.

One of the key approaches is not to think like a big city, but to think differently. Small cities don't need to become bigger cities or to find small ponds to be big fishes in. We have identified a number of alternative strategies that utilize the new possibilities being offered by changes in the global economy. In the contemporary network society, a number of shifts are converging to provide new possibilities:

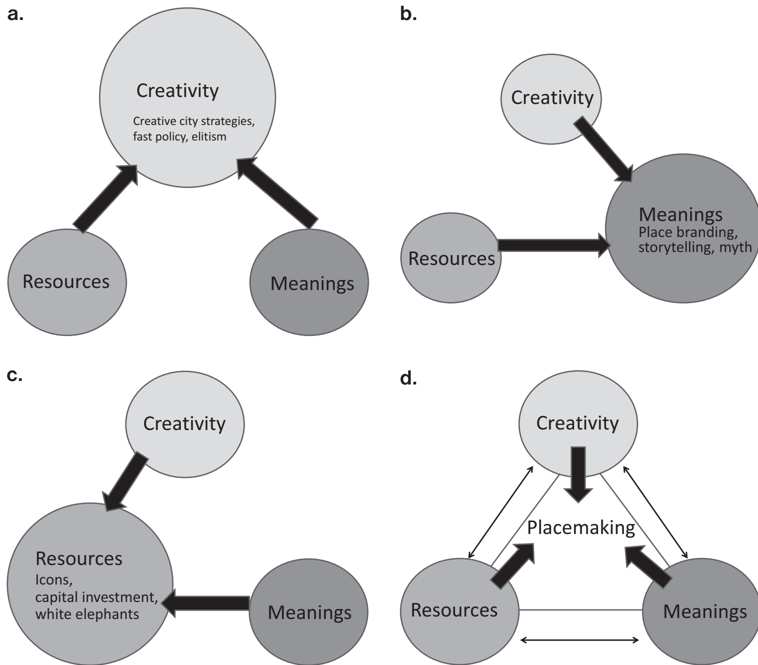


Figure 9.1 The balance between resources, meanings, and creativity in placemaking: (a) Leaning too heavily on (physical) resources – icon-driven development. (b) Overemphasizing meaning – a place-branding strategy. (c) Too much creativity – the creative city strategy. (d) A balanced placemaking approach combining resources, meaning, and creativity.

- getting away from a size-related inferiority complex;
- using collaboration and coopetition as an alternative to competition;
- using resources more effectively, rather than worrying about getting more resources;
- positioning the city in networks to generate network value.

When small cities are able to develop such new strategies, then we can share the "small-city optimism" position outlined by Collits (2000), in which "Communities Can Turn Their Economies Around Themselves". Although small cities face stiff competition from larger ones, the examples provided in this volume and elsewhere show that decline of small cities is not inevitable, and can be halted or reversed through endogenous development. But to be successful they need to use and attract resources creatively, and embed their programmes in the essential DNA of the city. In this way, there is some hope of finding a more positive

course for the small city than copying the metropolis or becoming comfortable with small-city conservatism. We would echo the argument of Mahoney (2003) that the small city needs to have a much clearer idea of what it aspires to, in order to progress and prosper. It is important for the small city to have big dreams.

References

Afdeling Onderzoek & Statistiek (2017). *Eindevaluatie manifestatie Jheronimus Bosch 500*. ‘s-Hertogenbosch: Gemeente ‘s-Hertogenbosch.

Asle Bergsgard, N., and Vassenden, A. (2011). The Legacy of Stavanger as Capital of Culture in Europe 2008: Watershed or Puff of Wind? *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 17(3): 301–20.

Bäck, H., Heinelt, H., and Magnier, A. (2006). *The European Mayor: Political Leaders in the Changing Context of Local Democracy*. Vienna: Springer.

Barnes, T. J., and Hayter, R. (1992). “The Little Town That Did”: Flexible Accumulation and Community Response in Chemainus, British Columbia. Regional Studies 26(7): 647–63.

Bayfield, H. (2015). Mobilising Manchester through the Manchester International Festival: Whose City, Whose Culture? An Exploration of the Representation of Cities through Cultural Events. PhD, University of Sheffield.

Bollier, D. (2015). *The City as Platform: How Digital Networks Are Changing Urban Life and Governance*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

Caselas, A. P. (2002). The Barcelona Model? Agents, Policies and Planning Dynamics in Tourism Development. PhD dissertation, Rutgers University.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chalip, L. (2006). Towards Social Leverage of Sport Events. *Journal of Sport & Tourism* 11(2): 109–27.

Collits, P. (2000). Small Town Decline and Survival: Trends, Success Factors and Policy Issues. Paper presented at the conference “Future of Australia’s Country Towns”, La Trobe University, Bendigo, Australia.

Evans, G., and Foord, J. (2006). *Small Cities for a Small Country: Sustaining the Cultural Renaissance?* London: Routledge.

Garrett-Petts, W. (2017). Culture, Tourism, Sustainability: Toward a Vernacular Rhetoric of Place Promotion. Paper presented at the conference “Culture, Sustainability, and Place: Innovative Approaches for Tourism Development”, Ponta Delgada, Portugal, 13 Oct.

Giffinger, R., Kramar, H., and Haindl, G. (2008). The Role of Rankings in Growing City Competition. In *Proceedings of the 11th European Urban Research Association (EURA) Conference*, Milan, Italy, 9–11 Oct. http://publik.tuwien.ac.at/files/PubDat_167218.pdf.

Gold, J., and Gold, M. (2017). Olympic Futures and Urban Imaginings: From Albertopolis to Olympicopolis. In J. Hannigan and G. Richards (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, 514–34. London: SAGE.

Hildreth, J. (2008). The Saffron European City Brand Barometer: Revealing Which Cities Get the Brands They Deserve. http://saffron-consultants.com/wp-content/uploads/Saff_CityBrandBarom.pdf

Hitzler, R. (2011). *Eventisierung: Drei Fallstudien zum marketingstrategischen Massenspaß*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Kern, L. (2015). Rhythms of Gentrification: Eventfulness and Slow Violence in a Happening Neighbourhood. *Cultural Geographies* 23(3): 441–57.

LAGroup (2015). Actualisering hotelonderzoek 's-Hertogenbosch en omgeving. Amsterdam: LAGroup. www.ondernemenindenbosch.nl/uploads/media/564c3750d4de6/actualisering-hotelonderzoek-s-hertogenbosch-e-o-lagroup-april-2015.pdf

Lambe, W. (2008). *Small Towns Big Ideas: Case Studies in Small Town Community Economic Development*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Government and Rural Economic Development Center. http://ncruralcenter.org/images/PDFs/Publications/stbigideasi.pdf

Lewis, N. M., and Donald, B. (2010). A New Rubric for "Creative City" Potential in Canada's Smaller Cities. *Urban Studies* 47(1): 29–54.

Lorentzen, A., and van Heur, B. (2012). *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. London: Routledge.

Mahoney, T. R. (2003). The Small City in American History. *Indiana Magazine of History* 99(4): 311–30.

Oakley, K. (2015). Creating Space: A Re-evaluation of the Role of Culture in Regeneration. http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/88559/3/AHRC_Cultural_Value_KO%20Final.pdf

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(4): 740–70.

Ponzini, D., Fotev, S., and Mavaracchio, F. (2016). Place-Making or Place-Faking? The Paradoxical Effects of Transnational Circulation of Architectural and Urban Development Projects. In A. P. Russo and G. Richards (eds), *Reinventing the Local in Tourism: Producing, Consuming and Negotiating Place*, 153–70. Bristol: Channel View.

Richards, G. (2001). *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

Richards, G. (2017). From Place Branding to Placemaking: The Role of Events. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 8(1): 8–23.

Richards, G., and Wilson, J. (2006). Developing Creativity in Tourist Experiences: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture? *Tourism Management* 27: 1209–23.

Rojek, C. (2013). *Event Power: How Global Events Manage and Manipulate*. London: SAGE.

Rota, F. S., and Salone, C. (2014). Place-Making Processes in Unconventional Cultural Practices: The Case of Turin's Contemporary Art Festival Paratissima. *Cities* 40: 90–98.

Sacco, P. L., and Blessi, G. T. (2007). European Culture Capitals and Local Development Strategies: Comparing the Genoa and Lille 2004 Cases. *Homo Oeconomicus* 24(1): 111–41.

Simons, I. (2017). The Practices of the Eventful City: The Case of Incubate Festival. *Event Management* 21(5): 593–608.

Smith, A. (2015). *Events in the City: Using Public Spaces as Event Venues*. London: Routledge.

Stone, C. N. (1989). *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946–1988*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

TRAM (2007). *Haalbaarheid en effecten van het meerjarenprogramma Jheronimus Bosch 500*. Barcelona: TRAM.

Turok, I. (2009). The Distinctive City: Pitfalls in the Pursuit of Differential Advantage. *Environment and Planning A* 41(1): 13–30.

Waitt, G., and Gibson, C. (2009). Creative Small Cities: Rethinking the Creative Economy in Place. *Urban Studies* 46(5–6): 1223–46.

Warren, G., and Dinnie, K. (2017). Exploring the Dimensions of Place Branding: An Application of the ICON Model to the Branding of Toronto. *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 3(1): 56–68.

Wolman, H. (1992). Understanding Cross National Policy Transfers: The Case of Britain and the US. *Governance* 5(1): 27–45.

Wynn, J. R. (2015). *Music/City: American Festivals and Placemaking in Austin, Nashville, and Newport*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wynn, J. (2016). Why Cities Should Stop Building Museums and Focus on Festivals. http://theconversation.com/why-cities-should-stop-building-museums-and-focus-on-festivals-57333

Index

Aarhus 15, 73, 125
Adelaide 125
advantages of small cities 8–9
agglomeration economies 35
Airbnb 228, 232
Alba Iulia 160
alternative strategies 13, 240
ambition, cities of 15
amenities 50
amenity growth paradigm 37
Amsterdam 19, 124, 129, 153, 236
Antwerp 74, 125
Antwerpen Open 229
Arnaudville, Louisiana 177
artists 108, 154, 179
assessment 189; holistic 190
Atlanta model 215
atmosphere 8, 50
attention 70, 145, 151, 200, 204, 210, 240; cycle 210–212
attraction 31, 170
attractiveness 21
Aubery, Martine 167
Auckland 74
audience 83
Austin 49
Australia 218
authenticity 147, 224; connective 80; emergent 224
Avans Hogeschool 94

Balkenende, Jan Peter 201
Barcelona 36, 65, 108, 111, 193, 194; model 215
Barnsley 109
Bellevue, Washington 72
Bend, Oregon 11
Berlin 96
Berthoud, Colorado 15
bid 201, 203, 208
bidding costs 186–187
Bilbao 193–194
Binnendieze river 149
BlaBlaCar 228
Blackburn 174
Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam 95, 105, 148, 193, 201, 223
borrowing ideas 230; size 13, 35, 220
Bosch500 Foundation 52, 79, 95, 96, 98, 101, 123–124, 151, 183, 227; programme 23, 51, 69–70, 81, 93–94, 128, 146, 151–153, 156, 164, 166, 168, 171–175, 179, 181, 184, 195, 197–199, 210, 220, 221, 224, 232, 238, 239
Bosch: app 99; Art Game 31; Beach Opera 97, 135; Beast event 233; by Night 99, 205; Café 53, 201–202, 208, 220; Cities Network 80, 93, 96–98, 106, 114–115, 129, 184, 206, 220, 225; Dance 207; Diner 209; Experience 75, 98–100; Grand Tour 100–102, 182; Lottery 52, 57, 182–183, 201; Panel 208, 220; Parade 56, 108, 176, 179; Research and Conservation Project 80, 93, 95–96, 102, 105, 114, 123, 149, 156, 184, 198, 200, 205–206, 210, 222; Young Talent Show 94; Hieronymus 51–53, 67, 74, 96, 97, 99, 105, 134, 147, 149, 153–154, 166, 172, 175, 198, 199, 204, 221, 223, 224, 234, 235; house 173, 198
Brabant Museums Network 100–102
Brabantstad 91, 169, 170, 181, 199, 220–221
Brabazon, Tara 41, 43–44
Brainard, James 237

branding 45, 73–74, 141–161; place 106; process 145; strategy 146
Breda 91, 155
Breughel de Jonge, Pieter 100
Broersen, Persijn 100
Bruce, Graham 226
Bruges 19, 96, 125, 144
Brugge Plus 144, 229
Brussels 96
Burgos 203

Canada 9, 13, 216, 226
Canadian Capital of Culture 186
Canmore (Alberta) 9
Cannes Festival 48
Capel, Horacio 5
Capetown 65
Carbonell, Nacho 100
Carlos de Amberes Foundation 105, 200
Carmel, Indiana 11, 219, 237
Catalunya 55, 175
Catanzaro 109
Catholic 237
Cement Festival 96
Chapman, Dinos 100
Chapman, Jake 100
charity 235
Chattanooga 160–161
Chemainus, BC 223, 226–227; Festival of Murals Society 226
Chemainus: The Little Town That Did 226
Christchurch, New Zealand 47
Cities of Service Model 56
cities, entrepreneurial 131
citizens 118
city marketing 74, 141; states 65
City of Page, Arizona 72
Clinton, Bill 112
clone towns 35
co-creation 59, 125
collaboration 13, 87–115, 220, 238; functional 145, relational 145, symbolic 145,
collaborative advantage 237; economy 3, 228
commercialization 41
Commonwealth Games 203
Community Foundation of Greater Dubuque 178
comparative advantage 36, 56
competences 16
competition 65, 66, 88, 90, 103
competitive advantage 36, 56, 66, 126
conflict 84, 103
Confraternity of the Illustrious Lady 100
coopetition 13, 88, 103
Copernicus 97
Corcoran, Minnesota 71
Cork 79
creative cities 107, 216; class 9, 110; clusters 41; crowds 20; hubs 20; industries 41; outposts 37; placemaking 77; strategies 241; tourism 135
creativity 17, 19–20, 80, 131, 240
Crosby, John O. 135
crowd funding 58; sourcing 58
Cruyff, Johan 14, 196, 203
Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor 31, 47
cultural capital 44; effects 179–181; institutions 52, 179, 189, 201, 203; regeneration 187; tourism 187; vibrancy 31
Culture 10; Programme 203
curation 143

Dancing Museums project 96
Dark Mofo 42
Days of Tordenskiold 112
De Pont, Tilburg 100
distinction 43–49, 142–143, 227
DNA, cultural 23, 71, 74, 80, 81, 83, 106, 110, 142, 151–154, 156, 161, 217, 221, 223, 224, 227, 230, 239
Donk, Wim van der 212
dream 84, 223
Drenthe 174
Dubuque, Iowa 178
Dutch Wind Ensemble 94

economic crisis 207; impact 135, 171, 173, 178, 197–198
Edinburgh 69
education 44, 219, 227
Efteling 75, 94, 100, 102, 106, 149, 151; Efteling Heritage Network 98–100
Eindhoven 74, 91, 107, 222
employment 10, 178
Enguera 109
equity 17, 119, 128, 133
ethnic minorities 165–166
European Capital of Culture 47, 54, 58–59, 70, 79, 82, 83, 91, 104, 108,

120, 124, 126, 133, 137, 144, 148, 158–159, 165, 169, 173, 175–176, 184–187, 189, 193, 199, 201, 220, 222, 228, 233; Green Capital 186; Network of Living Labs 106; Union 5, 76, 96, 159
eventfulness 46, 47, 171, 238
events 45–49, 108, 131, 134, 137, 144–145, 165, 229, 231
experiences 112, 113, 172 224
Eyck, Jan van 100, 153

Fabre, Jan 100
Fanfari Bombari 101
Faria, Telmo 109–110
Festivaletteratura 54, 82, 93
festivalization 137, 188, 229
festivals 229–230, 231
finance 168, 181, 183, 184, 198–199, 206, 235
Finland 46–47
Florida, Richard 4, 37, 170
FOLIO International Literary Festival 110
Foster, Norman 194
Frankfurt 96
Fredrikshavn 112–113
Fukaya 77–78
funding 119–120, 200, 201, 230–231, 237
Fusillier, Didier 167
future 71, 240; orientation 67

Galway 169
Garden of Earthly Delights 53, 98 102, 149, 157
Gaudí, Antoni 143, 223
Gehl, Jan 11
genius loci 32, 170
Genoa 170
gentrification 187
Ghent 96; Museum voor Schone Kunsten 95
Gilroy, California 223
Giro d'Italia 174
GLAMS 43
Glasgow 175–176
Glass, Philip 210
global cities 4
Gore, Al 112
governance 22–23, 79, 118–138, 144; models of 120–124; network 126–129; programme 125–126
government 118–119
Graz 129, 142–143, 159, 173, 228–229
Greenaway, Peter 210
Groeningemuseum 95
Groot Tuighuis Museum 100
Grossetête, Olivier 183
Guggenheim Museum 43, 193–194
Guimarães 54, 158, 173, 187

Hamburg 65
Hartford, Connecticut 25
Haywain 105
Heaven and Hell Cruise 99, 168, 179, 223
Helmond 91
Helsinki Restaurant Day 46–47; Streat Helsinki 46–47
Hieronymus Bosch, the Garden of Earthly Delights (dance performance) 98
Hobart 42–43, 65
Hodmezovasarhely 109
Horsens 174
Hull 7
human scale 10–12
Huystee, Pieter van 156

icon 67,152–154, 166, 172, 193, 197; icon-driven development 241
iconic buildings 42
identity 81, 143, 166
Ilsink, Matthijs 95
image 133, 148, 151, 156, 159, 175–177
impact 163–190
In Search of Europe 97
Incubate Festival 231
India 120
indicators 170–173
infrastructure, hard 50, 57, 217; soft 8, 25, 44–45, 50, 57, 217; symbolic 36
innovation 131–132, 189
International Chocolate Festival 110
Istanbul 54
Izmir 126

Jacobs, Jane 4, 41
Janssen, Joks 67, 92, 221
Japan 77, 78, 106
Jheronimus Academy of Data Science 92–93; Bosch Art Centre 94, 99, 100, 149, 173

Jheronimus Bosch, the Eyes of the Owl 157; *Jheronimus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* 156; *Jheronimus Bosch, Touched by the Devil* 156
Johannis, Klaus 132–133, 220
Juan Carlos, King of Spain 105

Kaayk, Floris 100
knowledge 205–206, 234; dissemination 34, 49, 54, 227; generation 49, 188, 227; networks 106; spillover 92–93; transfer 93, 107
Kolderwij, Jos 206, 234
Kooijmans, Jeroen 100
Košice 54

Lakewood, Colorado 11
Lampedusa 97
Landry, Charles 15
Last Judgement 95
leadership 15, 77, 84, 132–136, 219, 224
Leeuwarden 187, 222
legacy 153, 166–169, 173, 184, 186, 211, 224–225, 234; legacy cliff 211
legitimacy 79, 138, 223, 239
Leiden 153
Leipzig 4
leverage 166–169, 225
Lieshout, Joep van 100
light festivals 74, 113
Lille 82, 125, 136, 167, 170; Lille 3000 82, 167
Linz 47, 79
Lisbon 96
Liverpool 176–177
living labs 106–107
London 75, 96, 222
Louvre Museum, Lens 168
Luxemburg 70, 104, 176–177, 220
Lynch, Kevin 4

MacDonald, Cim 226
Machiavelli 97
machi-zukuri 77, 78
Madrid 96, 105, 115, 151, 194, 222
Malta 208
Man, Lucas 97
Manchester 19, 48, 77, 157, 203, 233; International Festival 48–49, 55, 77, 157, 203; Commonwealth Games 48
Mantua 54, 82, 93
Marie Chouinard Company 98
marketing 141–189, 227
Marseille 54
Matera 187
materials 16, 57, 136
mayor 79, 109, 110, 121, 132, 181, 200–201, 220, 226–227, 236–237
meanings 16, 18–19, 81, 240; of place 18–19, 49
meaningscape 224
measurement 165–173, 222
media 153, 156, 176, 208–209, 210, 232, 236; value 158, 175, 203
medieval 31, 148, 150, 151, 154, 202
medium-sized cities 3, 34
Mendonça, Vasco 97
Mercer Island, Washington 72
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 96
Middle Ages 148, 149
migrants 83
Milan 108
Miles, Malcolm 41
Miller, Mary 179–180, 189
Minnesota 56
Miraculous Climb 99, 216
Mississippi River 178
Mizil 109
Moldovan, Nicolaie 160
MONA museum 42–43
Mons 54, 168, 185–186, 189
Montreal 103, 108, 183
Mooij, Charles de 75
More, Thomas 97
Mozart 152,153
multi-annual programming 204–210
multimedia 149, 156
Mundial, festival 59
Murals 226
Museum of the Image (MOTI), Breda 100
museums 96, 100–102, 124, 150, 206, 230

narrative 17, 146, 156
Nashville 49
National Event Year 200, 206
National Gallery, London 97
National Mississippi River Museum 178
Natuurmuseum Brabant, Tilburg 100
Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City 206

Netherlands 6, 237; Netherlands Board for Tourism and Conventions 94, 124, 151, 152–153, 175, 182, 200
network 80, 89, 90, 131, 172, 206, 220; economies 35; orchestrators 129; positioning 35; society 7, 13, 14, 67, 217, 238, 240; value 110–111
networking 90–91, 96, 170, 237
New Haven 96
New York 8, 75, 96
New Yorkers for a Human Scale City (NYHSC) 11
Newcastle 203
Noordbrabants Museum 95, 96, 99, 100, 123, 151, 183, 201
North Brabant 91, 100, 170, 181, 201, 212, 220, 222
North College Hill, Ohio 5

Óbidos 65, 109–110
Olympic Games 166, 183, 186, 193, 203
optimum size, cities 11–12
Øresund Bridge 104; region 145
Osaka 65
Östersund 15

Paris 96
PARK(ing) Day 47
parks 40–41
Parochialism 237
partnership 76–81, 89–90, 128
path-dependency 136
Pays d'Aix 127–128
Pécs 54, 70, 127, 208
people 49–56, 80, 154
People for Public Spaces 125
perseverance 200–204, 234
Picasso, Pablo 96, 149, 223; Picasso-Aix Programme 127–128; Picasso-Cézanne exhibition 127
Pilsen 54, 71
Pinho, José 109
Pittsburg 65
Pixel Hotel 47
place branding 141–146, 241; building blocks of 22; governance 125, 127; marketing 141, 240
placemakers 20
placemaking 15–20; creative 15, 187; holistic approach to 227; practice 59; process of 24–25, 79–81
planning 81, 229–230
platform 58, 89, 107, 143, 180, 188; city as 8, 129–130, 227–229; placemaking 227–229
policy 232; transfer 74
political market square (PSQ) 68, 102
political will 219
politics of place 238
population decline 6, 185
pop-up urbanity 46–47, 229
positioning 66, 241
post-industrial cities 7
practice 136–137
practices 57, 132–136; social 15–18
Prado Museum 75, 96, 102, 105, 124, 150–151, 200, 201, 222, 223, 234
pride 235–236; local 174–175, 186
programme 20–21, 66, 81–83, 197–199, 231; concept 134–135; costs 187–189; cycle 210–212; definition of 21; elements of 82–83; governance 125–126; multi-annual 51, 148, 193, 195, 197, 204–210
Project for Public Spaces 11
publicity free 150–151, 204; paradox of 232
publics 83, 134

quadruple helix 107, 129
quality 14, 17, 36, 170; of life 37–38, 71, 173
Queen's University, Kingston 95
quintuple helix 58, 106, 129

Radboud University, Nijmegen 95, 234
RAGNAROCK Museum 130
regimes 69, 77, 129–132
relationships 227
Rembrandt 150, 153, 197, 200
resources 17, 18, 30–60, 119–120, 217; tangible 43; temporal 238; urban 56–59
Richmond, British Colombia 72
Rijksmuseum 151
risk 123, 129, 131, 221–222
Romania 226
Rombouts, Ton 32, 51, 91, 132, 173, 179, 181, 193, 200–201, 219, 232, 237
Roskilde 80, 130–131; Festival 80
Rotterdam 81, 96, 102, 125, 165, 224, 234; Festivals 81, 229
Rubens 153, 197
Rümke, Matthijs 97

Sacco, Pier-Luigi 32
Saint John's Cathedral 99, 149, 216
Salamanca 173
Salzburg 154; Festival 183
Sánchez Castillo, Fernando 100
Santa Fe 135–136; Arts Commission 229; Opera House 135
Scenes: creative 108, 112; urban 37
Schutz, Karl 226
Scott, Alan 4
second cities 65
serial reproduction 240
Setouchi Triennale 174–175
Seville 194
's-Gravesande, Ad 60, 101, 124, 152, 154, 200, 236
Sheffield 196
's-Hertogenbosch 65, 67, 69–70, 74–75, 79, 80, 91, 92, 96, 98, 146, 152, 155, 168–169, 172, 175, 179, 182, 193, 199, 201, 204, 212, 218–226, 231, 233, 237, 239
sharing economy 92
Shrewsbury 160
Sibiu, Romania 83, 133, 159, 176, 219
Singapore 147
sins, seven deadly 221, 235–236
size: borrowing 128; creating 22; and resources 34–36
skills 227
Small Cities Community–University Research Alliance (CURA) 218
social: capital 156, 166, 170, 180; cohesion 81, 170, 172, 174–175; network analysis 69
Social Exchange Theory 102
sociality 170
Sónar Festival 111
Souzhou 19
space 82, 107, 125, 131, 177–178, 188; public 39–42; of flows 90; of places 90
space-time 40
Spanish Capital of Gastronomy 186, 203
sponsorship 182–183
Sprague, Connecticut 15
St Jerome at Prayer 95
Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt 96
stakeholder engagement 69–70
stakeholders 67–70, 119, 142, 143, 144, 147, 194, 210, 217, 224, 227
Stavanger 79, 179–181, 188, 233
Stedelijk Museum 's-Hertogenbosch 100
Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg 95
Stockholm 19
stories 142, 146, 147, 157, 160, 198, 224
storytelling 98, 147–157, 204; storytelling 2.0 221
Studio Smack 100
success factors 217–218
superstar cities 12
sustainability 165, 166
Swanenberg, Gurt 100
switchers 20, 136
SXSW 49
symbolic economy 50

talent 49–56; retention 50
Tallinn 54, 173
Tampere 15, 145
technology 9, 10
temporal nodes 48
Temptation of St Anthony 206
Textile Museum, Tilburg 100
Thompson Rivers University 218
Tilburg 59, 91; University 92
time 193–213, 238; pressure 206
timespace 238
timing 82, 238
Toronto 239
tourism 38–39, 43–44, 54, 104, 109, 128, 169, 172, 173, 174, 187, 203, 232
transfer of ideas 215, 236–237
transparency 59, 70, 128
Trenton, New Jersey 5
Tromsø 49
Turku 54, 70, 79, 127, 137

UK City of Culture 186
Umeå 15, 54, 58–59, 65, 129
underdog, position 95, 105, 222
UNESCO Creative Cities Network 47, 109, 135
urban century 3; field 237–242; theory 238
urbanism, tactical 229
urbanity 36–39
urbanization 36–39
USA 9, 56, 120, 121, 135, 196, 229–230, 237

Valletta 208
value chain 89; creation 89

values, universal 147, 221
Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven 100
Van Gogh, Vincent 100, 149, 200
Venice 19, 95, 96
Venice, California 19
Venlo 108–109
Verdonck, Kris 97
Verhulst, Dimitri 97
Viareggio 109
vibrancy, cultural 38
Vienna 96, 142
Viking Ship Museum 80, 130
Vilnius, Lithuania 208
vision 66, 70–73, 136, 218
Visions of Genius exhibition 2, 57, 123, 151, 164, 171, 175, 184, 200, 201, 202, 210, 222, 231
Visit Brabant 94, 124
volunteers 53–56, 175
Vrancken, Jos 151, 152–154, 156, 239

Walsh, David 42–43
Washington 96
Water Valley, Mississippi 44
Waynesville, Ohio 15
we-economy 8, 89
Weimar 83, 120, 173
West Jordan, Utah 11
Willem-Alexander, King of the Netherlands 168
world cities 96
World Design Capital 186
World Student Games 196
Wuzhen 19

Zukin, Sharon 10

Taylor & Francis Group
an **informa** business

Taylor & Francis eBooks

www.taylorfrancis.com

A single destination for eBooks from Taylor & Francis with increased functionality and an improved user experience to meet the needs of our customers.

90,000+ eBooks of award-winning academic content in Humanities, Social Science, Science, Technology, Engineering, and Medical written by a global network of editors and authors.

TAYLOR & FRANCIS EBOOKS OFFERS:

- A streamlined experience for our library customers
- A single point of discovery for all of our eBook content
- Improved search and discovery of content at both book and chapter level

REQUEST A FREE TRIAL

support@taylorfrancis.com