

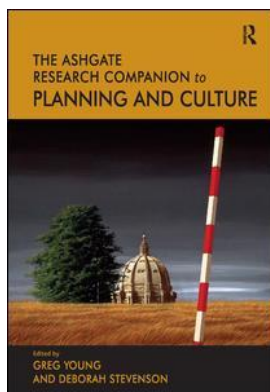
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The Reinvention of Place: Complexities and Diversities

Torill Nyseth

Introduction

This chapter relates to the discourse on reinvention that is affecting most cities or towns these days. In the postmodern, global society it has become more important than ever for places to be attractive to newcomers, investors and tourists, but also in the eyes of its own inhabitants. In the global competition between places local actors are fighting to attract industrial investors and offer them the best possible terms to convince them to invest in their specific place. Identity, sense of place and local distinctiveness are key features of the competitive success of places (Murray 2001). This expanding discourse on place branding and selling is addressed in this chapter through a critical and analytical social science perspective. The rationale behind ideas such as place branding and promotion is questioned. While branding is an active strategic and deliberate policy for changing the image of a place, place reinvention is underpinned by more contingent and discrete processes of change. Place reinvention goes beyond place branding and directs attention towards the relationship between symbolic and imaginative change and planned regeneration or place development. In this chapter I will elaborate further on the concept of place reinvention and its dimensions and practices through a theoretical reflection illustrated with examples from the Nordic periphery.

The Rediscovery of Place

Our era has been described as globalized and distinguished by increasing mobilities and forms of 'placelessness' (Augé 1995) and the widely held perception that place has lost power as an identity platform and marker as 'routes' has taken over from 'roots' (Friedman 2002). Yet, at the same time we see a rediscovery of the importance of place. (See also Dovey, Chapter 15, this volume.) Place is, according to Ulrich Beck, being rediscovered in the age of globalization (Beck 2000). Beck insists that 'you cannot even think about globalization without referring to specific locations and places' (2000: 23).

This rediscovery of place is, among other patterns of development, linked to global economic processes and to the diminished role of the welfare state. According to Florida (2002), place is one of those remaining mechanisms that stabilize the postmodern society. He argues that characteristics of economic development, such as a growth in high-tech, knowledge-based and creative content industries clustering within specific places, reveal that 'Place and community are more critical factors than ever before' (Florida 2002: 219). Place is not a victim of globalization that leaves the actors within specific places with no option but to 'adjust' to circumstances (Castree 2003). Rather, places are moments through which the global is constituted, invented, coordinated and produced – they are agents of globalization. Every place is a global space according to Doreen Massey. Contemporary geographers therefore argue that a concept of place fit for our times is one that sees place differences as both cause and effect of place connections. Far from heralding the end of place, the argument is that globalization is coincident with new forms of place differentiation (Massey 2004). Globalization both homogenizes and differentiates; the more linked places become, the more differences endure and are remade (Castree 2003: 176). Gillian Rose argues that 'the specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long internalized history, there are a number of sources of this specificity – the uniqueness of place' (Rose 1995). Places are in this sense 'individualized', left on their own to survive in the global competition (Harvey 1989). Massey argues that places are open, fluid and dynamic. Places never reach a position of completion; they are always an ongoing affair, always in the making (Massey 1994).

This also affects how we understand place identity. As we recognize that people have multiple identities, then the same can be said in relation to places; places do not have single, unique identities; they are full of internal conflicts (Massey 1994). Increasing flows of ideas, commodities, information and people are constantly challenging senses of place and identity which perceive themselves as stable and fixed (Rose 1995). Places therefore have multiple identities (Holloway and Hubbard 2001) and they are continuously changing.

Place identity is also contested and linked to power. The recognition of multiple flows, identities and interests implies that what is valued about a place is always contestable. This *dynamic and relational perception of place*, that place not only is geographical in a material essential sense, but must be understood as dynamically and relationally constructed, is particularly relevant in my understanding of place reinvention. A place then is a never-ending story; always in the making. The change of 'place image' or 'place identity' is linked to such place reinvention in various forms. An image may represent flexibility and many different frames of interpretation that can express clarity and distinctness at the same time (Vik and Villa 2008). Understanding the way places are told and read, constructed and de-constructed is complex (Jensen 2007: 233).

Place Promotion and its Limits

A standard approach to place transformation in postmodern society is through some form of place marketing. The meaning and importance of self-presentation and place promotion is intertwined with the increased significance of experience, entertainment

and a new economy, based on economic and political regionalization. These factors are increasingly evolving through the construction of regional or local identities. Hence, place branding more specifically might be seen in relation to the growth of culture and experience-based industries and their dependence on a symbolic significance of place (Jensen 2007). The development of place promotion as a competitive advantage is also related to a highly mobile and global society. Overall globalization processes consist of apparently paradoxical trends, both the homogenization of cultures, and new forms of place differentiation mechanisms that support place uniqueness. Place promotion occurs in this area of tension. Place branding and place marketing have become central aspects in the practices of both local and regional development. Small places as well as cities, regions and nations make diverse efforts to be interpreted as attractive future arenas for finance, business, housing and tourism as well as public institutions (Anholt 2007, Hall and Hubbard 1998).

Analytically we may distinguish between at least three quite different strategies that place promotion could be linked to:

- place marketing strategies (boosterism).
- place making and place management.
- place reinvention.

While the first strategy represents the entrepreneurial and place-as-commodity-oriented form, in the second understanding, place branding is treated as a form of place making and place management (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005). The third strategy, place reinvention relates to a more complex and broader understanding of place transformation (Nyseth and Viken 2009), and therefore, as will be argued later, is potentially more inclusive than in the first case. Place reinvention goes beyond place branding and may involve both economic and symbolic transformations constituting a changed sense of place. Place reinvention is less strategic, a more analytical approach that tries to understand how different processes are linked together in place transformations. In place branding, all these strategies could be performed, either in combination, or with an emphasis on only one of them.

Place Marketing

Place marketing is the use of publicity and marketing to relate selective images of specific localities targeted at specific populations (Gold and Ward 1994). Place marketing is primarily an outward-oriented activity, but it is also a matter of generating local pride, identity, self-confidence and counteracting negative perceptions (Bramwell and Rawding 1996). The practice of selling and promoting place is tightly linked to entrepreneurial strategies. As Brenner and Theodore (2002) point out, it is a part of the true neo-liberal vision that a place should be branded and marketed. In the marketing literature for instance expressed by Philip Kotler et al.: 'places are, indeed, products, whose identities and values must be designed and marketed' (1993: 11). Symbolic expressions of place identity are communicated through campaigns and other marketing tools in order to be competitive, and to be competitive they have to present themselves as unique. Branding means narrowing down a place's identity into fancy

logos and slogans – it is selective story-telling (Sandercock 2003), a form of collective impression management which may not be in tune with local collective identifications. Product marketing deconstructs identity, whereas in place marketing, the identity is the product, which cannot be broken down easily into simplistic elements. This stands in deep contrast to the view of place as an extremely complex and multi-faceted concept, not easily reducible, represented or reflected through traditional marketing practice (Murray 2001: 8). It is as if marketing and promotion are disconnected from development, regeneration and renewal processes that are energizing many localities – the overall ‘place-development’ (Murray 2001). Places are packaged and sold as a commodity (Murray 2001, Ward 1998). Place marketing and place promotion has therefore been labelled the carnival mask of late capitalist urbanization (Hall and Hubbard 1998).

In order to create a more attractive place image, social and cultural meanings are selectively appropriated and conflicts are played down. Place images tend to be characterized by simplification, stereotyping and labelling (Shields 1991: 47). Branding places is a way of inscribing a certain logic in space – both symbolically through logos, slogans and so on, and materially through the construction of buildings, infrastructure and landmarks. Place branding activities are based on an understanding of demand patterns and images of place consumers, and on identifying the position of the place in the view of competitors. As with place myths, the branding process is a process of creating an evocative narrative with a spatial referent through selective narration – the act of representing the place in a favourable light (Ward 1998: 1). Place marketing is, according to Kearns and Philo (1993), characterized by making use of ‘imageneering’ concepts or symbols to construct competitive place images. Place marketing involves quite specific interpretations of what the symbolic attributes of a place are, and implies a symbolic communication of these interpretations. Such symbolic communication is not only directed towards the target group of an external market, it also demonstrates locally how ‘our place’ should be understood. ‘Place marketing has become much more than merely selling the area ... it can be viewed as a fundamental part of guiding the development of places in a desired fashion’ (Fretter 1993: 165).

Place promotion and city branding initiatives are often based on strong local actors, and the exclusion of ordinary citizens. Exclusion is not only a result of formal power relations, institutional cleavages or differences in social capital, but also results from differences in knowledge and culture (education, professional discourses, identity, codes of conduct and so on). Different forms of cultural capital are activated in the reimagining of a place, and played out and structured in place promotion processes. Place promotion in the form of branding asks everyone to speak with one, coordinated voice, a common language to express the brand’s identity, a shared commitment to the brand’s promise (van Ham 2002: 266). According to the critics, place promotion reduces the complexity involved in local stories and does not justify the richness and diversity of places and people. As noted in the previous section, there is not one identity in a place, never only one story to tell. The symbolic representations (that is, images) of place involved in branding and re-imaging strategies is a power play, as these representations are often contested. A construction of image is also a construction of identity that tends to be based in favour of the social groups in power (Hall and Hubbard 1998: 28). This raises the question of inclusion and exclusion in official image-building or branding,

and of how such processes relate to the identities of local residents. (See also, Stevenson, Chapter 9, this volume.)

If, however, such projects encourage local participation and are embedded in collective strategies, they might stimulate increased engagement locally, create enthusiasm and improve the place attractiveness for locals and outsiders. Such projects may in other words contribute to turning around or slowing down a negative spiral of economic and social development.

Place Making

In the second form of place promotion – ‘place making’ and ‘place management’ – strategies have moved from the most simplistic advertising campaigns and ‘boosterism’ towards more comprehensive strategies (Moor 2007). Attempts to construct a new place image here are not limited to advertising campaigns alone but often linked to other strategies, for instance the fabrication of a new urban landscape, flagship projects, mega-events and other cultural attractions (Healey 2010, Hubbard 1996). Also, programmes of economic development are coming to be driven more and more by image-enhancing initiatives (Hall and Hubbard 1998). It is possible to identify a transition from a more disembedded promotion practice towards a toolbox of planning instruments based on a broader understanding of places (Kavaratzis 2004, Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005). Celebrating diversity is, for instance, present in urban branding profiles, particularly in multicultural contexts (Johansson and Cornebise 2010). A brand could also be a designation of heritage, and as such anchored in local history and identity, and to ‘authenticity’ (Knudsen and Waade 2010, Skogheim and Vestby 2010, see also Ashworth, Chapter 11, this volume).

Place promotion of this second type is more anchored in local identity and a more complex understanding of place. Promotion activities, however, need to find ways to open up awareness of diverse conceptions of place and to work out what is broadly shared and where deep conflicts lie (Healey 2010). Place promotion is more than ‘fine words’ and should be more closely linked to place making and place development. Stephen Ward invites us to a much broader understanding: ‘Yet marketing, narrowly defined, is not enough. Behind the fine words and images there has to be at least some physical reality of buildings, public spaces and activities that give some genuine promise of a re-invented city’ (Ward 1998: 193). This leads us to the third form – place reinvention.

Place Reinvention: Bridging the Gap Between Place Promotion and Place Development

Place reinvention invites a radically different approach, from seeing places merely as products or destinations to be promoted, towards a practice which views places (metaphorically) as living, breathing, cultural entities. In this perspective we move away from marketing as a decoupled project that is not linked to anything else, towards a more integrated approach that links place marketing to place development, urban renewal, community development and urban planning. The symbiotic relationship

between people and place is a point of departure; places are shaped and made by people's actions and by their perceptions. At the core of the identity of place are local people as well as businesses, facilities and local landscapes. Without the involvement of their knowledge, concern and imagination, place marketing will be unable to move away from fictitious stereotyping towards a more diverse set of messages about places. Place reinvention switches and broadens the perspective on place development and place promotion towards underlying processes of identity transformation and a sense of place that is always at stake. Place reinvention addresses the numerous ways places are being produced and reproduced. Such strategies direct attention towards the relationship between symbolic and imaginative change and planned regeneration. Place reinvention relates to the transformations resulting from the interplay between actors such as industries, authorities and the public, between projects of construction, promotion and consumption, and processes related to information, identity and imagery. Place reinvention involves a complex dialectic between material space and discursive representation, and the complexity involved in place transformation which the branding literature seems to ignore or simplify.

Place reinvention relates to both economic and symbolic transformations constituting a changed sense of place; for instance changes in the place's industrial base are accompanied by changes in how the place is represented. The term 'reinvention' indicates that something has to be recreated, renewed or redefined, indicating that something else is left behind or forgotten. Place reinvention is a concept that focuses both on inventions and interventions as vehicles for change (Robinson 2006: 251). Inventions are the more continuous changes going on all the time, while interventions are linked to those more direct, planned and intentional processes attempting to achieve change.

Places change for a number of reasons and often as a necessity; industries and businesses adapt to changing circumstances to survive, and authorities urge change to keep up employment and settlement patterns. Over the years the character of most places change, some radically, others more modestly. Some processes change the *raison d'être* of a place or its *genius loci* as for instance with changes to a town or region's industrial basis or nature. Other processes are more related to changed landscapes and townscapes although often these two processes merge with changes due to shifts in their industrial bases. Changes in the modes of production followed by an ongoing restructuring of the local economy may lead to changes in place identities and place images. Place reinvention links place making to both material and symbolic processes of change, and to the discourses and narratives that are associated with place images. Material and symbolic production of place are intimately linked and not two different processes. Materiality as landscapes and industrial base, and their representations, are tied together in the construction of narratives that create activities and reinvent places. Changes in the mode of production followed by an ongoing restructuring of the local economy may lead to changes in place identities and images; the symbolic representation of a place.

The symbolic production of place is not only obvious in place promotion and the selling of place, but also physical regeneration and the construction of flagship projects of particular architectural value can be powerful symbolic representations of place (Hubbard 1996). (See also Paddison, Chapter 18, this volume.) Re-imaging processes then involve physical reconstructions as well as semiotic work. Even more important than semiotic changes, are shifts related to narratives and discourses. Through

symbolic expressions, places also communicate their identity (Kearns and Philo 1993), an important aspect in their struggle to be attractive. The idea of a 'cultured' economy lays the ground for the semiotic focus in efforts to develop place. Signs, images and symbols of place are carrying place-specific cultural values, and must be understood as cultural expressions. Through the construction of symbolic boundaries global flows allow people to construct their 'locality' in a range of ways (Appadurai 1990).

Reinvention of places is both haphazard and a matter of intention; it is both planned and something that just happens as a more or less unintended consequence of other ongoing processes. Thus, new place images are not only the results of strategic development processes aimed at profiling and promoting place, but also products of people's everyday life. Thus, reinvention takes place in the encounters between different types of actors; it is relational, dealing with the complex and multi-layered identities of place. But place reinvention is also guided by traditions, norms and values. And at the same time, different actors tell different stories about the same place.

Inventions are not only labels that fit the larger cities. Even places in the rural periphery can be defined as experimental, innovative, open, fluid and dynamic places concerned with re-imaging in order to adapt to a new global context. This is well illustrated in the example of the Norwegian town of Narvik. I draw on the content of Granås (2009) as a case study illustrating the dynamics of place marketing within place reinvention.

Dynamics of Place Marketing within Place Reinvention

Narvik's ice-free harbour led in 1905 to the construction of a 42km railway track for the transport of iron ore from Kiruna in Sweden via Narvik for further transportation on ships. Since then, the transportation of iron ore has been the main industry of the town. The recent history of this town located in mid-northern Norway tells a story of how a place image as an industrial place has been broken down and a more heterogeneous economy is taking over. A recession started around 1980 leading to a massive drop in employment in the railway industry and related industries. When the recession led to the phasing out in the 1990s of traditional industries, more professionalized marketing processes were introduced by actors within a new governance regime of the town, focusing on the uniqueness of the place. In the Narvik Brand, 'a city of extreme experiences', the town is presented as unique, based on perceptions of 'spectacular' nature and an emphasis of how this nature is suited modern lifestyles. According to Granås: 'The marketing of Narvik has, in a remarkable way, given the "wild north" a twist that turns its meaning away from an epithet and towards something very modern and widely appreciated' (Granås 2009: 121). The exoticism of nature is fully displayed through strong illustrations and textual descriptions. The 'spectacular' is directly connected to the lifestyle of extreme sports and hence something very modern and 'civilized'. The extreme sports culture is a global one, displayed through international TV channels, internet sites and icons, for example, snowboarding stars. The modern is only one symbolic aspect of the anti-periphery statements made here. Another is that of a playful, speedy, powerful and dangerous nature-based excitement. These are representations that confront the periphery as relaxing, dull and quiet. In this case,

place marketing relates to an enduring political struggle against the political and cultural marginalization of a northern town. The place marketing initiatives in Narvik have contributed to the reassertion of the cultural dignity of inhabitants, including their identities as northerners and proud inhabitants of a town that 'still is modern' (Granås 2009).

The case also illustrates that strategic place promotion includes power constellations as marketing representations also reflect interest management among local actors. Place promotion 'also involve[s] the promotion of meaning categories that are embodied with power and have homogenizing effects on place discourses, where some voices are silenced and others are emphasized' (Granås 2009: 123). It is within this terrain of intentional and strategic place reinvention that place marketing operates. But the task of place marketing is not only that of selling the place; it includes imprinting on identity formations in a wider sense; to sell a place is also to be involved in the formation of the product that is put on the market.

Reinvention of place may also involve renegotiation of local identities. This is illustrated, below, through a discussion of place reinvention and cultural celebration of indigenuity, which draws on the work of Pedersen and Viken (2009).

Place Reinvention through the Cultural Celebration of Indigenuity

In the 1990s the indigenous perspective was seriously put on the international agenda and in Norway, Sami self-governance was institutionalized through the establishment of the Sami Parliament (Minde 2005). At the same time it became increasingly accepted that northern Norway was a multicultural society and that this was something to celebrate and not suppress as had been the case in the 1960s and 1970s. The process from suppression to celebration is well illustrated by the Riddu Riđđu in Gáivuotna (Kåfjord), a yearly indigenous music and art festival. This small community located in the county of Troms in northern Norway, with a population of not more than 2,200, appeared in the early 1980s as a mono-ethnic Norwegian municipality, and an introverted and moderately developed community. In 2008 the same municipality was marketed as a multi-ethnic, outward-oriented and modern place, and the municipality has become a model for how a minority culture can be reinvented (Pedersen and Viken 2009). Thus, the image of Gáivuotna changed greatly over a 15-year period. There are many reasons for this change, one of the most important being the decision to join the Sami Language Act in 1992 and the profiling of Sami heritage (Nyseth and Pedersen 2005).

However, from the middle of the 1990s the ethnic music festival Riddu Riđđu stands out as the most important development initiative concerning the regained position of ethnic minorities. Festivals are accepted as arenas for social and cultural innovation and Riddu Riđđu has been an arena for experimenting with ethnic emblems and expressions. The festival has developed into an international indigenous festival with 3,000–4,000 participants at this annual gathering of indigenous people in the circumpolar areas. Few festivals become societal institutions to the extent Riddu Riđđu has achieved.

Emerging within a particular historical setting, the festival was created in a period of economic crisis which, in retrospect, gave rise to the revitalization and modernization of coastal Sami culture. Behind the entrepreneurial beginnings of the festival was a group of well-educated and politically conscious young people. The name of the festival means 'storm from the coast', which describes well the character of the festival in the 1990s. Indeed, the message of the festival, its form and the social behaviour of those attending it provoked the local community, particularly the Leastadians, members of a religious sect with a strong position in the municipality.

The festival has also provided a space for identity negotiations. Riddu Riđđu has made visible a coastal Sami identity as something separate and different from the inland Sami identity. Two points are important in this respect: one, the festival revitalized coastal Sami traditions within a number of life spheres: traditions which many thought were Norwegian; and two, it had an innovative and modernizing effect, opening a space for different forms of art (music, dance, theatre, movies) and for other indigenous peoples' cultural expressions. But at the same time Riddu Riđđu brought ethnic antagonisms to the surface. In the 1980s Gáivuotna was about to become a fully accepted Norwegian community (Viken 2008), though based on suppression and historical rejection. The festival, however, cleared the air. Today, there are vital ethnic differences, but people have learned to live with them, and the either/or identities have changed to multiple identities; people are both Sami and Norwegians, or Kvens¹ and Norwegians. Moreover, the festival has been integrative by unveiling people's ethnicities. Today, people are open about their ethnic roots and priorities. The generation which is growing up in Gáivuotna today is not ashamed of being of Sami descent, but regards such an association with pride. They are a part of Gáivuotna, but they are also a part of the indigenous people of the world. The municipality's multi-ethnic status is accepted. In fact, in everyday life ethnicity is not a problem but a foundation for a vital community.

The innovative aspects of the Riddu Riđđu festival are overwhelming, building networks all over the region as well as outside the circumpolar world. Riddu Riđđu is also an example of political innovation. In political rhetoric Riddu Riđđu became a prime example of how the resources in a multi-ethnic environment can be mobilized, and a model for how ethnicity can be used and converted into cultural, industrial, societal and political development. Gáivuotna today understands and promotes itself as a multi-ethnic, extroverted and modern place (Pedersen and Viken 2009). The branding and marketing of the municipality is based on its Sami origins. What the municipality is selling is an ethnic-based cultural property, their Coastal Sami identity (Nyseth and Pedersen 2005).

Summing Up

Place reinvention has in this chapter been used to capture how places change meaning as a consequence of continuous and strategic processes of place making and identity

¹ Kvens are people of Finnish heritage, immigrating to northern Norway from Finland in the 1800 and onwards.

building. Place reinvention directs attention towards the relationship between symbolic and imaginative changes, and the planned regeneration or place making initiatives. Place reinvention is a concept that perhaps can only be addressed at a very abstract and aggregated level. At the same time, it involves processes that are very concrete, physical and material in the sense that places actually are being changed through these processes. Places are reinvented through continued practices. Making places attractive to investors, as well as inhabitants, newcomers and tourists, depends on traditional economic systems and market trends, but is also influenced by discourses and meta-narratives, for instance discourses concerning alternative economies, symbolic aspects of place, and place branding discourse. Fishing villages in the northern part of Norway for instance are not only places where people make a living out of fishing – increasingly such places have become integrated in an experience economy, and as a consequence, such places reorient themselves through forms of branding as unique localities for visitors. Where cultural industries are replacing manufacturing industries, for instance tourism, signs and images of place are decisive. (See also O'Connor, Chapter 10, this volume.) The cultural power to create an image may become more important as traditional institutions have become less relevant mechanisms for expressing identity (Zukin 1995).

The forces that drive place reinvention then are numerous. Some of them are related to economic crises in the local economy. At a more profound level, overall changes in the economy, for instance the cultural shift, such as a shift from Fordist mass production and industrial manufacturing towards a cultural economy, are also important. Among the deeper changes are those related to globalization and increased competition expressed, for instance, through different processes such as global tourism at one end of the spectrum, and at the other end the revitalization of local identity. All places are more or less inscribed into the global discourses in their search for uniqueness based on local culture, heritage or nature.

Drivers can also be intentional and strategic, fronting the uniqueness of place, qualities related to, for instance, history, landscape, cultural attributes or industrial life, often in combinations and overlapping each other (Granås 2009). Identity politics implies strategic handling of place meanings that are communicable to inhabitants as well as towards external audiences. Such politics also involve the promotion of meaning categories that are embodied with power and have homogenizing effects on place discourses, where some voices are silenced and others are emphasized. It is within this terrain of intentional and strategic place reinvention that place marketing operates. Place marketing is often framed as an intentional practice instigated to enhance the 'attractiveness' and 'market value' of the place. But the task of place marketing is not only that of selling the place, it includes imprinting on identity formations in a wider sense: to sell a place is also to be involved in the formation of the product that is put on the market (Granås 2009). The complex making of tourist places involves for instance different actors drawing into the product different histories, values and lifestyles where some voices are included and others excluded (Førde 2009). New place images may therefore mobilize and legitimate particular sets of actions or policies (Jessop 1997), and there is a potential for new conflicts produced by place brands (Mommaas 2002). Images are social constructions, and as such never neutral. To produce images is to enact power. The construction, and reconstruction, of places is encapsulated within power relations, and is likely to be negotiated and politically contested (Granås 2009,

Holloway and Hubbard 2001). Place promotion policies have become a mandatory part of economic development policies in even the most remote communities in the north, partly as a consequence of tourism but also to attract new inhabitants from more urban regions of Europe.

By 'place reinvention' I refer to continuous and interwoven material, economic, political, social and cultural processes that transform the profile, image and associations connected to a geographical entity, in the way it is experienced and perceived both by people settled within the area and by people from the outside. The re-production of place image is not historically new. However, the strategic promotion of place that I refer to – by use of images – contains elements of newness, both in its spreading as a practice and the forms it takes.

Place reinvention then is a bridging concept, linking planned, intentional and strategic place development and the symbolic imageneering and promotion of place. Place reinvention not only combines the two, but goes beyond and widens the understanding of place transformation as a process that is related to the overall changes going on, also beyond the economic sphere, involving place perceptions, how people identify with place and how place conceptions are manipulated through place narratives.

Places are products of social and industrial activities, but today place development is also a question of choice, and matters for political negotiations, policy making and planning. The strategic work on place-reinvention is characterized by a conscious construction and development of images related to place. Thus, place development tends to be on the political agenda. Places are where structural development patterns intersect to trigger new regimes. And more than before, places are areas for political interests, negotiation and governance. A renewed focus on place development has emerged in a period with major shifts in the political culture, defining new rules of the game for local governments (Clark 2003). New governance regimes appear as consequences of a break with established ways of understanding politics. A number of different processes are intertwined, many beyond formal systems of 'conductors', for instance in the form of public-private partnerships. In order to strengthen attractive narratives of places, and meet the claims to authenticity and uniqueness, images are the objects of negotiation and strategically communicated (Hankinson 2001). Place governance with a planning orientation involves a complex mixture of political activity, technical expertise and moral sensibility (Healey 2010). Healey argues that deliberate place-development and management work involves mobilizing a particular type of imagination, one that 'sees' the places and spatial interconnections and recognizes the complex dynamics through which we experience place qualities as we and they evolve (Healey 2010: 230). (See also, Young, Chapter 23, this volume.) Within the field of local planning and policy performance there is, however, a lack of knowledge about both the effects and the processes of constructing place images and place promotion, as well as the associated negotiations, power relations and diversity of interests. There is a need to broaden the dominant perspective of place identity and representations of places, to analyse representations as part of the discursive structuring of the processes of local and regional development and policies. Place reinvention evolves through complex interactions between external demands and localized practices, ways of thinking and ways of acting which build up over the years, and broader forces which introduce

new players, new ideas and new forces to be recognized, interpreted, mediated and struggled over.

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