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Staff member/supervisor: Dr T. M. J. Sintobin

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Signed

Name of student: Jean-Eduard Luc Constantin Smeets

Student number: 4472500

Radboud Universiteit

A Tale of Four Creative Cities:
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Creative Cities

Master's Thesis: Creative Industries

Jean-Eduard Luc Constantin Smeets S4472500

Supervisor: Dr. T. M. J. Sintobin

Secondary reader: Dr. E. M. van Meerkerk

Faculty of Arts

Master Program of Creative Industries

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Abstract

This thesis looks at: the definition of a city that could be considered as a "creative city", the various types of creative cities that exist, gives an overview of branding, lists what makes a successful brand image and the effects thereof. It does this by applying aspects of cultural studies to this new field of study. In the second half of this thesis a comparison is made between established creative cities (using Amsterdam of the Netherlands and Cape Town of South Africa as examples) and emerging creative cities (such as Nijmegen, the Netherlands, and Pretoria, South Africa). It does this by looking at the cultural provisions that these cities have, their backgrounds and the titles that they have received or are working towards presently. This thesis looks at how these cities' brands are perceived online, on official websites, TripAdvisor and blogs. Drawing from the information obtained the conclusion allows the reader to determine whether these cities are or are not established or emerging creative cities.

Key concepts: *Creative Cities, Branding, Image, Online, Cultural Provisions, Knowledge Economy*

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1.   Introduction

> "*It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us…*"

Charles Dickens' memorable opening lines to "A Tale of Two Cities" (1859: 5) still echo as truth in the 21st century and in cities around the world. This is because with a changing economy that requires continual adaptations to benefit booming urban populations some people resort to creative enterprises while others resort to crime. Many cities are adopting a creative city mantra to overcome obstacles and thus provide a new income to their populations. This thesis explores the term: creative city, and how these cities are represented online in the digital age. The online world gives rise to both wisdom and foolishness especially when it is related to the power that the populous has in determining whether or not a city is creative or worth the visit. People decide whether or not to believe what they read online and these online recommendations have a huge impact on the tourist decision-making process. Therefore, online branding can bring hope to many cities or it can bring despair with either everything or nothing before them. This thesis will look at the online tales of four cities, two comfortably creative cities and two cities that are hopeful in being recognised as such.

What is a creative city? A creative city is:

> "*Charles Landry did not begin on focusing on the role of creativity within cities to suggest that creativity is now important to cities but was not important before. Instead, he wanted to highlight that creativity had become even more important in somewhat different ways than previously. He focused on creativity as a way of discussing the transitions that many cities were going through from old industrial centres to nodes within the knowledge economy. Whereas in previous centuries the successful cities were the ones that attracted manufacturing industries, in the twenty-first century the cities that thrive will be*

the ones that attract and nurture the creative class of knowledge creators who fuel these new creative knowledge-based industries" (Landry and Bianchini 1995:12 in Andersson, Andersson & Mallander 2011: 411).

What is the creative class? This social group is seen as a:

"New economic class, which occupies creative cities and 'consists of people who add economic value through their creativity'. Included in this class would be individuals who work in knowledge-intensive industries from information technology to thought leaders such as non-fiction writers to artists such as poets, novelists and actors. As traditional industries increasingly rely on the application of knowledge and knowledge-based technologies, many workers in these industries are also members of the creative class" (Florida 2002: 68 in Andersson, Andersson & Mellanders 2011: 411). *"Members of this class tend to value individuality, merit, diversity and openness"* (Florida 2002: 77 in Andersson, Andersson & Mellanders 2011: 411).

What is creativity in terms of this thesis? Creativity is seen an innovative thought to create something new or adapt something old for modern problems. These problems can be as diverse as finding a solution to an empty canvas, adapting a medical technique to solve a particular individual's problem or finding a solution to a threat. It is can also be seen as a problem solving tool and an outlet for talent. Therefore creativity can either mean an artistic creation, technological innovation or any other process where an individual uses thought to solve their individual or collective problem. Other questions that will also be answered in this thesis are: How do these cities brand themselves? How do established and emerging creative cities compare when portrayed online? The term "creative city" has seen a rise in its use over the last few decades and even more so in the past few years. As its popularity and the need for an alternative to commerce-based and industrial-based economy has arisen, in the form of the knowledge economy, cities are seeking to attract the creative class, which ultimately could lead to the formation of a creative city. Yet, is this term just a brand name to try to boost a city's popularity? Alternatively, does this term translate to an actual physical phenomenon where the creative class is attracted towards these creative cities thus boosting the knowledge economy? The research presented here

intends to clarify how established creative cities, such as Amsterdam and Cape Town, present themselves online in comparison to emerging creative cities, Nijmegen and Pretoria. The reasons that these cities were chosen is because they either are well-established creative cities or branded as such or they have implemented initiatives to promote themselves as creative cities. By trying, to answer how established creative cities are presented on English online digital media (such as blogs, official and non official websites) in comparison to emerging creative cities, this thesis hopes to identify major differences in the image portrayed. This thesis shall use websites such as: TripAdvisor, which is a major tool in the tourist destination decision-making process, personal blogs and official city tourism websites and government funded websites, as primary sources so as to give a variety of outlooks on the cities' online image from both consumers and producers. A collection of each cities' cultural provisions has been gathered, not in completion as this would be extremely extensive and is constantly changing, to give an overview of the potential of each city. By looking at this main question, the results should show how branding influences the move from an emerging creative city to an established creative city.

Therefore, the main questions that this thesis asks and hopes to answer are: What role does online media play on how a city is portrayed, especially in the context of a creative city? This question brings other aspects into question, these subsidiary questions are: does the Internet aid in the determination of a city as such and does the title of "creative city" impact the tourist decision making process? Thus, is the term a critical tool in city branding?

The relevance of this thesis is that the subject of creative cities has not been applied greatly to the field of cultural studies and the term itself has not been analysed as branding tool. The reasons that these questions and this thesis matter are that creative cities are becoming more necessary in the scope of politics, economy and society yet it also is relevant also in terms of academics. This is because as creative cities become a norm in society and the economy it will be necessary for academics to understand what this term means and signifies. Previous research does not look at

the cultural implications of a habitus such as the creative city. Two authors, Landry and Florida, which are experts in the study of creative cities, have remained spokesmen for the positive aspects of the creative city and thus have received criticism for their lack of critique. By viewing creative cities as a brand and through the lenses of cultural studies, it is possible to view the pros and cons of such a term especially in the context of a city's representation online. Previous research lacks the use of modern tools, such as the Internet, in the construction of image building and urban branding. This is especially the case for cities that have recently been addressed as being creative and those that aspire to be so. This thesis does not seek to delve too greatly into aspects of branding but does address critical aspects of it to understand how cities use branding to attract visitors, residents and a workforce.

This thesis looks at academic research from a variety of experts from a variety of academic fields (cultural studies, sociology, political science, urban studies, economics, history, branding/marketing and some others to a lesser extent). These fields of academic research are relevant and important because they are all intertwined within the context of the creative city. Cultural studies are relevant because creative cities are a result of the cultural/creative industries and these industries are dominant in creative cities. Creative cities challenge the hegemony that has dominated the fields of sociology, political sciences, urban studies and economics. Historically these cities have always been present yet they were not called by such a name thus a study could be done of cities in the past that could have been regarded as creative cities. Online media is challenging the way products, such as cities, are being branded with websites allowing everyday users to review places this field has entered a new era. The research provided will be able to provide answers for academia and policy makers that would like to understand the future of cities and their online image. It would also be capable to help understand branding techniques and how they can be seen positively online. Due to the variety of these fields, the central notions that are used are only capable of setting up larger questions that shall hopefully be applied in future academia on the subject. This thesis applies aspects of cultural studies to answer the questions that are asked. Some experts from

cultural studies that are used include: Barthes, Bourdieu, Lefebvre, de Certeau, Foucault, Said and others, which are presented in Simon During's 2007 *The Cultural Studies Reader*, these have not before been applied to the study of creative cities and thus make for a new understanding of these cities. Charles Landry and Richard Florida have written extensively on the topic of creative cities and have contributed greatly to the academic base on the subject.

The chapter following this introduction deals with "creative cities" using authors such as Gert-Jan Hospers, a Dutch expert in the field of urbanism, who provides valuable points to the various kinds of creative cities that exist and what elements allow a creative city to be regarded as such. The first chapter allows for someone that has not heard of the term to easily understand what kinds of creative city exist and why these cities are relevant today. Yet, there is still a lot to understand about the phenomena that are creative cities. There are no deciding factors to determine these indefinitely and all theories are mostly theoretical. The use of these sources and theories allows for a greater general analysis of creative cities with theories that have not yet been used to study creative cities in the past.

The second chapter also looks at characteristics such as creativity in terms of this research, how to create a creative atmosphere, urban creativity, criticism of creative cities. Charles Landry gives many aspiring cities the tools they need to reach the status of "creative city", not only through his published works but also through his website and projects, such as the Creative Cities Index. Many of the authors involved in the study of creative cities believe that the modern economy, the knowledge economy, requires creative cities to flourish (Hospers 2003: 260). The knowledge economy is in essence a financial system based on creativity, creative solutions and jobs based on creative knowledge. Knowledge-intensive activities set off a process of "creative destruction" in which the existing disappears and something new is born (Schumpeter 1943 in Hospers 2003: 260). The knowledge economy, the creative class and creative cities exist in a symbiotic harmony. For instance, the creative class living in a creative city contributes to both the global and local knowledge economy. Cities try to rebrand themselves along the lines of the creative city model in order to

attract the creative class and have a larger knowledge based economy. A creative city has to destroy its original image and rebuild upon the ruins, or essential elements, a new image that magnifies the favourable aspects, such as cultural provisions, yet does not eliminate the less favourable aspects to keep an accurate representation of reality within its image to prevent disappointment from inhabitants, visitors and investors. Creative cities, in some instances, have been seen in a negative light by some academics due to how difficult they are to study and their role in the economy. However, the negative sentiments towards creative cities are far outweighed by the positive ones, especially when the term is used correctly, implemented suitably and is managed in a proper way. Hospers however questions the actual existence of the creative city. He says: "If history from the time of the ancient Greeks up to the present makes one thing clear, it is that the creative city does not exist" (2003: 263). He says this because all of the cities that were mentioned as examples in the four types of creative cities that will be identified later "have little in common" but they do "agree on one point: they were without exception breeding places of creativity, whether on the technological, cultural, intellectual or organizational level" (2003: 263). The next chapter hopes to clarify what are "creative cities".

The third chapter, which is about branding, looks at the history of branding as a tool, brand awareness, and the creation of a successful brand, strong branding and the implications and effects of branding. The chapter uses Dolak, an expert on the subject, to explain the elements of a successful brand, as well as other authors to explain failed brands and the use of a brand image to promote a place in the same way as a company does to promote its products. Cultural provisions, inhabitants and the city itself become the products that the city is trying to sell to investors, tourists and creative individuals seeking to resettle in their city.

The fourth chapter looks at the case studies of the four cities. This chapter will use online material, such as TripAdvisor, blogs and official websites, that allow for a complete view of a city's online image in terms of how others present them and how they present themselves online. Tables about the cultural provisions are provided for

each city and the chapter is divided into two parts: the established creative cities, Amsterdam and Cape Town, and the emerging creative cities, Pretoria and Nijmegen. Despite the fact that these cities share similar traits and cultural provisions there is something that allows the two established cities to flourish while the emerging cities struggle to achieve the status of "creative city". The four tables provided give a brief breakdown of these resources. In the case of the two established cities an in depth look at each factor is done so as to clearly establish what is meant by terms such as: "buzz", "diversity" and so on.

The hypothesis of this thesis is that the research intends to apply theories of cultural studies towards the creative industries and how they are represented online. The expected results are that: established creative cities have a strong online presence whereas emerging creative cities still lack the online branding expertise to adequately be regarded as attractive despite having the cultural provisions that could make them be regarded as creative cities. Therefore, this thesis uses online image and presence to examine the differences between the established and the emergent cities. The expected finds are that the online presence of the established cities of Cape Town and Amsterdam will be significantly higher, more professional, informative and attractive aesthetically than those of Pretoria and Nijmegen. If this is the case: it would have to be something that the latter cities would have to address in order to be more attractive to the creative class and therefore gain more online presence and reach their goal of being regarded as creative cities. The expectations are that the emergent creative cities despite being smaller than the established cities have relationally as many cultural provisions. Except in the case of Amsterdam as it has a large amount of museums compared to the other examples used in the case study.

Why were these cities chosen for this case study? Amsterdam and Cape Town were chosen due to their similarities. They are both harbour cities and both share a similar heritage entrenched in the Dutch Golden Age thus sharing similar heritage. Both of these cities are known for attracting people from around the world due to their booming economies, start-ups and creativity. Nijmegen and Pretoria on the other hand are less well known internationally. Pretoria for example is rarely known by

foreign visitors who usually name Cape Town, Johannesburg or Durban when asked about South African cities. Nijmegen, despite being the oldest city of the Netherlands, is also not widely known and most of the international visitors are Germans as the city is only a mere two kilometres from the boarder. These two emerging cities share similar traits as well. They are home to large universities, have a large student population (except during holidays) and a nightlife that allows for these students and any visitors to enjoy. They both have a number of museums though less frequented than those in the established cities. However, these two cities have both implemented plans to be regarded as creative cities in the future. The reason why these primary sources: TripAdvisor, blogs and official websites, were chosen for analysis is that they are instrumental in the decision-making process of tourists, inhabitants and investors. These websites are the tools that online users use to create an image of the place they want to invest in or visit. They provide ideas for activities for both locals and visitors. They provide a sense of what activities and cultural provisions are available from the comfort of the user's chair. Most of these websites are extensive and delve deep into the local attributes of a city (especially in the case of the established creative cities), blogs tend to be biased for or against certain cities and do not always provide useful outlooks. Official websites by the local municipality tend to be more functional and redirect the user to other websites. It is for this reason that examples of each are used for each case study, where possible, so as to give an overview of the images perceived by users in general. Most of these websites are the first in search results to imitate the user experience. This however can also give users older posts that have become redundant or perceptions of people that have not fully experienced a city completely. The website also has the capability of giving the perspective of a wealthy person who gives advice that the average middle class user would not be able to experience. Therefore websites tend to be mostly subjective it is only in the case of official websites that they are more objective and cater to a broader audience. Due to algorithms within search engines it is possible that there are more adequate websites to be found yet, they have not received as much popularity as the top search hits. These websites could have also been used yet this thesis tries to be representative of a user's search and thus keeps results on the first two pages of

search results. Therefore, other results have been omitted. The same could be used with the cities that have been chosen for the case study. Other cities that could have been chosen as established creative cities are: Berlin, Paris, Eindhoven, Barcelona, New York, san Francisco, Köln, Tokyo, Beijing, Sydney and Rotterdam. As for emerging cities, other options could include: smaller less recognised cities, especially in Eastern Europe, Asia, the Americas and Africa. These could include: Prague, Warsaw, Riga, Mumbai, Orlando, Brasilia, Durban, Harare and Cairo. The reasons these options were not chosen is because I have not spent enough time in them to be able to analyse their cultural provisions and any of their possible plans to confirm or deny their status as creative cities. However, other academics have studied some of these cities and others to analyse their creativity and society. Some of their works have been used in this thesis, such as how Vanolo examined Turin, who inspired the use of cultural provisions' tables in this thesis. As Vanolo did for his research, this thesis could be used to further other studies on the subject especially by the introduction of cultural study theories and analysing the online image and brand of cities. Therefore, this thesis could be applied to other cities and is not only limited to these four cities.

The methodology for this thesis is: the sources presented are used to discern what certain terms mean and further apply what has been found to understand how the way the cities in the case study are presented and branded online (officially and unofficially). The sources come from a variety of disciplines and from professionals in those respective fields (for example: academia, economic reports and advice), they also come from different eras and places yet most look at the current era and region (western standards in the late 20th and early 21st century). These sources allow for a deeper understanding of the topic especially for the current societal, economical and political systems. The use of cultural studies theories gives new insight into already existing theories from other disciplines. For example in the case of branding, the internet and cities the application of cultural studies can provide a new look at how these other disciplines can be studied in future. This thesis uses some sources more than others. Landry, Florida, Hospers and Dolak are all used extensively, this is

unfortunate but they provide valuable input. The sources used range in value, as some are dominant disciplines that are more applicable to this thesis than others and are seen as more valuable in terms of their academic power and influence. The sources themselves range in value. Dolak's piece despite being useful does not hold high academic regard and Hospers' report is more of a guideline and should be seen as such even though he provides facts from other dominant sources. The websites themselves also range in value. The way these are valued in this thesis are by how many readers or users each website attracts. Therefore, TripAdvisor, official websites and blogs in that order, TripAdvisor was placed first as it attracts the most traffic online and is a dominant tool compared to the other websites. With the use of these sources, it should be possible to explain what a creative city, the creative class, the knowledge economy and branding are. Then apply these to the online image of creative cities and potential creative cities to see whether or not they are presented positively online and as if their online image gives them the image and recognition (as a creative city) that they either deserve or not. This will allow us to identify the importance of websites, along with cultural provisions and other branding tool in creating the image of a successful creative city. After all, the website should reflect a sense of creativity, innovation and functionality that the user would expect from a creative city inhabited by creative individuals.

The history of creative cities is longer than most would believe. The use of the term is new, coined in the 1980s by Charles Landry, but creative cities have been around for hundreds of years, if not thousands. These cities saw the emergence of innovative systems to increase productivity as well as the emergence and perfection of the traditional arts. Cities have always been places where knowledge, innovation and creativity have seemed to emerge; yet, not all qualify as creative cities. In an online era, along with branding and the accessibility of travel, it is easier for cities to reach out to investors and tourists, which allow these cities the possibility of being recognised as a creative city, unlike cities in the past. Globalization and localization are two important factors of the creative city. The need for these knowledge cities to focus on the local while aspiring to attract global markets, entrepreneurs and creative

individuals grew rapidly from the 1980s (Dicken 1998). Globalization has become more commonplace with the shortening of distances through the development of various technologies (the internet), the expansion and ease of transportation of people and goods. Only recently has the term "creative cities" been seen as an expression that could be used to attract investors, inhabitants and tourists and to create and develop parts of a city's image or a city's brand. This thesis will look at what aspects contribute to a city being recognized as a creative city, if that is even possible. The benefits of regarding a city as creative only come into play when outsiders consider you as such: Cape Town and Amsterdam are two such cities. Pretoria and Nijmegen, on the other hand, are trying to be regarded as creative in some ways, yet do they lack the branding and image to do this successfully? Whether or not they really are is not the question as inhabitants and visitors might perceive this differently.

2.   What are Creative Cities?

The new branding term, creative city, has gained extensive popularity amongst cities around the world over the past few decades. Being a relatively new term and brand cities are still learning how they can use the creative city brand to their advantage or how to implement it successfully, this is evident in their use of advisors such as Charles Landry. This chapter looks at what a creative city is whereas the following chapter explores branding of cities as creative cities. Many academics (Sasaki 1997, 2001; Landry, 2000; Florida 2002; Burdett & Sudjic, 2007; Hospers 2003) have used terms similar to that of the creative city in an effort to redefine urban spaces, particularly authors such as Florida and earlier the combined works of Landry and Bianchini (1995), which ushered in the phenomenon known as the creative city. Terms such as "world city", "cultural city", "compact cities", "knowledge city" and "endless city" have also been used in much the same way as the creative city (Okano & Samson 2010: 510). According to Hospers (2003: 266), there is "no recipe for cities in the […] knowledge economy" but there are a "number of basic ingredients" for creative cities. These ingredients are: "a high concentration of people, a dose of happenstance and luck and – definitely not unimportant – a positive image familiar to

the outside world". These elements shall be further explored as to clarify what Hospers means. He also claims, truthfully, that "there are various types of creative city, and even cities of the same type, such as technological-innovative and cultural-intellectual cities, show enormous differences". These various types, as well as others will be discussed further in this chapter. The goals of these creative cities in this globalized world are to help individuals expand on their place within a cosmopolitan society in order to establish urban creativity and contribute to this knowledge based economy, being less dependent on traditional economies such as minerals and commerce (Okano & Samson 2010: 510). It is when a city reaches a high concentration that problems need to be addressed in a creative problem solving manner by the local government. These problems include transport and housing, the city needs its own creativity of a technological-organisational typology to address such matters (Hospers 2003: 266). However, these are not the only problems that cities face, they need to maintain a certain level of "momentum on a global level in the inter-city knowledge race" (Hospers 2003: 266) so as to remain relevant and attractive to investors. However, urban competitiveness is a difficult challenge to face as it is focused on a balance of intangible and tangible aspects that most cities are not used to facing. Hospers (2003: 266) considers that local authorities can make their cities more attractive by investing in the creativity of their local population yet this is not enough as the "roots to creativity… lie in the existing, historically developed urban environment". It is important to note that Hospers (2003: 263) believes that: "It is impossible to predict where and when a creative city… will come into existence" as it is a city "that is related to the essence of creativity: the capacity to think up original solutions to day-to-day problems and challenges". Thus, creativity influences the way that local governments and inhabitants try to solve problems with creative solutions. This as we shall see in itself leads to some form of a creative city.

2.1 Creativity in the context of this research

However, what is creativity exactly? The term is hard to define and pinpoint to a certain attribute. The creative mind is seen as being capable of seeing "what others see but thinks and does something different" (Hospers 2003: 263). Schumpeter (1912) says that creativity has the potential to lead to "Neue Kombinationen" or new combinations. Creativity is possible due to unexpected circumstances and coincidences to which humans react. It is not possible to drive creativity or to build a creative city or a "knowledge intensive city" (Hospers 2003: 263). A city develops into this by attracting creative individuals that can allow for unexpected circumstances, chance meetings, and opportunities for individuals to inspire each other and promote coincidence among the creative class. This generates a creative "buzz", which is a natural occurrence between people and space and cannot be forced to solve problems in a creative manner. Three factors are seen to construct these creative opportunities or the creative "buzz" more likely to occur in an urban knowledge economy. These are: concentration, diversity and instability (Hospers 2003: 263).

2.1.2 Three points on creating a creative atmosphere

The first of these points, concentration, which is the "critical mass required for sufficient human interaction and communication". The attributes of a creative city are not given to the city itself but to its inhabitants. Creative processes are, after all, human work. Aspects like creativity, knowledge development and innovation are attributes that only people can possess and not cities (Hospers 2003: 263). Therefore, cities with a population that has a high concentration of creative, innovative individuals are more likely to be regarded as a creative city. Charles Landry (2000) accepts that the actual number of inhabitants in a city can adequately represent its concentration. A higher population can mean more interaction between people with varying interests, talents and skills. However, Hospers believes that a high population does not necessarily mean that the population shall be more interactive. It depends on the places where these people are more likely to meet and happenstance (Hospers 2003: 264). Examples of happenstance such as concert goers at a music festival that decide to start a band after having talked about similar

tastes in music or the famous example of Charlize Theron meeting her manager after she had an argument with a cashier in a bank in California.

The second point for harnessing creative opportunities in urban knowledge economies is diversity. Diversity in this instance, and later in the Vanolo tables in the case study, is used in a very broad sense, not only in terms of the populations, ethnicity, gender, class and so on. It includes aspects of interdisciplinary attributes, a vast grouping of various knowledge fields that is capable of interacting and influencing one another. As Hospers says it is "not just variation between the citizens, their knowledge and skills and the activities they pursue, but also variation in the image the city projects as far as buildings are concerned" (2003: 264). Diversity is seen as being a point of great importance. Jane Jacobs (1969) considered diversity as the "fertile soil" in which urban creativity could grow. Diverse populations of "families, entrepreneurs, artists, migrants, old people, students" all benefit from one another's skills and demands (Hospers 2003: 264). In a diverse city, there are more opportunities for a variety of citizens to meet each other in unlikely places, as the examples prove. In these places, knowledge is exchanged and ideas are made, which ultimately lead to innovations. Cities can use the streets as part of the built-up environment's "function mixing", a variety of buildings "with differing functions (old buildings, new dwellings, offices, shops, churches, pubs and restaurants)" (Hospers 2003: 264). Such places allow individuals unknowingly or knowingly to network with one another in spaces where they feel comfortable and are likely to encounter other people. These cities tend to "always have something happening, day and night, and the chance of accidental encounters" and Schumpeter's "new combinations" is greater" (Hospers 2003: 264). Jacobs (1969) believed that diversity in cities allowed them to be "real breeding place(s) for entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation. In short: diversity leads to dynamism and thus to a flourishing city life" (Jacobs 1969 in Hospers 2003: 264).

However, these two points are not sufficient to promote an urban knowledge economy. A third point is also necessary, instability, which seems like an unlikely

aspect considering the word is usually associated with chaos. Hospers uses the past to shed light on the theory that instability nurtures creativity. He says that: "it is precisely in a period of crisis, confrontation and chaos that cities show the greatest creativity. Amsterdam around 1600, 19th century Vienna, London and Paris, as well as Berlin between the two World Wars – they were all far from stable" (Hospers 2003: 264). In the case of Berlin between the wars, the economic crash had seen citizens' resort to very creative methods of making money. The Berlin boom in live shows and cabaret during this period is proof of this. The boom in creative propaganda as well as technological and medical advancements in cities across the globe during the wars enforces this argument greatly. Buttimer (1983) and others, as Hospers points out, see ""instability" as an extra condition for urban creativity. To clarify this vague and unpredictable factor – often referred to as "bifurcation"", or divergence Hospers (2003: 264) uses the metaphor of a river. The metaphor is: "if the river's fall is steep, the direction of flow is clearly defined (stable); but when the fall levels out, the river's situation becomes unstable – with the river "hesitating", as to which direction to take" (Buttimer 1983 in Hospers 2003: 264). Therefore, a river as with a city, searches unlikely routes in its unstable scenario. In the case of a vulnerable city it "invites creativity", where a chance "meeting between a few creative and enterprising persons can then be of major influence on the way the city is to develop in the near future" (Hospers 2003: 264).

2.1.2.1 The qualities that attract the creative class to certain cities

What are some of the qualities or pieces that make-up a creative city that the creative class can inhabit or are attracted by? Vanolo (2008: 372) explores this matter by collecting points from other sources. Firstly, the "buzz", which Storper and Venables mentioned in 2004 as well as Florida, it is the general atmosphere. This includes spaces with people, especially in social situations, for example in public spaces and cafes. Secondly, Landry and Bianchini (1995) stress the importance of "variety and difference" in terms of "multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism, and tolerance". Thirdly, Chatterton and Hollands describe *playscapes* or places of entertainment such as a good nightlife of both venues that would attract young and trendy individuals as well

as restaurants of higher standards. Fourthly, outdoor spaces, such as parks, gardens and sports grounds are important for Cybriwsky (1999), as these places can inspire and develop teamwork capabilities. Along with this point is Temelova (2007) who identifies the importance of landmark buildings or structures. For Stead (2003), places of quality higher education, such as colleges and universities, for young adults and professionals are of upmost importance as it is "an essential element of urban competitiveness" (Vanolo 2008: 372). Finally, Hall (1992) and Hiller (2000) believe that events and even more so *mega-events*, such as concerts, cultural exhibitions, large demonstrations and sporting events have a "hypnotic power to attract and concentrate" the attention of the masses. Landry and Bianchini (1995) refer to these *mega-events* as *urban spectacles*. These types of events have the power to promote communication, which can then be used in urban discourse to transform, regenerate and accomplish changes and ideas. These events are not only useful for inhabitants but also for visitors who are then attracted to a certain place. These events add "life to city streets" and renew pride within citizens (Richards & Wilson 2004) (Vanolo 2008: 373).

These constructive blocks will later be examined along with the case studies of Cape Town, Amsterdam, Pretoria and Nijmegen to see how well they fit into this creative city framework, as Vanolo did for Turin.

2.1.3 Urban Creativity in simple terms and criticism

Expanding from the theme of creativity, the term "urban creativity" has been mentioned before but what is it? Urban creativity is the establishment and sustainability of creative jobs within an urban environment, creative jobs being those that require problem solving and the creation of aesthetically pleasing pieces that can beautify the urban landscape. Okano and Samson stress that creative cities need to motivate people to implement a cultural urban brand and the use of design and the arts could have important functions in order to attain this (2010: 510-511). The creative city has also been criticized for being elitist as data on the matter has not been concrete enough to be studied adequately in the past according to some academics, such as Peck (2005) and Scott (2006), and the policies for implementing

a creative city are usually regarded as ambiguous and vague (Vanolo 2008: 370). Naturally along with the creative city, the knowledge economy has also been criticized, as its consequences are not evident yet. As some people see integration, in relation to the function of diversity, as a threat to the traditional city's existence (Hospers 2003: 261). The use of "space-shrinking technology" and faster transportation systems, information technology, which allow the creative city and globalization to be possible are also to blame as knowledge workers are not required to necessarily be in one particular place (Dicken 1998 & Hospers 2003: 261). Mitchell (1995) believed that the "death of distance" is because of "a good cable connection" (Hospers 2003: 261) that moves what use to be person-to-person interaction move online, from an actual city to a virtual city (Mitchell 1995).

Others however are less critical of virtual and actual globalization. They see it as "an exceptional opportunity for cities" to be able "to develop new knowledge and the innovations". "Face-to-face contacts between people at a certain place remain of crucial importance. New ideas and innovative solutions…come into being by intensive communication and exchange of knowledge with others" (Hospers 2003: 261). The "global-local paradox" increases the importance of local in a global world, as the local is the distinct characteristic that makes the city more appealing (Hospers 2003: 261).

Creativity in itself is an unclear term thus so is the term "creative class", the inhabitants that creative cities try to attract. Richard Florida says that these individuals, people that work in "knowledge-intensive" jobs, that "create meaningful new forms", they include artists, scientists, analysts, business managers, opinion makers, tourist guides and so on (Florida 2003: 8). These individuals make up what Florida describes as the "dominant class in society" (2002: ix). To compete with cheap labour markets in the East and Latin America (IPTS 1999), western countries draw an advantage from "knowledge-intensive and high quality innovations" (Hospers 2003: 261). "Knowledge workers" are struggling around the world to compete in this globalised world and it is only in these creative cities, especially in the west, that creative individuals are given the opportunity to a career (Drucker 1999 in Hospers 2003: 261).

Many cities take into their planning strategies the need for creativity as it is a growing requirement in modern capitalism and a driving force for modern economies, both developed and the developing economies (Vanolo 2008: 370). Despite the economic importance to cities, the case is very different for the creative class. As they claim that, they are not motivated by material or economic rewards, which is regarded as a bonus, though this is most likely a myth that the creative class presents to the outside world to appear to suffer for their art. They primarily want to live in areas that are of high "quality", have a "creative" atmosphere, where other inhabitants are "tolerant" of their craft and where there are "exciting" things and places to see and do so as to inspire them (Peck 2005) (Vanolo 2008: 370). Peck (2005) says that in order to achieve this "cool city" image and attract the creative class urban planners need to promote creative environments where the creative class can cluster. The creative cluster, also known as an "innovative milieu" use to just define a certain area, such as Soho or Montmartre, where artists tended to gather. These areas allow for networking as well as collective learning (Hartley et al. 2013: 17), in essence a creative city is a larger version of the creative cluster with more to offer to the creative class.

2.2 Four types of creative cities identified by Hospers and Charles Landry and Jonathan Hyam's Creative Cities Index

Hospers (2003: 262-263) identifies four different kinds of creative cities. The first that he mentions is technological-innovative cities. This type of creative city played a big role in the past as these were cities that were of innovative importance, that saw the emergence of major technological changes and, what Hospers calls "technological revolutions". These cities were home to a few innovative people or entrepreneurs that generated massively to the knowledge economy. An example would be men like Leonardo Da Vinci in Florence (during the Renaissance) and Gerard Philips, as well as his father Frederick and brother Anton, in Eindhoven in 1891 (Philips.com) that founded the electronic giant. Hospers cites Schumpeter (1912) who called these technological-innovative city modernizers "new men". The "new men" were able to cause "the city to bloom by creating an atmosphere of collaboration, specialization and innovation" (Hospers 2003: 262). Other examples of this that Hospers provides

are Henry Ford's Detroit in the years surrounding 1900, 19th century Manchester which was known for textiles, Glasgow for shipbuilding, the coal and steel cities in the Ruhr region of Germany and Berlin for its role in electricity at the time. A more contemporary example is Silicon Valley in California (Hospers 2003: 262), which has also combats the argument of distance, as knowledge workers are able to exchange knowledge with each other quickly and directly, even in free time, without the use of technology (Saxenian 1994 in Hospers 2003: 261).

The second kind of creative city identified by Hospers is the cultural-intellectual city. Creativity in these cities is different to those mentioned above as cultural-intellectual focus more on the culture and science. These aspects alternate in terms of importance at various times of conflict between conservatives and innovators in these, so called, "soft" cities. These cities tend to have vast age gaps between the conservative elders and the innovative youth that seems to have "produced creative reactions on the part of artists, philosophers and intellectuals". These "creative revolutions" in these cities caused massive attraction to such cities, causing mass emigration to these cities as they "saw the cities as places where they could give free rein to their talents". Examples of this type of creative city usually have a bustling student population due to the universities present in the city. Hospers examples include: Dublin, Heidelberg, Toulouse, Amsterdam and Louvain (Hospers 2003: 262-263).

The third creative city type is a combination of the previous two, the cultural-technological. Culture and technology have been identified as working well together and have resulted in the growth of the cultural industries, which in turn saw the formation of the cinematic hotspots. Hospers names 1920s onwards Hollywood in the United States, Bollywood in India as examples yet Nollywood in Nigeria also fits this category (these names will also be seen in the chapter on branding as non-creative brand names). Other cities do this too and adopt the slogan of others or share slogans with their rivals. Such examples focus on their creativity but not on their uniqueness. These examples are: "Eindhoven: Leading Technology", which goes

straight to the point. Delft and Enschede share the slogan of "Knowledge City" with each other. Therefore, none of these cities, like various elected "World Design Capitals" or "Creative Cities" on the Creative Cities Index, give themselves only a profile and do not distinguish themselves on a more focused specialization. What is the Creative Cities Index? Charles Landry and Jonathan Hyams developed it as:

"A method for assessing cities holistically. This helps assess their creative abilities and potential, a precondition for downstream innovations and economic and cultural vigour. This strategic tool provides a rounded framework for thinking so good policies become easier to achieve. Doing the Index, which 20 cities have done, helps generate a narrative for a city by highlighting what it needs to achieve.

The central purpose of being imaginative is for cities to create and control their own destiny rather than falling victim to circumstances conditioned and forged by others or outside influence.

The Index was originally conceived and developed in collaboration with Bilbao Metropoli 30 in 2008/9, one of the city's long term think tanks which had an important role in helping the city reinvent itself, and Bizkaia Xede the city region's talent attraction agency. Bilbao said: "We know we are innovative, but are we creative. How can we measure that". This allowed us to summarize our thinking about creativity for over 25 years.

The Creative City Index explores urban processes and projects to assess their creative pulse. It differs from most indexes as it looks at the city as an integrated whole. It studies a place both from an insider and outsider perspective looking at a series of broad domains, which are cross-cutting.

Cities are only creative if they display a culture, attitudes and a mindset open to imaginative thinking, widely visible. Many cities have inventive projects in them, which does not mean they are creative as a whole. Uncreative places clearly decline and fail, since they do not interrogate their past and present or reassess their resources and future prospects.

Wider conditions, namely the creative climate, determine the capacity of places to harness their collective imagination and especially to punch above their weight. In addition specific attributes are necessary, such as good education, skills or research expenditure as well as an intelligent rules and incentives regime" (http://charleslandry.com/themes/creative-cities-index/).

The goals of the Creative Cities Index are simply to provide a methodological structure that cities can follow to evaluate their creativity and potential in terms of how innovation, economy and culture ripple through a city. Twenty cities have already joined the index therefore gaining them some recognition as creative cities and allows these cities to generate for themselves a greater narrative and points out their achievements and what still needs to be done. The Creative City Index allows cities to control their identity rather than to be guided by or impacted by outsiders. The Index achieves these goals by looking in depth at projects taking place and other possible "pulses" and creates a full image of the city. This is further done by the analyses being done as an insider (local) and as an outsider (visitor) perspective. The index thus determines how creative a city is, be it gastronomically, artistically or otherwise, and then assists the city in identifying what other aspects can be helped to further its appeal.

It is difficult for organizations such as the Creative Cities Index to identify "copycat behaviour", which was mentioned in the example of Silicon Valley. As these cities are hard to identify but are seen as "far from creative" (Hospers 2003: 266). Hospers recommends that "local authorities would do better to proceed from the city's specific characteristics, using them as a basis in the search for urban creativity" also called "localization" by Hospers (2003: 266). How can authorities increase this localization? They can do this by: "increasing the critical mass of their city by seeking collaboration with a neighbouring city in the fields of infrastructural, educational and cultural facilities (inter-urban networking)" (Hospers 2003: 266). Other possibilities that authorities can take are to "increase the diversity of the city with targeted policies, for instance by mixing residential and working locations (function mixing) and removing

obstacles to migrant entrepreneurs (ethnic entrepreneurship)" (Hospers 2003: 266), this seems more difficult but this trend is starting to grow momentum in previously segregated areas. For instance, Hatert in Nijmegen does not have the best reputation but there are plans to revitalize it. The once predominantly white suburbs of Pretoria are becoming more ethnically mixed. Cape Town's central Business District is undergoing a residential boom and Amsterdam's eastern suburbs, which were once dominated by Surinamese immigrants, are becoming attractive residential areas to young adults of all ethnic backgrounds. The last possibility for authorities as Hospers (2003: 266-267) explains is that they "can consider holding a major event or organizing a new project, for instance a competition for the population or for the business community with the winner submitting the most creative proposal. Although this type of measure does not lead directly to urban creativity, it does increase the chances of it appearing". The case study examples of Cape Town and Pretoria have done this extensively with various projects and competitions. Amsterdam and Nijmegen have done it to a lesser extent yet they have a variety of events that attract people and thus gradually boost the creative base.

The "copycat" cities "do not give any idea of what they have to offer to the knowledge worker looking for a place to work and live" (Hospers 2003: 265-266). These cities thus "undermine their own competitiveness". These cities could prove their "competitive edge" by "building on and emphasizing the local conditions" or adopting a "strategy of 'trend through tradition'" by focusing on a historic trait of that city (Hospers 2003: 266). For instance, the music industry of Memphis, Tennessee, along with high fashion cities such as Paris, France, Milan, Italy, and so on are also prime examples of cultural-technological cities. Other examples could be Liverpool, England, in the 1960s and 1970s, which saw a boom in the music industry. Hospers examples of the 1990s, when creative cities were becoming a popular term to use, are Manchester, England, for New Wave music. Leipzig, Germany, became a multimedia-orientated city after the fall of the Berlin Wall (Hospers 2003: 263). Seattle, United States, was also a major centre for grunge music in the 1990s. Hospers identifies aspects of the cultural-technological city in two Dutch cities,

Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The latter was the European capital of Culture in 2001 because of its architecture and famous film festival (diversity in the greatest sense of the word). Amsterdam rose as a cultural-technological city already in the Dutch Golden Age and has maintained that until the present due to its combinations. Peter Hall, one of the experts on creative cities, believes that cultural-technological cities have the greatest possibility of success in the current century especially if these cities can combine "the Internet and multimedia in an intelligent manner with culture, for instance in the form of virtual museum visits" (Hospers 2003: 263).

Finally, the last type of creative city identified by Hospers is the technological-organizational city. These cities are seen as being creative to their local population or actors' ability to solve large-scale urban problems. Such problems include water management (this is the case of Nijmegen and the Waal at present), water supply, infrastructure, housing and transport (Hospers 2003: 263). Hospers provides some examples of this too. He mentions Caesar's Rome due to the water provided by the innovative aqueducts all over the empire. The underground systems of rail transportation in Paris and London in the 19th century are another example that he gives. Other examples that he presents are the skyscraper boom in and around 1900 in New York, United States, the docklands of London in the 1980s and post World War Two Stockholm's housing construction methods Hospers 2003: 263). Many cities around the globe are capable of achieving the type of creativity presented in the technological-organisational model. This is because many governments implement these strategies to run cities smoothly. The need for government to work along side businesses is of great necessity and to listen to the needs of the inhabitants to ensure that the measures being implemented align with the demands of the people and their needs. In this type of creative city, a top-bottom approach leads to the city becoming more attractive to the creative class. The government possibly does not intend on creating a creative city and rather just implemented changes to make the city more practical and habitable. The government is the faction of society that is being creative by working with locals in what Hospers calls "public-private collaboration on a local level" (2003: 263).

It is possible however that a creative city can have aspects of more than one of these types thus confirming its position as a creative city.

2.3 Conclusions about creative cities

A creative city is in essence an image (a rhetorical branding term as we shall see in the next chapter) that others have of a city thus not necessarily a reality but merely a perceived image. A creative city is a breeding ground for one or more type of creativity. A creative city solves its problems creatively, which could be as varied as a commuter problem or the problem an artist has when faced with a blank canvas.

To sum up, a creative city is a place where the knowledge economy can flourish. They are cities that throughout history, and into the future, have allowed creativity, innovation and knowledge to form from the interaction and buzz created by their inhabitants and visitors. This knowledge and innovation could have already been presented as they do not necessarily have to be "new technologies". Innovation can be present in all fields including branding, organization and transport. It is also interesting to note that innovation today moves very rapidly, estimations are that there are as many innovations in the 66 years (between 1900 and 1966) as there were between 1966 and 1990 (Cooke, P. 2002). These knowledge based cities possess three important aspects: concentration of inhabitants in areas where they can socialize, diversity in terms of ethnic groups mixing and diverse architecture and attraction, lastly these cities must have some sort of instability or a problem with which they are faced and that needs a creative resolution. These cities require a realistic image to project their creativity, innovation and modernity in the effort to be recognized as creative and to continue to be seen as such. These city images need to be unique and clear. The image will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Importantly, not ever city is capable of being considered as a creative city and reaping the rewards of the knowledge economy. Hospers (2003: 269) believes that only recognized creative cities will benefit when put against unrecognized creative cities in the inter-city knowledge battle. It is of the highly important that cities use their creative resources to stay ahead of, or at least on par with, their

competitors. Inhabitants need to be outgoing to play an important role in spreading the image of their city to outsiders and by creating instances of happenstance with outsiders. Furthermore, it is important that the city authorities work with the inhabitants on all aspects from branding to local talent to further appeal to outside members of the creative class to contemplate emigrating. This will not only suggest that the city is willing to invest in local talent but is also supportive of their talents while making the names of local talent and the city's known to outsiders. Local authorities should create opportunities for local talent to interact and hope that happenstance is in their favour and that local talent will be willing to assist (Hospers 2003: 297). By organizing policies, both in terms of knowledge and urban branding, it will allow for the possibility that creativity shall naturally begin as more creative individuals are attracted to the city thus contributing to the city's knowledge economy and its recognition or maintenance as a creative city.

3.   Branding and Branding Creative Cities

What is branding? How do cities brand themselves as being creative cities? These are two very important questions when trying to understand how these cities manage to attract the creative class and those seeking to visit these "buzz" filled cities.

City authorities use a method called "branding strategy" to promote their city (van den Berg 1999 & Ham 2001). Place marketing is formed from combining urban planning and marketing theory. As with the case of urban branding it considers a place, or city, as a product and the users, visitors and inhabitants, as customers (Ashwood & Voogd 1990). There are three main elements in place marketing: "(a) development and enhancement of the place infrastructure and products, (b) development and improvement of the place image or brand, and (c) promotion of those products" (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 241).

Urban branding allows a creative place to promote itself as such and by getting recognition or being recognised as a creative city it can then officially be one. Sahin and Baloglu (2014: 239) state why a brand is so important:

> *"The competitiveness of cities as tourist destinations heavily relies upon building unique brand image and identity, providing memorable brand experiences, and developing positive word-of-mouth (WOM) brand advocacy".*

Boluglu and McCleary (1999) and others also emphasize that:

> *"In a highly competitive global marketplace, it is increasingly critical for destinations to build favorable brand image and personality, create unique identities, provide memorable brand experiences, and develop positive word-of-mouth (WOM) brand advocacy"*

The aspects of these statements shall be examined, such as: brand image, identity, urban competitiveness and so on. Dave Dolak, a branding expert from Norway examines the effectiveness of brands and advises how brands can help create the image of a company; the same can be applied to branding a city. He also lays down some recommendations that companies can use to create a successful brand.

Dolak's view of a brand can mean different things. For Dolak a brand is

> *"an identifiable entity that makes specific promises of value. In its simplest form, a brand is nothing more and nothing less than the promises of value you or your product make. These promises can be implied or explicitly stated, but none-the-less, value of some type is promised"* (Dolak n.d.).

Cities also make these promises as shown later; they sell themselves as unique in some regard and thus more valuable to consumers. Stakeholders and investors can buy or invest in cities much as consumers can purchase products, thus cities become a product.

Dolak believes that a brand when used as a noun can even refer to a "company name, a product name, or a unique identifier such as a logo or trademark" (Dolak n.d.). Therefore, cities have numerous unique identifiers making it possible to identify them as companies or products, for example: Paris and the Eiffel Tower or New York City and the Empire State Building. These cities sell themselves and have architectural and structural elements that make them unique and easily identifiable. Perhaps it is for this reason that cities such as these naturally acquire associated phrases such as "The City of Light" and "The Big Apple" respectively.

3.1 The History of Branding

These city slogans just gradually happen over time and have become part of these cities' brands yet where did branding originate? Branding is said to have emerged from craftsmen, such as smiths, carpenters and potters, as well as cattle ranchers who would brand their beef to identify their cattle, which would place their mark, or an identifier, on the goods that they produced (Dolak n.d.), much like an artist signs his artwork. These marks allow consumers to seek out goods with that particular mark on it because they are happy with the quality of the product. If the product is the best in a certain category, then that mark would become synonymous with superiority in the

market, much like the Coca-Cola™ brand is known as having the best products in the category of soda drinks. Like with the soda company and other examples branding has changed over the years and is not limited to craftsmen. Today brands create some form of an emotional attachment to a certain product. Branding efforts can "create a feeling of involvement, a sense of higher quality, and an aura of intangible qualities that surround the brand name, mark, or symbol" (Dolak n.d.). Going back to previous examples: Coca-Cola's™ "open happiness", Paris's "city of light" and New York City's "Big Apple" all imply some emotional aspect when examined carefully, happiness is pretty obvious, the romance of Paris at night and how New York is a city based on the "American Dream" filled with opportunity and potential economic wealth.

3.2 Brand Awareness

Dolak brings to light various versions of awareness and many aspects of branding. Firstly, brand awareness is something that occurs when consumers realise that a brand is yours and are therefore reminded of it when they see something similar. However, Dolak emphasises that this does not stipulate that the consumer attaches any value of meaning to it. There are no greater links to your brand than the consumer simply recognises it as your brand (Dolak n.d.). This means that just because a consumer recognises something as your brand it does not mean that they attribute it to something of higher quality.

Secondly, aided awareness occurs when a consumer shows familiarity with your brand or product when given a list of brands or products to look over (Dolak n.d.). Such as when a list has been presented to a consumer of hotels and expresses awareness of a certain hotel chain. The chances are that the consumer is thus more likely to choose that hotel over the others.

Thirdly, Dolak also explains what branding experts call top-of-mind awareness. This is when a consumer has to name a brand from a certain product type and they name one particular brand in that type. That brand is thus the top of that person's mind. Such as "name a low cost hotel" "Best Western" or "name a romantic city" "Paris".

Last of the awareness points that Dolak names is strategic awareness. This is when a consumer recognises your brand and knows the various aspects that make it distinctive from other products in that category. In essence, the attributes that make it better quality than similar products or the differentiation that a brand has from its competitors. For example, what makes Amsterdam distinctly different from Den Helder as a tourist destination? One could argue that Amsterdam has a lot more "Unique Selling Propositions" (USP).

USP make your goals, objectives and beliefs apparent to your target market or potential consumers. These aspects should be different from your competitors (Dolak n.d.). The USP is the uniqueness that sets you apart and leads consumers from furthering their brand awareness by allowing them to understand what makes you so unique (Dolak n.d). Every city has some USP yet they fail at getting this across to consumers. Another mistake that many brands make is that they rely only on advertising. As Dolak (n.d.) says, "they are more than a logo, a colour scheme, and a catchy tag line".

3.3 Creating a Successful Brand
The success of a good brand lies in how it is established. Firstly, a successful brand should use publicity, reach out to the masses, and after that, it should use advertising to keep its portrayed image to the consumers. A connection to the public is important as it creates the opportunity for the progression of word of mouth to allow for free advertising. The media as well will gain interest in your product, which will also further your communication of the distinct advantage of your product. Secondly, advertising, allows for the maintenance of the brands distinction. Advertising must be used to remind consumers of what you stand for in an image or with the use of a short phrase or few words (Dolak n.d.). This will create a "singular distinction" as well as "strategic awareness", and "differentiation" (Dolak n.d.). The thirdly, brand equity, which is simply stated as being the total of all the value that is attributed to a brand by consumers, it is also noted as being the "holistic value of the brand to its owner as a

corporate asset" (Dolak n.d.). The brand equity is the monetary value of the brand and the expected revenue that could arise from branding a product compared to that of a non-branded product. Therefore, this only pertains to the emotional value or the "intangible value" that is placed on the product's name disregarding physical features and the price (Dolak n.d.), such as "Starbucks" or "Coca-Cola" and the need for the actual product and not an equal alternative.

How does a company create a strong brand? Dolak (n.d.) provides seven steps to building a strong brand.

1) Firstly, the quality of the product has to be good or deliver more than competitors in terms of quality or service. Dolak sees superior quality as a prerequisite and is not enough to set your product apart from the competition.

2) The second point Dolak makes is to find a singular distinction that sets the brand apart. Such as whether the product is the "best", "most luxurious" or "most romantic" in a certain category. This requires a lot of thought, as this distinction tends to stick with consumers. Delivering something that competitors cannot deliver on. Such as being as romantic as Paris, though there is nothing really that romantic about Paris. That is when the ownership of a word or phrase becomes important.

3) Tap into consumer emotions. This is done by the development of certain attributes that evoke an emotional response in your target market, such as nostalgia or romanticism.

4) The brand builds the image, be it visual, verbal or through actions. This image reflects the value of the brand; the name of the brand is an important aspect of this as well as an attractive logo and tagline/slogan that capture the USP. Every aspect that communicates between the brand and the public should remain the same. Adverts and services need to retain a similar tone and style.

5)   Marketing the image that has been created is also necessary. Every aspect of the brand should communicate the USP and every staff member, from the most senior officers to the janitorial staff should know the brand's USP and message.

6)   Honesty and delivery are important to gain the trust of the market and maintain that trust. Every member of the staff should be honest and maintain the value of the brand in the public eye.

7)   Market research and observing competition allow the redefinition of the brand to adapt but not dramatically change in the perceptions of the market. This allows for the brand to stay ahead of the competition.

It is important to note that branding is an ongoing process and relationship between the brand and the market. If these steps are taken, the brand becomes a powerful asset (Dolak n.d.). Companies like Apple only became increasingly popular once their brand became strong. Before that, Apple held very little in the market shares. Julier (2008: 192) says

> "internal brand building draws a closer relationship between the employee and the products or services it purveys and ultimately a closer relationship to its audience. It may therefore put the employee in the shoes of the consumer. Put otherwise it aspires to inculcating an emotional investment in, as well as intellectual knowledge of, what it is hoped that the consumer eventually experiences".

3.4 The Effects branding can have

The question then arises as to how do these branding efforts help? Dolak (n.d.) lists eleven points as to what are the benefits of a strong brand, many of which apply to the branding of cities.

1) Can influence buying decision and shapes the buyer's experience. This is the case with tourism branding, by promising a unique experience the chances increase that a tourist will choose your destination over another.

2) Brands create trust and emotional attachment to your product, which can greatly influence decision-making, even more so than logic and knowledge according to Dolak. The power of emotions and nostalgia are very strong.

3) If a brand is strong, it can command a higher price and sell more of that product at higher than unbranded prices. It is for this reason that high tourist cities are usually more expensive. For this reason in the same instance as many luxurious hotels and car manufacturers charge higher prices for their product and sell less of these products yet they continue to turn a profit because they have such a strong brand that they continue to gain consumers.

4) As mentioned earlier brands make purchasing decisions easier. In a world that has a saturated commodity market filled with choices, a brand is a distinguisher that gives consumers belief in your product and gives them the expectations that they believe you can deliver or even surpass. For cities, this is also the case. A need to attract tourists, investors and creative individuals is all part of the greater city brand.

5) A successful brand "fences you off" or creates a niche market of sorts for yourself among competitors. This puts your product in a league of its own that protects your dominance of the market. Customers then instantly think of your product when faced with multiple choices.

6) Brands are something that competitors cannot copy, as they include the intangible. Competitors are able to copy tangible aspects of your product but the brand keeps your product as the original. For example, fake brands, fashion items and fake representations of cities, the Paris Casino and Hotel in Las Vegas are examples of this as it is merely a shadow of the original or an empty shell.

7) There are times when individuals meet complete strangers and they find something in common like a city they visited or a restaurant they had both visited. Brands have that power to connect people. The strangers talk about their experiences with the brand. A connection with a stranger can form over something as intangible as a similar experience at a destination.

8) Brands have such a major influence that they reduce the importance of the features of the product. If the brand continuously sells the same ideology as well as value and the strategy remains persistent then the brand will continue to sell the product because of its intangible value.

9) A brand has the capability to suggest that you want to build customer loyalty, which is important with tourists and investors, and not just sell your product once off. A brand allows potential consumers to know that you intend to last in the market and are thus serious about marketing your product over the long term. The brand and the identity of the company and even the product become entwined in the minds of consumers. A brand is therefore a lasting impression on consumers as to what you and your product are.

10) Appreciation for your product and company emerge from successful branding initiatives.

11) A brand gives the opportunity to voice values and what makes you able to compete in a certain market, such as that of creative cities.

The image created by a strong brand helps "products or services gain a competitive advantage, reduce the risks associated with products, reduce the cost of search, increase quality and value perceptions, and therefore significantly influence the buying decisions of customers as well as post purchase behavior" (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 241). These numerous positive implications allow for the spread of the image in a desired manner, where the user promotes the product/city.

The benefits of a successful brand are numerous and there are most likely more than these eleven points. Dolak (n.d.) keeps these points as simple as possible to understand. Another benefit as mentioned earlier and delved into by Davies and Sigthorsson (2013: 98) on what Julier (2008) was expressing is that a brand has the capability of unifying and creating an identity among all employees and all aspects of a company. What happens if a brand fails? Fake urban brands are doomed to failure as they are less credible. Consumers realise this and word spreads. Rebranding of a

failed brand tends to be less successful (Vanolo 2008: 371). Even branding that does not take into account major factors of natural identity can be seen as less credible, for instance if the brand ignores the inhabitants identity (Peck 2005). The question then remains as to how can cities brand themselves as you cannot get every member of a society to share a similar identity but can the city itself have an identity? Yes, as a successful brand it can. To recap so far, in terms of a city's brand or image, the image is of great importance, especially for the knowledge-intensive companies (such as Google etc), as these companies are looking for cities in which to expand or to start up (Hospers 2003: 265). It is also important for individuals and families looking to resettle or to spend a holiday (Hospers 2003: 265). If the image of a place fails, or is seen in a negative light (for being seen as false or otherwise), it could drive away target groups (companies, investors, individuals), which ultimately leads to a loss of income for the city (Hospers 2003: 265). It is for this reason that cities do not simply rely on urban management but increase their branding efforts to try and make themselves appear more attractive to potential investors (used broadly) and to be perceived as being a creative city both to inhabitants and to external potential investors of all sorts. City or urban branding is simply building a positive image of a city, through slogans and promotions, in the efforts of making a city better known and improving its widespread reputation (Hospers 2003: 265). Unfortunately, for researchers, the effects, according to Hospers, of city marketing are difficult to measure.

3. 5 Implications of Branding

As seen branding has the power to connect individuals as well as creating a positive image of a place or company that is necessary for attracting tourists and investors that then promote local development (Gold & Ward 1994), in cities this forms cosmopolitanism (Okano & Samson 2010: 510). This is necessary to develop urban creativity, which ultimately can lead to the emergence of a creative city (Okano & Samson 2010: 510). Cultural urban branding is a crucial step for many creative cities. The best thing is to use local creative talent such as artists and designers to help create a city brand (Okano & Samson 2010: 510-511). Many cities and places tend

to brand themselves on the lines of cultural stereotypes and the newest trend is to make a place attractive by seeming more creative (Vanolo 2008: 370). The image of a city goes beyond the way it is planned geographically. It also includes the intangible meaning or the deep-rooted ideas we have of certain places. These can include the symbols we associate with a city, its architecture to the way the roads look and the inhabitants too are part of a city's image, from their daily routines and daily governance. A city's image could include such things as people enjoying spring at a terrace or running to a café during their lunch break. The image of a city is often portrayed to consumers through things that the city itself cannot control such as movies, books and tourist guidebooks create an image of the city that can either magnify the reality or warp it. Only certain aspects of those can be controlled and other aspects can be more controlled, for instance the city branding campaign (Vanolo 2008: 371).

3.6 Two Possible Images of a City (Local vs. Visitor)

There are at least two possible images of a city. The internal image is how locals view themselves and their view of the city that they inhabit. Locals in this regard refer to people who spend the majority of their time residing there or own property that they often reside in when in that city; these individuals know the ins and outs of the city. The external image is the image that "outsiders", tourists and investors, have about a city and its inhabitants. Both of these images tend to be incomplete, idealistic, even abstract or excessively simple compared to the reality of it. It is for this reason that people tend to associate positive or negative thoughts when deciding on a particular destination, especially if it is one that they have not been to as of yet (Vanolo 2008: 371). Both of these images are important, and luckily many travel blogs, guidebooks and sites include the latter, as they allow the consumer to classify information, influence consumer decision making as well as create or question generalisations and expectations (Shields 1991; Entrikin 1990). According to Aaker (1996), it is important that a brand strategy understands the images held by current users (be them locals or not). By doing this, destinations are able to "assess the gap between the perceived image and the desired image and formulate the appropriate product

development and communication strategies to close the gap" (Balogu & Mc Cleary 1999, Crompton et al 1992 in Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 240).

Lawson and Baud-Bovy define destination image as: "the expression of all objective knowledge, impressions, prejudice, imaginations, and emotional thoughts an individual or group might have of a particular place" (1977: 17). This definition of a place image captures the tangible and the intangible aspects of a place image, mostly the latter however and justly, so as an image is something intangible that is created from the tangible aspects. Destination image can be put into two components:

> *"Cognitive and affective images. The cognitive component of destination image is drawn from the beliefs and knowledge about a destination through a cognitive evaluation. The affective component of destination image on the other hand is an evaluative image based on the feelings about the destination"* (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 241).

It is with this in mind that Aaker (1997: 347) claimed that brand personality as a "set of human characteristics associated to a brand". Sahin and Baloglu (2014: 241-242) as well as Hosany et al (2006) agree with Aaker and add that:

> "*Brand personality can explain brand image with the appropriate human personality traits. Hosany et al (2006) found evidence that tourists find it useful to describe destinations with personality traits based on three dimensions: sincerity, excitement, and conviviality. Thus, destination management organizations (DMOs) and tourism authorities should not only emphasize the destination's cognitive and affective dimensions but also the personality dimension in their marketing efforts".*

By associating human traits to a city or a place, it gives the city a personality of its own; this makes it easier to promote the city's image. Ekinci et al (2007) examined the relationship between destination personality and local people's image. They found that: "destination personality has a positive influence on behavioural intentions such as intent to return and WOM advocacy. They also found that host image has a positive impact on perception of destination personality" (Sahin & Baloglu (2014: 242). This emphasizes the importance that a positive image can have on a place and

how it is perceived. The fact that:

> *"Destinations invest a great amount of time and funds in building favorable images among potential visitors. Destinations may have close control over the selection of the images they want to form and the communication tools to transmit them. However, they have limited or no control at all over how people will finally perceive those images. Even the people from the same cultural background may have significantly different perceptions on the same attributes of a destination. This variation may stem from differences in travel behaviour, motives, demographic factors or sources of information they use"* (McCartney 2008 in Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 242).

Therefore, it is not easy to determine how the image that the brand is transmitting will be received as the users vary in tastes and things that attract them. Creative cities try to transmit an image that will be attractive to creative individuals, or the creative class, and other members of society as a city cannot run on creative individuals alone. Correia et al (2008) also suggest that perceptions change between first time visitors and repeat visitors. The first time a visitor visits a new city everything is new and has an air of mystery to it whereas a second or third time visitor knows where things are and the novelty of the place has worn off. Creative cities try and keep some of that novelty and mystery by always changing with their inhabitants; new public art works, events and a constant buzz are necessary to keep the novelty alive even for inhabitants and even more so for the creative class. The issues of image perception are less for a city than for a country, as a city is capable of isolating its image from the negative imagery of the country in which it is located. When countries brand themselves they need to take into account a lot more variables, such as: religion, culture, level of development, stability, regional politics, conflict (domestic or foreign) and any negative media coverage (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 242). Cities can isolate themselves from these issues in their branding efforts; even if the city is part of an unstable region it can flourish (such as Dubai in the United Arab Emirates which is located in the unstable region of the Middle East). This is often the case in many developing countries such as Cape Town in South Africa. However, the phenomenon of "copy cat" cities is far more difficult to escape when a city decides to copy another

city. What is a copycat creative city?

3.7 Faux Creative Cities: The Copy Cat Creative Cities

A major problem with many brands, especially those concerning the creative cities around the world, is that they try to imitate and even copy the brands and identities of other cities. Hospers (2003) points out how many cities have used words such as Silicon and Valley in their branding so as to imitate the Californian Silicon Valley, which is known for its technological innovations and appeal because of companies such as Google and Apple (known collectively as "technopoles"). Some examples that Hospers gives are: Dommel valley (Eindhoven, the Netherlands), Silicon Glen (in Scotland) and Silicon Saxony (Dresden, Germany) (2003: 262). This use of the branding term, Silicon Valley, by other areas is clearly brand piracy and not very creative for places claiming to be creative areas.

Not all cities with "creative city" markers are regarded as being creative cities. These cities need to be recognised as being creative and their branding needs to reflect that sentiment. Hospers says that:

>"*This has everything to do with what psychologists call "perception". Because people – whether they be citizens, entrepreneurs or tourists – do not know everything when they take decisions, they use whatever knowledge they may possess. That knowledge is always selective and is formed out of experiences from the past and by outside sources, by information gleaned from the media, for instance. Using this perception, people construct for themselves an image of reality. The view we have of the world is therefore always coloured. And the image we have of a particular human settlement is also formed in this way. In this context geographers speak of 'social cognition': the knowledge people have of spatial unities such as regions and cities (Pred 1967; Gold & Ward 1994). That image is of major importance for the choices people make when deciding on where to work, live and spend their free time. Such decisions are not made on the basis of the objective characteristics of an area but on*

subjective grounds such as the perception people have of the area. The image summoned up in people by a particular region – in brief, its 'image' – has, in other words, a great deal of influence on the choice of a place to settle down" (Hospers 2003: 265).

Therefore, the reality that people perceive as true is not always true and this reality can change, as does a brand, as both of these are dynamic processes. The views that people and brands have can vary greatly from reality. However, it is important to note that it is only when a brand and a creative city are known to be true, or honest, that their status remains and is confirmed as such. Cities should be recognised as being creative before they can brand themselves as such. Thus from Hospers paragraph above it is blatantly obvious that the image, the brand, is of great importance when decision-making is concerned be it for investment, immigration or tourism. Hospers claims that we all subconsciously base our image of cities based on either "correct information or prejudices". Hospers research shows that "a city's image is influenced in a positive manner by the extent to which the city is known, or 'unknown, unloved' and 'known, loved'" (Hospers 2003: 265). This statement makes it clear that if a city is unknown it cannot be loved but a city that is known is more likely to be loved. Furthermore, the image of many cities is that the prejudice surrounding them prohibits people knowing their real image and thus stops them from being loved. Branding has the power to change the image that outsiders have based on their prior prejudice of a city. By changing the image they can allow outsiders to know and thus love a city, which can then lead to outsiders reconsidering investing or visiting a city. It is important that local authorities remember the importance of "making the name of their city known and improving its reputation", they also are required to "put out a realistic image of the city when branding it – in other words, project an image derived from and matching up with specific context of the city" (Hospers 2003: 267). Dolak and Hospers agree that city marketing is not just important to local authorities. As a positive urban image requires the "collaboration on the part of the entire city, particularly

entrepreneurs, of whom it can be expected that they have wide-ranging experience of marketing products to people" all inhabitants have "a common interest, namely that the city should remain attractive in the inter-city competition" (Hospers 2003: 267). Hospers resonates what Dolak stated, that to uphold a brand every member of a company has to represent the USP so as to keep the brand and the image alive and seen in good light.

Branding, be it in any form from word of mouth to advertising, makes many metropolis areas seem more creative and innovative than they really are (Hospers 2003: 265). Most visitors, in turn, then see these metropolitan areas as creative as well, because they see through the filters to which their information sources have exposed them to noticing. Contrastingly, there are cities that are somewhat unheard of to most that have a "traditional image, though all the ingredients necessary for creativity are present there" (Hospers 2003: 265). Branding is important for cities as these cities compete "for the favours of inhabitants, companies and visitors". Cities need to draw in and bind themselves to their knowledge workers and knowledge-intensive activities, which leads to gaining a greater advantage over competitors (Hospers 2003: 261). Cities that wish to be regarded, and brand themselves, as creative cities put an emphasis on high profile institutes, such as universities, shops, music or other amenities or "cultural provisions" (Hospers 2003: 262). Is this the case found in both circumstances for the four case studies later on? Are Cape Town and Amsterdam metropolises that have simply gained the title of being creative through the image that they portray? Are Nijmegen and Pretoria these creative yet lesser-known cities?

4.   Case Studies on Established and Emerging Creative Cities

The cultural provisions of the four cities in this case study shall be explored in the tables that follow. Yet, not all these provisions are provided as these are in most cases too numerous to measure and require more research. Blasberg et al (2008) argue: "the ultimate question of 'would you recommend us to a friend?' is vital because it probes both head (features, performance, value, etc) and heart (brand relations and emotions)". This question emphasises the need for sites such as TripAdvisor and blogs in the modern world where brand advocacy is promoted and customers are able to recommend or share their opinions on places and thus influence the decision making of other individuals. Morgan et al (2002 & 2004) believe that "one of the elements of successful destination brand building" is that it "has been cited as creating conversational value of the brand", in essence a well branded city causes more traffic verbally or online where people want to talk about their experience and the brand itself.

Academics in cultural studies that have spoken about this topic in some regard are Barthes, Bourdieu, Hall and Dean. They have not necessarily spoken about online image, branding or cities but they bring a certain perspective to the case studies that have not been done before. Barthes (1971) compares the differences between a 'text' and a 'work', which can be applied to discerning what each website can be. A text according to Barthes has no fixed meaning. A text has associations and connections that exist due to a combination of other texts. This is known as being intertextual and it has effects that exist through the reception that it solicits from readers/viewers (or in this case users). A text belongs to the play of language and therefore plays on the signifying system (During on Barthes 2007: 81-82). By seeing the brand, city or website as a sign and the signifying system as the tourist decision-making process especially in the cases where blogs and user posts (on TripAdvisor) influence the user's perception of the image of the city or brand. TripAdvisor especially can be seen as an intertextual text as it is a combination of other texts created by users, for users. Other reasons that these types of websites can be seen as texts rather than works are that they are not classical, cannot be understood as computable but can be

approached and experienced in relation to the sign (the brand, website, city). Texts can be seen as part of literary post structuralism as certain avant-garde writing and reading practices produce texts that are subvert to the dominant ideology (or those presented on official websites). Therefore, a text closes upon the signified so then "work is then the object of a science" (Barthes 1971 in During 2007:81) when it is claimed to be apparent (During 2007: 81-82). Furthermore, a work (official website) must have a true and proper meaning that has been uncovered by interpretation or thorough research and are contained within catalogues and chronologies that can either be canonical or not, as official websites find most of their information or produce them (During on Barthes 2007: 82). A work tends to be subversive and does not belong to commonsense, stereotypes and triviality (as most blogs and user experiences tend to be). A work is a theory that must be read for its effect on both the reader (user decision making) and the world (or the city the website promotes). This is unlike the text (blog or user experience) that is 'polysemic' (that has different meanings depending on the user) and are only analysed for how they affect the world (the city they review) (During on Barthes 2007: 81-82). It is also possible to say that a brand could be considered as a text based upon a work, as a successful brand uses facts (works) to create a text to promote itself and its product.

What can the Internet be considered as in its own totality? Cultural studies provide an answer to this in the form of the loose Marxist sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1986). The Internet can be seen as what Bourdieu calls a 'field'. He describes the field as a: "separate social universe, own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy". He continues by saying the field is: "literature written for its own sake rather than for any moral, social, or political purpose" (Bourdieu in During 2007: 88). Bourdieu wrote this about Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* but it applies just as much to the Internet itself and even more so to blogs and user advice on websites such as TripAdvisor. As the writers of these posts are in a "separate social universe" (the web), which has its own laws of functioning and these writers have nothing to gain politically or economically from their posts in the real world and are merely voicing themselves anonymously to people they are likely to never meet. Therefore, the

writers of these posts have written them for their "own sake" instead of for "any moral, social, or political purpose". Bourdieu was looking to "understand the institutional structure and logic within which literary autonomy emerged" (During 2007: 88) and thus he created a new theory about cultural production that is as applicable to blogs as it is to non-fiction. Bourdieu believed that the literary field was independent from other societal fields because it works to its own logic that is determined by the logic that is found in the market. As blogs and websites do to fulfil a need in the market, creating their own logic separate from the usual more standard model. During says of Bourdieu's theory that: "writers take position within this field which they don't control: that is, if you are a writer you can't write anything you like, you find yourself positioned in a field which structures your possibilities" (2007:88). Writers of blogs and tips find themselves in such a position: a bad experience uncontrolled by the writer can deter a different person from a completely different scenario or the circumstances of space and time could create a completely negative or positive experience. These can cause disagreements online between the writer and the reader who have had completely different experiences. During continues on Bourdieu by saying that the: "position of writers depends largely on class and financial position they brought with them to their literary vocation". These points are noticeable in the case study blogs of: SouthAfriKhan about Cape Town, Opuculuk about Nijmegen and YourLittleBlackBook about Amsterdam.

Bourdieu identifies three classes to determine types of writers: high or art for art's sake, social art and bourgeois art. During analyses these and especially the 'high' class by stating: "those with the most cultural and financial capital tended to take the art for art's sake position: enabling them to fulfil their fantasies of living freely in effect by giving up the simpler, more materialist gains that control rest of the literary field" (2007: 88). Thus, this group does not need to worry about the financial implications of the finer things in life. They abandon the simple pleasures and trinket souvenirs when visiting places most others could only dream but rather take photographs and write about their experiences so that they can tell others that they have done these things. This case is common among affluent bloggers (that are part of the creative class in

strong knowledge economy driven cities) that can afford their own private webpage. During however continues on Bourdieu: "'cultural capital' and cultural production is neither the expression of a people or a nation", it can be seen as being the expression of an individual and at most a class such as the creative class or bloggers. Bourdieu and During agree that there should be a "demystifying the old opposition between 'high' and 'low'. High art has no more inherent value than other forms of cultural production" (2007: 89). This point is true especially in the creative city where both 'high' and 'low' cultural products are viewed as valuable and creators of either are equal. In recent years in most cities however, "high art's cultural capital seems radically reduced, an outcome that can be either celebrated or rejected" (During 2007: 89). This is something that individuals in the creative class try and rectify by giving 'high' art, which is usually seen as outdated, a modern adaptation, for instance ballet meets hip hop or fine art as graffiti. Therefore, Bourdieu points out that in this scenario the internet/blogs is/are an uncontrollable field free of control where writers can voice their opinion despite their class and cultural standing and that the lines between high and low culture are gradually beginning to blur especially in creative cities.

The third cultural studies theorist is Stuart Hall who looked at the production and dissemination of messages, especially in the case of television but it can apply to the interface of a computer. Hall identified four stages of communication. These stages are: production, circulation, use (distribution and consumption) and then reproduction. These stages are relatively autonomous according to Hall and have their own limits and possibilities. Each message is seen as "not open to any interpretation or use whatsoever, just because each stage in the circuit limits possibilities in the next" (During about Hall 2007: 477). This means that for Hall the circuit of the message is important and not just one aspect of it. From production to reproduction for instance from when a blogger writes a blog in their field about a place to when that blog is reused as it is in the case studies below. This is not all, Hall believes that "messages have a 'complex structure of dominance' therefore at each stage they are 'imprinted' by institutional power relations" (During about Hall 2007: 477). This approach takes a

different stance to that of Bourdieu and the 'field', which is free of political and economic factors but not from class, which could be seen as a type of institutional power relation. Hall believed that messages could be "received at a particular stage" as long as it is "recognisable and appropriate" (during on Hall 2007: 477). For instance if a potential user encounters a blogger while they are writing and the user sees the topic and picks up on the potential message they could ultimately influence the production of the blog itself. The same could be said that a user reading a blog could interpret it differently from another user depending on their class. Finally, Hall and During think that communication has the power to reproduce a "pattern of domination" (During 2007: 477). This is to say that a message alone is powerless but through the chain of communication, the text has the power to influence a reproduction or an opinion about something. Thus, keeping a certain image alive that could be detrimental or uplifting for a brand or even a city.

The last author that During looked at that shall be applied for this section of this thesis is the Marxist theorist Jodi Dean. Dean looked at democracy and the Internet as a public sphere. She identified two conflicting lines: the first is that due to the Internet there is too much of a public sphere. This is because it "extends our capacity to communicate with one another way past the degree where that capacity can have orderly and progressive outcomes" (Dean in During 2007: 520). This view along with Hall and Bourdieu creates an interesting view of the Internet, a free, communicative but chaotic space where the user is swamped with information and contradictions. Blogs such as Opuculuk's blog about Nijmegen will show that the Internet does not always allow for orderly and progressive outcomes but rather voicing unconstructive critique from the author/producer and the user/consumer.

The second point Dean makes is that the Internet "is in the process of destroying the public sphere since basically the Internet consists of masses of solitary people independently staring at a computer screen". This is a statement that creative cities wants to end by allowing people to work independently but around other people that could enhance their creativity in places with a "buzz". Yet, this statement is in most

examples the case as in most cities have no places where people can sit surrounded by others that could potentially benefit them. Dean constructs a strong statement that challenges how users want to be perceived but it is exceptionally true especially in the era of smartphones and tablets. Therefore, Dean argued that the Internet is not a public sphere at all, even if we believe that it is a way of socialising through blogs and social networks. Dean believes that it is rather a form of "communicative capitalism", which challenges Bourdieu's belief that as a field it is economically free. Dean challengers readers to not think of the web as a 'virtual space' or a place where 'multiple realities' meet, reminiscent of Bruno LaTour, but to rather approach the web as a 'democracy without a public'. That is to say that the web forms a massive site for conflict (between people, ideas and images). This is because, to Dean, capitalism produces conflict due to its very structure especially between those that it enriches and those that it relatively impoverishes (Dean in During 2007: 520). As with the classes pointed out by Bourdieu it can grow an animosity between classes as those that cannot experience the lavish are left to vicariously live the lifestyle of the affluent through their blogs. Therefore, During extracts from Dean that:

> *"The net becomes a 'zero institution': not an institution but which nonetheless stands for, rather than is, a particular kind of social order, where voices are heard outside knowable channels of communication and reception and which is home to new 'neodemocratic' politics of resistance caught in a globalised, networked, hyper-capitalism"* (During on Dean 2007: 520).

The zero institution of online forums such as TripAdvisor allows the authors' voices to be heard in places that they do not know about and in complete anonymity if they choose. These voices can be global and impact the economy through a technological version of word-of-mouth that can either increase a product's popularity or destroy it. What is this neodemocracy? During explains:

> *"Neodemocracy has yet to be theorised but may take the form of mutating, provisional alliances between individuals and groups who may share common ground only in some causes, moving from issue to issue, from cause to cause… It is positioned against the hegemony of the nation state, using the*

net's anonymity and absence of publicity as camouflage and fire brush to fire up larger constituencies" (During on Dean 2007: 520*).*

Neodemocracy is prevalent in many Internet forums in the form of what is commonly called "trolls" that seek to disrupt the harmony by posting a vicious piece to gain attention. It can also be positive, such as promoting things that deserve attention and in a positive and honest light, but in the case of TripAdvisor it has been documented that competition will often negatively review each other anonymously. This is done to make visitors less likely to visit their opposition. However, this can have devastating effects not only on their opponents but also on the area that they are in themselves.

TripAdvisor and other online reviews, such as official websites and blogs, reveal the "effect of image on post visit behaviour, despite its importance, has been unnoticed in destination image and branding literature" (Tasci & Gardner 2007 in Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 240). By examining the websites we can see what the online image of each city is, how popular they are and how user friendly each website is. It is for this reason that these online sources will be examined as they play an important role in image building and the decision-making of potential visitors, investors and even local inhabitants. These websites were chosen as they are usually the top-hit when searching each city on a search engine and therefore usually are the first website a user will click on. Visitors tend to read about other individuals' experiences and opinions about places on blogs and therefore some of these have been chosen to reflect the user experience. They check for tips on websites such as the popular TripAdvisor, which often promotes cultural provisions by giving them a TripAdvisor sticker for their window.

Baloglu et al (2003) believe that "most model testing in hospitality and tourism is based on the aggregate sample assuming it to be homogenous" when in fact these can vary quite vastly. "Heterogeneity of foreign tourists who have different motives and experiences have been documented by previous studies" (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 240) such as in Sahin and Baloglu 2011 and Uzama 2012. These works show that paths to WOM vary depending on the visitor and thus "the assumption of

homogeneity among tourists is not realistic" (Sahin & Baloglu 2014: 240). As the sources used for the case studies show, the images of cities vary widely depending on the visitor's personal experience yet due to word of mouth and easy online access the ramifications of such a perceived image can have a wide influence, either positive or negative. These websites vary greatly and do not share similar media, time and space. Some are more outdated, they do not necessarily take into regard season and other elements, and they vary greatly in professionalism and usability. These cities were chosen because they share a similar heritage (namely the Dutch influence). This chapter also looks at the titles that the case studies are trying to achieve or have achieved and how these cities market themselves; from well established brands to emerging brands that could benefit from adopting a widely accepted brand image as defined previously by Dolak.

4.1. Established Creative Cities: Cape Town (Design Capital 2014) and Amsterdam (Information City)

These two metropolises could be seen as being more creative from the perspective of outsiders than they really are. However, these cities hold a historic advantage stemming from the Dutch Golden Age and thus can "rest for years on the laurels gained in their creative past". This phenomenon is named the "Matthew effect", as Hospers says, due to an old Biblical principle: "For whosoever hath, to him shall be given… but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath" (Matthew 13:12 in Hospers 2003: 265). Matthew 13:12 basically tells us, in terms of cities, that those who are perceived as being creative shall be received as creative. Those cities that are not perceived as creative shall always lose out to those that are perceived as being creative.

4.1.2 Cape Town, South Africa

Table Cape Town, South Africa	Construction of a Creative Brand		
General Ideas	**Components**		
	Visual and Physical Elements	**Slogans and Narrations**	**Events**
Cape Town	*Table Mountain, Fynbos, Atlantic and Indian Ocean*	*The Mother City, Tavern of the Seas, Cape Grab, CT, 021, World Design capital 2014, Best City in the World 2014*	--
Buzz	Camps Bay, Clifton, Long Street and many more	Clifton: *Millionaire's Row*	Multiple events throughout the year. Most notably the Cape Town Carnival and Gay Pride
Art	Castle of Good Hope, Iziko, Cape Dutch Architecture, lots of galleries and theatres	Castle of Good Hope: *Steeped in History*, Iziko: literally translates to the hearth as it is a central space of a house	Lots of exhibitions, performances and events throughout the year
Diversity	Cape town, like the rest of South Africa, is rich in diversity as the city attracts people from all over the country, the continent and the world. Wide range of interdisciplinary possibilities due to a wide arrange of facilities. Diverse architecture and facilities to cater to all types of people.		International film festivals
Nightlife	Long Street known for its numerous bars and clubs as well as restaurants. The "Pink Strip" near Greenpoint is known	De Waterkant: *Pink Strip*	Synergy Live, street performers, musical acts, bars and clubs

	throughout the world as a LGBT hub, attracting not only the LGBT community.		
Public Spaces	V&A Waterfront, Grand West, Company Gardens, Newlands Stadium, Greenpoint Stadium, Table Mountain, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens		Shopping, musical events, sporting events and various other performances and public art
Higher Education	University of Cape Town (Ranked 141 by QS in 2015), University of the Western Cape		Public lectures, social events, musical events, performances at venues such as the Baxter Theatre
Other (Commodities: Food & Wine)	Nearby there are lots of activities to do: the wine route, the olive route, the garden route and the west coast all have a rich variety of wining and dining		Rocking the Daisies: music festival, Good food and wine show, Taste of Cape Town

(capetownmagazine.com & Google Maps & topuniversities.com & iziko.org.za & southafrikhan.com & tripadvisor.com & Wikipedia & uct.ac.za & capetown.travel/attractions)

4.1.2.1 Breakdown of Cape Town's Cultural Provisions

In this portion of the chapter, I will discuss the aspects seen in the table above. The tables provided give an overview of the cultural provisions found in and around the city in question. Obviously not all of the places mentioned have slogans and narrations associated with them. Yet, Cape Town itself has several nicknames or popular names that inhabitants, tourists and investors affectionately call it by. By looking at several online sources, this list could be made. Many smaller places and events do contribute to Cape Town's cultural provisions, which are not mentioned above.

Buzz: Cape Town is renown for having a *buzz* (capetown.travel). Many visitors and Capetonians are not sure what it is about Cape Town that makes it so appealing but

going with Vanolo's table it is clear that Cape Town has a lot to offer to the creative class. The areas that have a buzz are areas that have places for people to meet and socialise. Areas such as Camps Bay and Clifton are popular even among international celebrities due to its numerous bars, restaurants, houses and splendid beaches. Clifton is, known as "millionaire's row" due to wealthy local and international inhabitants. These areas have played host to numerous events annually, and Cape Town is host to the largest Gay Pride festival on the African continent and one of the largest globally, attracting visitors from all over Africa and the globe.

Art: Cape Town hosts a large number of museums, galleries and theatres. Iziko alone is a collection of several museums in the province and when translated Iziko means: hearth, as the hearth is the centre most space of a traditional African home and is an important symbol to Africans. The Castle of Good Hope, in the centre of Cape Town, houses numerous artworks and travelling expositions. The building was constructed by the Dutch VOC; it was built in a star shape, in typical Dutch Golden Age architectural style. Some of the most famed artists that have been exhibited are: the British Joseph Mallord William Turner, South African Afrikaner Jacobus Hendrik Pierneef and Italian renaissance artist and innovator Leonardo Da Vinci. With the number of galleries, artists and designers in Cape Town, this cultural provision increases drastically in numbers and has gained for Cape Town notoriety as a hub for artists and musicians (wdccapetown2014.com &capetown.travel/search?keywords=art).

Diversity: South Africa in itself is incredibly diverse, in terms of its population's cultures, the landscape and so on. Cape Town is no exception; it is just as diverse as the rest of the country. The population is has adopted a cosmopolitan attitude and embraces its diversity. Yet this diversity is not limited to the population, it is also evident in the amount of activities there are to do. From adventurous shark cage diving to the more refined cultural activity of wine tasting there is something for everyone to do. Cape Town's society as a whole is diverse due to the many different job opportunities present from media to students and even to the "bergies" (homeless

people) all freely interact in public spaces, which breeds creativity and allows for interesting interactions regardless of gender, class or sex.

Nightlife: This includes dining in the many fine restaurants. Cape Town is located at a conjunction of warm and cold oceans as well as its proximity to winelands, olive plantations and not far from the Karoo (known for sheep farming), Ceres (one of the largest fruit supplying towns in the world) is able to supply a variety of tastes for diners. Cape Town nightlife also sees that numerous events (such as Synergy) are held; music festivals and bars with live music. A popular favourite is Assembly, which was mentioned in a song by internationally infamous local band: Die Antwoord (capetown.travel/search?keywords=nightlife).

Public Spaces: Cape Town has a great assemblage of public spaces on offer and it is no surprise that many of them also play a part in events. Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens allow for people from different backgrounds to come and feel inspired, which is an important aspect of the creative city. Creative cities require places of natural beauty in order to allow inhabitants a chance to escape city life. Yet, the world heritage site and a natural wonder, Table Mountain, gives visitors the opportunity to escape the city by giving them a bird's eye view of the metropolitan city. The city is also home to two stadiums, one of which is home to the provincial rugby team (Newlands) and the other stadium was constructed for the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Greenpoint) and according to the media will be part of a new Formula 1 circuit that is being built. The Victoria and Albert (V&A) Waterfront is a hub that has many various purposes. It mostly functions as a shopping mall but also houses the Two Oceans Aquarium and a harbour that allows ferries to go to Robben Island (a world heritage site) and private boats as well. V&A allows for a mix of diverse groups of people both locals and visitors. The University of Cape Town plays a similar role as it allows for people of various fields the opportunity to interact.

Higher Education: Cape Town is home to several higher education institutions namely the University of Cape Town (http://www.uct.ac.za) and the University of the Western

Cape. The latter is ranked 141st in the world by QS in 2015 and is one of the best universities on the continent. As one of the best African universities that has several faculties and it allows for the mingling of various disciplines and inter-disciplinary interaction is an important aspect of the success of a creative city (topuniversities.com/university-rankings). These universities allow for a variety of knowledgeable individuals to socialise, which ultimately leads to innovative ideas and ways to better society.

Other: Within Cape Town itself as well as in the towns nearby there are many activities that one can take part in. Simonstown is renown for its harbour. Hout Bay is well known for its animal sanctuaries. Stellenbosch is globally known for its luxurious wine farms, which are some of the best in the world. Gansbaai and Mosselbaai are popular sites for shark cage diving and along with other places in or around False Bay are known for the "flying" great white sharks, that projectile themselves out of the water to catch seals. The tranquil west coast of South Africa, especially between Cape Town and Paternoster are popular tourist spots, dotted with craft beer breweries, olive farms and fine dining restaurants and craft fairs and galleries.

Cape Town and many of its nearby neighbouring towns create a vibrant and diverse metropolitan area that caters for all types of people. Cape Town is one of the most sought out filming locations in Africa and has played as the setting for many Hollywood blockbusters and is a hub for the film industry on its own accord, producing movies of Academy Award calibre and gaining South African directors and actors notoriety abroad. Cape Town was voted as the best city in the world in 2014. Cape Town beat other finalists, Venice and Vancouver, for the honour in the December 8th issue of the United Kingdom's Telegraph Travel Awards (telegraph.co.uk). This added another title to an already well-known and popular city.

4.1.2.2 Background

Cape Town, founded in 1652 by the Dutch East Indian Company's Jan van Riebeeck, is possibly one of the best-known cities of South Africa, along with the economic powerhouse Johannesburg. Cape Town is often seen as a foreign city compared to the rest of the continent as it shares a long history with Europe (namely the Netherlands, France and the United Kingdom). This city along with Pretoria and Bloemfontein make up the three capital cities of the Republic of South Africa. Cape Town in the legislative capital and houses the parliament of the government and has a booming population of around half a million in the city itself but nearly four million in the metropolitan area according to the 2011 census (Wikipedia: A). Cape Town is known by many names but the most common term used is "the mother city". The website: capetownmagazine (and uncyclopedia.org say that this name originated as: "an affectionate nickname, which is widely known and used among locals and visitors to Cape Town alike. There are a number of suggested reasons why Cape Town is called the Mother City, and the most commonly offered explanation is as follows, in the words of Selwyn Davidowitz, an accredited Cape Town tour guide/operator:

> *"In the 1930's some unknown party wrote to the local Cape Town newspaper claiming that Cape Town was the only city in South Africa that could justly call itself a metropolis. The public took to this description and because the word metropolis is derived from the Greek derivation of meter or metros meaning mother and polis meaning city, the nickname of "Mother City" was born. Hence today we know our wonderful city as being the Mother City".*

This title now however is not only limited to the Cape town area but also to the Gauteng Province's cities, namely Pretoria, Midrand, Centurion and Johannesburg. The East Coast in Kwa-Zulu Natal is also often referred to as a metropolis stretching from Balito to the southern towns. However, Cape Town remains the original South African metropolis and one of the first in sub-Saharan Africa.

The website continues by saying: "Another (rather more candid) explanation that has been offered as to why Cape Town is called the "Mother City" is that it is 'due to the highly expressive vocabulary of the local dialect (in which the words 'your mother;

features regularly) and also that it takes 9 months to do anything in this sleepy hollow'". Cape Town is renowned throughout the country for its inhabitants' laid back approach; a typical attribute associated to the creative class and something that Johannesburg, the economic "capital" lacks.

In 2014, the "mother city" received some well-deserved recognition as the World Design Capital. To locals and many who have visited Cape Town this title, and that of being a creative city, has been a long wait but worth it. This uniquely African metropolis is finally being recognised as a creative hub though it has attractive many of the creative class throughout South Africa and the continent for several years.

4.1.2.3 As the World Design Capital of 2014

Cape Town was chosen as the World Design Capital of 2014; this honour cemented its status as a creative city in the eyes of its peers. According to the organisers the World Design Capital is: "awarded to cities which recognise design as a tool for social, cultural and economic development. In 2014, Cape Town will host over 460 design projects aimed at transforming the city. Use our Design Engine to learn more about the projects as well as the people and stories behind them" (wdccapetown2014). According to the official website the World Design Capital "World Design Capital is not a conventional design competition. It is about design in its broadest sense, and about designing better cities for people. Discover all there is to know about World Design Capital, our story, goals, past capital cities and more"; in essence the objective is to improve cities and the lives of its inhabitants (and visitors) through the efforts of local talent. The World Design Capital 2014 initiative saw that Cape Town put into action more that 460 transformative design projects within the one-year period. The projects had to correspond with the innovative theme of: "Live Design. Transform Life", this theme focused on "the role that design can play in social transformation" (wdccapetown2014). According to the official website the "theme sets the tone for the programme of design-inspired events and projects". The main theme was further divided into four subthemes that allowed for the clarification and

simplification of the submitted proposed projects and how they should be looked after in future. What are these four subthemes?

The first subtheme was "African Innovation. Global Conversation: African ideas that speak to the world" (wdccapetown2014), which looks at a more globalised view of African innovation on a global scale.

The second was: "Bridging the Divide: Design that reconnects our city and recognises our communities" (wdccapetown2014), focused more on the local aspects and the societies of Cape Town itself.

The third subtheme: "Today for Tomorrow: Sustainable solutions for people and the planet" (wdccapetown2014), this is a green approach directed at individuals and groups for building a sustainable future.

Finally, the last of the subthemes and the most noteworthy in terms of this research was: "Beautiful Space. Beautiful Things: Inspiring architecture, food, fashion, jewellery, craft, art and creativity" (wdccapetown2014), which is an amalgamation of various aspects of the creative industries and are some of the greatest contributors to the development of creative cities.

The projects were all part of a certain subtheme yet there was a need to categorise them in an easier way for producers to apply and take part through. World Design Capital used the process of cluster creation, which is to create clusters of groups with sub-categories, to make this process easier. The six clusters and their sub-categories were as follows:

1) The "Lifestyle" cluster, which looked at "design that gives meaning through fashion, arts, culture, sports and recreation", included the sub-categories of: "arts & culture, fashion & textiles, furniture & interiors, sports &recreation, and film, photography & publications" (wdccapetown2014).

2) The "Business that Builds" cluster, looked at "design that adds value to the economy through innovation, finance, systems and social entrepreneurship", this cluster's sub-categories were: "social & entrepreneurship, business & innovation, service design, finance/exchange systems, and policy & strategy" (wdccapetown2014).

3) "Sustainability Solutions" is a cluster that focused on "design that focuses on efficiency and resilience related to food, energy, water and the natural environment", the sub-categories for this cluster were: "city ecology, food, energy, water, natural environments and waste" (wdccapetown2014).

4) The "Connection that Unite" cluster had the goal of "design that elevates communication, transportation and social cohesion", with less sub-categories than the other clusters: "information & communication, transport/mobility and social cohesion" (wdccapetown2014).

5) An interesting cluster is the "Education that Elevates" cluster that includes "design that shares knowledge through schools, exhibition and skills development", the sub-categories were: "schools, skills development, design education and exhibitions" (wdccapetown2014).

6) The last possible cluster that a programme could be part of was the "Community Improvement" cluster and was focused on "design that improves health, wellness, housing and urban development". The sub-categories also play a large role in the creative city, they are: "architecture, housing, health & wellness and urban design/development" (wdccapetown2014).

4.1.2.4 Cape Town's online image

Cape Town is portrayed twice on the popular travel website TripAdvisor, once as "Cape Town" and again as "Cape Town Central". The importance of TripAdvisor is that it is a place to spread word of mouth and the brand image of cultural provisions and the city itself. As "Cape Town" there is no summary of the city, yet in the forum users leave interesting experiences and recommendations for both variants as well as a few negative features. One user: Mysteri0us says in their "Experience Cape Town" post: "Cape Town is the heart of South Africa. A beach lovers paradise & filled with so much history. Long Street is the place to be if you're in the mood for some night life."
The user also gives a few tips:

"Nightlife - Definitely check out some bars in Long Street. Bob's bar for the more toned down bar hopper. Stones for the younger bar hoppers looking

to have some fun & Spacebar if you're just wanna dance & have a good time.

For the History Buffs, I'd recommend checking our Bo-Kaap museum, Slave Lodge & the Iziko museum whilst visiting the gardens. Some pretty cool stuff to see.

Beach lover MUST check out the beaches. Clifton forth beach, Camps Bay, Sea Point etc. Some of the world's most beautiful beaches with a great view that could leave you breathless but you'd definitely be coming back for more! Also, while you're checking out the beach you might like to sea what lives beneath the water at the V&A Waterfront Aquarium" (http://www.tripadvisor.com/Guide-g1722390-k2285-Cape_Town_Western_Cape.html). The user uses an informal tone using words such as 'check out', 'wanna dance' and 'pretty cool stuff' but also provides useful information about the cultural provisions that the city has to offer.

A screen grab from Cape Town Central's TripAdvisor's homepage. It is important to note the iconic image of Table Mountain taken far from the centre of the city. The numbers are also necessary when comparing Cape Town to other cities.

Note: 187 075 reviews of which 60 815 are for the 105 hotels, 695 are for the 317 holiday rental accommodations, 54 456 for the 564 "things to do", 63 167 reviews of the 1050 restaurants and 7751 posts in the review. These figures will be compared to the other three cities presented in this case study.

As "Cape Town Central" TripAdvisor gives a slightly different view and a short summary on the main page. This summary says: "Cape Town glistens at the

southern toe of the African continent. Tourist brochure-views at Blaauwberg Beach and Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens are within easy driving distance of "The Mother City". The Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve provides sweeping sea vistas, hiking trails and wildlife encounters. On a more sombre note, travellers can visit Robben Island, the prison where Nelson Mandela was held for 27 years" (http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g312659-Cape_Town_Central_Western_Cape-Vacations.html). This brief description paints Cape Town in an almost fully nature based look and briefly mentions 27 years of its long history. The summary uses words such as "glistens" and "sweeping sea vistas" to paint Cape Town as a beacon of western civilization at the bottom of the Dark Continent of Africa. Overlooking most of its impressive history and features for Robben Island, which due to it only being accessible via ferry does not place it in the Cape Town central category.

Dabby44 provides less informal advice:

"Cape Town, well worth the journey" highlights why Cape Town is worth visiting: *"A very personal guide to a city that covers everything. Here you will find beautiful beaches, lots of history, terrific sightseeing, lovely Cape Dutch architecture, excellent eating and sun, sun, sun!. 20 years of travels to Cape Town have given me the experience to say that the Mother City is truly well worth the journey."*

This user's barthesian text highlights the physical qualities of the city, such as the repetition of the sun (important to them but determined by the season and not an constant). The user should have said what month the sun is most prevalent in. The user is not young, stating that she has travelled to the city for the passed twenty years and unlike most youths the user emphasises the historical provisions.

Dabby44's City Tips gives a few fair warnings at the reality of visiting a city with such a vast wealth gap and higher than usual crime rates. Stating:

"I always rent a car. Taxis are fairly reasonable but it's not so convenient to be 'free & easy'. Parking is fairly painless and a few rand will ensure your car is safe.

Always be vigilant. Don't flash your fancy camera or wear all those gaudy jewels. This is a relatively poor country" (http://www.tripadvisor.com/Guide-g1722390-k1351-Cape_Town_Western_Cape.html). The use of the word fairly states that the user might have had several experiences over her twenty years of visiting, times when the rentals were cheaper or more expensive. The same could be said about the parking, this depends on the season and the time of day and the user does not provide these facts.

In the case of fine dining user PierrelePilote's:

"Eat, drink and get suntanned in Cape Town" gives a few options and tips. He states: "Plenty of world class restaurants and cheaper places to eat and drink, all offering outstanding value." His tips include weather and security: "Remember, the weather can change and it does rain. A car really helps with getting around - it's a big, spread-out city, but there are public transport links. Personal security is no more of an issue than in other major cities, although it is not a great idea to venture into the townships unescorted. Tip as a local, rather than inflating with an idea of fairness based upon ones own usual currency - South Africans have to get by here within their own cost of living. Sun screen is a really good idea" (http://www.tripadvisor.com/Guide-g1722390-k1377-Cape_Town_Western_Cape.html). This user emphasises that fine dining is necessary however, this is not the case for all visitors as they can not afford the finest things when travelling on a budget. Luckily, the user claims that there are cheaper places to eat as well. The user does provide a tip about the weather that many other users tend to ignore. Blogs tend to emphasise the finer things in life: as the South AfriKhan shows.

A screengrab of the popular blog of SouthAfriKhan that many users consult when planning an outing in the "mother city". Note that Khan uses a minimalistic version of the iconic Table Mountain that is also seen on the TripAdvisor page. The page is user friendly with quick links to various parts and to external posts where Khan has written other pieces for other publications and websites. The page echoes of high-class standards that users that are on a budget would not to be able to afford.

The rise in popularity of private blogs and the accessibility and ease of creating a personal travel blog has seen the rise of numerous blogs and one in particular has gained popularity in terms of Cape Town. *The South AfriKhan: a New Yorker in Cape Town* (southafrikhan.com). The website is owned by Sarah Khan, a previous editor at *Travel + Leisure Magazine* based in New York City and relocated to Cape Town. She says on her website that: "Cape Town happens to be my favourite city, and now I live here. You'll find me exploring South Africa and beyond, chronicling my adventures right here as The South AfriKhan".

As the South AfriKhan, Sarah blogs essentially about Cape Town, food in the Cape, South African jargon and her travels throughout what has often been referred to as the most beautiful country in the world, South Africa, in a very personal, one-on-one manner as though she is merely having a chat with you. This approach gives the reader an almost intimate feeling of the Cape. Sarah's approach is informative and enlightens first time visitors at the lesser-known aspects of visiting this popular destination, from visa regulations to favourite beaches. On the "Quintessential Cape Town" page she says:

> *"Planning a visit to Cape Town? Here are the must-visit places to include in your itinerary.*
>
> *Note: It's definitely helpful to rent a car while you're here, as public transportation is just about nonexistent. If you can't drive manual, make sure you specifically request an automatic (and keep in mind that they are usually in limited supply and cost more).*
>
> *Also: Even if you don't need a visa to come to South Africa, you will need to make sure your passport has two blank pages. Read this for more on that not-widely-known rule.*
>
> *I'm Travel + Leisure magazine's Cape Town Local Expert, so head over there for lists I've compiled on everything from Cape Town's top breakfast spots to beaches to family-friendly hotels.*
>
> *I blogged about a whirlwind five-day itinerary I planned for my friends that managed to capture a lot of the highlights below. If you'd like to re-create it*

yourself, read it here".

Her words echo many of those found on TripAdvisor forums, especially in terms of car rentals an important point that the city of Cape Town should take into consideration in an effort to increase public transportation and lessen the potentiality of car accidents and violent crime that could take place against rental vehicles. Khan also states her experience as a local expert adding value to her blog's legitimateness. Her approach is friendly and really gives a feeling of a helpful friend that wants to let you know everything you should. By asking questions, the blogger engages the audience despite that it is rhetorical. In some parts she seems bossy 'read this for that not widely known rule', this instruction probably stems from Khan having been exposed to luxury and is use to instructing people. Khan links topics to her old articles on other websites, which allows for a source of credibility and noteworthiness and as a form of self-promotion. The list she provides hints at many of the cultural provisions sited in the table earlier reinforcing their popularity and value. The use of nicknames, such as "the rock", and insider information gives her blog post above a real sense of knowledgeable experience of someone who, despite being of American origins, is a local and sees Cape Town with both images in mind. Khan's continual use of the words 'I', 'my' and 'me' make her sound arrogant and as though she knows better than anyone else, though she might, she puts the reader down especially if they can not afford to experience some of her recommendations. This in turn could lead to some animosity between the user and the author. Below is more evidence of this as Sarah maintains her approach when writing about Cape cuisine. Her page "Cape of Good Eats" apart from being easy to read despite the use of jargon builds up the reader's appetite. Here is what Sarah says:

> *"Here's where I like to eat in Cape Town. I only spotlight places I've been to and personally recommend including in your Cape Town plans; bear with me for updates as I eat my way through this city.*
>
> *I document my culinary exploits in great detail on Instagram — look up the hashtag #capeofgoodeats for all of my Cape Town highlights. And if you're still struggling over where to eat, download the Zomato app — it's the go-to Yelp-like resource for all of Cape Town's restaurants, complete with menus and*

reviews. It also has helpful collections you can browse for various moods/occasions, from burgers to sundowners to gluten-free to dim sum" (http://www.southafrikhan.com/cape-of-good-eats/).

However, the use of linking her blog to her social media accounts such as Instagram allows her to stay more in tune with her readers and by using the #capeofgoodeats it allows her to see where readers are eating and so the readers can find places to eat quickly. She also helps promote the Zomato app, which is not known in wider circles and thus builds up a community of food lovers in the area and is helpful to those seeking a good meal. Sarah use of words such as "personally", "I" and "to me" and so on gives her blog a personal feel while maintaining a sense of authority or knowledge. In the same sense as a tourist guide would do when recommending places and events to tourists during their free time.

Khan also provides some South African jargon this allows tourists to seem less like outsiders if they understand these local words to some extent. This advice is the case on many other sites that promote tourists acting like local inhabitants rather than tourists. The blogger's vast experience as a travel writer is evident in her blog as it incorporates information, informality and a sense of humour, which makes it fun and easy to read and truly a reflection of what South Africans are like, in most cases. She could be included in the category of 'art for art's sake' as she prefers the finer things and sometimes adopts an instructive rhetoric.

The City of Cape Town's website has a formal field and does not provide the user with information of activities but rather sends the user to the Cape Town Tourism Website previously seen.
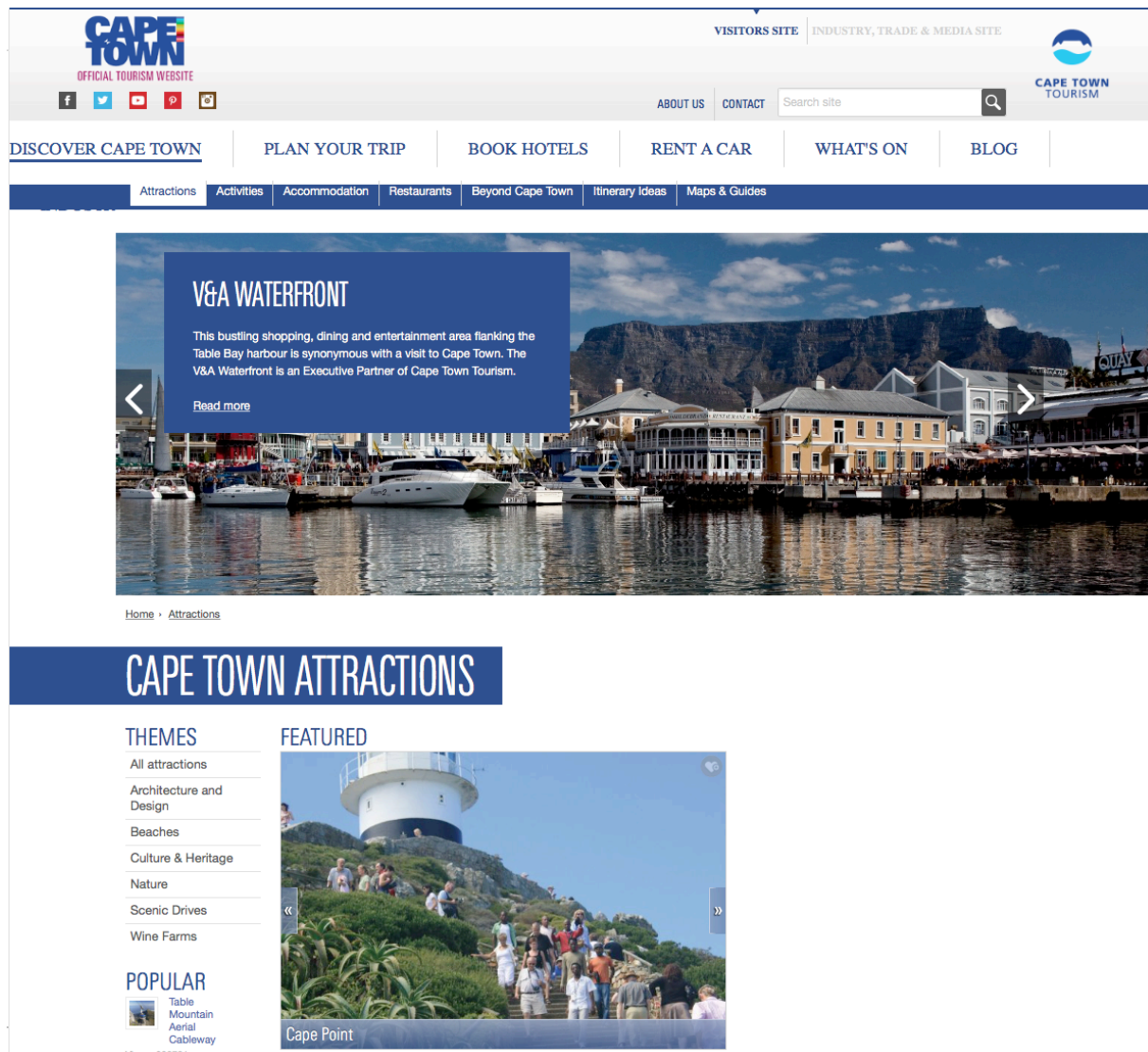
The Cape Town Official Tourism Website reflects a similar image of the city. With Table Mountain once again in the spot light but from a different angle. The website is user friendly and provides quick links to a variety of activities and information.

Cape Town's official websites (as seen above) look predominantly at local government services, tourism and cultural provisions. The City of Cape Town Website gives insight to the role that the local government plays in the city's planning, goals, tourism, investing in the city, jobs, the World Design Capital 2014 brand and other points (https://www.capetown.gov.za/).

The second example of the official Cape Town tourism site allows visitors to plan their trip to the city, book hotels and rent a car. It also provides insight on events that are taking place and a summary of the city. These websites all show similar information about Cape Town, and all have recommended renting a car. The use of Table Mountain is a typical piece of the Cape Town brand image and is an iconic piece of the skyline of the South African coastal capital.

4.1.2.5 Cape Town Conclusions

After analysing all of Cape Town's cultural provisions and some websites, it is evident that Cape Town qualifies as all types of the four kinds of creative cities presented by Hospers (2003). As a technological-innovative city as Cape Town has had an important role in innovation and technology, for example such innovations include the first heart transplant performed by Dr. Christiaan Barnard at the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town in 1967 (pbs.org). More recently, Dr. Andre van der Merwe from Stellenbosch University, near Cape Town, performed the first successful penis transplant that took place in 2014 at the Tygerburg Hospital in Cape Town. Historically speaking Cape Town also introduced innovative ways of farming (especially wine farming) in the arid fynbos region of South Africa in the 17th century, which had not been done by the indigenous hunter-gatherers and herders in the area.

As a cultural-intellectual city, sees vast amounts of emigrants coming for opportunities to fill the gaps between the conservative elders and the innovative use. Cape Town sees many of the creative class from elsewhere emigrating there, as it seems to have more opportunities for the creative class than other cities in the country and the continent. These types of cities have a bustling student life and Cape Town most certainly does have that from the two universities located in the city and Stellenbosch University nearby. These students allow for a dynamic population and integration between the youth and the older members of society allowing for intellectual exchange and wider problem solving.

Cultural-technological cities are a combination of the previous two. These cities produce cultural industries such as the film industry, which Cape Town, as mentioned before, is renown for globally. Other industries include computers, broadcasting, design, tourism and so on, all of which are vividly evident in Cape Town. As the city is after all the World Design Capital of 2014, this title thus confirms its role as at least this type of creative city that thus makes it the previous two as well. Peter Hall in Hospers (2003: 263) says that cities that combine Internet and multimedia "in an intelligent manner in the form of virtual museum visits" which the Cape Town based collective museum, Iziko, does for several collections that it presents online (http://www.iziko.org.za/static/page/virtual-exhibitions). These reasons confirm Cape Town as a cultural-technological creative city.

The last type of creative city presented by Hospers (2003: 263) is the technological-organisational city. Cape Town will not be considered as this type of creative city due to the way the local actors/authorities try to solve large-scale problems such as transportation, water supply, infrastructure and housing, which is seen as better than most African cities but still globally inadequate. Cape Town's rural areas, outside of the centre, do not have the infrastructure found in most of cities of this type. As seen in the forums and blogs public transport is not reliable and the renting of private vehicles is the usual recommendation for visitors. Therefore, Cape Town cannot be regarded for this type of creative city on these terms. However, the argument for Cape Town in this regard is evident in what Hospers (2003: 263) calls: "public-private collaboration on a local level". This collaboration is on the rise in the city to try address problems of this nature. Plans are mentioned on the government website capetown.gov.za and these plans are being implemented and the use of public buses are already on an increase. Therefore, Cape Town could become this type of creative city as well in the near future.

With Cape Town being recognised as the World Design Capital of 2014 it can and does use this title in its brand image. By being recognised as such it has confirmed its place as a creative city and as seen with its numerous cultural provisions and the

goals and projects that were done in 2014 and onwards it shall continue to be such. Cape Town's official branding, including its various titles that it has achieved, ensure that Cape Town remains one of the most visited cities in Africa and the world. The branding it uses gives a realistic expectation to visitors by not dismissing the negative aspects but rather informing visitors to potential dangers. Its long history and bright future will ensure that the creativity of the "Mother City" shall not end any time soon as long as government and investors continue to believe in Cape Town's potential and possibilities.   The popularity of Cape Town is evident in the figures that TripAdvisor provides in the vast numbers of posts and reviews made. This cements Cape Town as being a creative city due to its vast popularity online and its successful brand image. Blogs about the city remain positive but majority of these cater for those that can afford the finer things of Cape Town.

4.1.3 Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Table Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Construction of a Creative Brand		
General Ideas	**Components**		
	Visual and Physical Elements	**Slogans and Narrations**	**Events**
Amsterdam	Canals, Architecture, Coffee shops, Red light district	Mokum, Information City, A'dam, I Amsterdam, High Tech Start-up Capital, Jerusalem of the North, Venice of the North	
Buzz	Dam Square, Museumplein and many more		King's Day and many other events
Art	Variety of museums (Rijksmuseum, Van Gogh Museum) and galleries		Exhibitions and installations (indoor and outdoor)
Diversity	Lots of diversity due to tourism and immigrants. Wide range of interdisciplinary possibilities due to a		International film festivals

	wide arrange of facilities. Diverse architecture and facilities to cater to all types of people.		
Nightlife	Numerous bars, clubs, restaurants, coffee shops (Pllek, Biertuin, Paradiso, Ziggo Dome)		Live music, performances and shows
Public Spaces	A wide variety of squares, parks, gardens, canals and the home of Ajax and Oranje, Bijlmer Amsterdam Arena stadium (Vondelpark, Hotus Botanicus Amsterdam, Wertheimpark, Oosterpark, Funenpark, Rietlandpark, Sarphatipark)		Sporting events, markets, musical concerts, public art and street performances
Higher Education	University of Amsterdam (ranked 50th by QS), Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (ranked 171st by QS)		Lectures and public lectures, variety of events from music to sports
Other (Commodities: Food & Wine)	Diverse choices of dining options		

(amsterdamfaq.com & blog.alpharooms.com & Google Maps & amsterdam.info & Amsterdam.nl & Amsterdam.org & iamsterdam.com)

4.1.3.1 Breakdown of Amsterdam's Cultural Provisions

Amsterdam's cultural provisions are very numerous and the table does not nearly mention a fraction of them. The table is merely a skeleton of the full potential that Amsterdam currently possesses. The use of sites such as Google Maps allows for points of interests to be easily spotted and noted yet as many new start ups emerge this is not always readily available.

Buzz: Amsterdam has a large number of tourists annually; this is most evident in places like Dam Square and Museumplein. These two public spaces are not as favourable to locals because they are so congested with tourists. However, Amsterdam has many other lesser known, to tourists at least, places with a "buzz". From the many secluded cafes, hidden parks and smaller squares that allow for inhabitants to escape the tourist congestion and allows them to surround themselves with other creative individuals in what is known as the "Information City". On days such as King's Day and the days of the summer festival events, the buzz is magnified and inhabitants and tourists blend and converge around common interests such as music and celebrating (Amsterdam.info).

Art: Amsterdam is home to some of the most cherished artworks, including those from Rembrandt and Van Gogh, in some of the best museums in the world. The Rijksmuseum was voted as the best European museum of 2015 after its massive €375 million renovation (artnet.com). The Rijksmuseum is said to have some of the highest visitor numbers as well as the Van Gogh Museum, situated nearby. The city is also home to numerous other museums, galleries and public art installations, which provide for a colourful and inspirational setting among the iconic architectural backdrop that makes Amsterdam so well known (iamsterdam.com).

Diversity: The diversity in Amsterdam has always been prominent due to its vivid history. The diversity of the city is noticed in some of its nicknames: such as Mokum and the Jerusalem of the North due to its previously large Jewish community. After the end of colonisation many immigrants came to Amsterdam, namely the Surinamese, Arubans, North Africans and Middle Easterners, which have added to the diversity of food found throughout the Netherlands and most notably in Amsterdam. Food chains such as Döner and grocery shops that cater to the Caribbean and African palate are evidence of this culinary diversity. The diverse population along terms of age and knowledge allows for a veritable breeding ground of creativity.

Nightlife: There is more to Amsterdam's nightlife than the infamously popular coffee shops (marijuana cafes) and the Red Light District, which are both popular tourist attractions. Amsterdam plays host to many well-known performers and events. There are also numerous clubs and bars. Some of which are less known to tourists but serve has the haunts of many of the creative locals, for instance Pllek across from the EYE is constructed out old shipping containers and is popular on sunny days and usually has live music and several events throughout the year. The Ziggo Dome is favourite performance area and is usually part of every famous band's European tour. Paradiso is a popular nightclub and is a favourite amongst tourists and locals. Amsterdam's cafes are also noteworthy as they add a Parisian atmosphere to the city that is known as the Venice of the North (iamsterdam.com).

Public Spaces: The "Information City" is not only a place of technological power but supports a large variety of natural areas, such as parks, and other amenities. The numerous parks around the city allow for inhabitants and visitors a chance to escape their corporate duties and a place to enjoy the metropolis in a different way when the weather allows for it. Vondelpark, in the west of the city, is one of the most frequented parks and is well known for hosting parties and markets for people to enjoy. There are a lot more smaller parks throughout the city but Vondelpark remains one of the most visited and was one of the locations of the three I Amsterdam signs that are found throughout the city (the others are in front of the Rijksmuseum and Schiphol Airport), however this one moves to various locations throughout the year. Another of the major public spaces are the many squares, such as Dam Square and the Dappermarkt, which allow people to socialise in an urban setting. The Bijlmer Arena, which is the home of the city's football team, Ajax, and is also a favourite location for the national team or Oranje's at home games. Amsterdam's public spaces are put to use at all times of the year and are usually sufficient. However, during the King's Day celebrations there is not enough space and the canals are used as public spaces with the use of barges and boats to give the partygoers sufficient space (iamsterdam.com & Amsterdam.info).

Higher Education: The universities and establishments for higher education are really some of the best in the world. The University of Amsterdam was ranked 50th in the world by QS and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam was ranked as 171st by the same organisation (topuniversities.com/university-rankings). The universities add some youthful vigour in this already diverse city and create a breeding ground for intellectual and creative thought. Public lectures and lectures are offered and cultural groups allow students to interact with professors and other students, which allows for more inter-disciplinary discussions to take place.

Other Commodities: Amsterdam offers a variety of activities and culinary experiences for inhabitants and visitors. These activities include cultural and physical activities from fine dining to live music and sailing.

4.1.3.2 Background and I Amsterdam

Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands and the "greatest planned city of northern Europe" according to amsterdam.info, was the centre of the world economy in the 17th century. Today, Amsterdam has a reputation for being a high tech start up city, renowned for its tolerance, beauty and creativity. All of which are present in the city's structure and architecture from the conformity of structure but distinctive gables that adorn the traditional houses along the numerous canals. Amsterdam's long history, from a fishing community to a major port and now the information and start up capital of the world, allows for its economic success. The diverse population gave rise to many of its nicknames, such as "Mokum" and the "Jerusalem of the North" due to its large Jewish population in the past and present. The branding of Amsterdam is some of the best in the world; the I Amsterdam brand and the signs around the city are some of the most photographed landmarks in the world and are the most photographed sights in the city (iamsterdam.com). According to the website I Amsterdam started as: "An introduction, a slogan, a statement of inclusion and a physical icon - I Amsterdam is the city's and its residents' collective catch phrase" (iamsterdam.com). The website also claims that: "'I Amsterdam' began as the marketing campaign for the Amsterdam Area and its business and promotional

organisations, but quickly took on a life of its own, becoming a collective catch phrase for the city's residents, regardless of who they are or where they come from" (iamsterdam.com).   This campaign allows inhabitants to be part of the brand. As Dolak pointed out every staff member of a company (or inhabitant of a city) should be part in promoting the brand if it hopes to be successful.

I Amsterdam brands the city in such a way that allows visitors to the website to select whether they are visitors, locals or a business, which makes the accessibility to what the guest is looking for that much easier. On the "About Amsterdam" page for visitors the website provides a brief history and several links to other pages such as: history & society, itineraries, facts & figures, the I Amsterdam letters, UNESCO sites and the areas of Amsterdam. The usability of the website provides visitors with agendas and suggestions of things to do and places to go, which is also useful for locals to find out about events and places to visit in their own city.

4.1.3.3 Amsterdam Marketing

According to the I Amsterdam website: "Amsterdam Marketing is the city marketing organisation of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, active in the fields of promotion, information, research and services. Our ambition is to put this region on the map as one of the five most attractive metropolitan areas in Europe for its residents, visitors, businesses and influential groups. Under the motto 'I Amsterdam', we present the region as a dynamic place to live and work, an attractive travel destination and a test market for innovation" (iamsterdam.com). The core values of the city's marketing group are:

> *"Creativity, innovation and commercial spirit are Amsterdam's three core values. They make up the DNA of the city, symbolise its unique character and are significant to its past, present and future. The brand is strongly and discernibly positioned in the market under the shared motto I Amsterdam. In pursuit of this mission we are able to draw upon a region rich in history and unique cultural offerings. There is a great tradition of freedom and tolerance, an international outlook, world-class icons and a thriving business*

environment. It is a place where people live, learn, explore and work. Where anyone visiting for business or pleasure can come and feel at home" (iamsterdam.com).

These core values emphasise the fact that Amsterdam is a creative city that strives at building creativity, innovation and selling the products of these labours based in a knowledge economy. On their website I Amsterdam gives a detailed layout of their objective, which is:

"Amsterdam Marketing's goal is to execute the city marketing for the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area as an integrated activity, whereby we focus on national and international residents, businesses, visitors and influential figures. City marketing is an essential step in strengthening the economic position of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area. This not only has a positive influence on the city's public image internationally but also for local residents, boosting their sense of civic pride and appreciation. To achieve this, we work together with public and private organisations, cultural institutions and universities" (iamsterdam.com).

These objectives prove that Amsterdam Marketing seeks to include all stakeholders of the city in its marketing efforts and inclusion. The marketing includes the various cultural provisions in gaining information to benefit all those that are residents, visitors or possible businesses. The type of marketing done by iamsterdam.com, for the city of Amsterdam, is fantastic when compared to how many other cities are marketed.

4.1.3.4 Amsterdam's online image

TripAdvisor's homepage for Amsterdam provides quick links to the city's many provisions. These provisions are numerous: 355 hotels with 253721 reviews, 1602 holiday rental accommodations with 4341 reviews, 198847 reviews of "things to do", 2867 restaurants with 206666 reviews and 28051 posts in the forum. These figures make Amsterdam the most popular city in this case study.

On TripAdvisor the tones are not that different from those on I Amsterdam and neither are the type of words used. The homepage for Amsterdam states:

> *"This city, full of colourful homes, canals and bridges, is one of Europe's most picturesque capitals. Must-sees on any visitor's itinerary include the Anne*

Frank House, the Van Gogh Museum and the world's only floating flower market. Rent a bike and join thousands of locals navigating Amsterdam's labyrinthine streets, or just take in the sights on foot. For an unusual and memorable alternative to hotels, consider staying in a houseboat" (tripadvisor.com).

This gives the reader recommendations and good ideas of what to see and do in Amsterdam in the usual scenic language that usually is associated with the city. This introduction paints images with the use of words for the user to experience in person when they arrive.

Users on the popular travel site give a few useful points about the Dutch capital. Masha K. from Russia says in her post "One Day in Amsterdam":

"Amsterdam is an incredibly interesting and easy city to visit, famous for its canals and its classical and modern art museums, which are all located fairly close to each other and worth checking out. I would also definitely recommend exploring the part of the city that lies across the harbour — just take a free ferry from the Central Station!" (tripadvisor.com).

This post gives visitors a valuable hint as to that they can visit several museums pretty close by to each other yet this also would not be the best option as visitors might not benefit from multiple rushed visits. Masha has visited many cultural provisions and the city itself this is evident in her use of pronouns that allow the user to sense that she has adequate knowledge. She continues by suggesting:

"Rent a bike: it's fast, fun and you'll feel like a local.

Trams are very convenient for getting around the city's central locations. You can buy single tickets or get an OV chipcard and add credit as you go.

Ferries to the north bank of the harbour are free of charge.

You must try the excellent Dutch herring, which can be found at the small street kiosks decorated with national flags. This snack comes with pickles, onions and bread.

Watch out for cyclists when crossing the bicycle lanes — cycling is the city's religion!" (tripadvisor.com).

This information tries to make visitors feel more like locals and gives tips that are not known to most first time visitors, partially why the restaurant Pllek on the far bank of the city is rarely visited by tourists. Unlike most bloggers, Masha recommends cheaper alternatives such as kiosks and ways to save money on transportation, which many users would appreciate.

Kim H. from Barcelona also provides some tips in her "Romantic guide to Amsterdam" post. She states:

> *"It doesn't get more romantic than visiting Amsterdam with your partner. Its beautiful architecture, illuminated canals, intimate restaurants, and tranquil parks make this is a perfect getaway for couples. Wander the small streets, enjoy a warming drink in one of the many cozy cafes, and experience the beauty of this idyllic city"* (tripadvisor.com).

This post emphasizes the beauty of Amsterdam and tries to make it on par and almost replace Paris as the most romantic city. Her use of words such as 'warming' suggest that she had visited Amsterdam in the colder months and has not experienced much of the outdoor provisions available. Kim H. continues by giving a few tips:

> *"Amsterdam has a great public transportation system, which will get you anywhere, but the best ways to get around are walking or renting a bike.*
> *There are many great restaurants in Amsterdam. In general, try to avoid restaurants in touristy locations due to the high prices"* (tripadvisor.com).

Repeating what most users say, public transport or a bike are key to getting around Amsterdam, hence I Amsterdam stating the importance on their homepage. Once again, this author recommends ways for visitors to save money unlike the blogs that follow.
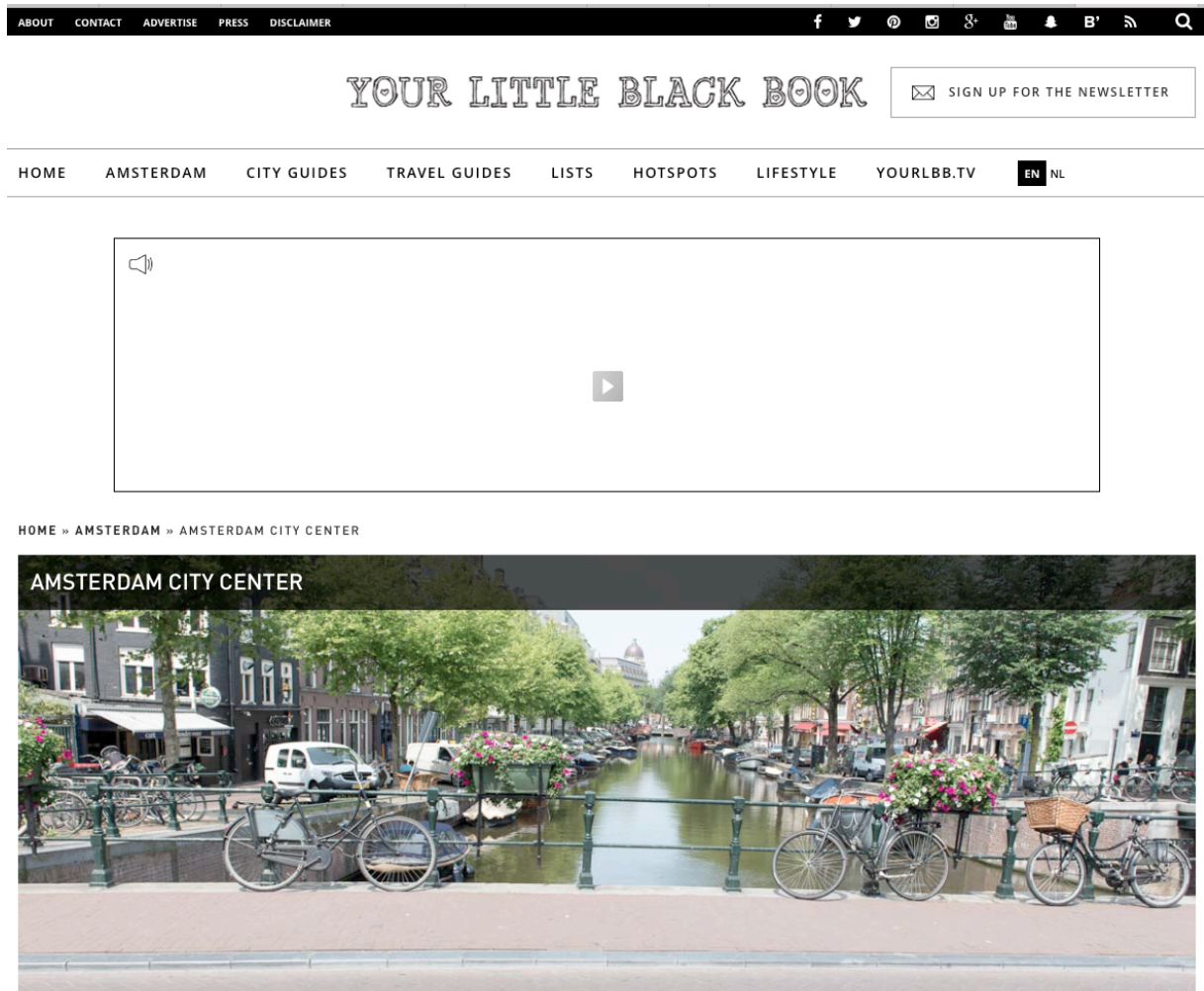
A screen grab from Your Little Black Book blog about Amsterdam, which shares a similarity with TripAdvisor by using a stereotypical image of the city (the same was done with Cape Town). This blog is similar in look and feel to that of South AfriKhan in the sense that it is minimalist and provides quick links to things and places. As well as other pages that are linked to the blog, such as: Facebook, Twitter, Pintrest, Instagram, Google+, Youtube and Snapchat.

Blogs, such as yourlittleblackbook.me, separate Amsterdam into its various areas (centre, west, east and so on). The city centre advice is as follows:

> "Welcome in Amsterdam city centre, borough of tourists and big chain store. No we're kidding! This part of town is soooo underrated. It's home to some

really cool hotspots we love to share with you in this Amsterdam City Center guide. So skip the Nieuwendijk and Kalverstraat. Discover the cool shopping streets like the Utrechtsestraat, Haarlemmerdijk, Haarlemmerstraat and The Nine Streets and do like the locals do.

Discover Amsterdam City Center by bike and enjoy cycling on the canals overlooking the water. It's the thing that still gives us this 'amazing little feeling' every day! Check out the Canal District or the authentic Jordaan for the historic feel in Amsterdam and enjoy the scenic view while having a drink with our friends" (yourlittleblackbook.me).

This very informal text is clearly aimed more at those interested in shopping and not the major sites of Amsterdam. It caters at those of the 'art for art's sake' class that want to experience the city for its fashion industry before its historic wealth. The whole website's style reflects that sentiment from the layout to the pictures being used. However, once again the emphasis is on being like a local.

On blogs and other websites, Amsterdam tends to be represented in much of the same light. For instance on the Holland.com website's page: "Visit Amsterdam" the usual words and tone are used to describe the city. They state:

"What makes Amsterdam so attractive is the 17th century historical atmosphere combined with the mentality of a modern metropolis creating a friendly and relaxed environment. The small scale of the buildings and the intimacy of the streets, canals and squares create an atmosphere that visitors find unique….. The best way to get around Amsterdam is on a bike. You won't become any more local than by cycling around Amsterdam" (Holland.com).
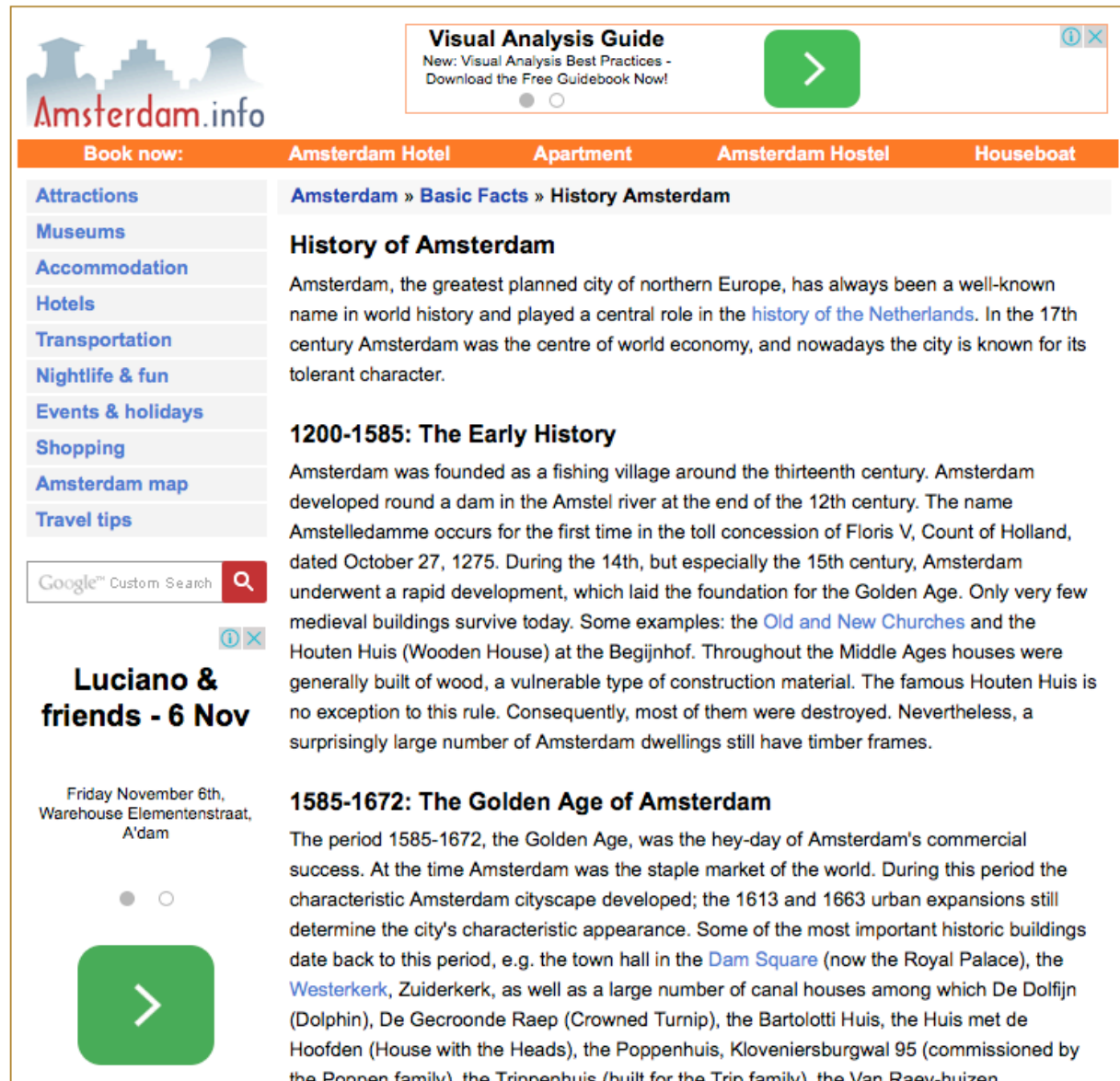
The emphasis on cycling and seeming like a local is again emphasized among all the information that is provided. The tone is however more serious than those found on TripAdvisor and iamsterdam.com.

I amsterdam   Your guide to visit, enjoy, live, work & invest in Amsterdam.
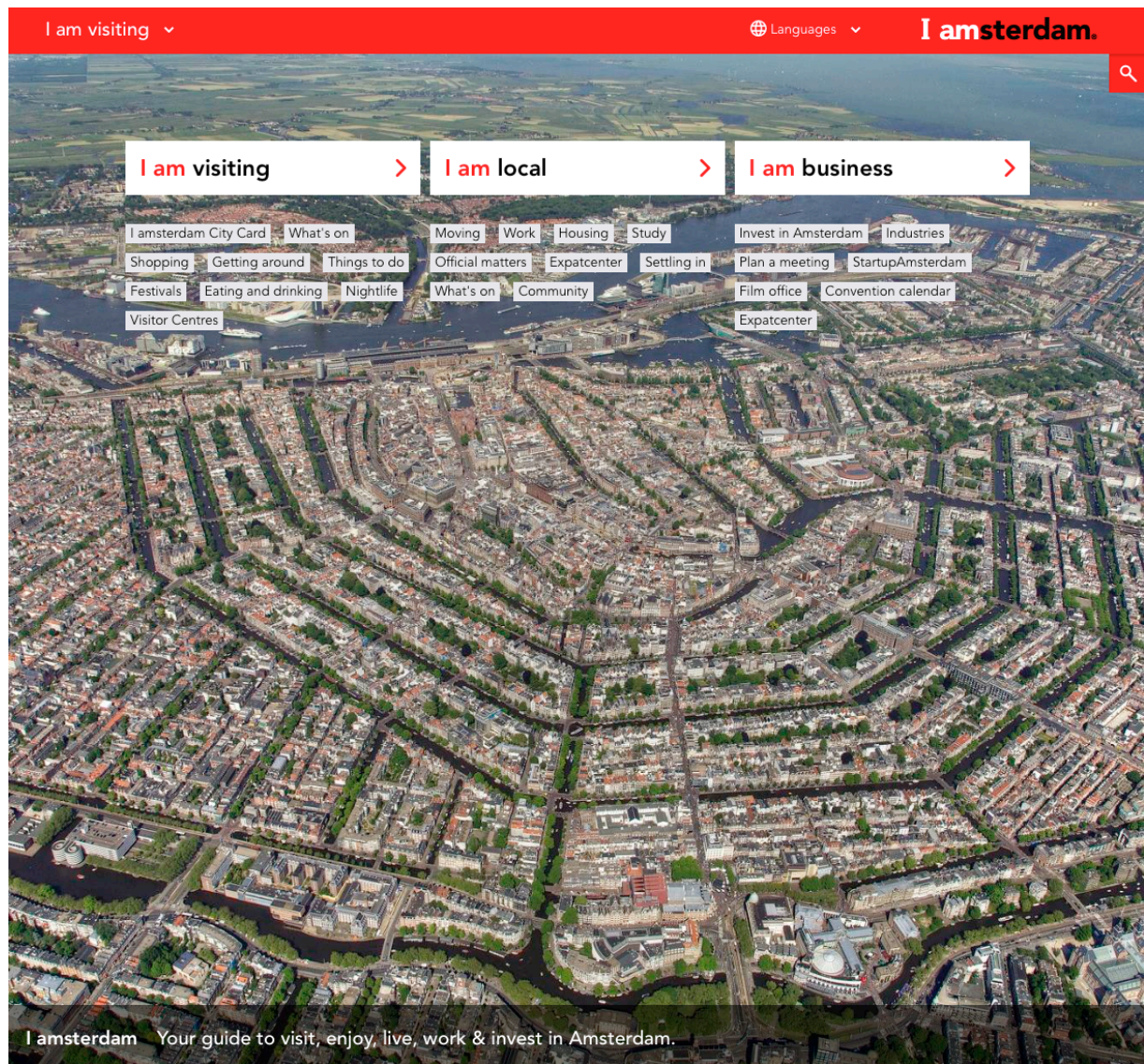
The I Amsterdam website is one of the most popular websites used by users and it is easy to note why. Unlike other websites, the first image you see is the aerial view of the city and not the stereotypical views of the canals from the ground. I Amsterdam allows the user to choose first what they are and this provides them with a different user experience, their choices are: visiting, local or business, which are the creative city's most important social groups. At the bottom of the home page it says: "I Amsterdam your guide to visit, enjoy, live, work and invest in Amsterdam", this sentence is not shy about the city actively seeking people to visit or invest in the start up capital but promotes it and makes what ever the user is seeking as easy as possible. Under each option

are quick links to various things such as cultural provisions for visitors and more administrative things for inhabitants and business related information for those seeking to invest in the Dutch capital.

Amsterdam.info is an example of an official website that provides a broad amount of information and is directed at users who are also tourists. The homepage gives a historical background of the city with links to the cultural provisions of the city. The logo is minimalist and uses the typical Dutch gables. The logo resembles what the blog of South AfriKhan that promoted Cape Town did with the simplistic version of Table Mountain.

The Amsterdam.org website is similar to the Amsterdam.info website as it provides links to cultural provisions. The website also has traces of TripAdvisor's features such as accommodation, things to do and so on. It is also very similar to the City Of Cape Town website that provides weather updates.
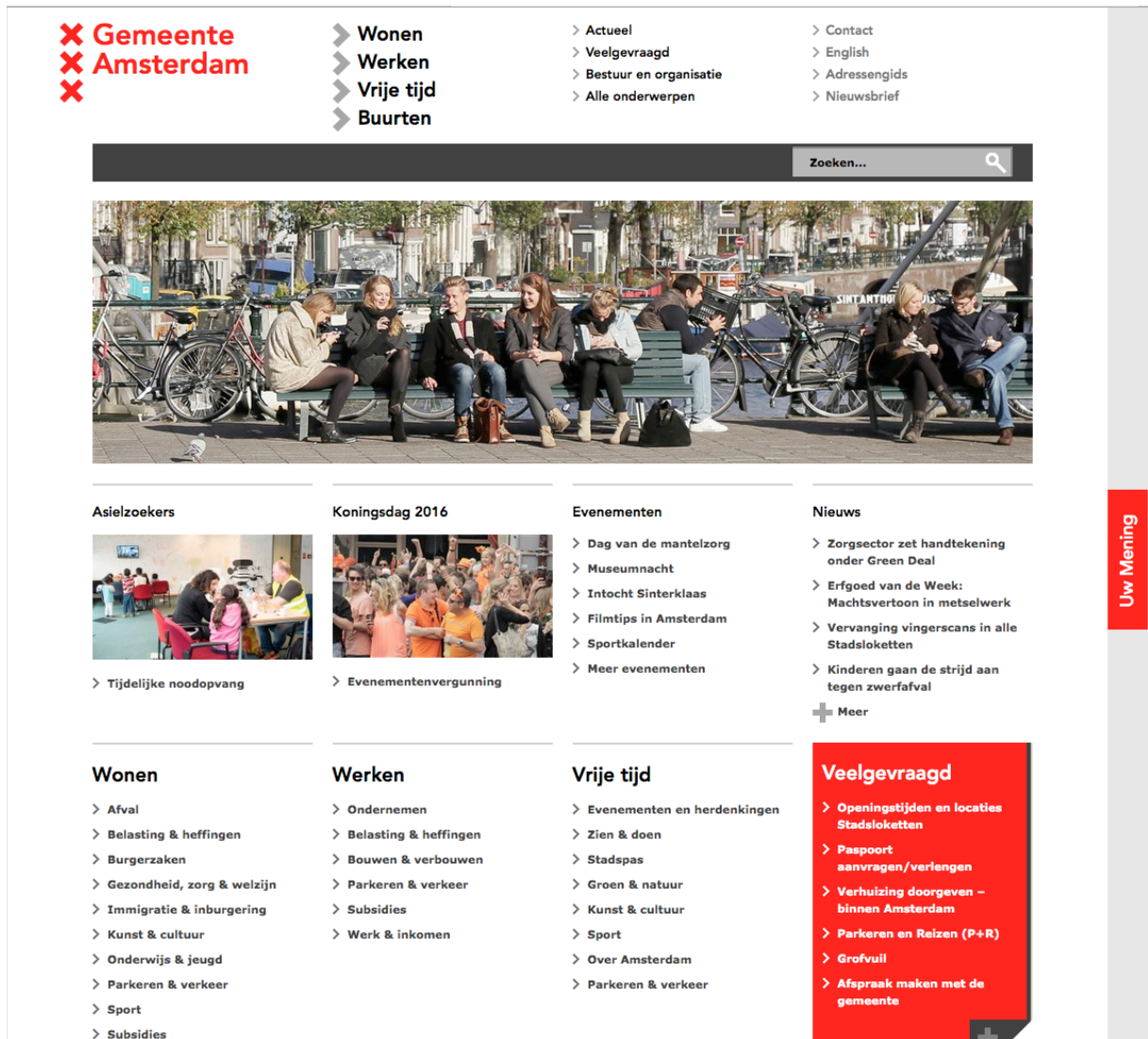
The Gemeente Amsterdam website is an administrative site directed at inhabitants and is only available in Dutch, if the link to the English version is pressed then the user is transported to the I Amsterdam site. The website is none the less very organised and user friendly with many useful links for residents and local tourists. The image used is a typical Amsterdam image of people and bicycles near a canal. The logo is derived from the emblem of the city (the three xs).

I Amsterdam portrays Amsterdam cultural hotspots filled with innovation, creativity and bicycles. On the home page for visitors is a welcome message that states:

> *"Welcome to Amsterdam and welcome to your official guide to the Netherlands' capital city. With a full cultural agenda showcasing the very best festivals, nightlife, exhibitions & events, plus practical tourist info, hotel, museum, excursion & attraction listings, you won't miss a thing"* (iamsterdam.com).

This friendly approach makes visitors feel welcome and portrays Amsterdam as a fun city with friendly inhabitants. Slides at the top of the page state three points about the city: firstly, "Iconic Amsterdam", "Winding waterways, idyllic bridges and historic buildings - one of the most memorable ways to truly see Amsterdam is from the canals". Secondly, "City of Bikes", "With more bikes than people, cycling is an integral part of Amsterdam's DNA. Hop on and see the city like the locals do!" Lastly, "Summer in the City", "Countless festivals, urban beaches, lush green parks, outdoor cinema & art, and plenty of sunny terraces. Enjoy the best of Amsterdam this summer!" (iamsterdam.com). All of these points use words that describe scenery in an informal and friendly town, as a local would talk about the city they love living in.

4.1.3.5 Amsterdam Conclusions

Blogs about Amsterdam and the agencies that market it are all very positive and the official branding of the city could not be better. What type of creative city is Amsterdam? There is no doubt that Amsterdam is creative as it focuses on innovation, creativity and the knowledge economy. According to Hospers it is definitely a technological-innovative city due to its vivid history especially from the Dutch Golden Age and onwards. Dutch artists and innovators or "new men" as Schumpeter called them allowed the city "to bloom by creating an atmosphere of collaboration, specialization and innovation" (Hospers 2003:262). The Dutch Golden Age and Amsterdam's location allowed for "technological revolutions" to occur that Hospers deems at highly important in the foundation of this type of creative city.

As a cultural-intellectual city, Amsterdam can claim that title as well. As there is the presence of a focus on both science and culture present in Amsterdam and even a blending of both. This is apparent in the aesthetically functional engineering projects and the architecture of the city. Amsterdam has wide age gaps due to the aging

population that is common in most European cities but also a bustling youth culture due to the universities, start-up companies in the high tech start up capital and tourism present in the city.

Thirdly, Amsterdam is a cultural-technological city, a blend of the previous two types of city. Amsterdam has a booming film industry as well as a large fashion industry; varied architecture and many of the museums adopt integration between online and physical visits, which is crucial according to Hospers (20003: 263).

Lastly, Amsterdam checks all the qualifications for a technological-organisational city as well. As Amsterdam city is creative in its approach of solving the problems and threats to its population. This is evident to the large-scale urban projects done in the past and the present, from water management and housing (Hospers 2003: 263). As seen on iamsterdam.com the city is open to "public-private collaboration on a local level" to solve everyday problems that occur in an urban metropolis and provides suitable economic possibilities to investors (Hospers 2003: 263).

These points prove without any doubt that Amsterdam, even more so than Cape Town and many other cities is a creative city. The city is recognized as being creative and brands itself efficiently to be regarded in that way. This in turn lures investors and more of the creative class to its bustling canalled streets. The successful branding done by I Amsterdam and how the city is portrayed online promises that visitors and investors shall feel at home in this European capital.

4.2.   Upcoming Creative Cities: Nijmegen and Pretoria

Pretoria and Nijmegen both have a traditional image and contain many of the necessary ingredients to qualify as creative cities. The history of these cities and regions often plays a very important role according to Hospers (2003: 265). These cities struggle because they may have been burdened "for years with a rural, traditional and dull – even negative – image". Even when these cities try and perceive themselves as "knowledge regions" through branding "they will always lose out to" metropolises "that are already seen as 'cool'" (Hospers 2003: 265). This too reminds us of the Matthew 13:12 verse mentioned earlier. Nijmegen has increased its inter-

urban network by teaming up with Arnhem and creating the Nijmegen-Arnhem City Region and the applied university, Hogeschool Arnhem Nijmegen. To recap inter-urban networking is: "increasing the critical mass of their city by seeking collaboration with a neighbouring city in the fields of infrastructural, educational and cultural facilities" (Hospers 2003: 266).

4.2.1 Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Table Nijmegen, The Netherlands	Construction of a Creative Brand		
General Ideas	Components		
	Visual and Physical Elements	Slogans and Narrations	Events
Nijmegen	The Waal River, Waalbrug, architecture, forests	*Novio Magnus, De Oudste Stad van Nederland/ The Oldest City of the Netherlands, 024, Havana on the Waal*	
Buzz	Plein 1944, Grote Markt, Molenstraat, and other squares	Plein 1944- *The Ugliest Place in the Netherlands* (This was in the past but for several decades this held true)	Many events, namely the Vierdaagsefeesten
Art	Valkof Museum, Orientalis, Afrika Museum, galleries etc		Exhibitions, re-enactments, musical events
Diversity	Diverse population due to immigrants and international students. Wide range of interdisciplinary possibilities due to a wide arrange of facilities. Diverse architecture and facilities to cater to all types of people.		International film festivals
Nightlife	LUX, Doornroosje, Lindenberg, Cultuur Café, bars and clubs in Molenstraat and		Music, performances, International film festivals

	the environs.		
Public Spaces	Goffertpark and stadium, Kronenburgerpark, Keizer Karlplein, Julianapark, Valkhofpark, Hunnerpark, De Vlietberg, Waalkade and more parks and squares		Sporting fixtures and musical acts and various performances
Higher Education	Radboud University Nijmegen (ranked 156th by QS), Hogeschool Arnhem Nijmegen	Radboud University: *Change Perspective*	Fab Lab, Technovium, sports grounds, numerous cultural events
Other (Commodities: Food & Wine)	There are many nice places that serve fine dining eg. Munt and Credible		

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nijmegen & Google Maps & nijmegencultuurstad.nl & desmeltkroesnijmegen.nl & topuniversities.com &Nijmegen.nl)

4.2.1.1 Brief text on Nijmegen's cultural provisions and Background

Nijmegen has the essential cultural provisions to qualify as a creative city and has a booming tourism especially because of its location on the boarder with Germany and a rich history of the Roman Empire, Charlemagne and an important role in the liberation route as the scene of Operation Market Garden. The city took time to recover after the war but has since become a lively student town with multiple cultural events, places to go, cultural sights and the popular Vierdaagsefeesten which lasts for a week in July every year and sees some 300 000 visitors coming to Nijmegen for the four days of marching and a week long party. The city also has numerous public spaces, many restaurants, and a diverse population in terms of age, ethnicity and occupations, which results in a creative atmosphere.

4.2.1.2 Nijmegen's online image

Nijmegen's official website's homepage is minimalist and proudly proclaims "Nijmegen, oldest city in the Netherlands" along with its city emblem and a view of the iconic bridge and a cityscape (an improvement compared to TripAdvisor's main image). However, the official website provides very little to the user with only four tabs (none of which apart from the 'about' tab can be used by visitors). The other three are directed at workers, residents and expats, which gives nothing for visitors or investors and provides very little on the cultural provisions of the city.

The city of Nijmegen's official website's (Nijmegen.nl) homepage gives a very brief welcome and an about section. They read as follows:

"Nijmegen, oldest city in the Netherlands

Welcome to a city full of culture, sports, events, shopping, the River Waal and a varied countryside of hills, woods and polders that offers many opportunities for recreation!" (Nijmegen.nl).

The emphasis that Nijmegen puts on culture, cultural events, commerce and then on the physical attributes and landmarks show that it wants to be taken seriously as a cultural hub. The about section states:

"The city of Nijmegen is an interesting mix between old and new. Past and present go hand in hand; historic buildings are interspersed with fine examples of modern architecture.

Nijmegen, the oldest city in the Netherlands, is situated on a range of hills near the River Waal. The surrounding area features hills, woods and polders, creating a varied countryside offering a range of recreational opportunities to both citizens and tourists.

This website tells you all there is to know on Living, Working, Student life and Leisure in Nijmegen. There is also a special section for expatriates (thinking of) living and working in our city.

Discover Nijmegen and enjoy!" (Nijmegen.nl).

The repetition of the statement "oldest city of the Netherlands" and the description of the landscape highlight the importance that these features play for the region as a popular cultural and outdoor entertainment area for the mostly Dutch and German visitors, as these two languages along with English are an available language choice on the website. Nijmegen.nl also provides information for individuals that are interested in working in the city, living in the city or are expatriates of the city.

Nijmegen's TripAdvisor page shows the massive difference between emerging creative cities and established creative cities. The page uses an image of the river with very little of the city being seen (apart from the images at the bottom of the screen). This gives the user the impression at first glance that Nijmegen is a rural town and not a city. Another difference is in the figures: 11 hotels with only 1441 reviews, 5 holiday rental accommodations with only 3 reviews, 30 "things to do" with only 675 reviews, 3736 reviews for 195 restaurants and a mere 57 posts in the forum. These figures are a vast difference from the creative cities of Amsterdam and Cape Town.

TripAdvisor too focuses on Nijmegen's history and traditions are well stipulated in the overview of the city. The website says this about the emerging eastern city:

> *"At over 2000 years old, Nijmegen has had a pretty full life. Its transition from Roman military camp to modern municipality has not been without growing pains, but today Nijmegen is thriving, largely because of its lively student population and its status as a hub for political activism. Try to visit during the internationally popular Nijmeegse Vierdaagse four-day walking festival and the epic Zomerfeesten summer party. They happen at the same time, because why not?"* (tripadvisor.com).

The popular history of the city and its booming student population allow it to strive as a cultural and political hotbed. The largest marching event in the world, the Vierdagse, is also mentioned as this really is one of the largest events in the country and draws a large number of international and local tourists.

In the forums Nijmegen is not represented as much as the established creative cities yet this is not unusual for smaller cities. Most of the posts on the forums page are questions about places and things to do in the city and thus are not useful in presenting its online image or brand.

opwdʒɯɪɯкɪαr

opoudjis his blog / τὸ τοῦ ὀπουτζοῦ ἰστολόγιον

Blogged elsewhere

Interoppo Research
(IT Standards & Interoperability)

- NeCTAR Melbourne Town Hall - 30 November 2010
- ADLRR2010: My summary - 27 April 2010
- ADLRR2010: Wrap-up - 14 April 2010
- ADLRR2010: Breakout Groups: Future Directions - 14 April 2010
- ADLRR2010: Panel: Vendors - 14 April 2010

Linking research & learning technologies through standards » Nick Nicholas

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Ἡλληνιστεύκοντος
(Greek Linguistics)

- Aeolic θᾶς "until" - 28 March 2011
- Dictionary Updates: Kriaras, Vol. XVII; Trapp, Fasc. VII - 16 March 2011
- Sorting of breathings and accents in Unicode - 15 March 2011
- The declension of -ευς: Ionic forward to Modern Greek - 12 March 2011
- Tsakonian documentary - 09 March 2011

2009-03-24

Nijmegen: "Too small to blog about"

Labels: Netherlands

A horrible thing to say about a town. But yes, Nijmegen is small: 140,000 people or so. I see from wikipedia that some would lump in Nijmegen in the *Randstad*®, a metropolis that if you squint long enough encompasses the whole of the Netherlands. That strikes me as special pleading: yes, everything is close to everything else by train. For example, if you want sushi in Nijmegen, you get on the train to Arnhem, a mere 15 minutes away. But you are still going through a bunch of forest to do it; and the Randstad is so called because its cities (*stad*) are on the edge (*rand*) of a bunch of trees and/or water. So no, in my book, Nijmegen is small.

It's cute, which comes with being small. Well, the mediaeval *Stadhuis* (town hall) is cute:

Blog Calendar (Oct 2006–)

Click on Month/Year to Navigate

November 2015

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12

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Administrivia (6) Australia (5) Belgium (10) Books (1) Canada (17) England (13) English (1) Germany (4) Greece (21) Greek grammar (4) Information Technology (16) Japan (1) Music (11) Netherlands (11) New Zealand (16) Personal whimsy (20) Philology (5) Rants (5) Religion (5) Sociology (1) Solage (5) TV (1) USA (20)

Ocupuluk's blog "Nijmegen: 'to small to blog about'" appears amateurish at first glance. The colourscheme, fonts used and the amateurish photographs ooze the fact that the blogger is not professional and the language and biased emphasize that. The blog is a typical text in the sense of Barthes as it is purely one person's perception to try to gain a response from the users. His opening

line: "A horrible thing to say about a town" shows remorse but is factually wrong as Nijmegen qualifies as a city by Dutch terms. The blogger contradicts his opening lines by talking about the stadhuis (city hall) later. Users that have stumbled upon his blog have shown their disapproval of his views.

This blog has the power to possibly tarnish Nijmegen's online image due to its negative stance of the city and it shall now be addressed. A Greek blogger wrote in 2009 a blog entitled: "Nijmegen: 'too small to blog about'", yet the author wrote quite a long piece about the city that initially he had not much to say about. The author begins with:

> *"A horrible thing to say about a town. But yes, Nijmegen is small: 140,000 people or so. I see from wikipedia that some would lump in Nijmegen in the Randstad, a metropolis that if you squint long enough encompasses the whole of the Netherlands. That strikes me as special pleading: yes, everything is close to everything else by train. For example, if you want sushi in Nijmegen, you get on the train to Arnhem, a mere 15 minutes away. But you are still going through a bunch of forest to do it; and the Randstad is so called because its cities (stad) are on the edge (rand) of a bunch of trees and/or water. So no, in my book, Nijmegen is small.*
>
> *It's cute, which comes with being small. Well, the mediaeval Stadhuis (town hall) is cute"* (opuculuck.blogspot.nl).

Indeed Nijmegen is not a large city but that is part of its charm the rest of Opuculuk's statements are wrong and thus tarnish Nijmegen's online image with false information. The wordiness of the text is not the best with references such as 'so no' in my book', which also gives the impression that the blogger finds his opinion very important as other bloggers have shown previously. Opuculuk criticises the name's origins, the bars, the student life, the stores and even the beer; his one statement says:

> *"'Twee Amsterdammertjes van Dommelsch en één bruine Duvel, alstublieft.'*
> *Which translates to:*
> *'Two small-sized water tumblers (which you have the temerity to regard as*

'large' drinking vessels) of the local generic lager, which I'm not even going to dignify with my attention; and a single goblet of the slightly but not very stout rendering of one of the fine assortments of Belgic ales you have on tap, my good man, and I think I have just exhausted my knowledge of Dutch'" (opuculuk.blogspot.nl).

These statements are rather aggressive towards something that the city, like all other cities can not control. His tone and negativity towards the city is seems almost as if the city had personally insulted him. Don, a commentator of the blog post sums up many users views on the blog by saying:

"Unbelievable! I guess you missed the fact that Nijmegen is the oldest city in the country, is fast growing, and it's amazing that so many people live at such a small area of land.

There's a line between criticism and posing yourself as a person far above others. No need to point out on what side of the line you landed with this blog post.

Your amazement about the Italian name is a clear example of the lack of knowledge or interest you truly have in the subjects you target. You only want to have a negative attitude, you don't want to know. Just a hint: the romans were here. Look that up and indulge yourself in the subject. Our beer might not what you like, the sizes might be not to your taste, but we sure respect other people. But even that habit didn't settle into your attitude.

Pity" (opuculuk.blogspot.nl).

Don's critique of the blogpost is very direct as he points out many facts that are evident when researching Nijmegen, its fast expansion as well as its current and future projects. The blog itself was written several years ago and there is no certainty if it was justified during that, time in that space compared to the present. Don tries to educate the blogger with the Italian in the name and gives other constructive criticism. However, is a lone blog enough to put people off from visiting the oldest city in the Netherlands? Probably, not as many of the comments and the way it was written show evidence that many readers disagree with this blogger's views. The blogger's

text and the blog itself show that he just wanted to voice his opinion in a way that Bourdieu would see as being "written for its own sake rather than for any moral, social, or political purpose" (During on Bourdieu 2007: 88).

4.2.1.3 Nijmegen as the "cultuurstad"/ "culture city"

Nijmegen Cultuurstad also challenges Opuculuk's claim that Nijmegen is a town. This website is only available in Dutch, which limits the usability of the website by non-Dutch speakers, despite the fact that the University has a large international student population. The website provides links to various events and especially in terms of future musical acts that shall take place in the city.

The small city of Nijmegen prides itself on becoming a cultural hub from its many museums and places like the Honig Complex's many creative occupants to the never

ending events available and listed on nijmegencultuurstad.nl. Smaller organisations such as Cultuur op de Campus and Film for Thought provide the student population as well as the other residents an opportunity to enjoy a variety of activities. These organisations work together in a joint effort to support each other under the umbrella of Nijmegen Cultuurstad and the local government, once again emphasising the importance of private-public collaboration.

4.2.1.4 Nijmegen conclusions

Nijmegen could brand as a creative city if it ever wants to be recognized as such. The city is most definitely trying to do so unofficially. With ongoing projects such as the control of the Waal River and flood prevention to the events such as Down the Rabbit Hole, Vierdagsefeest and the Zomerfeest Nijmegen has the potential to be a hub of musical entertainment especially in the east of the Netherlands. With places such as Doornroosje there is no lack of potential places to host large musical acts. Nijmegen already hosts large musical events in its stadium at Goffertpark. Nijmegen just needs to adopt Dolak's principles of branding and create a sustainable image so as to attract more recognition, as compared to Amsterdam. There is not substantial proof that Nijmegen can be considered as a technological-innovative city, apart from the recent accomplishments of Radboud University researchers and some from the vast history. Nijmegen is definitely a cultural-intellectual city as it has a diverse population of old and young people interacting especially in and around the higher education facilities. Nijmegen could soon be considered as a cultural-technological city due to a large emerging music industry with bands like The Staat and Navarone reaching national popularity. Along with its regional partner, Arnhem, which is well known for its fashion industry Nijmegen continues to grow in popularity. The city also attracts visitors for its many cinemas such as Carolus but especially the art house cinema LUX, which hosts events throughout the year. The Honig Complex houses many creative individuals who work together to produce creative products that are sold globally through the collective association known as De Smelt Kroes, or the melting pot in English. Nijmegen is without doubt a technological-organizational city according to Hospers' (2003) requirements as Nijmegen has implemented large-scale projects to protect its

inhabitants from the threat of a flooding Waal River. The city provides an efficient transport system that has constructed bridges over the Waal River to cope with bicycles, trains, cars and pedestrians. The city also supplies sufficient housing for inhabitants and investors.

As Nijmegen continues to develop physically and brands itself in a way that deconstructs its rural, traditional image that was mentioned in the introduction of this chapter it shall be able to, possibly, be recognized to some extent as a creative city or at least as a creative hub.

4.2.2 Pretoria, South Africa

Table Pretoria/Tshwane, South Africa	Construction of a Creative Brand		
General Ideas	**Components**		
	Visual and Physical Elements	**Slogans and Narrations**	**Events**
Pretoria	Jacarandas, Dutch and English architecture, nature	*Jacaranda City, Snor City, Pret, P'toors, P Town, Cool Capital, The 012, Papa Stad*	
Buzz	The Club, Design Square, Menlyn Square and more		Live music, fine dining, public art, markets
Art	Pretoria Art Museum, numerous galleries, State Theatre, Ditsong Museums, etc	Pretoria Art Museum: *Inspired by Change*	Music, performances, exhibitions and classes and training
Diversity	Pretoria is home to the second most amount of embassies after Washington D.C. which adds to the diversity. The city is also home to a variety of other cultural groups from the country, the continent and the globe. Wide range of interdisciplinary		Embassies aid in markets and sponsor events and lectures. International film festivals

	possibilities due to a wide arrange of facilities. Varied architecture and facilities to cater to all types of people.		
Nightlife	Variety of nightlife hot spots (Capital Craft, Lucky Rodrigos, Arcade Empire, Aandklas, etc)		
Public Spaces	Botanical Gardens, Loftus Stadium, Magnolia Dell, Austin Roberts Bird Sanctuary, Groenkloof Game Reserve, Groenkloof Park, Faerie Glen, LC de Villiers Sports Grounds		Musical events, markets, public art, sporting events
Higher Education	University of Pretoria (ranked 471st-480th by QS), University of South Africa's (UNISA) head offices of the correspondence university, Tshwane University of Technology, Open Window, Vega and other colleges	University of Pretoria: *Make today matter* & *TUKS of Niks* as the University use to be called Transvaal University College (TUC)	University of Pretoria has several campuses, which houses several museums. UP also offers short courses and numerous societies and events. On Tuesdays and Thursdays there are live performances on the main campus.
Other (Commodities: Food & Wine)	Moyo, La Madeleine etc		Fine dining experiences

(Wikipedia.org/wiki/pretoria & Google Maps & topuniversities.com & Tshwane.gov.za &tripadvisor.com & coolcapital.co.za &helloambassador.co.za)

4.2.2.1 Brief Background and Cultural provisions (Pretoria)

Pretoria, part of the Tshwane Metropolitan Area, is one of the three capital cities of South Africa along with Cape Town and Bloemfontein. Pretoria was the capital of Paul Kruger's Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek and houses the Union Buildings that was constructed by Sir Herbert Baker when South Africa became a union at the end of the Second South African War (formerly known as the second Anglo-Boer War). The capital is fondly known as the Jacaranda City due to the vast amount of non-indigenous South American trees that bloom annually in the city in October. However, it is also known as "Snor City" because it is seen as the "Papa Stad" in comparison to Cape Town being the "mother city" as "snor" means moustache and boring, as in snoring. This is because many individuals claim there is not much to do in this city compared to others such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. However, the city is in collaboration with private groups, such as the Cool Capital Project, aims at making Pretoria the new creative hub of the region. The cultural provisions of Pretoria are numerous and the large student community adds a "buzz" to the city and all the public spaces. A popular monthly event is Park Acoustics in the shadow of the Voortrekker Monument.

4.2.2.2 Pretoria as the "Cool Capital"

The Cool Capital Biennale was chosen as there are no blogs about Pretoria on the top hits on search engines, Yet, this intiative that was started by the creative class of the city has grown phenomenally. Cool Capital, along with its sponsors that scroll at the bottom of the screen (including the Dutch embassy in Pretoria,) help to promote local creative individuals and beautify the city. The homepage's main images are the logo in the top left, it is a map of the city in various colours, and Table Mountain (Cape Town) as the mother city in a minimalist way as done on other sites and a moustache captioned as the father

city (Pretoria). The moustache is a popular symbol of the city due to its founding fathers and because snor means moustache in Afrikaans and sounds like snore in English (as the city is known for being very calm compared to other major cities in South Africa). The phrase "love your city" tries to promote young creative individuals to stay in Pretoria instead of immigrating to Cape Town. The homepage says in the top right when the next events will take place. It also has a word of welcome and latest news. The links it provides gives users ease of access to what the initiative is, press releases, user submissions as well as works by creative individuals that took part, a calendar for when events take place and news about the initiative.

The biannual event known as Cool Capital sees the gathering of many of the creative class coming together in the northern capital to exchange ideas and implement projects to benefit the city and its inhabitants, much in the same way as the global World Design Capital did for Cape Town. Sadly, there are very few blogs about Pretoria and these do not show up on the top hits when a user searches search engines.

Cool Capital 2014 Biennale says on their website that they are:

> *"the world's first uncurated, DIY, guerilla biennale: a place for the citizens of the Capital City to collectively contemplate and express why we love our city, and how we can improve it.*
>
> *Explore the possibility of creative expression that Pretoria has to offer, and be introduced to the wealth of art, architecture, urban- and graphic design, public installations, film screenings and musical performances about our city that will be on show from 29 August 2014 to 15 November 2014.*
>
> *A city is a life form: it has emotions. How do we care for our city? And it in turn, for us?"*

This short and to the point introduces the reader to the possibilities and goals of the project. In their about section the website states who they are and their aims:

> *"Cool Capital Biennale 2014 is a non-government organisation and citizen-lead*

initiative to bring about visual, perception and actual change to Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa and the surrounding metropolitan area of Tshwane, by means of a multitude of small interventions.

The aim is to introduce the public to a wealth of art, architecture, urban- and graphic design, as well as sculpture creations, while affording them the opportunity to interact with these civic interventions. The event is inclusive and open to any individual, collaboration, educational facility or group willing to contribute something creative within the borders and the laws of the city.

The entire campaign would be web based, app and mobi driven and would culminate in a prestigious catalogue documenting the entire inaugural Biennale. In addition to generating a legacy of attractive civic interventions, the creative talents of the people of Tshwane will be showcased beyond our borders in the virtual and printed worlds.

The official logo of Cool Capital depicts a map of the city with key features, places and culture groups linked by an intricate web of lines symbolising connectivity as the catalyst for social coherence. A bonus and highly desirable outcome of the Biennale would be renewed appreciation and rethinking of not only our city but of creativity in art, design and architecture in general.

Cool Capital Biennale 2014 has been scheduled to run from 29 August 2014 to 15 November 2014, concurrently with the Cape Town 2014 World Design Capital event and the Durban Otherwhere 2014 conference of the International Union of Architects.

The groundwork to bring the dream of a Biennale in our Capital City to reality is well advanced. Let's show the leadership of a true capital. Our wish is that the city and its people will seize this opportunity and make the Cool Capital initiative their own" (coolcapital.co.za).

The success of the 2014 gathering gained a vast amount of popularity with the initiative being published about in media outlets locally and globally and ensures that the following gathering will be even better received.

Projects like the Cool Capital ensure that the creative class along with the government will be able to create a city that all members of society will be proud of and happy to share with investors and visitors. The city's local government should support these events more and use these individuals in their branding and image building if they hope to attract more individuals that are creative.

4.2.2.3 Pretoria's online image
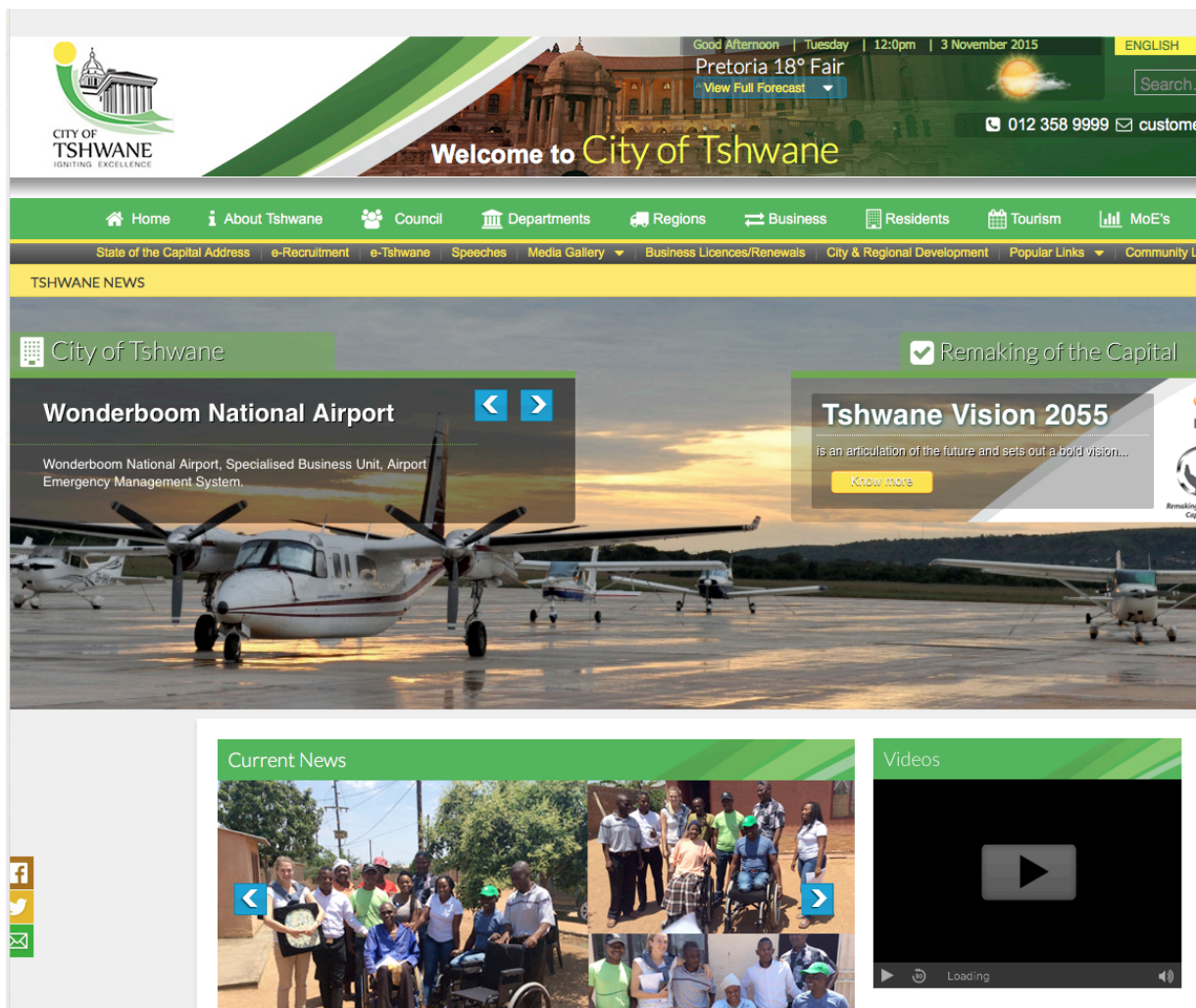
Pretoria's (also known as the city of Tshwane) official website is the complete opposite of its TripAdvisor equivalent. This is because Trip Advisor used images of the city's colonial past whereas the official site uses images of diversity, innovation and the city's prospects. However, the website has many

useful links from current weather to cultural provisions and business opportunities. The only problem is that many of the links do not work. The logo itself of the city municipality is of the Union Buildings' eastern wing this too is a colonial building housing the country's government and is Pretoria's (along with Jacarandas) equivalent of Cape Town's Table Mountain except with more politics attached and being man made.

The government website (Tshwane.gov.za) states the government departments and the objectives of the project: Tshwane Vision 2055, which is:

> *"In September 2013, after a year-long intensive consultation on what residents would like their city to look like by 2055, the City of Tshwane approved Tshwane Vision 2055, a roadmap for developing the capital city. Over the next four decades, all the City's interventions and programmes, which aim to create a resilient, inclusive and liveable city, will be framed around the following six outcomes stated in Tshwane Vision 2055:*
>
> > *A resilient and resource-efficient city*
> >
> > *A growing economy that is inclusive, diversified and competitive*
> >
> > *Quality infrastructure development that supports liveable communities*
> >
> > *An equitable city that supports happiness, social cohesion, safety and healthy citizens*
> >
> > *An African capital city that promotes excellence*
> >
> > *South African's capital city with an active citizenry"* (Tshwane.gov.za).

The city is implementing massive projects to try and qualify as a technological-organizational city by 2055. The website provides very little information for visitors and remains very incomplete.

Pretoria's TripAdvisor webpage shows that this capital city is considerably less creative than the other Cape Town. The page seems to focus (pictures-wise) on the white South African heritage, from the city hall, statues of white South Africans, canons and the Voortrekker Monument; the page requires a massive change to get rid of its stereotype of being the last Afrikaner outpost. The northern most capital has a tiny fraction of the reviews that its southern popular counterpart has. For instance its 69 hotels have only 6809 reviews, it only has 19 holiday rental accommodations with 13 reviews (less than the amount of places!), 101 'things to do' with 3696 reviews, 9808 reviews for its 444 restaurants and a mere 137 posts in the forum. These are dismal numbers

considering that Pretoria is a capital city trying to be recognised as being a creative city.

TripAdvisor sees Pretoria as:

> *"a vision of purple, thanks to its plethora of blossoming trees that gave the South African metropolis its nickname: Jacaranda City. Give in to the animal magnetism of the National Zoological Gardens of South Africa, then get up close and personal with the big, bad kitties of the Cheetah Research and Breeding Centre. The buildings of Pretoria reflect diverse architectural styles and influences, creating a unique urban landscape"* (tripadvisor.com).

The views of TripAdvisor about Pretoria seems forced yet emphasise the importance of the National Zoological Gardens, the only national zoo in the country, the jacarandas for which the city is known and the diverse architecture. The architecture at the University of Pretoria alone is already very vast and spans many different styles. Architects such as Sir Herbert Baker and his students as well as his major competitor Gerhard Moerdijk and the eccentric Brian Sandrock all gained fame in Pretoria. Like Nijmegen, Pretoria does not have much to offer on the forums page of TripAdvisor.

4.2.2.4 Conclusions about Pretoria

Pretoria's image and branding requires a lot of work as it has a strong link to apartheid and rural small mindedness yet with projects such as "Cool Capital" and "Tshwane Vision 2055" the city could become a potentially creative city, challenging the dominance of Cape Town, Johannesburg and even Durban. According to Hospers' points Pretoria could be considered as a cultural-intellectual city, with its huge student population (over 50 000 students at the University of Pretoria alone) that have worked together with older members of society to start such programmes as "Cool Capital", starting a "creative revolution" (Hospers 2003: 262-263). Pretoria is also an emerging technological-organizational city due to projects such as the Gautrain and new Gautrain Bus Routes that should be marketed more to break the public's dependence on private transport and build trust between the public and

public transport. Tshwane.gov.za also states that they are working to provide free WiFi, better electricity supply and water supply, which is difficult due to the monopoly that ESKOM has on the electricity market and the arid climate of the region. In time, Pretoria could become more creative as the projects become stronger and more of the creative class flock from around the country and the continent towards this father city.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we have looked at the elements and the qualities that, according to some researchers such as Hospers, Landry, Florida and so on, make a creative city possible. This thesis has explored branding and how to create a successful image. The attributes of a city are similar to those of a company and even an individual. By giving a city, the qualities of a person it takes on a life of its own. By organising and branding a city as a company, where all the inhabitants are seen as employees that have to maintain the brand cities can reap from these branding and image lessons that use to be applied to organisations.

By using four cities, two that are established, recognised, creative cities and two that are trying to achieve that title this research has shown that branding and image building are an integral part of being recognised as a creative city and thus that title can be used in further branding efforts. The latter two cities lack some of the finer points of being considered as creative cities, despite having the cultural provisions to be regarded as creative cities. These emerging cities have almost as many of the provisions as the established cities. However, their rural background or their past that is not founded upon the glory days of the Dutch Golden Age haunts them. Nijmegen was known as being home to "the ugliest place in the Netherlands" as well as for being the oldest city in the Netherlands and its important role in the Liberation of Europe in World War 2. Is there enough space in the heritage of Nijmegen to add such a modern term as "creative city" to its description? Nijmegen has the potential and the provisions (including its history) to build upon and use to its advantage. Pretoria is known merely as the boring counter capital of Cape Town, often regarded as one of the last outposts of apartheid despite the mass integration and new places emerging constantly. "Snor City" is such an engrained part of Pretoria's image that the title of "Cool Capital" often seems like an impossible dream. The potential is there and with more intitatives the pieces might just fall in place and allow for this post-colonial city, steeped in history to benefit more than once a year while alien trees bloom. The Jacarandas, despite causing havoc with water in an already arid region are protected. This is because they are iconic representations of this city. Pretoria has

many challenges when dealing with conflicting images and ethics in terms of protection and how it is viewed domestically and internationally. TripAdvisor and the availability of blogs about each city show that an online image is strong when the reviews and posts in the forum are high. These numbers are usually higher when there are vast amounts of cultural provisions available, such as in Cape Town and Amsterdam. Nijmegen and Pretoria do not have this wealth and gradually they might be able to achieve it. Keeping in mind that to Barthes a website like TripAdvisor would be intertextual. Since it allows multiple texts (such as forum posts) to be connected, this allows the user to be exposed to numerous sources of information. Of these, some would not be written for social, economic or political reasons but just for the sake of being written as Bourdieu had claimed of *Madame Bovary*. Blogs and unofficial websites should be treated as texts as they hold very little weight compared to official websites that could be considered as 'works' due to the information being standardised. Below is a table that compares the figures of these texts on TripAdvisor:

<u>Comparing the TripAdvisor Figures of the Case Study Cities</u>

	Cape Town	**Amsterdam**	**Nijmegen**	**Pretoria**
Hotels	105 hotels 60815 reviews	355 hotels 253721 reviews	11 hotels 1441 reviews	69 hotels 6809 reviews
Holiday Rental Accommodation	317 rentals 695 reviews	1602 rentals 4341 reviews	5 rentals 3 reviews	19 rentals 13 reviews
Things to Do	564 things to do 54456 reviews	1072 things to do 198847 reviews	30 things to do 675 reviews	101 things to do 3696 reviews
Restaurants	1050 restaurants 63167 reviews	2867 restaurants 206666 reviews	195 restaurants 3736 reviews	444 restaurants 9808 reviews
Forum	7751 posts	28051 posts	57 posts	137 posts
Total	187 075	692047	5915	20472

This table shows a comparison between the four cities. Amsterdam ranks the highest (500000 posts more than Cape Town) this could be because of the availability of Internet in the city and the popularity that the city has with young, active online users. Nijmegen ranks the lowest of the four with a fourth of the posts of Pretoria. This is hard to explain because Internet is accessible and there is a large percentile of youths in the city.

Branding and images, be it online or not, should be seen in Foucaultian terms who saw that "material changes cannot be used to explain changes in subjectivity" (Foucault in During 2007: 164). This means that in many case changes in the physical realm cannot change the image that an individual has. Branding tries its best to change that individual's image. The users as well as authors online, branding and even the creative class are like what Edward Said stated about reification, which is: "the way in which human relations become objectified and humans tend to be treated as things under the pressures of capitalism" (Said in During 2007: 241). The Internet and cultural provisions are as Said's nation, which was behind "Adorno and Horkheimer's, account the fate of culture once it becomes commodified" (During 2007: 241). As commodification of cultural provisions grow the need for creative cities grow in order to make them attractive in capitalist systems. The Internet too is a victim of this commodification and blogs and other websites are tools that help see the image of a city as attractive and a commodity. De Certeau claimed that "the walker individuates and makes ambiguous the 'legible' order given to cities by planners, a little like waking life is displaced and ambiguated by dreaming" (De Certeau in During 2007: 156). If planners are the bloggers and authors and users are the walkers then the users are individuals that make sense or see what the bloggers and authors wanted them to see. The user's opinion could be shaped by what they had read online or they could challenge that image they had. This can make them disappointed or pleased if it is different depending on whether or not they were expecting something either positive or negative because of what they had read. De Certeau thus could see that those who had been influenced by what they had read or those who were reading the city's image online could be considered voyeurs (seeing the

whole but not experiencing). The walker is the one experiencing, the one that is in the city's grasp making sense of what they see after having read the image online (De Cereau in During 2007: 156). De Certeau's essay is utopian and it sees the 'everyday' as different to the official "in the same way that poetry is other to a planning manual". Therefore, a walker or flaneur (to Walter Benjamin) would experience the 'everyday' compared to someone behind a screen that would experience the official but not the actual (De Certeau in During 2007: 156). Branding and the online images presented to the user would be the "planning manual" compared to the user that has decided to participate and take part in the actual "poetry" of the image's reality. Some bloggers are distant from reality, have a negative, or altered view of the city they are blogging about online. This could be because, as Lefebvre put it they have: "contempt for modern life and desire for emancipation from it and their will to find emancipatory moments within the forms of life that they see as empty and reducing the meaning of existence" (Lefebvre in During 2007 148). The blogger could have contempt but should rather be like the user and seek out the new and the positive experiences that the real world has. The public spheres of the internet and the real world link in with what Nancy Fraser believes that there: "never was, never should be just one 'public sphere' but rather a number of public spheres" (Fraser in During 2007: 488). She continues by saying that several things are at stake: "not just discourse exchange but how stratified such publics should be, how closely each is tied to the institutions of decision making". This statement could be used to allow the spheres of the internet and reality to each other, they are stratified levels of exchange one higher than the other but still equal. For instance a blog or website inspires a trip but a trip can inspire a blog or website thus adding to the brand of that place, continuing the cycle of exchange. This echoes Hall's communication cycle as well as Jodi Dean's sphere of democracy and Barthes' texts (as blogs and unofficial websites), intertextuals (such as TripAdvisor) and works (in the form of official websites). Bourdieu's field of power and class is evident online and within the different factions of online image constructions. Dolak's suggestions of branding did not take into these accounts of online nonofficial branding mechanisms. Yet, provides readers with an understanding of the branding world.

Therefore, the answers to the main questions of this thesis are:

What role does online media play on how a city is portrayed, especially in the context of a creative city?

The Internet or online media such as websites and blogs plays an important role in how cities are portrayed. In the online age, the first point of access to information is the Internet and in an age where information is wanted quickly; usually the top sites that are visited, this leaves other websites to become redundant. Websites such as TripAdvisor allow users to check what activities there are to do before even visiting a city. The more options that are available the more likely it will be that those cities will be popular (such as Cape Town and Amsterdam show in the table above). Cities with fewer options have less visitors, which leaves fewer reviews and less growth over all and this can stunt a city's growth in future. Depending on the demographics of a cities target market and the access to Internet the more likely reviews are bound to appear online. In future, more research could be done by analysing Facebook likes and Twitter followers and reviews on social networks.

Does the Internet aid in the determination of a city as a creative city?

These spheres do not interact that much. Yes, the creative class might be attracted to a city by seeing its projects online but the actual online brand does not necessarily attract them. The creative class could identify that a city has certain creative qualities or cultural provisions that make it attractive to them from online sources but until a visit is established there is no guarantee that they would resettle. This is also the case with Cape Town and Amsterdam; they appear attractive, with their iconic symbols and imagery, their numerous cultural provisions and a certain buzz that draws the creative individuals to them. The websites of Pretoria and Nijmegen lack those qualities (apart from Cool Capital) and only have minimal places with the buzz that creatives crave.

Does the title of "creative city" impact the tourist decision-making process (this applies to investors as well)? The short answer is yes. The titles of World Design Capital for Cape Town and the Start Up Capital title of Amsterdam have definitely seen these

cities grow to a certain extent in their popularity and investments. It is for this reason that Pretoria has the Cool Capital Project and Tshwane 2055, and Nijmegen has Cultuurstad. Yet, this is not always the case as the Creative Cities Index by Charles Landry has shown. Corruption from within and intensified competition has led to the misuse of the title and misuse of funds. Problems like these are detrimental to the future of creative cities as a title and a turn back to titles such as World Design Capital and so on is common, even though they are still the same thing but of a different name. Tourists and investors do decide on visiting a city in order to experience that buzz, to be part of the creative atmosphere and surround themselves by the creative class. Investors know that the future of capitalism lies within a strong knowledge based economy and these creative cities are the perfect place to do that. This is why individuals decide to build start-ups and bigger companies decide to relocate closer to Amsterdam and Cape Town.

Is the term "creative city" a critical tool in city branding? The term itself is not a critical tool but the variety of cultural provisions, the atmosphere and Internet access are without a doubt the most important tools of city branding. A successful city brand shows the variety of choice, has numerous links to potential activities for all sorts of people. Amsterdam, being the most successful of the examples provided has a large number of reviews and posts because it has so many provisions, from coffeeshops to cafes and museums, it caters for every taste and need. Nijmegen, which has the least has a miniscule fraction of those provisions not for a lack of trying it has a reasonable amount but for its size it is acceptable. The numbers are just very low because of its lack of popularity and lack of branding.

 Cape Town and Amsterdam have a long history of being the seats of liberal thought and their history stemming from the Dutch Golden Age allows them to reap from the laurels of the past with little effort. However, when observing their online image and branding strategies Cape Town and Amsterdam are well better prepared and more honest than Nijmegen, which tries not very hard to portray itself as creative or a craftsmen city. Pretoria is always deemed as the Jacaranda city on every site, yet these flowering trees only flower for a month and leave many visitors in the other 11

months disappointed. Therefore, established creative cities present themselves more honestly online and use positive image building and branding strategies to create a realistic expectation of them compared to emerging creative cities. This results in established cities being regarded more highly by investors, visitors and even inhabitants when compared to the aspiring cities that half-heartedly try to push themselves as being creative. The projects that cities such as Nijmegen and Pretoria have implemented allow for the gradual move into the realm of being considered as being creative cities. The implementation of such projects would use local talent and create a more attractive city for other members of the creative class that would thus want to relocate to them and add to the knowledge economy. After having completed these projects, the city would require a proper branding strategy that is realistic and supports the established image of the city. Further, after hosting an international event such as a Fashion Week, an international movie award ceremony or receiving a title such as World Design Capital or being placed on the Creative Cities Index they could be recognised as being a creative city. The potential of every city is only limited by the efforts of the inhabitants and the local government, which should be like a company seeking to ensure that their image and brand name become recognisable and that the standards remain high. South Africa and the Netherlands both have a large population of creative individuals seeking a place to call home and to create the next creative city.

Therefore, it is safe to say that branding plays an important role in the image of being perceived as a creative city. The term creative city adds to the image of the city, in turn, this too becomes part of the branding and the cycle continues. The title creative city continues to be attractive to cities, the creative class, investors, inhabitants, tourists and academics alike. As the term continues to grow in popularity, it is safe to say that more research should be done on the topic. This is greatly needed yet difficult to do as the whole subject is not set in stone.

Ending where we began, Charles Dickens (1859: 160) said: "*I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from the abyss…*", which is what all cities that want to be

deemed as creative wish to do. To rise up out of the abyss of a stagnant economy and into a thriving cultural, knowledge economy where all of its inhabitants can beautify and contribute to the tangible and intangible aesthetic as well as the atmosphere of their city.

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