



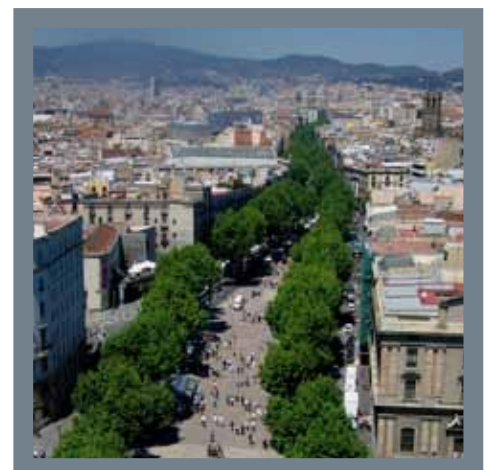
IPM Conference 2008



“Making Places Better, Local Solutions with Global Implications: A Critical Perspective”

Proceedings

Edited by Gareth Roberts



Introduction

Welcome to the Institute of Place Management's inaugural conference, "Making Places Better. Local Solutions with Global Implications: A Critical Perspective." We are delighted to have accepted papers and abstracts from 39 global authors (Europe, USA, Australia, South Africa) as well as local ones here on our doorstep, all offering insights on the theme of making places better.

Our 'Call for Papers' invited contributions under a number of themes and we were very pleased with the resulting submissions. Between them they covered; the changing remit of place management, place competitiveness, place management's impact on people, best practice in place management, stakeholder involvement and international perspectives. We have used these themes to structure the proceedings, which you will find on the CD contained in your delegate pack.

Whilst some of the submissions offer a critical reflection upon the management and development of places, particularly when this is not undertaken in an inclusive and 'reasoned' manner, it is encouraging to note both the academic and practitioner support for the concept of place management (be that management, marketing, regeneration etc.), when it truly engages all stakeholders, fosters strong and sustainable partnerships, encompasses memories of the past (through heritage and architecture) and provokes strong and positive visions for the future. At the same time the submissions demonstrated that place management schemes need to be flexible enough to communicate with a multiplicity of users, all with their own emotionally, conceptual and physically constructed 'ties' to a place.

The papers that are being presented at today's conference show the potential for place management to make improvements, not just on a local scale but, through wider scale adoption of the philosophy, it can start to tackle many global inequalities and problems. Today's conference the culmination of many months of planning and discussion. I am indebted to the Conference Committee who has organised this conference, the IPM's Research Advisory Board, the Association of Town Centre Management, Emerald Publishing Ltd and University of the Arts London. Special thanks should go to Gareth Roberts, who has coordinated all the abstracts and paper submissions, designed the programme and edited the proceedings. Jess McKenna who has designed the artwork and published the conference materials. Helen Anderson who has event managed the conference (and herded many cats in the process). Rob Edwards who has given help on all sorts of things, from copyright to canapes and Dan McGrath who is just so calm and controlled (most of the time). Those who will also be thanked are Matt Davis, Simon Quin, Andres Coca, Danielle Guildford, Salim Jiwa, Polly Larnar as well as all our presenters and session chairs. I am very grateful to you all! Now let's enjoy the day.

Professor Cathy Parker
Conference Chair

For more information on the Institute of Place Management click on the link to our website www.placemanagement.org

Contents

To view abstract/paper click on title

Theme 1 - The Changing Remit of Place Management

- Place Marketing: How did we get here and where are we going? 7
Kavaratzis, M and Ashworth, G
- The first decade. Perspectives, trends and new opportunities in place 22
management in Italy. Since 1998 place and town centre management in
Italy have been following an s-curve growth pattern. Beyond the plateau,
what new challenges lie ahead?
Codato, G and Franco, E
- The local icon: the role of significant buildings in place marketing..... 23
Kirby, A and Kent, A
- Iconic buildings and regeneration: reconstructing industrial heritage, 24
business growth and the social agenda
Trueman, M, Cornelius, N and Foster, C

Theme 2 - Place Competitiveness

- Fissures in the place product: the challenges for marketing management 26
Bennison, D, Medway, D and Warnaby, G
- Place branding in the Spanish wine industry: a supplier-based perspective..... 28
Calderon-Monge, E and Coca-Stefaniak, A

Theme 3 - Place Management's impact on people

- Building trust, manufacturing dissent: can the paternalistic role of local 30
authorities and the transgressive agendas of artists combine in new
partnerships, enabling citizens to reclaim their time and their civic space?
Abbott, A and Hill, J
- A great place to live, work and play: conceptualising place satisfaction in the 31
case of a city's residents
Insch, A and Florek, M

Contents

Why do secondary retail and commercial areas suffer poor local environmental quality? 32

Johnson, B

Neighbourhoods, Christmas lights, and social cohesion..... 33

Millington, S and Edensor, T

Theme 4 - Best practise in Place Management

The city and its canal: producing a place marketing pilot plan for Chester..... 35

Deffner, A and Metaxas, T

The Case Study Methodology in Place Management Research and Practice 36

Kerr, G, Noble, G and Glynn, J

Wine architecture and place management: creating value in “wine places” through experience 49

Virtuani, E and Ricci, C

Measuring the effectiveness of town centre management schemes..... 50

Vout, G

Theme 5 - Stakeholder Involvement

The Orange Principle! A Community of Communities..... 60

Anthony, T and Farrow, J

Stakeholders Choice and Stakes Evaluation in Town Centre Management. Guidelines for Assessment 67

De Nisco, A, Rosario Napolitano, M and Riviezzo, A

Local developments of global proportion: International perspectives on business improvement district stakeholder engagement across networks 76

Ruffin, F. A

Contents

Theme 6 - International Perspectives

The contestation for and management of public places in South African cities..... 79
Fraser, N

Development of town centre management schemes in Poland - opportunities 102
and threats
Lecyk, K, Ługawiak, M and Coca-Stefaniak, A

Strategic planning and place marketing: the italian case..... 104
Rizzi, P and Dioli, I

Urban revitalisation of former 19th century mill towns: the cases of Lodz (Poland) 105
and Manchester (UK)
Radominski, S and Coca-Stefaniak, A

Place management's impact on people: case study of City Akademin 106
(the CityAcademy)
Pia Sandin



Theme 1



The Changing Remit of Place Management

Place Marketing: How did we get here and where are we going?

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Abstract

The place marketing that is so widely practiced today all over the world did not just appear fully formed a few short years ago but has developed over time through discrete phases, which differ not only in their sophistication but also in their approaches and objectives. Place marketing has been shaped by developments within marketing science and cognate disciplines but also by the external historical contexts at various spatial scales that determined its assumptions, goals and priorities. A concordance of a number of approaches to the evolution of place marketing will be attempted and from these conclusions will be drawn about the current assumptions upon which place marketing is based.

Seven issues will then be identified as significant for the future of place marketing, These are: a) the need for a collective understanding and appreciation of place marketing before the marketing effort starts, b) the significance of a wide cooperation and clear role allocation as well as effective coordination of marketing activities, c) the importance of implementing marketing as a process and not undertaking sporadic or fragmented activities, d) the expansion of marketing understanding to fields other than tourism development, e) the need to involve to a much higher degree local communities in the marketing effort and integrate their needs in all phases of the marketing process, f) the widening of current understanding of inter-urban competition, which will open up possibilities to take better advantage of opportunities in the environment and finally, g) the better comprehension of monitoring and evaluating marketing activities as to their results.

Place marketing has a history

The rapid rise in popularity of place marketing over the past decade, at jurisdictional scales ranging from the local and neighbourhood to the national and even continental, to the extent that it has become an acceptable and commonplace activity of place management, may give the impression that this is a recent phenomenon. It is not.

Places have long felt a need to differentiate themselves from each other in order to assert their individuality and distinctive characteristics in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological objectives. The conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically designed place identity and promote it to identified markets, whether external or internal, is almost as old as government itself. The phenomenon of places transferring

marketing knowledge to their own operational needs is not as novel as one might think. As Ashworth and Voogd (1994: 39) describe, “ since Leif Ericson sought new settlers in the 8th century for his newly discovered ‘green’ land, the idea of the deliberate projection of favourable place images to potential customers, investors or residents has been actively pursued.” Thus any consideration of the fundamental geographical idea of sense of place must include the deliberate creation of such senses through place marketing. However, the way it has been used, the instruments available, the active agencies, and the goals pursued have all evolved as a result of three sets of changes. First, changes in the competitive circumstances in which place management agencies operate and consequently their consciousness of these and prioritisation of objectives. Secondly, changes in planning and more widely government philosophies and approaches. Thirdly, and not completely independent of the first two, changes within the theory and practice of marketing science.

A typology of relating places to products

First, we must be clear about how we are relating places to products before we can consider the history of this relationship. The addition of the single adjective ‘place’(or sometimes ‘place’ or ‘geographical’) to the verb ‘marketing’ might seem merely to specify a type of product to which a familiar process will be applied rather than the specification of a distinctly different process. Indeed there are commentators whose academic background and practical experience is in product marketing who tend, understandably, to assume that there is no logical hiatus or practical difficulties in transposing physical and place products. Many of the standard texts (notably those of Kotler and associates, 1993:1999), implicitly share this approach which stems from the standpoint and experience of commercial product marketing in which places are seen as physically extended but otherwise familiar products to which the equally familiar techniques of the marketing process can be applied. However, it is the assumption here that marketing when applied to places, as part of their management in pursuit of collective goals and undertaken by public agencies, is a significantly different form of marketing. A simple dichotomy between commercial product marketing and public sector place marketing as management is not sufficient but is confounded by the inherently distinctive characteristics of places as products.

There are many different ways of relating marketable products to real geographical points on the earth’s surface. These are sometimes confused, not least in the widely used literature. This is particularly unfortunate because these differences reflect quite different operations conducted by different types of producers for widely different objectives and have often evolved quite differently; only some of these are what we understand by the term place marketing.

Geographical nomenclature

This is the identification of a product by the place where it was first produced, popularised or distributed. This is the ‘Champagne phenomenon’ in which a place name not only describes a physical product but also the process whereby it is produced. ‘Harris Tweed’ would be a similar case. Indeed the product and the process are not only named from a specific delimited region of France or island in the Scottish Hebrides; other physically indistinguishable products, produced through the same process but not in the place named, are legally prevented from using the place appellation. Despite the very strong copyrighted link between product and place, this has little to do with place marketing. It is merely a more or less accidental geographical nomenclature. The place makes no contribution to the product beyond identifying it. This is clearly not place marketing, as we understand it, because it is the physical product and not the place that is being marketed; at least in the first instance.

A place becomes only a name for a specific brand or, in other instances, a generic name for a production process, and most are not copyrighted property. The place has no significance other than product identification and neither transfers any place attributes nor may even determine the current locus of production.

Place-product co-marketing

Co-marketing, where two different products are marketed together and become strongly associated in the mind of the consumer (the 'fish and chips' or 'gin and tonic' situation), can occur in a situation where one of these is a place. This is a significantly different use of place nomenclature than 'Champagne' because the objective is to create a joint product by associating characteristics of place and product. The intent is to sell the product with the help of existing or shaped attributes of the place that are assumed to reflect positively upon the product, and adhere to it in the mind of the customer. The text-book example is Swiss watches. Here certain characteristics of the Swiss or of the country Switzerland, in this case such qualities as reliability, fastidiousness and meticulousness, assumed to be widely held by customers, are transferable by association to the physical product to the advantage of that product, which acquires added value and an improved competitive position. This can be a risky undertaking for place associations are multifaceted and there is an implicit assumption that only those associations deemed beneficial to the product will be so transferred and not other attributes that may be much less beneficial. For example it is conceivable that the Swiss may be associated by some with qualities of parsimony, parochialness and creative dullness which would be detrimental to the Swiss watches product, but possibly not in the case of financial services. Quite different products may attempt to utilise different place associations derived from the same place. For instance, the national adjective 'Belgian' is widely used in selling chocolates, beer and lace; it is however unlikely that it is the same place qualities that are being invoked.

The use of place association in such product branding as this also assumes a stability in the perceptions of such qualities, for once the link between product and place has been established it may be very difficult to disestablish should customer perceptions of places and their people change, an occurrence which is historically quite likely. Perceiving the Irish as feckless, if lovable, peasants concerned only for the pleasures of the moment might have been an advantageous link to forge with some agricultural or alcoholic products 50 years ago but this association now sits uneasily with a changed perception of national characteristics, more easily associated with higher order technological or service products.

However, this product, although place co-branding has many of the characteristics and uses some of the techniques of place marketing, is not place marketing as we understand it. The ultimate purpose in almost all 'Swiss watch' cases is selling the physical product and not the place, even if the place and its associations are being promoted to the customer as a means of furthering that objective. The reverse does on occasion occur, that is a place is promoted with the help of physical products that are, or can be, associated in the mind of the customer with health or well-being, in the creation of regional images that can be sold to tourism markets. This is place marketing because the physical product is being used to sell the place rather than the reverse.

Locational marketing

However there are many instances where the product is substantially a location and the geographical locus is what is being sold. Property agents and tourism promoters, amongst others, are clearly and unavoidably selling actual locations. In these cases the typology begins to move away from the place as identifier to the place as product. It is not only a house

or a holiday in a particular location that is being sold but in many respects the location itself. Marketing will often select, modify and manipulate geographical nomenclature to achieve a maximum benefit creating in effect its own geographies. In one sense this is certainly place marketing as we define it here. Places are being treated as marketable commodities and exchanged in markets. However this process, although centrally concerned with places and products, has goals that have more in common with the conventional commercial marketing of physical products than place marketing as a place management instrument.

Place marketing as place management

Finally, place marketing can be treated as an instrument of place management undertaken in pursuit of objectives that relate to the management of the place (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). At its simplest level it is merely the recognition that places exist within competitive markets, even if these are difficult to delimit. Places compete with each other and always have done because there are always alternative places that could be selected for any particular use. However, place marketing not only recognises the existence of competition; it responds by discovering or creating uniqueness in order to improve the competitive position of the place marketed. However it is important not to equate the stimulation of identity, and thus identification, with place marketing. The former is certainly a part, and usually an important initial condition, of the latter; it does not however encompass it. The identification of people with places is more than place marketing and place marketing is more than the creation and promotion of place images as part of place management.

Towards a history of place marketing

A concordance of a number of commentators (including Barke, 1999; Kavartzis 2004) suggests that the practice of place marketing has developed through discrete phases over time; phases that differ in the general approach towards marketing as well as their level of refinement. These can be grouped into three broadly delimited stages. These have not followed a strict timeline, nor was geographical distinctiveness involved. The progress from one stage to the next was more a result of growing understanding and experience of the application of marketing. Also each stage was not superseded by the next but rather coexisted so that at any one time a number of these stages can be found, often even in the same place.

The stage of place promotion

Place 'boosterism' as described in the many historical cases in Gold & Ward, (1994) and Ward (1998) was not a new idea in the nineteenth century but a reaction to the growing competition between places occasioned by the nationalisation and globalisation of markets. There are four notable cases of this all exemplified in detail in Gold and Ward (1994). The necessity for agricultural colonisation in newly settled lands involved both selling the land itself and promoting the first towns to service the new settlements. In fact, "...the settling of the American West was one of the most important ever episodes of place selling" (Ward 1998: 7). Government agencies, railways, land development companies and other agencies made full use of advertising and other promotional devices to draw both farmers and town dwellers to the frontier. Even in countries with a much higher degree of central government planning and direction such as Canada, Australia and even Eastern Cape, South Africa; it was necessary to use marketing techniques to attract the interest of potential settlers. Similarly, in the course of the nineteenth century there was a trend towards urban functional diversity, when greater differentiation of specific urban functions becomes apparent within increasingly mature urban systems. Most widespread was the selling of the tourist resort, with the development of the first mass-leisure societies with access to cheap mobility beginning in Britain but spreading rapidly to continental Europe and North America. The seaside, moun-

tain and health resorts had to create themselves by differentiating themselves from 'normal' places and then sustain themselves in competition with others. Tourism and recreation is not a recent addition to the beneficiaries of place marketing but was present from its inception. Thirdly suburbanisation, powered by much the same economic and social trends as the rise in leisure; led to the residential suburb which had to be invented and then sustained by the marketing of its supposed attractions in relation to both the central place and to competing suburbs. Finally, selling the industrial place "where the emphasis was not so much on place selling or marketing as on promotion, with many incentives to draw industrialists" (Ward 1998, 7). This 'smokestack chasing' was concerned with generating manufacturing jobs through attracting companies with subsidies, the promise of low operating costs and 'amenity', a wide range of housing and educational leisure or cultural advantages over potential rivals. The poaching of factories from other cities was a major element of local job promotion and urban representation centred on low operating costs and availability of subsidies. This was especially a feature of Western European and North American urban and regional government from the industrial depression of the 1930s, however it was not until around 20 years ago that this long practised phenomenon of promotion (largely treated as a synonym for advertising) by public sector place management agencies to attract exogenous investment became a systematically studied activity for public sector management agencies (Burgess, 1982). Far from being still evident, for example, in Central-Eastern European cities (Kotler et al 1999) that found themselves in the midst of sweeping changes in the 1990s and recognised in their lower costs of employment a major competitive advantage against Western European cities. On a global scale as manufacturing has been replaced by services, 'smokestack hunting' has been replaced by 'call centre hunting'. The second generation 'target marketing,' involves the attraction of manufacturing and service jobs in target industries currently enjoying profitable growth. There are still attempts at luring plants from other locations, but the promotion also includes improving the physical infrastructure, vocational training and stressing good public-private cooperation. Representation continues to mention low operating costs but includes the suitability of local community for target industries and the more general notion of good quality of life, with an emphasis on recreational opportunities and the local climate. A recent revival of this trend is also evident, mostly due to the popularity of the creative and cultural industries as engines of tourism growth and wider economic development, significantly influenced by the popular work of Florida (2002) who stressed the importance of a 'creative class' and outlined the conditions for its fostering.

Most recently, selling the post-industrial place has shifted the emphasis in policy priorities to urban regeneration, seeking new sources of wealth to replace those that have gone (Ward 1998). The next generation, 'product development,' contains the objectives and also techniques of earlier policies but includes an emphasis on the 'jobs of the future,' while representation now includes global competitiveness, human and intellectual resources along with low operating costs and quality of life. This type of place marketing application is clearly oriented towards competitive niche thinking and ever more intense public-private partnership as the message becomes more sophisticated and has to include aspects of what can be termed 'quality of life.'

The stage of planning instrument

Marketing evolved, largely in the inter-war period, as an instrument for selling physical products to consumer markets to satisfy the short-term profitability of commercial organisations. Urban planning and management was developed especially in the post-war period as a means of delivering public services by public authorities for long-term collective goals of perceived public interest. A connection between the two would seem therefore to be ostensibly unlikely. Yet just such an association of seemingly disparate activities has been forged, however improbably, and continues to develop. This seeming incongruity must be briefly

explained, described and justified.

The terminology, concepts and to an extent philosophy of marketing was applied to public sector place planning, especially in Western cities, during the course of the 1980s. For a variety of largely unconnected and diverse reasons relating to changes in fashionable political approaches and the onset of disillusionment with the effectiveness of traditional urban planning regulatory instruments, place marketing came of age. Changes in both marketing and planning independently led to a convergence.

The precursors in marketing

Place marketing in planning emerged, or at least was made possible, by a series of conceptual and practical developments within marketing over the past 40 years. In particular three necessary precursors to place marketing were the emergence of 'social marketing', 'non-profit marketing' and 'strategic marketing'.

'Social marketing' is where the objectives are changes in some aspect of social behaviour deemed to have collective benefit and are thus of particular interest to public agencies. Typical of these would be campaigns to save energy, recycle rubbish or influence transport choice. Frequently the objective is little more than to raise an awareness among citizens through providing information that various public services or options exist. In a sense this is just an extension of product marketing for all traditional marketing had always been aimed at influencing customer behaviour, specifically purchase behaviour in favour of the product concerned. The difference with social marketing is only in the type of behaviour being targeted, which is wider and possibly more long-term than the act of purchase. Much marketing undertaken by place management authorities is in practice policy marketing rather than place marketing as defined here. This is a form of social marketing in that the objective is to change attitudes towards a particular policy of the authority. There are many place management policies that require a broad based popular acceptance, if not active support, for their successful implementation.

'Non-profit marketing' is the use of marketing by non-profit organisations, which in itself would seem to be an obvious possibility presenting no particular difficulties. Indeed many governmental, semi-governmental and charitable agencies and institutions are providing goods and services indistinguishable from those of the commercial sector, at least when viewed by the customer. The organisational structure of the enterprise and its internal financial responsibilities may ostensibly matter little, especially where the same product is being produced in much the same way as by private firms. The adoption of marketing techniques by non-profit organisations was thus a short logical step.

Some have drawn a distinction between strategic and tactical place marketing and related the difference to spatial jurisdictional scale with the former being performed by superior levels and the latter being applications at the local level. However, the distinction between strategic and tactical place marketing is not a matter of spatial scale alone. It may be that strategic decisions are more often taken by superior jurisdictions and thus by large units while local management may tend to be more tactical. However, as with strategic planning in general, this is not always or necessarily the case. Admittedly much strategic planning involves radical changes in the direction of policy, which are in turn dependent for their success upon equally radical changes in perceptions of goals and processes. Places in particular often adopt strategic policies in the face of economic or political crisis in an attempt to redirect or refocus awareness and attitudes of outsiders, but more especially insiders. This in its essence lends itself to marketing techniques, not least social marketing designed to create a popular base of support for such changes (Martinelli, 2005). However, place mar-

keting can equally be used to manage tactical detail in the pursuit of wider policy objectives. Whether place marketing is strategic or tactical will depend not on the intrinsic character of the operation but completely on the uses to which it is put.

The precursors in planning

If developments in marketing made it possible, it was changes in the priorities and preoccupations of planning that made place marketing seem desirable to public sector place managers.

Although places have always existed within markets: they compete for resources with other places whether they are aware of it or not. The wider context within which planners operated experienced fundamental shifts in the economic, social and political realities of the developed world in the last few decades, which have been variously titled as post-Fordism, post-industrialism, post-modernism or many other labels; whose content may be vague, but whose indication of an irremediable fracture with the past is clear. Simply, places now operate within a new set of locational advantages and disadvantages and within new competitive arenas, both of which are resultants of the new global economy. Secondly there have been changes in the way society organises itself and particularly the relationship between government and the governed. Thirdly, economic and political change is both a cause and a reflection of changes in the nature of place identity, the way places are viewed and experienced, and thus the expectations that people hold of places and their managers.

Most local policy-makers simply did not question the demand-side of their well intended, expert derived, imposed plans for their jurisdictions. The realisation that intervention to influence these markets is thus not only possible and desirable, but is in fact largely inevitable, took at least a decade to pervade planning offices. Contemporary practice still demonstrates that this can be done deliberately, systematically and coherently or accidentally, haphazardly and randomly. Place marketing practice evolved in parallel with the emergence of entrepreneurial modes of urban governance, and place marketing has been a defining feature of such urban entrepreneurialism. This idea was rooted in the reaction of place administrators to the onset of an 'urban crisis', which was widely perceived as leading to the potential terminal decline of traditional urban economies, with a consequent imperative for economic restructuring which "stimulated the search for new roles for cities and new ways of managing their problems" (Barke 1999, 486).

De-industrialisation, a falling tax base and declining public expenditure (Hannigan, 2003) occurred at a time when the confidence of public sector planners in the efficacy of their existing tool box of techniques was being sharply undermined. The simultaneous crises of the urban economy and confidence in traditional urban management initiated a search for additional or alternative instruments and even approaches. Marketing appeared to many to fit the new 'entrepreneurial' style of local economic development in which places were to be managed in a more businesslike manner, and the practices that have seen local government imbued with characteristics once distinctive to businesses; risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit motivation (Hubbard and Hall 1998).

Although this case for marketing as part of deregulation and even commercialisation of the public sector was wildly overstated by proponents and opponents alike, nevertheless it was increasingly recognised that urban planning cannot be a solely technical exercise, administered by professionals, in a politically disinterested public interest. Governance was becoming more complex and more sensitive and long practised traditional statutory participative planning approaches no longer satisfied either the demands of increasingly disenchanted and disengaged citizens or the requirements of their planners for responsive reaction. Both

representative democracy and the corporatism of formalised interest groups were increasingly viewed as distant and unrepresentative of an increasingly atomised, individualised and non-corporate society. The propagation of varieties of 'stakeholder theory' or 'responsible planning' failed to advance the argument much further, raising the questions 'who?' or 'who to?' and failing to even begin to pose the instrumental question of 'how?'. From this dull realisation that a new approach was required developed the idea of 'communicative planning'.

The stage of corporate brand

Dissatisfaction with the application of place marketing in place management and especially the marketing mix concept, and the charge that in the new economy and society its utility has largely been surpassed; led to attempts to articulate new approaches to marketing that would be more relevant. One of these approaches is the notion of corporate branding and corporate-level marketing, which is a development of traditional product branding, necessitated and, at the same time, enriched by, the rise of other corporate level concepts, such as corporate image, corporate identity and corporate communications. The goal of branding as it has evolved during the last forty years has been to explore ways to add value to the basic product or service and thus create brand preference and loyalty (Knox and Bickerton, 2003). "Corporate brands are fundamentally different from product brands in terms of disciplinary scope and management, they have a multi-stakeholder rather than customer orientation and the traditional marketing framework is inadequate and requires a radical reappraisal" (Balmer and Greyser, 2003: 976). Place brands may be fundamentally different from product brands, but this does not mean that they cannot be treated as corporate brands? There are many similarities between corporate branding and place marketing. Both have multidisciplinary roots, both address multiple groups of stakeholders, both have a high level of intangibility and complexity, both need to take into account social responsibility, both deal with multiple identities and both need a long term development. In these senses, corporate-level marketing does seem to offer a multitude of possibilities for implementing place marketing. In terms of planning concerns and approaches, branding appears to mesh well with such ideas as 'collaborative planning' (Healey, 1997), 'consensus planning' (Woltjer, 2000) and more generally 'communicative planning', which involves will-shaping, identity forming, and consensus creation.

Nevertheless, places are not corporations; they lack clear organisational boundaries and a single strategic centre and the implementation of brand strategy through a network. It is possible to use such tools and to adopt a branding philosophy for managing places; in other words places can learn a lot from more traditional branding applications. However, there is a need to adapt such models for the specific conditions and characteristics of places. It has become clear that places are not products in the traditional meaning of the term; neither are places corporations. These two conclusions simply mean that if we want to apply branding to places, it can only be a distinct form of branding. Therefore, what is needed is to develop a branding framework that applies specifically to places and this is now being attempted.

Retrospect

Table 1 attempts to bring together the above descriptions of the phases of place marketing development in non-chronological order (as this is neither clear nor does it appear to be important). There are stages of evident evolution from the fragmented place promotion of the past two centuries: in practice what was first adopted was the implementation of purely promotional activities, undertaken by several independent actors with an interest in promoting the place (selling what we have). The adoption of marketing alongside other techniques within place management planning in the collective interest was as much a reaction to a crisis of confidence within planning, and perhaps within public service provision in general,

that shifted the attention onto finding out what potential consumers or citizens wished to buy or experience. Finally we arrive at a hopefully more refined and clearly targeted place marketing and branding of the future in which the creation of new forms of representation of places and major concerns over the image of the place emphasise distinctiveness transcending mere advertising. This incorporates signature building and design, personality association and hallmark events into the tool box of the planners, although notably all three of these now widely practised techniques were derived by others with quite different motivation.

Issues for the future

This section identifies and outlines several issues in place marketing and branding that need to be resolved in order to improve the implementation of place marketing so as to increase its contribution to local economic, cultural and social development. Broadly, the issues deal with two types of problems. First, they concern specific difficulties facing place marketing implementation caused by political or administrative reality; secondly, they deal with gaps between the theory of place marketing and the way in which it is understood and practiced. The discussion is structured under seven headings:

1. Collective appreciation of place marketing

Before the marketing effort starts, there is a need for public discussion on what place marketing is, what it can achieve, what actions it includes and why it is useful for the specific place. That public discussion will lead to a collective understanding and agreement on the meaning of relevant terms and an appreciation of the goals. This need is particularly acute for place branding. It is, perhaps, not necessary to adopt in practice the latest or more accurate theoretical and scientific explanations. The most important is to develop a common understanding, which brings two benefits. First, the knowledge this discussion spreads generates more support in favour of place marketing, precisely because of this collective appreciation of what place marketing is and how it can support the development of the place. Secondly, it generates a common perception and a common language of communication, avoiding individual interpretations.

2. Coordination, cooperation and role allocation

The establishment of a body that will have the task to gather all stakeholders and coordinate actions is obviously a necessity for any marketing effort and a very basic step of place marketing implementation. It is, sometimes, enough on its own to generate certain dynamics that might afterwards lead to better implementation and initiatives. For large cities, this is best done on a metropolitan level, if only because people (residents and visitors, as well as investors and developers) experience the place as a whole, and administrative boundaries of municipalities and other levels of local authorities are in essence meaningless for them. Political and administrative reality in most cities is inadequate to deal with successful marketing implementation. Closely connected to this issue are two other necessities for effective place marketing implementation. First is the achievement of as wide a cooperation as possible in order to ensure a feeling of fairness in decision making, support for the strategy chosen and the actions taken and, more importantly, avoid conflicting actions from within the place itself. Second is the matter of role allocation for all participants in the marketing effort, so that problems of duplication of actions are avoided. The question of how to achieve this wide participation and cooperation is certainly difficult. For instance, who will participate from an endless list of possible participants and stakeholders? It is, however, an issue that

demands attention. The fragmentation of marketing strategies that commonly results from the administrative structures of cities and the lack of coordination lead to inconsistency in policies implemented, which is a determining obstacle for marketing effectiveness. Simultaneously special attention needs to be paid to political, ideological, social and ethical characteristics that rule participation in such marketing bodies so that they do not become tools of social control where “dominant groups use visual and spatial strategies to impose their views” (Broudehoux 2001:272).

3. The need to follow the marketing process

It is vital to approach place marketing as a series of steps that cannot be implemented partially. Marketing is a long term process that consists of several stages, which have been described since the very beginning of theoretical explorations on place marketing explorations (see Ashworth and Voogd 1990). Research and analysis is an obviously important first step of the process; segmentation of the market is also vital for effective targeting of actions; the selection of a vision for the place that will also serve as the ultimate goal of all marketing efforts is also essential. Braun et al (2003) summarise the various strategic choices that have to be made within an integrated approach to place marketing management, highlighting the fields of product development, market research, market segmentation and target group selection, image management, acquisitions, strategic alliances and evaluation. Furthermore, place marketing does not end with the conclusion of one cycle but goes on to re-examine strategies, redefine goals and reiterate the whole process from the beginning. This understanding is crucial in order to prevent the common phenomenon of only developing promotional campaigns and implementing sporadic actions with vague goals. Only then can the necessary consistency and continuity of marketing efforts be achieved and only then can the full potential of place marketing be reached.

4. Expansion to other fields than tourism

Currently place marketing and its perceived effectiveness is mostly appreciated in the field of tourism development. But marketing may assist in all aspects of urban development increasing the place’s attractiveness not only for visitors but many more target groups and place audiences, starting with its own residents. Perhaps it is the intense communicative character of marketing together with the perceived dependence of travel and destination choices on such communicative elements that mislead place marketing practice. Perhaps also the characteristics of tourism as service provision that makes transferring marketing knowledge from other service industries easier. The fact is, however, that cities are not only tourism destinations, and focusing the marketing effort on attracting visitors is dangerously limiting the effectiveness of marketing but also the place’s character itself. By focusing exclusively on marketing the place for tourism, the form and, more importantly, its spirit, acquire a meaning which is not necessarily the aspirations of residents.

5. Local Communities

One very important issue that needs addressing is the reaction of the place’s own residents to the marketing efforts and messages sent by their place. This is particularly true for place branding, where emotional ownership of the brand belongs to those who have affection to the brand (Balmer 2002). Everything is done in the name of the inhabitants and it is their resources that finance any place marketing programme. Local entrepreneurs and small businesses should also be a vital concern, as in many cases they are the economic engines of the place. The significance of local communities in place marketing is not meant here in the same sense as commonly found in the literature, which treats local people as marketing vehicles. As Hudson and Hawkins (2006:175) describe, “...[I]n the evaluation of key stake-

holder groups, local communities are very important in that local people can help to set the ambience for visitors as well as acting as credible brand ambassadors for a place". While local people certainly make a difference in the atmosphere of a tourism destination and while their role is crucial in delivering the tourism service, of the essence is that they are both the foremost target group of the marketing effort and, in effect, the most influential place marketers. In that sense, the needs and wishes of local communities should be integrated in the goals set and they should be participants in all stages of formulating, designing and implementing a marketing strategy. Unfortunately this is not the case in current place marketing implementation. This issue is connected to the popular establishment of public private partnerships as the main vehicles of place marketing implementation. As Holcomb (1999:69) accurately comments, in most cases "public means government leaders (rather than community) and private means business (not the private citizen)". This has led to strong critical voices against the way in which place marketing and image-making projects "have enabled ruling minorities to use the power of visual imagery and mental associations to determine who will dominate, use, live in and profit from urban spaces" (Broudehoux 2001:276). Future place marketing application needs to include local communities at all steps of the marketing process to prevent such criticism.

6. Competition and cooperation between cities

Place marketing is in most cases a reaction to the new conditions under which cities are called to survive and prosper, which include the increased mobility of capital, the easier relocation of economic activity, the radical development of the knowledge based society and increased global connectivity. This is a matter obviously related to the increased inter-urban competition that is evident in today's world, also exemplified in the importance attributed to several rankings that are published regularly. Benchmarking, i.e. the direct comparison with other cities and the way they implement marketing, is also a popular activity in European cities. Competition can in many ways stimulate cities to become more proactive and even more effective in their marketing decisions. One significant issue to examine, however, is the nature of this competition. In most cases, the understanding of inter-urban competition is short-sighted and inevitably leads to an equivalently short-sighted understanding of place marketing. In an explanation of the spatial dimensions of inter-firm competition, Cox (1995) examines a distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' competition. As Jessop (1998) summarises, "...whereas strong competition refers to potentially positive-sum attempts to improve the overall (structural) competitiveness of a locality through innovation, weak competition refers to essentially zero-sum attempts to secure the reallocation of existing resources at the expense of other localities" (Jessop 1998:79). Weak competition is socially disembedding, whereas strong competition involves the territorialisation of economic activity (Cox 1995 quoted in Jessop 1998). Weaker forms of competition are usually more concerned with modifications in formal and substantive regulatory, facilitative or supportive measures aimed at capturing mobile investment as well as simple image-building measures with the same purpose (Jessop 1998). Cities engaged in such weak entrepreneurialism are even more likely to fail in the longer term because of the ease with which such activities can be copied (Jessop 1998:79). It is unfortunate that in most cases the weak conceptualisation of inter-urban competition is dominant. Cities have to examine the possibilities and benefits of inter-urban cooperation. A wider conceptualisation of place marketing and, particularly, thorough market research in the beginning of the marketing process is bound to reveal areas where competitive cities in the same region may complement instead of substitute each other. Moreover, it will reveal opportunities for common projects that will result in widening the market for all cooperating cities and not necessarily struggle to win higher shares of a stagnated market.

7. Measuring the results

Another issue is the methods that can be used to measure and evaluate the results of marketing efforts. Tourism data alone is not enough to adequately represent the effects achieved or aimed at. Cities commonly rely on various place rankings but the methodology followed and the implicit goals of the organisations undertaking these rankings are doubtful. On the other hand, it is argued that all cities can do is monitor their image and its changes, which might be enough. Perhaps there is no way to connect the change in the image, the rise or decline of numbers of visitors or the changes in citizens' satisfaction to the marketing efforts, but that is not necessarily a problem and it is what happens in several other marketing sectors. Of course the inability to justify marketing expenses through their financial return remains a problem that should be tackled with the correct conceptualisation of place marketing itself.

For marketing to be able to provide credible answers to pressing global and local issues that places today face, it is our contention that future development of place marketing theory needs to address all the above issues further and attempt to identify and suggest effective ways to integrate them in place marketing and, more widely, place management.

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| DOMINANT PERIOD | PHASE | GOALS | CHARACTERISTICS | SOURCE |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| The Stage of Place Promotion | | | | |
| 7th to 19th centuries | Agricultural Colonisation | Settlement of empty land | Vast land available for settlement in a short time | Ward 1998 |
| 19th century | Urban Functional Diversity | Selling tangible commodities (land – houses) | Differentiation of specific urban functions (e.g. tourism – suburban) | Ward 1998 |
| 1930s-1970s | Smokestack chasing: Selling the industrial place | Luring industries Generating manufacturing jobs | Single goal, Focus on promotion, incentives for industrialists, limited to marginal parts of urban/regional systems | Ward 1998 |
| 1980s onward | Selling Cities | 'Selling' existing aspects of the place | Simple promotion of the place and its attractions | Burgess, 1982 Barke 1999 |
| The stage of planning instrument | | | | |
| 1990s onward | Marketing as planning instrument | Local physical and economic planning goals Attracting inward investment and tourists, while being responsive to the priorities of local residents | Multiple goals, from mass to specialised marketing, physical infrastructure, public-private cooperation, promoting good quality of life | Ashworth & Voogd, 1990;1994 Barke 1999 |
| 1990s onward | Image correction | Change an unfortunate image or enhance a neutral image | Mere advertising, major concern over image, who produces images? | Barke 1999 |
| 1990s onward | Selling the Post-Industrial Place | Urban regeneration, replacing lost sources of wealth | Key part of reacting to intense competition | Ward 1998 |
| The stage of corporate brand | | | | |
| 2000 onward | Place branding | Meeting the needs of existing local businesses and residents and presenting an appealing external image | Content of images important, who and how consumes images? | Barke 1999 Kavaratzis 2004, |
| 2000 onward | Marketing as corporate communication | Creating and managing emotional and psychological associations with the place | Broad range of marketing interventions (Landscape, Infrastructure, Organisation, Behaviour, Promotion), focus on the communicative aspect of all marketing | Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005 |

The first decade. Perspectives, trends and new opportunities in place management in Italy. Since 1998 place and town centre management in Italy have been following an s-curve growth pattern. Beyond the plateau, what new challenges lie ahead?

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Abstract

The purpose of this work is to illustrate the evolution of the place management concept, approach and implementation in its first ten years of experimentation in Italy and to identify the new challenges that lie ahead. In recent years, the distinctive image that has always characterized Italian town centres is gradually fading away, distorted by the erratic colonizing of new in-town and out-of-town commercial developments. What happened at a global level – spreading of suburban shopping centres, progressive diminution of traditional retail, downtown decline and the subsequent need to contrast it – is happening in Italy at a very fast pace. Such phenomena weren't all negative. They have, in fact, given new positive stimuli to downtowns so that they can reinvent themselves, generate inward investment and retain their identity.

In 1998 the national government passed a new law - the Decreto Bersani – from which the concept of “advanced” land and city management derived. Since then, the efforts to revitalise Italian town centres and urban business districts have been many and varied, and have obtained positive outcomes in most instances, promoting innovative bottom-up-approach strategic plans led by public-private partnerships instead; where aesthetics and history, though treasured, don't prevail to the extent which important elements such as local economy and sustainability prevail. However, after a strong initial thrust for new initiatives, many have come to a halt, generally due to two key factors: the weakness of partnerships, and lack of professionalisation of its management structure. The initial revitalisation programs were not able to establish unified cultural, planning and management methods and approaches.

As this first decade of experimentation on town centre management comes to a close, it becomes evident how a new legislation is needed to enhance historic and environmental preservation whilst activating sound economic revitalization initiatives that are not only retailer-led. Italian downtowns have incredible assets, represented by the historic and architectural quality of their buildings and monuments and are ideal contexts in which private stakeholders can lead the economic revitalisation processes. However, new challenges lie ahead to build on the momentum gained in this decade and capitalise on the efforts made so far to restore Italian town centres' identity and unique character.

The local icon: the role of significant buildings in place marketing

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Abstract

This paper assesses the role of listed or significant buildings in creating a sense of place, and specifically the opportunities for local places to market themselves through re-use and regeneration of existing buildings. It addresses the issues identified in the NEF Clone Town Britain Survey (2005) that “a home town is a place that retains its individual character and is instantly recognisable and distinctive to the people who live there, as well as to those who visit” by comparison with the bland and undistinctive clone town. As much of the distinctiveness, or lack of it, is caused by retail outlets, the focus of the paper is on retailing in local places.

The researchers draw on research into the visual role of buildings in creating a distinctive landscape but also one that serves practical purposes. Distinctive buildings should engage with the local community as well as attracting a wider population, and retail sites should combine communication and design as well as commercial functions. Moreover these buildings often have a size and scale to support distinctive opportunities for retailers to interact with consumers.

The re-use of buildings and the ways which they inspire new thinking finds support from many sources. From a practical perspective re-use concerns the recycling of building materials. Historically this process has led to the construction of new buildings, but where appropriate, the use of walls and parts of facades too. In the USA and later in the UK these trends became apparent in the shift from new build to rehabilitation of old buildings. In the USA the recycling of mills and warehouses has been well established. Boston’s Quincy Market provided the key to Boston’s downtown regeneration through its geographical location at the centre of activity in the city. London’s Covent Garden is an early implementation of this movement in the UK.

Other forms of revival have become evident in specific retail sectors. In food retailing, the farmer’s market extends the retail system into a distinctive form of distribution. The re-use of design ideas can also be considered in the context of regeneration. The architectural design of supermarket buildings generally termed the “Essex Barn” or “cottage style” was widely used by supermarket companies in the 1980s and has since become viewed as a “traditional” supermarket building. The paper concludes with an overview of the implications of distinctive commercial buildings for place management, and for local initiatives to make better places.

Iconic buildings and regeneration: reconstructing industrial heritage, business growth and the social agenda

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Abstract

Purpose: If post industrial cities are to regenerate, it is often entrepreneurs and local small and medium enterprises (SMEs) that provide the lifeblood for business development and economic growth, but their prosperity requires a supportive, creative environment from city planners and large-scale investment from private companies. Much research has gone into the approach taken by local government, but less attention had been paid to the role of private investors and how iconic buildings can provide a sense of identity, new business confidence and an antidote to negative brand perceptions.

Approach: With reference to the literature this research identifies some of the key issues relating to urban regeneration in post industrial cities using criteria such as business and economic growth, social needs and environmental sustainability as well as the identity, image and a sense of place for multi-cultural societies. The work is grounded in the city of Bradford, UK, where the refurbishment of Lister Mills, a large, stone built textiles mill, is being undertaken by Urban Splash, a company that specialises in large-scale conversion of redundant buildings into business, residential and retail accommodation. The case of Lister Mills is analysed by using key issues from the literature to gain a clearer understanding of the opportunities and barriers in large-scale re-developments, as well as the implications for local residents, business communities, and perceptions of city brand reputation.

Findings: Negative perceptions about the city of Bradford have been partially offset by the completed first phase of this mill complex, particularly the enormous mill chimney that is symbolic of the industrial prowess of the past and present. But problems are presented for local communities with the transformation of low cost, unwanted land into high quality, high cost development which sells at over 40% profit margin. In turn this has caused local house prices and business rates to rise, creating a new dynamic that may lead to gentrification and the gradual dissolution of the ethnic society that exists within this district of the city.

Implications: This research may inform city planners in post industrial cities, to re-consider the impact of refurbished iconic buildings if they are to address the impact on local communities as well as business growth. These developments have implications for sustainable urban development and social cohesion as well as brand management.

Original value of paper: Previous research has emphasized the importance of city branding, but not how the refurbishments of iconic buildings can enhance place identity on the one hand but have a negative impact upon social cohesion and local business on the other. This means that local authorities should use a 'triple bottom line' that incorporates economic, social and environment agendas for long term sustainability.

Theme 2

Place Competitiveness



Fissures in the place product: the challenges for marketing management

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Abstract

Place marketing activity has been undertaken for decades – indeed, arguably for centuries – although it is only in the last twenty years that it has been labelled as such, and concomitantly begun to receive substantive attention from researchers. A core theme of the existing literature has been the complexity of the place product and the management structures for its marketing, for which the application of approaches first developed in the context of the marketing of commercial goods and services has not proven wholly satisfactory. This paper will explore this issue through a critical review of the extant literature, and illustrate it with some preliminary findings from an on-going project on the marketing of Hadrian's Wall.

The complexity of the place product stems from three main features: first, a place is composed of many different individual components (or clusters thereof), each of which may be owned and managed as entities in their own right; second, the nested nature of places whereby a place at one scale consists of an agglomeration of places at smaller scales (i.e. the notion of the “place palimpsest”); and third, that places are fundamentally a socially constructed phenomenon, and the same locality may mean different things to different people at different times – in pragmatic terms, there are multiple audiences / consumers for the same place. Together, these mean that the place product – what it is and how it should be managed - is inherently contested between different stakeholders operating at different scales of analysis.

It is argued that this contestation, in a resource constrained environment, leads to three types of fissure in the place product and its management: spatial / jurisdictional, where an individual place comes under the management of different organisations; functional, where different uses of a place do not necessarily complement each other; and strategic goals, arising from differences in the backgrounds, agendas and perspectives of stakeholders. This last point may result in competing visions for a specific place product, or alternatively where a vision may be shared by various stakeholders, there may be alternative views as to how it should be operationalised.

Using Hadrian's Wall as an exemplar, the paper will discuss these issues and their implications for the conceptualising of the generic place product. Built around AD 122, the Wall crosses highly contrasting physical, urban and rural environments, and involves a very wide range of local, national and international stakeholders. Since 2006, a concerted attempt has been made to market the Wall as a single place product, and this has highlighted in sharp relief the difficulties of definition and analysis that are common to place marketing management.

The empirical findings reported in the paper are preliminary, and based primarily on a detailed examination of documentary sources, including material produced by the various stakeholder organisations involved in the marketing of the Wall. Nevertheless they raise a number of issues that are the subject of on-going investigation, including interviews with key stakeholders.

Place branding in the Spanish wine industry: a supplier-based perspective

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Abstract

The wine industry of Spain has undergone a complete metamorphosis over the last forty years from a handful of high quality producers (mainly located in the La Rioja region) to a diverse, competitive and innovative sector today. This resurgence in quality and diversity has revolved around the branding concept of Denominación de Origen (DO), which regulates the production of wine in areas like Rioja, Ribera del Duero or Ribeiro. There are over sixty eight different DOs (Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 2008), which can range in geographical spread from a few hundreds of square kilometres (e.g. Valle de Güímar) to vast areas spreading across borders of autonomous regions (e.g. La Rioja). This geographical diversity has created opportunities for market differentiation related not only to the product itself but, crucially, to its place of origin. This has manifested itself in the recent growth of winery-related tourism. This paper builds on a survey by Ruiz-Vega et al (2004) of perceptions from producers, distributors, retailers and key informants from nine major Denominación de Origen regions. It argues that, although previous studies (Ruiz-Vega et al 2001) have shown that there exists a considerable element of emotional decision-making among Spanish consumers when purchasing wines from certain regions, possibly linked in some cases to trends in local purchasing behaviour (Coca-Stefaniak, 2007); as a reaction against globalisation, the effectiveness of the DO system as an effective place branding mechanism is questionable not only from the perspective of producers but also that of consumers nationally and internationally. Part of the reason for this may be found in the image branding gap that exists between the geographical area of origin of wines and the DO system (Yagüe and Jimenez, 2002). In essence, Spain and its wine industry have not capitalised yet on the full place branding potential of the Denominación de Origen concept in the way other countries like Italy, France or Australia have done.

Theme 3



Place Management's impact on people

Building trust, manufacturing dissent: can the paternalistic role of local authorities and the transgressive agendas of artists combine in new partnerships, enabling citizens to reclaim their time and their civic space?

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to identify potential for constructive new partnerships in relationships which have traditionally been unconstructively tense. In a world where artists are increasingly being asked to evidence socially engaged practice in order to source funding, can they work with local authorities? If the residents and users of city centres are never allowed to break rules in their daily performance and play, can they feel socially engaged with the place in which they live? Can a local authority ever safely allow them to break these rules?

Approach: A study and critique of socially engaged, transgressive art of the last century, applied to the paternalistic, 'safe' disciplines of large scale event management in city centres, specifically UK Light Night events, and European Nuite Blanche events.

Findings: Gaps in city centre strategic plans and Unitary Development Plans. While strategic objectives include leisure, culture and tourism, nowhere is the importance of 'ownership' of time and civic space acknowledged. Rather, these plans strive to develop environments in which residents can be more effective producers / employees, and more satisfied consumers. While these roles are of unquestioned benefit, they do not cater to the sense of ownership that inhabitants need over the space in which they live. Residents have not previously been allowed to obtain this because they have not been allowed to transgress, or make their own rules.

Practical implications: Local authorities, urban planners and event managers can identify new potential from these findings. The paper establishes the reason for the gap in planning, and discusses the work of artists who have begun to bridge this gap with the support of established cultural institutions and local government.

Originality/value of paper: The idea of transgression and play has been explored in terms of the design of the built fabric of cities (skate parks, graffiti walls), but not in terms of individual creativity or artistic projects and events. Creativity, transgression and ownership of place go hand in hand, and we believe that this paper explores for the first time how the tension between this idea and the paternalism of place management may produce new partnerships rather than conflicts, to give citizens a greater sense of ownership of the cities in which they live.

A great place to live, work and play: conceptualising place satisfaction in the case of a city's residents

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Abstract

A city's resident population is strategically the most valuable segment among those targeted by place marketing practitioners. Firstly, residents are the most loyal to a city since they have invested time and money to be there. Secondly, resident attitudes and attachment to the place where they live, work and play can colour the perceptions of more loosely connected segments – for example, tourists and visitors. Thirdly, their skills, talents and entrepreneurial drive contribute to the city and surrounding regions' economic growth and prosperity. Finally, the pride and sense of place held by a city's residents builds and enhances the quality of life and welfare of its community members; and in turn their presentation of the city to others. In these ways and others, residents contribute to building the brand equity of a place, in this case the city in which they live. For these reasons, residents' quality of life and their satisfaction with their city of residence should be the ultimate aim of place management.

The aim of this paper is therefore to develop a conceptualisation of place satisfaction for city residents. This is achieved by understanding the resident concept and their interactions in urban environments. Next, by reviewing prior definitions and conceptualisations of related concepts of quality of life and satisfaction, a model of city resident place satisfaction is presented. From this conceptual basis, a list of appropriate measures and indicators of place satisfaction are discussed. Finally, the tensions facing place managers in satisfying internal and external targets' interests are outlined, followed by a research agenda designed to support place managers' complex task of positively shaping the lifestyles of their city inhabitants, workers and pleasure seekers.

Why do secondary retail and commercial areas suffer poor local environmental quality?

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Abstract

Since the 1980s ENCAMS has monitored the condition of local environments in England. A consistent finding over the past 20 years has been that local retail and commercial areas (SRCAs) typically have relatively poor local environmental quality (LEQ) compared to primary sites. These local areas form a vital part of the community, serving a local population and contributing to the local economy. Why, therefore, do they so frequently suffer from a poor physical environment, along with associated problems such as traffic and parking congestion, anti-social behaviour, run-down premises and lack of investment?

To answer this question, ENCAMS commissioned research based on three different case studies. ENCAMS designed the research so as to determine the underlying causes of poor local environmental quality in these areas, and potential measures to tackle those problems.

The case study areas (in Croydon, Maidenhead and Birmingham) were each nominated by the local authority and represent (a) an area in between primary areas that are generally 'doing better' (b) a once vibrant area that has been in long term decline, on the fringe of a town centre which now contains a concentration of night-time venues (c) an area located at a congested bottleneck between other more affluent SRCAs.

The research found that there is little point in superficial or cosmetic interventions aimed directly at improving LEQ if the fundamental causes are not also addressed. The study showed that whilst in some instances economic and market forces and/or planning decisions are to blame, there is a complex web of underlying factors including economic usage, geographic context and social/residential profile.

Though focussing on the physical street scene is important, improvements will be best achieved through a mix of education and awareness-raising, collaboration and co-operation between different agencies. It is critical that the local authority provides leadership and vision, as it is the only agency in a position to facilitate and co-ordinate the different stakeholders.

The study concludes with some practical solutions for improvement, area by area, based on the findings. Whilst local authorities are key to turning areas around, the study also addresses the part played by other stakeholders such as residents, traders, landlords, visitors and developers.

Neighbourhoods, Christmas lights, and social cohesion

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Abstract

This paper explores the controversial practice of adorning the outside of suburban houses with large, animated and multi-coloured Christmas lights. In a context where home decoration, gardening and ideas about 'good taste' increasingly occupy a dominant area of the media in 'lifestyle' programmes which advise on esteemed aesthetics and 'good' design, neighbourhoods in which excessive Christmas light displays are prevalent have generated considerable negative criticism, dismissed as brazen and tacky, an affront to religious values, as a source of neighbourhood conflict, and even as 'minor ecological disasters'. In contrast, our empirical research based on interviews with householders in Manchester and Sheffield would suggest that Christmas light displays signify new forms of community association, solidarity and neighbourly interaction in contradistinction to negative mediated representations. Our research revealed that displaying Christmas lights uniquely possesses power to transform everyday space and the lives of ordinary people. Christmas lights do this in a very particular and spectacular way, demonstrating how domesticate creative practices can invest meanings into everyday space and engender a sense of belonging to unspectacular, ordinary, or mundane places. Further, the display of outdoor Christmas lights is a form of creativity that has emerged in communities that largely ignore orthodoxies about design and fashion to produce economies of generosity and conviviality. The production of such values directly challenges the moral and disciplining imperatives of expert driven models of place management and regeneration. The paper argues, therefore, that Christmas light displays are becoming important drivers of social cohesion within marginal communities and neighbourhoods. In terms of neighbourhood management, a better understanding of this cultural practice may assist practitioners in terms of developing inclusive and stakeholder driven strategies for suburban place making and development.

Theme 4



Best practise in Place Management

The city and its canal: producing a place marketing pilot plan for Chester

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Abstract

The main purpose is the presentation of a Place Marketing Pilot Plan (PMPP) for the city of Chester and its unique canal. This plan was produced in the context of the INTERREG IIIc CultMark (Cultural Heritage, Local Identity and Place Marketing for Sustainable Development). The PMPP is based on the Strategic Planning process always starting from the identification of the vision of the place and the primary place management and development objectives, also leading to the increase of competitiveness.

The paper uses a combination of methods: the ASEB model focusing on four areas of visitor appeal (Activities, Settings, Experiences and Benefits), the CPM (Critical Path Method), and the '8Ps' marketing model. The findings are mostly qualitative and refer mainly to the details in the temporal sequence of the promotion-related activities (including the creation of networks) in relation to the elaboration of the PMPP.

The paper provides a structural guide of the planning of a PMPP as a tool of the general management, development and competitiveness of the studied place. The paper develops a strategic model of a PMPP that can be used as a best practice for a variety of places, considering firstly the distinctive characteristics of each place leading to the construction of their identity. The paper contributes to the international experience, since it is mainly based on primary data, strategic analysis and specific models of place marketing.

The Case Study Methodology in Place Management Research and Practice

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to assist those in the relatively new field of place management to undertake sound and appropriate research for which there is a current need.

Approach: This paper identifies and provides an interpretation of key terms associated with research in the social and behavioural sciences and then recommends the case study methodology as being appropriate for research in place management.

Findings: Based on a review of the literature this paper offers a viewpoint about the meaning and application of the terms 'methodology', 'methods,' 'ways', 'strategies' and 'approaches' when they are applied to research.

Research implications: The work contributes to assisting new researchers generally and specifically those researchers and practitioners involved in place management.

Practical implications: The paper is of use to practitioners in that it identifies some areas of research and would be of assistance at the very least in the commissioning and interpreting of research reports.

Originality/value of paper: The paper is of value to new researchers seeking to comprehend the varying interpretations of research terminology and to assist with academic research and best practice in place management.

Keywords: Place Management, Place Marketing, Place Branding, Case Study
Category: Viewpoint

Introduction

The call for papers by the Institute of Place Management for its inaugural conference defined place management, in a practical sense, “as the process of making places the best they can be”. In a world where competition between places for the increasingly mobile resources of capital, labour and enterprise is intensifying (Mommas,2003) there is a need for places to have strong leadership, management and marketing skills at both the political and operational levels. There is a need for place managers. Place managers need an ability to engage multiple stakeholders and be able to change in response to challenges and opportunities. They need to be visionaries, strategic thinkers and ‘doers’. As with accepted practice in strategy formulation (Grant,2002) place managers must be aware of the existing status of their place as well as the competitive environment; they must consider the available resources and capabilities to act and use this knowledge as the basis of their decision making. Place managers need to understand the existing structural and operational frameworks within which they must work or seek to change. Place managers need to be aware of best practice. Research into place management is important not only as it provides the foundations upon which to make decisions but it helps to provide greater understanding of what is a relatively new field. This paper suggests that an appropriate research methodology available to place managers who are in a field which is at the ‘introduction stage’ of its life cycle is the case study. This paper provides the reader with an overview of place management and then addresses the need to undertake research. Following this, the approaches to research (i.e. the methodologies) are introduced and then within each methodology the various methods which are available. It is emphasised that methodology and method are not synonymous as will be made clear within this work.

Place Management in Context

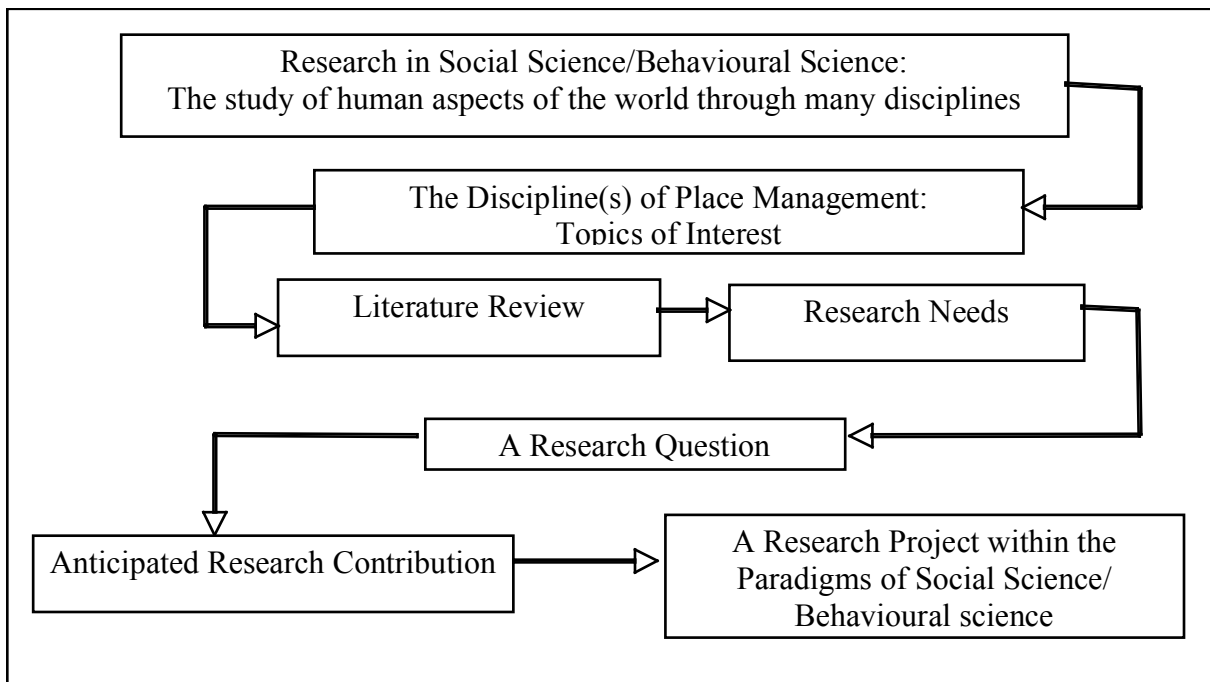
No one discipline can claim ownership of place management. Even its general definition of “the process of making places the best they can be” would include the domains of politics, geography, economics, management, marketing, tourism, town planning, education, health and law. Place management as a profession is gaining more recognition with the introduction of specialist tertiary courses, the formation of professional bodies and increasing academic interest. Similar to the overlap of management and marketing functions in the organisational context, place marketing and place branding have commonalities with place management (Kerr et. al.,2007). While a place manager may be employed by a local government authority or an ‘arms-length’ entity, a place manager needs to operate outside the organisation and adopt a ‘holistic approach’ to the place. This will involve the support and participation of the multitude of stakeholders who constitute a place (Kavaratzis,2004; Green,2005). It is likely that a place whose major stakeholders see place management as being solely a government function will be unlikely to maximise the yield which may be delivered by a holistic and more inclusive place management approach.

The Need for Research in Place Management

The newness and growing interest in place management has given rise to a demand for knowledge of theory and practice of place management. Relevant models and established theories are in short supply. A search of databases including Emerald and Proquest using ‘place management’ as key word yielded limited results. There is a need for both academic and practitioner research into place management - to build and share knowledge which will provide continuous improvement to the profession and to the places which decide to implement place management strategies. Research in place management might include finding out:

- What are other places doing?
- What is best practice?'
- Why are some places more successful at place management?
- How can place management strategies be formulated?
- How can place management strategies be implemented?

As stated earlier, place management is multidisciplinary in nature. The field however lies within what is referred to as 'social science' and 'behavioural science' (Boot et. al.,1979) as distinct from 'natural science' such as physics and chemistry (Klemke et. al.,1980). Natural science adopts a rational approach - the scientific method - to the study of the universe and is underpinned by rules and laws. Despite the social sciences and behavioural sciences focusing on the study of the human aspects of the world, these sciences tend to apply the scientific method of the natural science in research. This involves the use of established and accepted techniques to acquire knowledge. A rational approach to the process of understanding and applying research in place management is shown in Figure No. 1.



Research Paradigms

Fundamentally, a research project in social science and behavioural science may be influenced by the researcher's view of the world – derived most likely from mentors, supervisors, fellow researchers and readings. The research paradigm is “a cluster of beliefs and dictates ... for scientists in a particular discipline ... what should be studied, how research should be done, [and] how results should be interpreted” (Bryman,1988 p. 4). There are a number of paradigms in social and behavioural science. Researchers to some extent can be categorised by their fundamental research beliefs and their approach to research – the research paradigm(s) within which they work. Ontology is “a patterned set of assumptions concerning reality” and epistemology is “the knowledge of that reality” (Sale et. al.,2002; Guba, 1990). Both are influential in the methodological approach and the research method. Importantly

as will be shown below, the methodologies are often founded on different ontological and epistemological foundations and use methods that are designed to identify or measure different phenomena. For example a 'positivist' would argue that science is characterised by empirical research which can identify constructs or concepts (items of interest) which can represent the truth. There is a belief in 'objective reality' in which the researcher is very separate from the research - "inquiry takes place as through a one way mirror" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p. 110). Positivists are interested in causal relationships and most commonly use a quantitative approach involving experiments and surveys comprising structured questionnaires. Having a different approach, the 'interpretivists' and the 'constructivists' adopt an ontology based on multiple realities. Reality is constantly changing and is based on the researcher's involvement and interpretation. These researchers are more interested in processes and meanings. The positivists are more aligned to quantitative research whereas the interpretivists and constructivists more aligned to qualitative research. Perry (1998) provides more detail about research paradigms but essentially when compared, the researchers have different beliefs about reality and they utilise different research methods as they seek to research different phenomena. Figure No 2 provides a conceptual explanation as to how a research method is influenced by the higher belief levels of ontology, epistemology, and methodology.

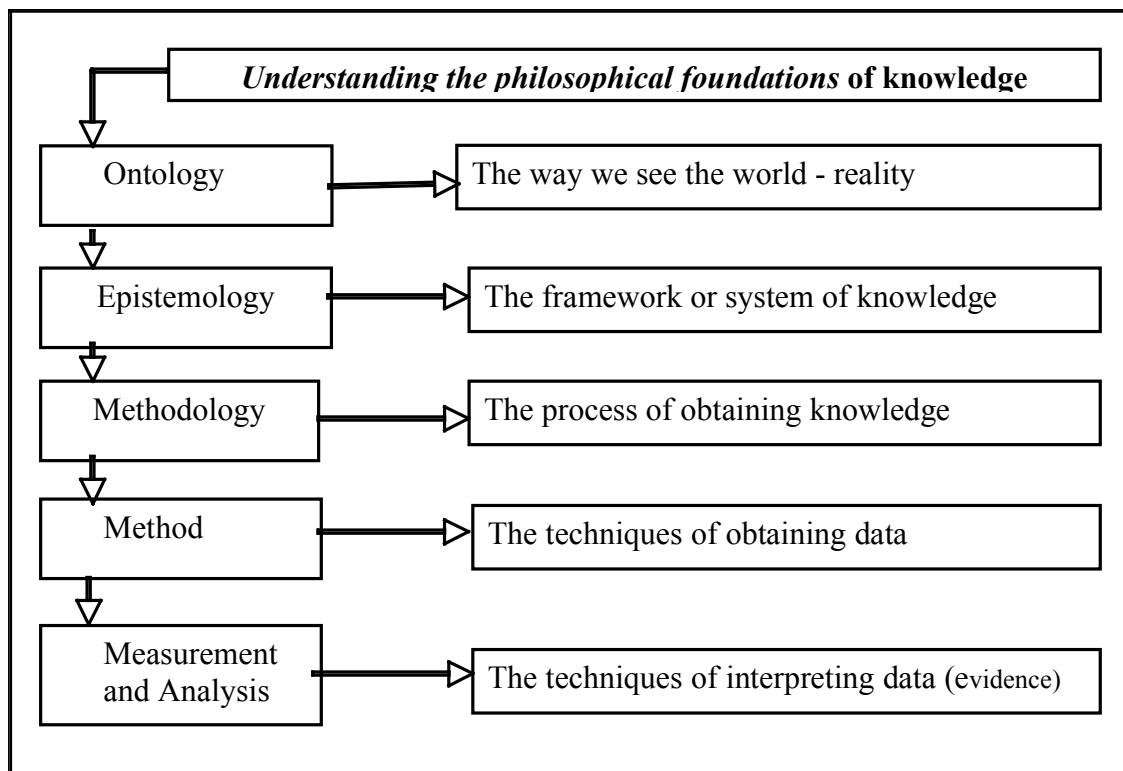


Figure No. 2: Understanding the Foundations of Knowledge

Research Methodologies

Methodology refers to the processes used to obtain knowledge of 'that' reality identified by the adopted ontology and epistemology. (Sale et. al., 2002). The literature, both inter and intra disciplines, offers an array of meanings of the words 'methodology', 'method', 'ways', 'strategies' and 'approaches' as applied to research. In some situations the words are interchanged implying that their meaning is the same. What is proposed here is an approach that may be useful in providing some clarity (although not consistency with other authors). Two

dimensions of the process of obtaining knowledge (methodology) are provided.

The first dimension is provided by Yin (1994) who suggests that there are five 'ways' to undertake research in social science – experiment, survey, case study, histories and analysis of archival information [Yin also refers to these as 'strategies']. It is suggested that these 'ways' are the processes used to obtain knowledge of reality – the methodologies. [Gillham (2000 p. 13) takes the view that, "Case study is a main method. Within it different sub-methods are used].

The second dimension of the process of obtaining knowledge relates to the purpose and context of the research question (what is the subject of the research question? what body of knowledge exists?). For example, human behaviour in the discipline of psychology is supported by established and confirmed (or yet to be disproved) theories which are less likely to be the case in newer disciplines. Although other disciplines might share a mutual interest in human behaviour, the context of the research question and its relativity to existing discipline knowledge may be very different and therefore require a different process to acquire knowledge.

This is a second dimension of methodology which is now discussed. Bryman (2004) distinguishes between inductive (theory building) and deductive (theory testing) methodologies. Deductive methodology commences with a hypothesis relating to an established theory following which a research design is undertaken and implemented (methodology, method and measurement) with data being collected and interpreted - the result being that the hypothesis is confirmed or rejected. The inductive process does not commence with established theory but starts with data collection with the aim of developing theory (theory building). The inductive approach however, may not necessarily start from a 'clean slate' but may identify frameworks and concepts from either established theory and/or professional practice and then proceed to identify relationships between concepts (Dul and Hak,2008). Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest the construction of a conceptual framework to identify the likely constructs in the inductive approach.

It should not be assumed that there is an automatic link between the five 'ways' identified by Yin and the deductive and inductive methodologies referred to by Bryman. All of the methodologies referred to by Yin could adopt either an inductive or deductive methodology – or a combination of both. There is however a strong link between the concepts identified in Figure No. 1 and those in Figure No. 2. There should be a link between the research question based on a need identified by a review of literature within the discipline(s) - (Figure No. 1 - and that of the accepted beliefs and processes of obtaining knowledge within the discipline(s) as outlined in Figure No. 2. If the research question is not aligned to a need of the discipline (perhaps a demand!) and an acceptable process of obtaining knowledge (perhaps a supply!) then the merit and validity of the research is questionable. Despite the differences highlighted above between the research paradigms they have a number of important things in common. First there is a shared desire to contribute to knowledge and second there is a desire to ensure that research adopts a scientific approach. Paramount, regardless of the paradigm or the discipline, is the importance of what Gillham (2000 p. 3) refers to as the "raw material of research", the evidence. Researchers must be able to justify that they have taken the approach to research as shown in Figures No. 1 and 2 to justify and defend the evidence that they have obtained and the contribution to knowledge which they may claim.

Methodologies for Place Management

Being within the social and behavioural sciences the processes of obtaining knowledge of

place management can include the methodologies of experiment, survey, case study, histories and analysis of archival information and can be based on deduction (theory testing) or induction (theory building). Its newness as well as its multidisciplinary nature results in there being few (if any) established theories 'owned' by place management which can be the basis of deductive research. The opportunity does exist however to borrow theory from other disciplines and use this as the basis for a deductive process or identifying likely concepts for inductive research. Using an established but 'borrowed' theory as the basis of a deductive approach will commence with an assumption that the theory is relevant and transferable to place management in which situation the research may confirm or disprove the application of the theory in the context of place management. [A rejection of the theory may not only disprove the relevance of the theory to place management but possibly even disprove the theory – a black swan!]. The selection of methodologies for research in place management will be given attention following the sections on methods and measurement.

Research Methods and Measurement

Within the established methodologies there are different research methods or techniques of gaining data. Again there is some confusion in the literature as a result of the use of terminology. It could be assumed based on the array of text books that there are two methods - quantitative methods and qualitative methods. These are however methods of measurement and analysis (see Figure No. 2) not methods of data collection. Methods of data collection include questionnaires, interviews, observation and documents (Blaxter et. al.,2001). A characteristic of the case study methodology is that it can use more than one method of data collection – hence the term 'case study methods'; not implying that a case study is a method but a methodology having access to more than one method. Once the data is collected, methods of measurement and analysis can be applied. Importantly the measurement and analytical method should be planned prior to commencement of the research project – certainly not after the data has been collected!

With regard to methods of measurement and analysis, quantitative methods seek to measure and analyse causal relationships between variables within a value-free framework (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). This associates quantitative methods predominantly (although not exclusively) within the deductive methodology influenced by a positivist epistemology – the value free framework of objectivity. This often involves a survey (methodology) and includes the use of structured questionnaires (method) with a range of predetermined responses. It is important to apply statistical sampling techniques (quantitative measurement and analysis) to ensure that the survey and the findings are representative of the population of interest. Also having regard to methods of measurement and analysis, qualitative methods has a greater emphasis on processes and meanings. Methods used in qualitative studies include in-depth and focus group interviews and participant observation. Samples in qualitative research are not meant to represent large populations (e.g. the population of consumers) but are smaller and carefully selected to provide important information and be representative of the population of ideas or processes (Reid,1996) in (Sale et. al.,2002). The case study methodology for example can use a variety of 'data collection methods' followed by the use of qualitative methods of measurement and analysis.

Amaratunga and Baldry (2001) distinguish between "analytical generalisation" to explain patterns and linkages of theoretical importance to that of "statistical generalisation" as it applies to populations. Newman and Robey (1992) provide an interesting contrast between factor models – 'that' the behaviour of a dependant variable can be explained by the application of an independent variable by the use of quantitative methods such as multiple regression - and process models - 'how' and 'why' the degree of association between variables occurs by use of qualitative methods.

In studying the likely success of place management for instance the questions, ‘what causes success?’ and ‘how does success occur?’ are very different questions and will require differing research designs. As Amaratunga and Baldry (2001 p. 96) state, “...ignoring philosophical issues, though not necessarily fatal, can seriously affect the quality of research in management science”. As Dul and Hak (2008) point out, different research methodologies might use the same research methods (e.g. questionnaires) but it is how the data is measured and analysed (e.g. statistically or visually) that is the point of difference. In summary, not only is a researcher’s approach influenced by their ‘view of the world’ (Figure No. 2) but importantly the purpose and context of the research question should be influential (Figure No. 1).

The Purpose of the Research Question

The purpose of a research question needs to be fully understood and carefully worded by the researcher.

“Good research questions are those which will enable you to achieve your aim and which are capable of being answered in the research setting” (Gillham,2000 p. 17).

The form of research questions is shown in Table No. 1 below taken from Rowley (2002) and adapted from Yin (1994) [note the authors have referred to ‘strategy’ in what is referred to as ‘methodology’ in this paper]. These ‘strategies’ are influenced not only by the research question as developed pursuant to Figure No. 1 but the overarching researcher beliefs as shown conceptually in Figure No. 2.

| <i>Strategy</i> | <i>Form of research question</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Experiment | How, why |
| Survey | Who, what, where, how many, how much |
| Archival analysis | Who, what, where, how many, how much |
| History | How, why |
| Case study | How, why |

Table No. 1: Types of Research Questions

Source: (Yin,1994; Rowley,2002)

Different types of research strategy (methodology) are best suited to different types of research problems. For example the suggested research questions posed at the beginning of this paper commenced with ‘what’, ‘why’, and ‘how’.

Yin (1994) explains that there are two types of ‘what’ questions. The first is really asking ‘what are’ and as this is an exploratory question any of the research strategies (methodologies) could be used. The second ‘what’ question is asking ‘how many’, in which situation Yin suggests that survey or archival strategy would be appropriate. It should be noted from Table No. 1 that ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are best suited to the strategies of experiment, history and case study. Yin suggests that case studies and experiments are best suited to study contemporary issues although Dul and Hak (2008) and (Woodside and Wilson (2003) argue that case studies are also appropriate for the study of instances that occurred in the

past. Given the appropriateness of the methodologies of experiment and case study to investigate 'how' and 'why' questions, researchers in place management will need to consider the context in which the research is to be undertaken.

The Context of the Research Question

As well as the type or form of the research question, the researcher must consider the importance of context to the research question as well as the researcher's adopted paradigm. For instance is the researcher influenced by a positivist or constructionist view of reality? A contrast between experiment and case study is provided by Bonoma (1985) and reference is now made to Figure No. 3.

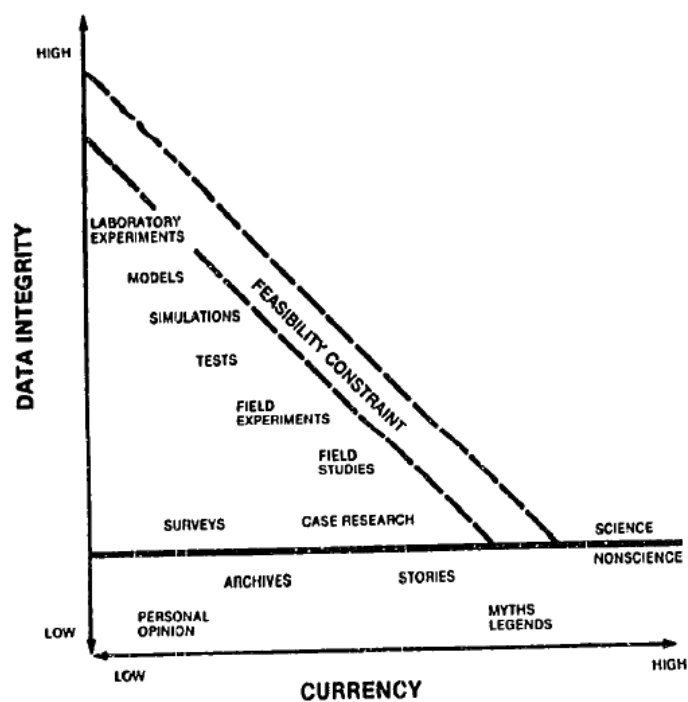


Figure No. 3: Knowledge Accrual Triangle

Source: (Bonoma,1985 p. 200)

Bonoma, as shown in Figure No. 3, introduces the concepts of data integrity and currency. Currency refers to the contextual relevance of the results across measures, methods, persons, settings and time. Integrity refers to the characteristics that influence error and bias in research. Bonoma points out that ideally researchers should seek high levels of data integrity and results currency. The dilemma is that there is a trade off between data integrity and currency. An experiment for instance is high in data integrity and lower in currency while the reverse is the situation with case study.

“A study which seeks high data integrity requires a precise operationalization of the research variables, a relatively large sample size and quantitative data for statistical power, and the ability to exercise power over persons, settings and other factors to prevent causal contami-

nation. In contrast a study which seeks high currency typically demands situationally unconstrained operationalizations of variables to allow cross-setting generalization, and observations within natural, ecologically valid settings - 'noisy' settings - where samples, quantitative measures, and control are more difficult to achieve" (Bonoma,1985 p. 200).

In response to the data integrity/currency dilemma a reader might ask, 'Why not use both an experiment and a case study to address the one research problem?' The answer is that:

- These are different methodologies and usually exist in different research paradigms (Figure 2) – the process of obtaining evidence must be defensible within the presently accepted laws of science and the paradigm,
- The methods of data collection are usually different (although case studies can use multiple methods),
- The methods of measurement and analysis are different as experiments usually use quantitative methods and case study qualitative methods, [Concepts with the same label may be defined differently and measured differently within each methodology],
- Often the methodologies are seeking to study concepts differently. For example an experiment may examine the relationship between concepts seeking to infer a causality (and perhaps develop a factor model) whereas a case study may examine concepts seeking to interpret meaning and processes (and perhaps develop a process model),
- Remembering Gillham's (2000) point:

“‘Good’ research questions are those which will enable you to achieve your aim and which are capable of being answered in the research setting”

a research question which cannot be addressed exclusively by one of the accepted methodologies might be too general and poorly worded”

- Practically, researchers do not always have the time and finance (and sometimes the skills) available to apply two methodologies to address the same research question.

Despite the above points there is some interest in mixed methodologies, mixed methods of data collection and mixed methods of data measurement and analysis (Sale et. al.,2002) particularly with the development of computer software in both quantitative and qualitative data measurement and analysis methods. The future may hold the establishment of a new research paradigm. For now researchers, unless their specific goal is to develop a new research paradigm, need to work within the existing paradigms.

Case Study Research in Place Management

It is proposed that case studies are the most appropriate research methodology for many (not all) research questions associated with place management. The following reasons are given in support of this claim.

1. The case study is able to be used to address the 'how' and 'why' questions of place management.
2. The definition of place management is given as the "the process of making places the best they can be". Case study using qualitative methods of measurement and analysis is the preferred methodology to study processes (Reid,1996).

3. Place management needs to be studied in its real-life context “where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin,1994). While high in data integrity experiments require concepts to be taken away from their context and currency is sacrificed (Bonoma,1985). Case study allows researchers to study place management in its context of a noisy setting involving a complex array of stakeholders. “Case studies emphasise the rich, real-world context in which the phenomenon occur (Eisenhardt and Graebner,2007). A place is not a closed system but an integrated system (Stake,1995) which is taken into account by the case study.
4. As a relatively new field there is a need for a methodology that provides theory building – an inductive approach. Although case study can be utilised for theory testing (Gummesson,1991; Dul and Hak,2008), Eisenhardt (1989) argues that case study approach frees the researcher from the shackles of strict procedure and increases the likelihood of generating novel theory.
5. Studies of processes and phenomena in other disciplines that would have similarity to place management have utilised the case study methodology. As shown in Table No. 2, Yin (1994) identifies areas in which the case study is used some of which would overlap with research in place management.

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy, political science, and public administration research • Community psychology and sociology • Organizational and management studies • City and regional planning research, such as studies of plans, neighborhoods, or public agencies • The conduct of dissertations and theses in the social sciences—the academic disciplines as well as professional fields such as business administration, management science, and social work |
|--|

Table No. 2: Areas in which case study is used in research

Source: (Yin,1994)

Patton and Appelbaum (2003) also argue for the appropriateness of case studies in organisational science as a “method” of generating theory and testing theory. Xiao and Smith (2006) identify the diverse authorship background in terms of discipline and geography of academics who have used case study methodology in tourism research. The appropriateness of the case study methodology to academic and practitioner research in place management is now given attention.

Academic and Practitioner Research in Place Management

As stated previously there are few theories that can be claimed to be ‘owned’ by place management and as such there is a need at this time to focus on theory building. Dul and Hak (2008) provide a framework for theory building research for which an experiment or a case study can be used which is shown in Figure No. 4 below. They define theory as being a set of propositions about an object of study. Each proposition in the theory consists of concepts [(Anfara and Mertz (2006) distinguish between “concepts” such as age and intelligence which can be used to identify the “construct” of IQ] and specifications of relations between concepts (p.34). They also make a distinction between academic research and

practitioner research. The former being referred to as theory orientated research which consists of the phases of exploration, theory building-research and theory-testing research. The objective of practitioner research is to “contribute to the knowledge of a specific practitioner (not practitioners in general)” (p.218) and the objective is to solve a problem in an identified place.

Dul and Hak (ibid) argue that in academic research the goal of theory building is to develop and test new propositions with the aim of ‘generalisability’ as it applies to a theoretical domain while this is not a priority in practitioner based research. It should be noted that they refer to the comparative case in theory building research which is “a small number of cases in their real life context are selected and the scores obtained from these cases and analysed in a qualitative manner” (p.45).

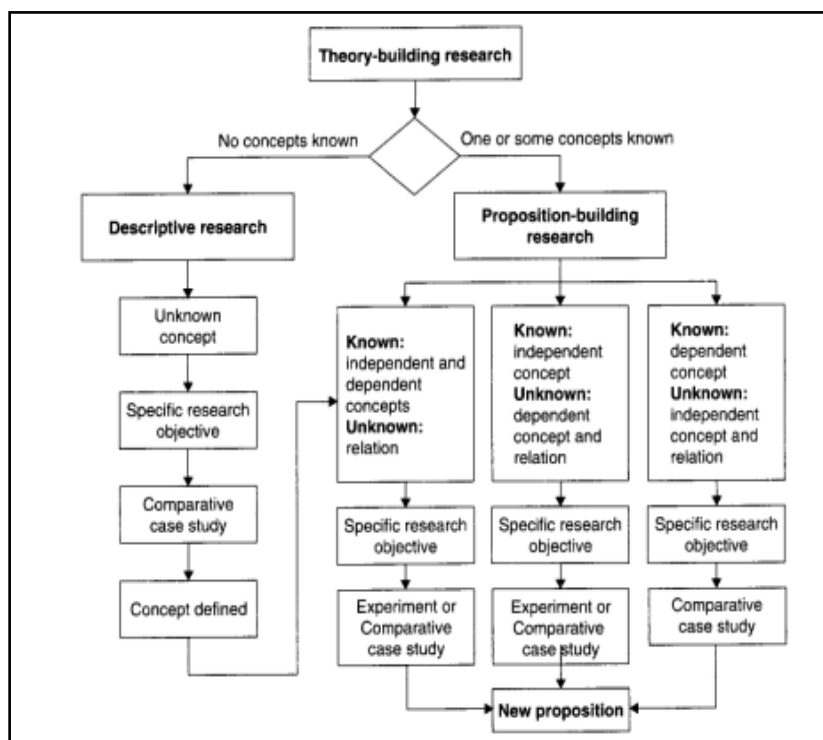


Figure No. 4

Source: (Dul and Hak,2008)

Regardless of whether the research is being undertaken at the academic or practitioner domain, Dul and Hak (2008) insist that a scientific and therefore defensible approach should be taken to the design and implementation of the research project.

Conclusion

This work has provided an overview of the approach to research and some insight into the use of a case study methodology in place management. This work does not cover the ‘doing phases’ of case study research. Readers should consult the specialist writings including (Eisenhardt,1989; Yin,1994; Stake,1995; Perry,1998; Gillham,2000; Woodside and Wilson,2003; Eisenhardt and Graebner,2007; Dul and Hak,2008).

It has been the intent to contribute to the establishment of place management as a discipline with a strong academic and practitioner foundation. This can be done by ensuring that there is discipline specific theory developed and tested at both academic and practitioner levels. Good theory needs to be underpinned by a sound methodology which is influenced by the ontological and epistemological considerations but also the nature and context of the research question. The beneficiaries of sound and defensible research will not only be the members of the place management discipline but importantly it is the places and people who will gain from the application of the knowledge and practice of place management.

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Wine architecture and place management: creating value in “wine places” through experience

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Abstract

Purpose: Wine Architecture has become a remarkable phenomenon in Europe since 1995. It consists in hiring some of the leading international architects to design new wineries. The aim of the paper is to analyze and investigate best practices of wine architecture to understand how integration among landscape, place and winery could be reached to give the visitor/consumer a complete experience. The winery becomes the hub of a local system and introduces to the world of wine and the wine region, becoming the strategic point of promotion and creation of both a company and a regional brand. Globalization hurries territories and producers to face the new competitive challenge and to catch the new dimension of the demand, which is experience-oriented more than product-oriented.

Design/methodology/approach: A comparative study of four wineries located in four different wine regions and in two countries: Italy and Spain, analyzing the relationship among three main variables: landscape, winery, visitor/consumer. A range of recently published works and semi-structured interviews with the wineries' owners and with the local authorities, wineries, as well as site visits to the wine places. The theoretical scope of the paper is to identify how through wine architecture wineries can be the hub of attraction of a wine place to create more value.

Findings: These wine areas synthesize and represent a territorial context, a well-defined portion of a place from a geographical, economical and social point of view, where wine architecture is a real cultural mark. The wineries and the wine areas investigated have increased their potential of place attractiveness and are now better known. In some cases, the biggest difficulty has been to reach the integration between the winery experience as “city of wine” and the wine area.

What is original/value of paper: Wine architecture can be considered a new frontier for wine place management as it refers to the principle of wine region integrated offer. For this reason, the paper could be of interest for place management researchers, wineries, consortiums, wine routes associations and local policy makers.

Measuring the effectiveness of town centre management schemes

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**This paper is dedicated to my mum
Alice Vout
(May 1930 - December 2007)**

Abstract

Town Centre Management Schemes (TCMs) now exist in all major UK cities and large town centres and increasingly in many smaller centres. Some of these schemes have been operating for many years, others are in their infancy. Whilst some schemes operate in up and coming centres many others labour under very difficult circumstances. What characterises them all however is the strong conviction that a well run TCM scheme can play a key role in ensuring whether a centre succeeds or fails. What isn't always clear though is how this is achieved. More difficult still is substantiating or quantifying the level and degree of the impact of this intervention.

As a result of the work of organisations such as the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) and more recently, the Institute of Place Management (IPM), Town Centre Managers and others delivering TCM related activities today have a much better understanding of their roles and the context in which they operate. Many Town Centre Managers also consider evaluating scheme performance an important part of their work. Unfortunately what continues to prevail is considerable concern over the manner in which scheme performance is often measured, with wide discrepancies across the UK.

This paper follows a study into the factors that characterise and influence successful Town Centre Management intervention. It seeks to help navigate through some of the barriers, prejudices and misunderstandings that currently exist surrounding TCM performance measurement and articulate a possible way forward that is acceptable to both town centre managers and the partners they work with.

Introduction

Over recent years the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) and more recently the Institute of Place Management (IPM) have successfully sought to address many of the issues of concern to town centre managers (TCMs). As a consequence there is now not only a better understanding of town centre management (TCM) but also a nationally recognised, accredited professional structure for town centre managers. Nevertheless, measuring TCM scheme effectiveness remains a sticking point, largely, one suspects, because, by its very nature, Town Centre Management is an extremely broad and varied discipline with differing views and opinions about what it should deliver. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this paper, at least in terms of measurement, it is suggested that there are potentially three distinguishable, albeit linked areas where the measurement of performance is necessary:

- Town centres (health, vitality and viability).
- Town centre managers
- Town centre management schemes

Clearly a commonality prevails between these areas which mean that they cannot be considered in isolation. However, applying the same measures and indicators to all three is not only difficult but quite inappropriate and can result in the creation of unachievable targets, especially for town centre managers. Different approaches need to be applied in each performance area.

Town Centres

In terms of town centres, maintaining and strengthening their health, viability and vitality in the face of increasing retail decentralisation has become without doubt one of society's greatest challenges and a major concern to successive governments. One of the responses to this has been to develop guidelines by which to monitor and measure performance, most notably, Planning Policy Guidance 6 (revised June 1996) and its successor, Planning Policy Statement 6 (PPS6): Planning for Town Centres (issued in March 2005), both of which not only set out the Government's policy on planning for the future of town centres but also recommended a list of 'measures' under which local information should be gathered; collectively known under the term 'Health Check'.

| | |
|---|--|
| - Diversity of uses | - Pedestrian flows |
| - Retailer representation and intentions to change representation | - Accessibility |
| - Shopping rents | - Customer views and behaviour |
| - Proportion of vacant street level property | - Perception of safety and occurrence of crime |
| - Commercial yields on non-domestic property | - State of the town centre environmental quality |

Figure 1: Key Indicators of the health of Town Centres PPG6

Source: Revised Planning Policy Guidance 6 (revised PPG note 6): Town Centres and retail developments (June 1996)

More recently there have been further attempts by government to draw up criteria focusing on 'core output indicators' for regional spatial strategies and local development frameworks (ODPM, 2005a & 2005c). However, whilst PPG6 and PPS6 indicators have become universally accepted as 'industry' bench marks, in terms of the contribution of town centre management, even the government concedes that "not only is it difficult to establish what part management plays in maintaining the quality and health of town centres, but also that it is difficult to establish suitable measures [for] these attributes" (DoE, 1996).

Town Centre Managers And Town Centre Management Schemes

Successful town centre management requires the involvement of many different disciplines, strong and well developed organisational and people management skills and a total commitment to collaborative partnership working between the public and private sector. Delivering this is one thing. Measuring its effectiveness however is another and requires a clear understanding of its aims and objectives; the fact that every scheme is driven and influenced by a wide range of factors and issues however makes it difficult to apply a standard approach.

Those within the industry know that measuring TCM effectiveness is not a practice em-

braced by everyone and where it does occur the approaches can vary considerably. Some national guidelines exist but many of these concentrate on indicators that measure town centre health, vitality and viability, not town centre management – an issue which has led to frustration amongst some practitioners.

Whilst scepticism surrounding performance measuring has no doubt helped discourage the establishment of a common system, many town centre managers recognise that used sensitively and sensibly it can add value to their schemes. What is missing however is a system which, first and foremost, responds to local needs, which sets meaningful goals, provides a balance between hard outputs and softer outcomes but which can also be accommodated within busy schedules.

As a consequence of the difficulties and the sensitivities surrounding TCM scheme performance measurement, practitioners and stakeholders have often been left to devise their own systems. Several larger towns and cities have indeed established and developed quite sophisticated, bespoke measuring systems; sometimes activated in response to a particular need or as a requirement of grant funding. Unfortunately, whilst these can be very successful in their home locations, where they are often unsuitable for general application is the degree to which they have been developed and adapted to suit specific local circumstances. What is needed is a measuring system which recognises both macro and micro influences. A system that uses a combination of ‘indicators’ or ‘measures’ which incorporates both quantitative and qualitative objective elements and subjective assessments; something which also has the flexibility to focus on and incorporate ‘local factors’. It needs to acknowledge that in some circumstances there may be some key ‘national’ indicators that need to be considered alongside locally set objectives, yet at the same time avoids ‘over-sophistication’.

Attempts to measure TCM performance are, of course, not a new idea. Indeed, the concept of performance measurement in TCM through the use of key performance indicators (KPIs) is well established (Warnaby. and Medway. 2006). (See also ATCM, 1999b; Hogg, 2003; Hogg and Medway, 2000; Hogg et al., 2000) including user statistics (e.g. numbers of new shoppers attracted to the town centre) and success rate statistics (e.g. percentage of crimes solved, Pal and Sanders, 1997 and Parker and Byrom, 2000). Unfortunately whilst these helped shed some new light on TCM effectiveness, many of the indicators continued to exhibit some of the same limitations of earlier techniques – including most significantly, how could they be attributed to the scheme alone and not to other factors or influences?

To learn how these and other performance indicators were being used, between 1999-2000 the Faculty of Management and Business at the Manchester Metropolitan University carried out research into how town centre management schemes in the UK were measuring TCM effectiveness. (Hogg, 2000, and Parker and Byrom, 2000). Amongst a number of discoveries the results of the survey found that in practice the same difficulties were also being encountered by TCM schemes and furthermore, whilst “many town centre managers [had] been trying to measure the effectiveness of their schemes, there [was] much variation as to how they [should] go about this”(Parker and Byrom, 2000). What Parker and Byrom found in fact was that Town Centre managers often had to rely on informal feedback from stakeholders or continue to fall back on the vitality and viability indicators described earlier (see ATCM, 1999b and URBED, 1997).

What the research also discovered was that whilst key performance indicators seemed to offer “greater levels of objectivity and validity than the over simplistic town centre health checks” (Parker and Byrom, 2000) there continued to remain an overwhelming bias towards the private sector stakeholders. More worrying still was that from the 100 or so schemes

that responded to the survey, amongst a list of concerns and disadvantages expressed – which included inaccuracy, too many different collection methods, unreliability and manipulation - there was a view that with such an emphasis on quantitative assessments, local strengths and weaknesses were hidden and that it was difficult for people outside the schemes to establish how the targets had been achieved. In fairness, what did emerge however was that, despite the difficulties, there is a general willingness and openness on the part of TCM schemes to engage in measuring effectiveness, plus a suggestion that the use of KPIs, whilst not perfect, may at least offer some insight into how this might successfully be achieved.

The Views Of Practicing Town And City Centre Managers

In 2006 a further survey was undertaken which sought the views and opinions of practicing town and city centre managers on the subject of performance monitoring and measuring. (Vout, 2006). Whilst some of the results confirmed a number of pre-conceived perceptions, others were more revealing:

General feedback and key issues

There was a general agreement that measuring TCM scheme effectiveness was difficult; some said almost impossible. Indeed in a small number of centres some of these difficulties have led some schemes to avoid measuring and monitoring targets altogether and instead rely on stakeholder feedback to guide their performance. A number of reasons were given for this:

- Schemes are dependant on others to carry out work.
- It is very hard to obtain key data. People hold on to it. (in some instances this applied not only to retail turnover figures – an often cited area of difficulty - but in terms of information sharing between council departments).
- PPG6 Health indicators don't really measure TCM Scheme effectiveness
- Collecting, monitoring and presenting information is so time consuming that it doesn't get done.
- It is difficult for small market towns to use KPIs
- National events outside the control of the TCM scheme can have a major impact

Suggestions put forward to either help measure the impact of a TCM scheme or show how a TCM scheme was having a positive effect included:

- Monitoring visitor and vehicle numbers before, during and after a TCM event.
- Liaison between town centre managers on a regional and national basis.
- Responding to the “needs of the town” rather than trying to achieve less meaningful targets.

Measurement linked to funding

Several of the TCM schemes that responded indicated that measuring their effectiveness and performance was, at least in part, an essential requirement and condition stipulated by their funding provider. However, funding sources varied from location to location depending on a number of factors. Most notable was whether the centre was situated within a ‘designated’ area of need or ‘deprivation’; in which case both national and European funding was often available. Another factor which made a significant difference was if the local authority considered its town centre as a priority. In such cases ‘in-house Council’ resources were made available.

In terms of national funding, this was often in the form of Neighbourhood Renewal Funding (NRF). European funding appeared in the form of 'Objective 1' funding, European Regional Development Funding (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF); and sometimes a combination of all three. Where funding was 'sourced' locally, both Local Government, (the local Council), and the private sector, (often business led), were key contributors, the latter largely secured around 'project-based' initiatives delivering specific 'outputs' or a particular single objective.

| Performance Indicators | Project Targets |
|--|--|
| Business Plans | Programme Targets |
| Service Level Agreements (SLAs) | Annual Appraisals |
| <i>Vacancy Rates / Vacant office space</i> | Turnover/Percentage change in sales |
| <i>Rental Levels</i> | Annual Action Plans |
| <i>Footfall</i> | Public Transport Statistics |
| <i>Yield</i> | Customer Satisfaction |
| <i>Annual Health Checks/PPS 6 indicators</i> | Levels of Crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour |
| Reports to Steering groups/Strategy Groups/ Action Groups/TCM Boards/ | Feedback (through Performance Development Reviews) and personal appraisals |
| Hours committed by private sector partners to TCM activities | Financial contributions from the private sector/ levels of sponsorship |
| Membership of the Business Group | Amount of press coverage |
| Car park usage & income | Market research |
| Condition of the environment | Street cleansing and maintenance |

(Items shown in italics are Planning Policy Statement 6 indicators of Town Centre health, vitality and viability.)

Figure 2: How do you measure your effectiveness? A list of responses from Town Centre Managers (Vout, 2006)

How and where is TCM scheme effectiveness being measured?

Effectiveness measuring in some form or another is being undertaken across most centres in the UK. However it varies considerably from 'informal stakeholder feedback' to quite comprehensive detailed, bespoke' systems involving performance targets, milestones, outputs, key performance Indicators (KPIs) and vitality and viability 'health'. Nearly all of the centres involved in the research expressed some concerns that, whilst it was useful to set out clear targets and objectives, certain criteria might not be entirely appropriate. One of the issues relating to this concerned the use of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) which, whilst able to capture some aspects of TCM delivery, missed some of the more 'intangible', softer 'outcomes' such as customer satisfaction, networking and levels of collaborative working; each of which were regarded as having a major bearing on a centre's success.

Town centre health indicators and TCM performance

A number of town centre managers spoke about the continued difficulties not only distinguishing between town centre vitality and viability health indicators and those indicators directly concerned with measuring TCM performance and achievements but also recognising when it might be appropriate to apply elements of both. Whilst the former are arguably governed by a range of factors - of which the TCM scheme might be only one - the latter

specifically relate to TCM effectiveness.

Local knowledge and local circumstances

Despite concerns over 'clone towns' there was nevertheless a recognition that each and every town and city centre is unique, not only in size and complexity but especially in context - where conditions such as unemployment, income, deprivation and social diversity can have a major impact. As such it is often local issues that can be the cause of greatest concern to local stakeholders, especially businesses and retailers. Consequently a 'factoring in' and understanding of local circumstances is vital. It is also essential that the scheme and its local partners know what local stakeholders regard as important or a priority, what is within their control and what can be influenced.

Partnership success and scheme maturity

Partnership success - which is arguably a measure in itself - was regarded as a key factor in not only building up trust and confidence but one which enabled the scheme to function more effectively. The results included higher levels of collaborative working and a greater degree of engagement, involvement and support from stakeholders.

Although the majority of TCM schemes indicated that they used some form of 'performance monitoring', in general, where schemes had been operating for some reasonable length of time - generally over 5 years - the systems employed tended to be more advanced and sophisticated. This was often a reflection of the mature relationships that had built up over the years between the key stakeholders, in particular, the local authority and the business community.

Size and status

All of the larger town and city centre TCM schemes involved in the research had some form of 'performance measuring and monitoring' system in place. Although the reasons for this seem to vary, size and status both appeared as factors which necessitated some form of effectiveness measuring. Large town and city centres have a significant impact not only locally but also on a sub-regional, regional, and in some cases, national basis. In addition to their social and cultural importance, they are generally the focus of some of a region's most significant economic and commercial activity involving considerable private and public sector investment. As such the need to co-ordinate and manage the delivery of services and to ensure strong and effective communication between stakeholders means that these centres historically have not only needed to establish a town centre management scheme but also the means by which the performance of these schemes can be measured.

Who's in control?

There is no 'standard TCM scheme model'. Some schemes are local authority-led whilst others are managed through various 'quasi' public/private sector partnerships. In some other centres, schemes have been encouraged to develop into 'free-standing' management companies with boards of directors and shareholders. Added to this is the fact that in all centres there are other stakeholders who also consider themselves to have a right to determine how a centre should be managed.

In every centre there is a wide range of interested parties with different agendas, different view points and to whom 'effectiveness' is likely to mean many different things. Because of this, whoever is in control can, to greater or lesser degree, determine not only the activities

of the TCM scheme but also the basis on what constitutes success. Historically many TCM schemes appear to owe their origins to a local authority initiative, however, where they have enjoyed most success, it is generally in those centres where 'ownership' and 'control' has been 'transferred' to a 'partnership' between the council and the business community. In these cases, the performance of the scheme is judged by the partners and not by one single stakeholder group. (The number of terms contained in apostrophes highlights some of the ambiguities contained in these arrangements!).

Access to baseline and 'real-time' data

True, honest and meaningful effectiveness measuring and monitoring requires accurate baseline data and access to ongoing data. Unfortunately one of the issues that many TCM schemes highlighted was that obtaining information on relevant indicators was sometimes very difficult or required additional resources that were unavailable. It was suggested by a number of TCM schemes that whatever conclusions this study reached, one should be to encourage all stakeholders to share information and 'pool' resources. This also highlighted a need for resources to carry out customer surveys and the provision of training.

A Balanced Scorecard Approach

One solution to this complex issue may lie in modifying an approach developed by Robert Kaplan and David Norton for business organisations at the Harvard Business School in the early 1990s called the 'Balanced Scorecard'. What Kaplan and Norton realised was that whilst most approaches to business management tended to focus almost exclusively on financial business results, to have a better understanding of a company's impact and direction, a broader view was necessary.

In truth a balanced score card is actually a management system rather than a measurement system enabling organisations to clarify vision and strategy but also to translate this into action. The advantage is that it provides feedback around both the internal business processes and external outcomes which helps to continuously improve strategic performance but also transform strategic planning from an academic exercise into practice. For businesses it not only shows what should be measured in order to 'balance' the financial perspective but also gives senior managers a fast and comprehensive overview.

The balanced score card approach suggests that an organisation should be measured under four key 'perspectives' or themes, a great deal of which relies on feedback; a) The Learning and Growth Perspective (how the organisation can improve); b) The Business Process Perspective (where can the organisation excel), c) The Customer Perspective (how customers see the organisation), and, d) The Financial Perspective (how does the organisation look to its 'shareholders').



Figure 3: Components of a Balanced Score Card. Source: PriceWaterHouseCoopers: (Department for Communities and Local Government: Cleaner Safer Greener Communities. Business and Town Centres Project) April 2006. (Modified version of the presentation slide titled: 'Components of the Balanced Score Card').

Because the approach is adaptable, it is now used in a variety of situations covering the private, public and voluntary sectors. Where it might offer a way forward for the measurement of TCM scheme effectiveness is that it shifts the emphasis from focusing on narrow outcomes to a broader range of interactive aspects enabling a more holistic, inclusive and more 'even-handed' comprehensive form of TCM effectiveness measuring than is currently employed in many town and city centres. Such an approach also provides a semi-formal structure that can be adapted to suit local circumstances whilst working within a nationally recognised framework or protocol.

Indications suggest that if this was introduced it would be welcomed by most Town Centre Managers. However, there is also a general consensus that this should not mean the introduction of a 'one-size fits all' approach, that it must also be relevant, avoid 'over sophistication' and have the flexibility to focus on and incorporate 'local factors'. For hard pressed and under-resourced Town Centre Managers, they need to be convinced that it provides a meaningful and practical tool which can be incorporated within an already busy work schedule.

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Theme 5



Stakeholder Involvement

The Orange Principle! A Community of Communities

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Stakeholders – an entity either affected by the activity of an organisation or which perceives itself as having an interest in the activities of that organisation for whatever reason
CIPD – Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development

Abstract

Global connectivity is changing the way we communicate and who we connect with. Relationships, values and communities have become much more complex and change frequently. This new reality is a major challenge for organisations that must engage stakeholders and is a particular challenge for the public sector that must interact with a wide variety of interest groups who are constantly redefining themselves and their values. The world has become a community of communities with a stake in what policy makers are deliberating on. Each policy excites different interests, for example:

- Land use issues interests those concerned about local amenity, congestion, aesthetics and community integrity.
- Transportation concerns those concerned with moving goods, accessibility, environment and taxes
- Environmental interest groups are concerned with all aspects of community activity from the local to the national scale
- Economic development interests those concerned about securing the economic future of individuals and their community
- Social equity engages many groups on many fronts

Effective communication with stakeholders allows problems to be defined more precisely, helps develop better solutions that secure greater support and ensure successful implementation. The correct formulation of stakeholder groups allows the community to capitalise on all their assets, assure buy-in to the planning process or policy formulation whilst strengthening the capacity to implement community plans, and within this, good communication is vital to decision making amongst stakeholders of:

- Different backgrounds
- Technical knowledge
- Needs
- Agendas

It is important to recognise the inter-relationships between activities at local and regional level. Plotting stakeholders for consultation according to project life cycle will ensure all representative groups are engaged at the right time. All groups from developers, planners, investors, businesses and residents have different perspectives and expectations when new initiatives are proposed.

A new reality of dynamic relationships and rapidly changing values within and between stakeholder groups means that new tools are required to track individuals, their interests

and their memberships in different groups. This allows a new approach to stakeholder relationship management using these tools.

If anyone doubts the importance, complexity and cost of stakeholder consultation consider the case of Stonehenge, one of the most famous sites in the country. In December the Secretary of State for Transport announced that current proposals to improve traffic movement around this important Heritage Site were to be set aside. The matter was under study for 18 years and the cost of study and consultation was 23 million pounds. What is also interesting is that what might have been considered as an issue of local or possibly of national concern is now noted as an issue of concern by the International Federation of Friends of the Earth. In 18 years this matter has assumed an international dimension. Remember this is at a rural location with low volumes of traffic and few roads, consider the costs that are involved in dealing with complex schemes in city centres.

So why the Orange Principle? – What do you get when you peel an orange? Segments; some segments may have pips, others carry more pith, and some segments may even be juicier and more often than not the segments will not all be of identical size and shape. If you think about your stakeholders in this way it reminds you that each segment is different and that segmentation is essential.

John Farrow of LEA Group Holdings Inc. and Tracey Anthony of MyStakeholders, both with backgrounds in communication and community consultation, put forward their thoughts supported by desk research and their shared experience on why many organisations still fail to treat their relationships with stakeholders as important assets and how to apply the basic Orange Principle.

No common platform

The cry from above comes at the least convenient time “we need to get a group of stakeholders together to seek their views and by the way we are looking at getting invites out by the end of the week.” Often the task is then deposited with the communications team who through no fault of their own have not been included in preliminary discussions; brought up to date as to how the idea came into being, where it’s going or what the intended outcome is. Their sole task is to create an appropriate contact sheet and manage communication to and from the organisation, all the while getting on with the day job. So without further delay they consult their list of possibly relevant stakeholders, only to find it’s a tad out of date and doesn’t cover all the target groups. They then realise they are not even sure all those who need to be consulted are on the list. Solution - get a temp in to do some adhoc telemarket research, your list is then amended but is still not complete because the temp had no real understanding of who you should have on this list anyway. Result - You end up having to do the job yourself.

Further investigation for suitable stakeholders with colleagues from other departments draws a variety of responses “I’ll give you access to my outlook address book”. But this has not been updated and who do you select from this half baked information? How many of us actually keep all the details on a contact? How long does it take us to delete them from our database? No, that’s too simple. We just create a new entry leaving all those floaters in there like mini meteorites waiting to cause catastrophes in their virtual world. Then of course there are the mavericks who keep their data on their own system, because knowledge is power. Sometimes on some odd programme half the team don’t know about or how to use, and it cannot be moved easily from one database to another without significant effort....let’s not forget our partners who kindly offer support of their contacts, some replicating your own but again all on different platforms excel, word, access, project manager and so on....meanwhile

your deadline is looming.

If all this sounds surreal this is the result of telephone research conducted by BDI with 30 public sector organisations all saying the same thing! Here are some quotes:

“No we don’t really keep our stakeholders up to date. I am not sure if we have a common platform but I do know each department do things their own way, some departments have bought specialist software but someone has still got to keep the records up to date”.

“No the process is not managed and could be done better, the problem is it’s not allocated to any one person and people move on so the job never really gets done properly”.

“Who looks after our stakeholders? I have no idea but I do know it’s never accurate”.

“We update on mail fails but this is not ideal and makes us look bad especially when people have passed away”.

“Our lists get updated when we need to organise an event.”

From our personal experience we know that consultants and other agencies that are often drafted in to support specific projects, come, do their job and then leave often taking their contacts with them.

Having full time employees do this is not the answer either as the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) report that 14% of employees leave their employment in the public sector and nearly 23% in the private sector annually, this does not cover redundancies where nearly a quarter of organisations make 10% or more people redundant annually. Further only 25% of employees stay in their job 5 years or more, which leaves 75% of employees regularly on the move. City Managers, project managers and chief execs all know that stakeholder relationships are important but for all the reasons listed above they struggle when trying to respond to the current reality of multiple stakeholder groups who define and keep redefining their values and their compositions monthly. As a result important initiatives get shelved or delayed and organisations have their reputation damaged. For example after two decades of study and consultation, that cost 23 million pounds, on how to improve the roads and environment around Stonehenge; all options have recently been shelved. Stakeholder consultation is important but risky. The risk is not only of project delays but much more significantly of the creation of schisms within the community that hamper the development of a sense of community.

The public sector is not unique in its need to maintain, consult and hold regular dialogues with such a wide variety of stakeholders from different sectors. A consultation on many fronts is driven by white papers emphasising the need for greater and more effective consultation with stakeholders on almost every service delivered by the public sector. For example:

- Strong and Prosperous Communities, October 2006
- Partnerships and Local Area Agreements
- Government Involvement in Planning
- Promoting effective citizenship and community empowerment, February 2006.
Consultations are the right thing to do; everyone knows it, but to get results doing it right is also important.

Long term relationship or one night stand?

Stakeholders are important but to work with them productively requires the right type of

attitude from the initiating authority. Consider for a moment. How does it feel to be a stakeholder? One respondent referred to treating stakeholders like one night stands... “they appear attractive in the dawn of the project, as we do not really know them and can only guess that they will want to spend some quality time with us...we have no real understanding of their needs, interest and priorities and preferences so we go all out to attract them with free snacks, comfy seating, sometimes even payments for their time, then when we have them we use them, bring a whole load of other people to the date as well! At dusk we toss them aside promising to implement the results of their precious feedback from our special date. The reality is we have often picked the wrong stakeholders who really couldn’t care less; the results don’t really give you the feedback you are looking for, because whether you concrete over the local playground or cut elderly health services quite frankly doesn’t matter to them, mum and dad live elsewhere and by the time they come to need that service they assume they will have moved on. They don’t use the playground and have no intention of adding to the UK population right now! And to add insult to injury whilst we feedback the results rarely is the implementation plan circulated. Local priorities often change as a result of funding and only partial aspects of the project get implemented and no-one knows why...except the media of course who pick out the bones of the detail and hound you to death with scare stories...to say nothing of the community reading the news who will huff and puff about the wasted two hours they spent with you on that date.” Sound familiar? Then read on.

The Orange Principle

This task of segmenting can be simplified if time and effort is put into establishing & understanding shared interests of stakeholders and, importantly, maintaining accurate records. Failing to segment stakeholders means they will all get treated the same, and worse still only the vocal ones will be heard. A surprising number of people will be unconcerned even on controversial projects unless it’s in their backyard! Segmentation can be dealt with in a number of ways but marketings’s “4 P principles” is a useful and simple categorising approach which groups stakeholders on the basis of common characteristics.

P is for people

Who are the stakeholders for this project? Remember this is a moving feast! Stakeholders want different things; they have different motives, purposes, aims, drives, impulses and urges. They believe differently: they think, cognize, conceptualise, perceive, understand, comprehend and cogitate differently. Stakeholders may have one or more interest(s) in the sub divisions and for different projects may fall into any of the three main groups. Power is also distributed across the stakeholders with primary and political stakeholders generally holding the most power, in summary, there are three main groups:

Primary Stakeholders – Defined by high level of awareness and actively engaged

Secondary Stakeholders – Showing a good level of understanding about the organizations work, existing and prospective residents and local businesses

Political Stakeholders – Containing Government departments, local and regional politicians

Within these three main groups there are sub divisions:

- Public sector
- Utilities
- Education
- Businesses incl. retailers
- Media
- Special interest groups incl. residents

- Cultural
- Transportation
- First response services

P is for product

The product is the attitude and actions the initiator is seeking to cultivate. This will range from the need for proactive support to a positive attitude and the acceptance of a proposed change. To achieve changes in attitude and action requires understanding, empathy and customised messages. This is only possible when the stakeholder groups' current attitudes are well understood. It is also important remember that attitudes change over time.

Bear in mind also that common goals can change over time, catering for all interests is complex. Tracking changing demands and tastes is crucial. You might have listened to the Sex Pistols in 1976 but now you listen to Satie ...you ate burgers and chips in 1985 now it's gourmet cuisine a la Gordon Ramsey at the local boutique restaurant on the corner.

P is for place

All stakeholders are grounded somewhere and this is often crucial to their attitude and values. Places are the platforms for complex dynamic systems used by different stakeholders not only at different times of the day but at different points in the stakeholders lives.

- Shopping places
- Work places
- Public spaces
- Entertainment
- Freedom of movement – bus/cycle/taxi lanes, pedestrian routes, taxi/bus/rail stations
- Health & other first response services
- Education

P is for promotion

The reason for segmentation is not only so that messages can be shaped but also so that appropriate communication channels can be selected. Effective communication involves combining both in the right way and selecting the most appropriate marketing message and channel based on the characteristics of the stakeholder.

- Web not good for the elderly or technologically challenged
- Public kiosk only reaches passing traffic
- Community centre location specific
- Public hearing selects active participants but misses those who dislike this forum
- Bulletin board has limited reach
- TV, news, and radio; expensive and not very well targeted

Stakeholders are valuable resources and good relationships with them are important assets. Stakeholders' attitudes and energy are also valuable assets within a community of communities and the power of effective stakeholder management becomes clear when considering how to build the communities that populate and energise place making initiatives. An approach based on a respectful nurturing of this asset is the foundation for most effective policy, project initiatives and place making initiatives. Generating better information on stakeholders creates more effective contributions when the need to consult and initiate dialogue arises, it also impacts on management decision making and business performance.

The value of organisations is expressed by a mixture of tangible assets in the form of equipment, money, land or other physical objects and intangibles in the form of brand, reputation, knowledge and of course people. In other words, there are many forms of capital that make up the real value of a business and in an increasingly knowledge-based economy, human capital is fast becoming the most important.

The contribution of stakeholders is difficult to isolate from other factors such as the economic situation, market forces and trends. The value of stakeholders is expressed in qualitative rather than quantitative terms which make it difficult to represent in traditional accountancy models. Stakeholder data has been historically collected for administrative rather than evaluation purposes. Communications officers do not always have the skills or remit to interpret data to evaluate the contribution of stakeholders to business performance. Just accepting any stakeholders who claim to have an interest is a dangerous activity.

There is now a great deal of evidence that the contribution of people is the largest driver of organisational performance. Systematically collecting, analysing and communicating information on the value of this contribution is vital and will assist in the design and implementation of stakeholder engagement policies and practices that will maximise the impact on business performance. However, all CIPD research indicates that human capital is highly contextual and therefore no single measure or set of measures can adequately convey its value. Organisations need to decide what measures are relevant to them and what will give them the information they need to effectively communicate the value and contribution of human capital both internally and externally.

Lessons

The main lesson is to bring all stakeholder data to a common platform, maintain and manage this data for use throughout the whole organisation:

- Map primary, secondary and political stakeholders – create sub categories
- Identify common/shared interests to create communities within a community
- Recognise inter relationships between activities at local, regional and national level
- Use the 4 P's Principles
- Plot stakeholders by project lifecycle
- Value stakeholders as human capital – only use stakeholders that add value and remember it is social capital that builds communities
- Create longer term trusting relationships – stay in tune, feedback messages reminding of shared interests
- Remember to use different channels for different audiences, qualify your models

The importance of stakeholder consultation to the government is illustrated by this statement by, Sir Andrew Foster, Controller, of the Audit Commission, who said:

“For public services to be successful, it is essential that the people who use them have an input into how they are designed and run. At the Audit Commission we are working to develop better user focus in all aspects of our work – one example is through our pilot citizen-focused audits... Connecting with users and citizens has given us an insight into the many innovative ways that public bodies are incorporating consultation into their work; we hope that sharing these examples of good practice will inspire other organisations to similar successes.”

Such statements illustrate that public consultation is recognised as the right thing to do;

what is understood by those in the trenches is that results depend on doing it right and this is a big challenge that requires the latest approaches and the latest tools.

One of these tools has been developed by MyStakeholders who provide trouble free high quality personalised contact data management. Your stakeholders can be profiled according to your needs and ranked according to interest and power they have in your organisation, even plotted by project lifecycle. Contacts are updated every 30 days giving you the reassurance that when any person in your organisation needs to use your stakeholder list, its bang up to date.

Placemaking is more than physical structures, it involves communities. These involve a human dimension built on attitudes, behaviour and shared values. To understand and build on these shared values requires the latest tools for which “My Stakeholders”, provides the platform. Visit www.mystakeholders.net

“I do not for a moment at least, ask you to understand me. That will come only when you are willing to give up changing me into a copy of you; and in understanding me you might come to prize my differences from you and far from seeking to change me preserve and even nurture those differences.” David Keirse & Marilyn Bates

Stakeholders Choice and Stakes Evaluation in Town Centre Management. Guidelines for Assessment

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1. Introduction

The importance of retailing to the urban economy has been widely recognized. Similarly, a number of studies conceptualize the application of marketing concepts and techniques to town and cities (Asworth and Voogd, 1990; Kotler, Haider and Rein, 1993). However, the promotion of urban places as retail destinations has been somewhat neglected by both marketing practitioners and academic researchers (Stubbs et al, 2002; Hogg et al, 2001). Over recent years, the marketing of these locations has largely focused on the attraction of inward investment and tourism revenues (Warnaby and Davis, 1997), while rather less effort has been put into “cultivating consumer services”, especially retailing (Williams, 1996).

However, as suggested by Warnaby and Davis (1997, page. 204) “it could be argued that the climate has never been more favourable to the promotion of urban centres as foci for retail activities”. In the last fifteen years many EU countries have seen the shift of retail development away from the traditional shopping areas in town and city centres toward out-of-town retail locations. As a consequence, a growing number of urban centres, especially those with relatively weak retail provision, have experienced a negative impact on their retail sales, which has led to significant concerns about these areas’ “vitality and viability”. More recent studies indicate the consistent difficulties imposed by the competitive effects of sustained retail decentralisation, particularly amongst the small and medium centres (Thomas and Bromley, 2002).

In the UK, where the process of decentralization has been going on since the 1970s, responses to these concerns have taken on a number of forms, ranging from central government action through town centre loyalty. Of these responses, the most powerful has been the development of Town Centre Management (TCM) schemes. One of the most common definition of Town Centre Management is “the effective co-ordination of the private and public sectors, including local authority professionals, to create, in partnership, a successful town centre – building upon full consultation” (Healy and Baker, 1994). Such definition underlines the purpose of TCM as the enhancement of the quality of shopping in town centres in the face of increasing competitive pressure, and emphasizes the importance of the partnership and cooperation between the private and public sectors.

The rapid increase in the number of town centre management projects has generated considerable comment both in practitioner and academic literature. Since the first explor-

ative contributions at the beginning of 1990s that provided a summary of this topic (Jones, 1990, Wells, 1991), most of the academic literature on TCM has focused on descriptive case studies of specific schemes or has analysed particular aspects of current practices, for example, monitoring and measurement indicators (Pal and Sanders, 1997), marketing planning (Stubbs et al, 2002) and reasons for retail involvement/non-involvement (Medway et al, 2000). These studies have made a substantial contribution to understanding of the evolution of TCM practice (Whyatt, 2004); they show that as a concept TCM is maturing from its original janitorial and promotions management role (founded and financed mainly by the local authority) to one which is more concerned with the implementation of a strategic vision and which requires a higher involvement of private stakeholders (represented mainly by the commercial sector).

As recognised by some academics however, as the concept of TCM matures, there is an increasing need for research about this topic. Arising from the above considerations the main purpose of our paper is to provide some insight for the identification of stakeholders for town centre management; by reviewing the academic literature about stakeholder analysis, our paper highlights the importance of distinguishing among different stakeholders and provides suggestions about how to analyse their 'stake' in the town centre. The theoretical framework is enriched by an empirical case study: we used in-depth interviews with stakeholders to assess the main problems of the town centre of Benevento and the possible solutions and suggestions for the town centre management project. Preliminary results from our exploratory research will show that an effective strategy for promoting town and cities as shopping destinations requires consensus from a variety of key stakeholders about what it should be doing and how these things should be done.

2. The Role Of Stakeholders In Town Centre Management

Since the first contributions aiming to provide a comprehensive definition of Town Centre Management; academic literature has acknowledged the existence of different stakeholders with a variety of potentially contrasting interests and emphasizes the need of a co-operative and collaborative approach to develop a strategy for the town centre. In his seminal work, Wells defines town centre management as "a comprehensive response to competitive pressures which involves development, management and promotion of both public and private areas within town centres, for the benefit of all concerned" (Wells, 1991, p. 24). In the same definition provided in the previous paragraph, Healy and Baker emphasize the need for "the effective co-ordination of the private and public sectors, including local authority professionals, to create in partnership, a successful town centre – building upon full consultation" (Healy and Baker, 1994). Finally in the last few years the concept of town centre management has moved from a tactical role to one which is more concerned with the implementation of a strategic vision by focusing on "the search for competitive advantage through the maintenance and/or strategic development of both public and private areas and interests within town centres, initiated and undertaken by stakeholders drawn from a combination of the public, private and voluntary sectors" (Warnaby et al, 1998, pp. 17-18).

All the above definitions point out the fact that town centre vitality and viability is of relevance to wide range of stakeholders including retailers, landlords, investors, shoppers, local authorities, police force, bus companies, property owners (commercial and residential) and local residents; therefore the need to satisfy this wide array of interested parties has a relevant influence in the shaping of the TCM concept (Pal and Sanders, 1997). More specifically, the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) indicates that three main categories of stakeholders should be involved in TCM initiative (Medway et al, 2000) (fig. 1):

- Public Sector: local authorities, police, public transport, tourist agencies, emergency ser-

- vices, training and enterprise councils, school, colleges and universities, leisure centres;
- Private Sector: retailers, banks/building societies, chambers of commerce, transport operators, property owners, managing/estate agents, restaurants and cafes, pub and night clubs, leisure facilities, hotels, solicitors and other professionals;
- Voluntary Sector: Civic societies, conservation groups, disabled groups, residents' groups

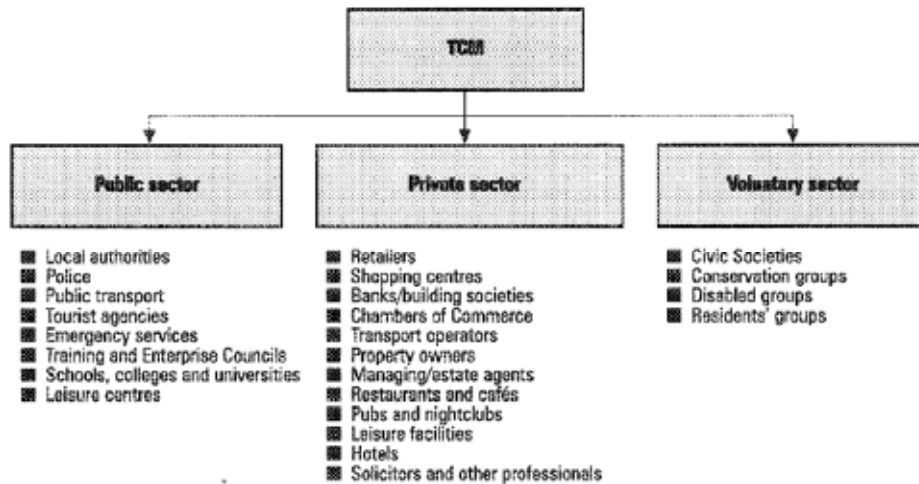


Figure 1. Sectoral classification of TCM stakeholders

Source: Medway et al, 2000 (pag. 369)

However, as noticed by Medway et al (2000), usually just a few of the urban actors indicated above are effectively involved in TCM schemes. Specifically, from the public sector, TCM initiatives are usually promoted and lead by local government; from the private sector notable involvement comes only from retail stakeholders, while other private actors (for example property owners and resident groups) have a significantly minor, if any, role.

As a consequence, despite the need to promote a partnership approach between the public and private sector being recognised as a vital ingredient for the implementation of TCM initiatives; research in this field is characterized by a lack of detailed investigation about the role and the involvement of specific groups of stakeholders. Much of the literature so far has focused mainly on retailers as key players of TCM schemes, with particular emphasis on the reasons for involvement/non involvement in TCM (Medway et al, 2000) and on their contribution towards its funding (Medway et al, 1999). This emphasis is probably determined by the fact that since its beginning TCM borrowed many of its concepts from shopping centre management (Pal and Sanders, 1997; Zanderighi, 2001); however, the management of town centres is obviously much more complex than the management of shopping centres, as it involves numerous stakeholders and attempts to satisfy a wide array of interests that goes beyond the promotion of retailing (Pal and Sanders, 1997). Moreover, consumers perceive the urban shopping destination as a holistic entity and assemble it from the variety of services and experiences obtainable within it; as a consequence the retailing is only one aspect of the urban experience, and the interaction with other urban land uses is important to facilitate the ability of the consumer to create the bundle of benefits appropriate to his or her needs and wants (Warnaby and Davies, 1997; Whyatt, 2004). Therefore, although retailers play a major role in town centre regeneration; sustainable competitive advantage is dependent on the overall quality of the “shopping destination product”, built as result of the interaction of a

wide range of private and public stakeholders.

In the last few years, academic literature has devoted more attention to the effective involvement of stakeholders in town centre revitalization, in accordance with the evolution of the TCM model from a tactical to a more strategic role. According to such an approach, the implementation of TCM schemes requires a strategic planning process aiming to create a better fit between the town's competences and the needs and benefits that the consumer seeks (Whyatt, 2004). In this orientation "all stakeholders, from a range of public and private sector bodies, must work together to ensure that the range of competences, services and assets offered by the town meet the customers' varied needs. This requires stakeholders to work in partnership; commit to a strategy for the town; communicate market information; develop a market orientation; learn best practice from each other and support both the visible and the invisible elements in the provision of the customers' town centre experience" (Whyatt, 2004, p.352). However, as the wide range of potentially different interests and agenda may lead to the existence of some tension within partners, urban destinations need to develop organizing capacity defined as "the ability to enlist all actors involved and, with their help, to generate new ideas and to develop and implement a policy designed to respond to fundamental developments and create conditions for sustainable development" (van den Berg and Brown, 1999, p. 995). Among the main conditions contributing to organizing capacity, the authors indicate the adequate functioning of administrative organization, the developing of strategic network among public and private actors, the leadership by key persons or organizations, the existence of an integral vision and of spatial-economic conditions, and the support by political and societal circles. While the principles behind the need for a coordinated approach among public and private stakeholders have been widely discussed, so far academic literature has not provided significant insights about the criteria for the identification of the key stakeholders to be involved in urban revitalization initiatives.

3. The identification of stakeholders for TCM initiatives

Several scholars in stakeholder theory have attempted to identify stakeholders using systematic criteria. However, the focus has always been on the stakeholders' identification according to the relationship with the organization. Thus, we can see stakeholder identified as primary or secondary; as owners and non-owners; as owners of capital or owners of less tangible assets; as those existing in a voluntary or an involuntary relationship with the organization; as right-holders, contractors, or moral-claimants; as resource providers to or dependents of the organization; as risk-takers or influencers, and so on (Mitchell et al., 1997). All organizations – private and public ones - have primary and secondary stakeholders. A primary stakeholder group is one without whose continuing participation the organization cannot survive as a going concern. They are those who have formal, official, or contractual relationships and have a direct and necessary economic impact upon the organization. Primary stakeholder groups typically are comprised of shareholders and investors, employees, customers, and suppliers, together with what is defined as the public stakeholder group: the governments and communities that provide infrastructures and markets, whose laws and regulations must be obeyed, and to whom taxes and other obligations may be due. There is a high level of interdependence between the organization and its primary stakeholder groups. Failure to retain the participation of a primary stakeholder group will result in failure for that organizational system. Secondary stakeholder groups are defined as those who influence or affect, or who are influenced or affected by the organization, but they are not engaged in transactions with the organization and are not essential for its survival. Secondary stakeholders can be very influential – especially affecting reputation and public opinion – but their stake is representational, not direct. The media and a wide range of special interest groups are considered as secondary stakeholders under this definition.

The organization's survival and continuing success depends upon the ability of its managers to create sufficient wealth, value, or satisfaction for those who belong to each stakeholder group, so that each group continues as a part of the organization's stakeholder system (Clarkson, 1995). However, organizations should re-examine their fundamental definition of stakeholders. Stakeholders are not merely the primary or secondary persons or entities that organizations identify. The definition of stakeholders must be broadened to include more people and individuals. Stakeholder analysis for decision-making, like all management tools, needs to be applied effectively, because, if misapplied, it can lead to some errors. In this regard, there has been a big effort from literature to identify all the potential stakeholders according to different kinds of relationship with the organization. A very useful model for the identification of stakeholders to be involved in TCM initiatives is the "linkage model" developed by Grunig and Hunt (1984). This model is based on four linkages that identify stakeholder relationships to an organization (Figure 1): enabling linkages, functional linkages, diffused linkages, and normative linkages:

- Enabling linkages identify stakeholders who have some control and authority over the organization, such as governmental legislators and regulators, Chamber of Commerce, local industry associations, retailers associations and single retailers that provide financial assistance to TCM schemes. These stakeholders enable an organization to have resources and autonomy to operate;
- Functional linkages are those that are essential to the function of the organization, and are divided between input functions that provide labour and resources to create products or services (such as non financing retailers, leisure and entertainment facilities and dining) and output functions that consume the products or services (such as local consumers and tourists);
- Normative linkages are associations or groups with which the organization has a common interest and share similar values, goals or problems. In TCM schemes stakeholders in the normative linkage may include residents, tourism agencies, police, public transport and parking;
- Diffused linkages are the most difficult to identify because they include stakeholders who do not have frequent interaction with the organization, but become involved based on the actions of the organization. These are the publics that often arise in times of a crisis. In TCM schemes this linkage may include disabled groups, Universities, media, civic societies and conservation groups.

The diffused linkage stakeholders would be different according to the situation, but the enabling, functional, and normative linkage stakeholders are likely to be constant (Rawlins, 2006).

4. Applying Linkage Model To Town Centre Management: The Case Of Benevento

Benevento is a medium sized town in the South of Italy. Starting from 2005 it has formalised the operative proposal for the constitution of town centre management in its historical town centre. Actually the project is still in its gestation stage: thus the main areas for intervention have not yet been defined.

According to the theoretical framework presented in the previous pages, the linkage model was used to identify public and private stakeholders to be involved in the project and a series of in-depth interviews were conducted in order to provide a clear guidance for the identification of the main areas for the intervention of town centre management. A semi-struc-

tured questionnaire was also prepared providing a definition of the overall offering system of the historical town centre based on urban management and service management literature.

On the basis of the linkage model, the following stakeholders were selected for our study: Comune of Benevento, Confcommercio (retailers association), Confesercenti (retailers association), CNA (craftsmen association), Confartigianato (small industries association), Unione Industriali (industries association), API (small industries association), Adiconsum (customers association), Associazione dei residenti (residents association), Ente Provinciale per il Turismo (tourism association), Associazione IsideNova (entertainment agency), Sannio Europa (local development agency). CGL (trade-union), Historical Museum of Sannio.

The “Overall Offering System” Of Historical Town Centre

As in previous research concerning the marketing of urban centres, (Warnaby and Davies, 1997) in our research the overall offering system of the town centre was defined arising from the academic literature on service management (Norman, 1994, Langeard et alii, 1981) and urban marketing (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). Specifically, research on service management points out the role of the three components – clients, physical setting and contact personnel – that define the process of service delivery (Normann, 1984) and their interrelations. Referring to the town centre environment, the importance of such elements is somewhat higher than in other service environments; first, as town centre services are used in the same moment by a multitude of people, people are actively involved in the service delivery (for example in the case of events); second the different components of the overall offering of the historical town centres are “personnel-intensive” (for example contact personnel have an important role for store clients and tourists); finally the physical setting in historical town centres is not only part of the environment but is one of the components of the overall offering as functional and aesthetic tool.

As noted by Warnaby and Davies (1997), the city product is assembled by the consumer from the variety of services and experiences available on the basis of the specific “bundle of benefits” they seek to satisfy. As a consequence, the servuction model (Langeard et alii, 1981), by emphasizing the fact that the consumer receives his or her own individual bundle of benefits from the experience of the interactive process with the visible elements of the organization and with other customers, seems to be a suitable framework to provide a definition of the overall offering system of an historical town centre. By adapting the original servuction model, Warnaby and Davies divide the overall setting of the urban shopping destination into the visible and invisible elements. The visible element includes the physical setting (retail venues, cultural venues, activity venues, leisure venues, general ambience) and the contact personnel within all those venues. The invisible element includes threshold services that improve the overall quality of the visit experience (such as toilets, car parking, basic catering provisions and so forth), motivating services that provide consumers with a more extensive catering provision (cafes, full service restaurants) and the logistical infrastructure (basic transport infrastructure, delivery service, and so forth).

On the basis of the above considerations, in our research the following categories of items were used to define the overall offering of the town centre:

- 1) Accessibility: it includes the efficiency and adequacy of parking, public transportation, car and walking streets
- 2) Quality of life and viability: it includes town centre crime and security, the efficiency and quality of the services for disabled people and the level of cleaning of the roads, urban fur-

nishings and buildings

3) Retail offering: it includes the variety of the assortments, the adequacy of quality/price, the courtesy and availability of the contact personnel and the adequacy of shops timetables

4) Leisure, cultural and of public utility services: it includes the consistency, variety and quality of dining services, the consistency, variety and quality of the cultural services and entertainment (e.g. cinema, games, music stores, night club), the consistency and adequacy of the public utilities (e.g. banks, mail offices), the courtesy and availability of the contact personnel, the frequency and consistency of the organization of events, cultural and entertainment initiatives and the presence of parks and public spaces

5) Heritage and valorisation of the historical and artistic patrimony: it includes the state of maintenance and protection of the town centre historical items, the quality of routes and attractions for tourists, the efficiency of indications close to the historical attractions and the frequency and consistency of initiatives and events aiming to promote the historical and artistic patrimony of the historical centre amongst tourists and residents

6) Marketing strategy: it includes the quality of advertising campaigns and public relations, the level of knowledge of consumers' profile and attitudes, the level of collaboration in the definition of marketing strategies and actions.

Methodology And Preliminary Results

Having defined the main components of the town centre, in depth interviews with public and private stakeholders were conducted in order to investigate the actual situation of the town centre of Benevento and identify the main areas for the intervention of Town Centre Management. Interviews were made between January and April 2006; for each of the categories used to define the overall offering of town centre, stakeholders selected for our study were asked to provide comments about the actual situation of the town centre of Benevento and to identify the main areas for intervention on the basis of the specific needs and interests they represent.

All interviews were recorded and then transcribed on a Word file; for each category coding labels were defined and a dictionary of keywords was built to analyse the text from in-depth interviews.

After a preliminary analysis on the text of the interviews, two new categories were identified:

7) Tourism services: it includes the presence and quality of tourism information services, the consistency and quality of accommodation facilities, the quality of income services and the quality and presence of itineraries for tourists

8) Level of knowledge and attitudes toward town centre management: it includes the level of knowledge of town centre management schemes, the level of involvement in the town centre management project in Benevento, and the attitudes toward the town centre management project in Benevento.

Conclusions And Implications

Our study has significant implications both for practitioners and for academics. From the management prospective our results may provide a clear guidance for the implementation of the TCM project in the historical centre of Benevento, by identifying the main areas for the

intervention according to public and private stakeholders' interests and needs. In addition, the same framework could be used in other cities or towns that have undertaken projects aiming to increase the vitality and viability of their historical town centres.

From the research perspective our research addresses a gap in the academic literature by a) using the linkage model to identify the public and private stakeholders to be involved in TCM and b) providing a definition of the overall offering system of the town centre. Such frameworks can be utilized in further research on urban revitalization; for example new studies could investigate the impact of the components of the town centre offering identified in our study (i.e. leisure, tourism attractions, retail offering) on visitors' attitudes and behaviours. As well, our framework could be used in studies aiming to define a model for the analysis of customer satisfaction in historical town centres.

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Local developments of global proportion: International perspectives on business improvement district stakeholder engagement across networks

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Abstract

In this age of globalisation and neoliberalisation, local place management presents complex challenges and amazing opportunities. Plural neoliberalisms (including multi-level, multi-nodal actions of economic, political, and social agents) are reshaping and reconstructing the spaces and places of world politics in innovative ways requiring an increasing focus on new institutional strategies and institutional entrepreneurs as well as new policy strategies and policy entrepreneurs (Cerny, 2007). Just as the global political economy is evolving so is the urban political economy. Business improvement districts (BIDs) are an innovatory institutional design deeply embedded in urban governance processes on the sub-municipal level (Stokes 2006, Mitchell, 2001). Specifically, BIDs are publicly sanctioned yet privately directed multi-sector polities that supplement public services to improve shared and geographically defined outdoor public spaces (Hoyt, 2005). Although a prime organisation of localised place management, BIDs are proliferating across multiple continents as policy entrepreneurs diffuse urban revitalization policy, making BIDs a global phenomenon (Hoyt, 2006, Ward, 2006, Lloyd, et al, 2003).

In BIDs we confront complex challenges of management, particularly in terms of engaging stakeholders from the public, private, non-governmental, and community based not-for-profit sectors for supplemental public service delivery while managing those divergent and at times opposing interests of stakeholders. Simultaneously, BIDs offer amazing opportunities to make places the best that they can be. We can facilitate cooperative commercial activities returning a profit to business stakeholders yet enhance the quality of life for those who reside, shop in or otherwise frequent the BID.

To help identify and resolve management challenges of BIDs, this paper examines the diffusion of urban revitalisation policy to discern international perspectives of local network governance that may be indicative of the business improvement district model. Network governance can be defined as a relatively stable horizontal articulation of interdependent yet autonomous actors who interact through negotiations occurring within a framework that is somewhat self-regulating and that contributes to the production of public purpose within or across policy areas (Sørensen and Torfing 2005). On a global level, a new paradigm of complex linkages across space and time is emerging, re-ordering governance of politics along multi-level and multi-nodal lines including (but not limited to) the notion of 'networks' (Cerny, 2007; Castells, 2004). Similarly, on the micro-processes level, BIDs are redefining multi-level borders between public and private; promising to rewrite the rules of politics (Briffault, 1999) in the urban terrain. A comparative case study of BIDs in the globalizing metropolises of Newark, NJ (USA) and Cape Town, WC (SA) as well as examples from emerging BIDs in the UK provide informative evidence of how BID managers (1) engage stakeholders and (2) manage stakeholder interests across networks.

Thus far, in-depth qualitative research findings suggest that on all three continents, the BID

manager is a key player in the contested urban metropolis. However, performative network arrangements (Mandell 2001, Mandell and Keast 2006) in the urban political economy appear to be place based. Future research begs the question of not just why performative network arrangements appear to be place based but moreover what amazing opportunities lie in the identification and recognition of particular variables that signal the best place management in a given locale, for replication in similarly situated domains.

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Theme 6



International Perspectives

The contestation for and management of public places in South African cities

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Abstract

Purpose: To show the changes to date between the apartheid (ideological) and democratic use and management of public space. The abolition of apartheid laws in urban areas led to a great deal of contestation for space and also to new forms of management of public space.

Approach: This paper looks briefly at the background which led to public space being 'reserved' on a racial basis. It then examines examples of the contestation for space that developed with the relaxation and, finally, abolition of apartheid legislation. It finally provides and discusses some of the solutions that have developed in both the use and management of public space.

Findings: Little has been practically resolved in relation to contestation over various aspects of urban public space. Where public space interventions have been private sector led, such interventions are not without their own difficulties.

Research limitations/implications: Generally the paper confines itself to Johannesburg. The paper relies on the personal experience of the author and research of written material – time constraints have not permitted research through questionnaires.

Practical implications: The practical implications of the results to date are summarised and recommendations made for application to other South African towns and cities

The originality/value of paper: Relatively little is available on the practical applications of the subject matter in South Africa and could be of value to develop further debate both in South Africa and in world cities subject to mass immigration.

Introduction

Enrique Penalosa, the ex Mayor of Bogota, a man who did so much to change that city, views cities as being planned for a specific purpose - to create human well-being - and that city leadership should promote human happiness. "We all need to see other people" he says, "we need to see green. Wealthy people can do that at clubs and private facilities. But most people can only do it in public squares, parks, libraries, sidewalks, greenways, public transit. Economics, urban planning, ecology are only the means" - he says - "happiness is the goal. Places must make people happy." He points out that whilst income equality as a concept does not relate to market economy, we should be seeking to achieve quality-of-life equality and that urban policy can be a powerful means to achieve equality in quality-of-life. "The least a democratic society should do," he says, "is to offer people wonderful public spaces. Public spaces are not a frivolity. They are just as important as hospitals and schools. They create a sense of belonging. This creates a different type of society—a society where people of all income levels meet in public space is a more integrated, socially healthier one." (Citichat 15/2005)

Johannesburg, although it is the largest and its inner city the most extensively decayed, is in many ways representative of South African towns and cities. Certainly, more than anywhere else in the country, it became an area of contestation for public places.

This paper intends to provide relevant background to the spatial problems that Johannesburg, as all South African towns and cities, are facing and to provide examples of some of the solutions that have been developed: The paper will therefore:

- firstly, sketch the very beginnings of the city as a mining camp;
- secondly, explain the progression (regression!) from mining camp to apartheid city,
- thirdly, reflect the movement from a city of racial exclusion to one of contestation and,
- finally, to provide some examples of the solutions that have been developed or are planned.

From algae to apartheid - the development of open space in Johannesburg.

Beginnings

The geological history of the Witwatersrand², probably covers some 60% of the 4 600 million year life of the Earth during which period sediments accumulated at a time when there was no vegetation on the surface of the planet and the first and simplest life form, blue-green algae, had only just appeared. (Beavon 2004)

By early 1886, clearly oblivious to the wealth under their farmlands, only approximately 200 people were living on some 25 farms that would all eventually be incorporated into what we know today as Johannesburg. (Hannes Meiring) At that stage the area was a savannah; bare desolate veld, sparsely dotted about with small farm homesteads. That was all to change dramatically with the fortuitous discovery of the gold that lay buried below its surface. Within days, thousands streamed to the hoped for El Derado... "In this open grassland the mine camps probably seemed like casual agglomerations of tents and wagons strewn all over the area. The overall impression was one of an open, temporary and insecure settlement.....the only communal features were the wagon tracks which criss-crossed the open terrain" (Van der Waal, 1987).

The first 'unofficial' township, Marshallstown, was laid out in late September 1886 by pioneer Henry Brown Marshall on the northernmost portion of the farm Turffontein A few weeks later the first mining camp was laid out on the adjacent farm, Randjeslaagte, consisting of two separate strips of blocks each with its own grid plan. The separation was caused by digging claims already staked in the area between the strips. Two public squares were designated each in the upper strip and in Marshallstown and one in the lower strip.

In applying a grid plan for Johannesburg the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) government perpetuated an already established tradition. Grid plans had been used for the very first settlement at the Cape and then, in 1685, for Stellenbosch. The tradition was continued by the Boers of the Transvaal when they started to lay out their own towns.

The grid plan used in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries was related to the plans bequeathed by the European metropolitan powers to settlements in their colonies,because it served as a symbol of rational order within an untamed environment.... an expression of centralised power. The grid is also derived from a specific cultural strategy i.e. that of an orderly democratic society." (Van der Waal, *ibid*).

However, the layout of the mining camp differed dramatically from that of the Boer villages. In the latter, the focal point was always the church square – “a manifestation of the hierarchical role of the church in those times.” (Van der Waal, *ibid*) But mining towns focused not on church squares, but on the diggings which were outside of the camp itself.

Paul Kruger, President of the ZAR, was convinced that this would be just another gold-rush town, disappearing as quickly as it would rise. His interest was therefore to “demarcate as many stands as possible within as small a space as appeared reasonable for a mining camp or a village. Corner stands commanded a premium so the idea was to keep the street blocks small as a way of increasing the number of blocks and maximising the number of corner stands....” “The grid would contribute ultimately to the city’s traffic woes. (Beavon, 2004).

Mining towns were thus considered as temporary settlements and the inclusion in the grid of some public squares was a mere formality. In Johannesburg’s case, only one of them, Market Square, had a daily function. It became the town’s marketplace. “The people of Johannesburg were more interested in theatres and sport than in churches and libraries.” (Van der Waal, *ibid*)

The first of the designated squares to disappear was Marshall Square, the land being subdivided into stands which were sold. Von Brandis Square suffered the same fate at a later stage and became the site for various public utility buildings. A recreation building for mine managers was erected in the centre of Government Square, previously Church Square. Union Square, on the eastern edge of the camp, was largely ignored as a public space apart from being used as a drill ground for the army at a later stage. Between 1900 and 1920 the authorities used many of the squares for their own administration. The City Hall and the Public Library were built on Market Square thus greatly reducing the amount of public space available to Johannesburg’s citizens. In mining towns, even if they were fledgling cities, space was an expendable commodity.

“The more extensive powers vested in the city fathers after 1900 and the more prominent role played by the central authorities in Johannesburg was reflected in a one-sided manner when it came to the utilisation of squares. The authorities exerted their presence in a concrete fashion with reference to the larger British Empire. A sympathetic relationship with the human and architectural environment was studiously avoided, as was an open invitation to the public to share in the pleasures of these squares. John Buchan described this linear approach as follows in 1903: “...(Johannesburg) is a colonial city, full of the exaggerated independence of the self-made. The fastidiousness which comes from culture and tradition, the humour which springs from unshaken confidence, must necessarily be absent in a municipality which is still diffident, still largely uneducated”

Few aspects of a city provide better evidence of the relationship between the authorities and the private sector or the general cultural climate of a particular period than do squares and parks. The treatment and utilisation of parks and squares in the city centre during the 1920s and 1930s showed that the residents and management of Johannesburg considered open spaces as a god-sent solution to the shortage of land for official buildings. (Van der Waal, *ibid*)

The apartheid city

The apartheid city did not suddenly materialise when the National Party, the architects of apartheid, took power, neither initially in 1924 nor later when they ruled from 1948 to 1994.

“By 1900 almost all the aspects that until the 1990s were to characterise the apartheid city of Johannesburg were already in place. Africans had to carry passes, they were prohibited from walking on the pavements, they were excluded from public places, they rode in cattle trucks behind the Rand tram and its main line replacement, they were not permitted to use the intra-urban public transport, and they were largely confined to the single sex ‘barracks’ of the mines, the ‘Kaffir Location’, and the servants’ quarters of the opulent whites. Their access to liquor had been constrained, they laboured long and hard for very low wages and they had no political rights. (Beavon, 2004)

Three pieces of legislation were particularly significant in segregating Johannesburg.. They were the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act; the 1930 Amendment to the Act and the Slums Act of 1934. The Natives Land Act of 1913 and subsequent amendments resulted in 15 million hectares being set aside for Africans – no African people could acquire or own land outside of demarcated ‘reserves’. Some 87% of the country’s population were ‘restricted’ to 13% of the land. The 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act permitted Africans to be present in white towns ‘only so far as they were needed to administer to the needs of whites’ (emphasis added).

“.....it is important to recall the essence of the apartheid city. It was a place where white people had ease of access to all the major facilities. It was a place where the bulk of the black population present during the day would have returned ‘home’ to dormitory areas, essentially devoid of the facilities they had worked in during the day. The dormitory areas were either quite distant from people’s places of work....and/or separated from the white area by some sort of physical barrier such as a railway or a freeway...” (Beavon, 2004)

Notices on park benches, separate entrances to public (and some private!) buildings, separate toilet facilities within all buildings, transport, etc. etc. all had to declare clearly what race was catered for. And, as Africans were considered to be ‘temporary sojourners’ in the city, very few amenities were provided for them at all.

From exclusion to contestation

In 1994 the country went through one of the most dramatic and critical changes in its history, from minority to democratic majority rule. Now the practical realities of everyday life for the hitherto oppressed majority of the people of the country suddenly had to be confronted and addressed. South African towns and cities had been moulded by their colonial and apartheid masters and the inequities and inequalities within the urban fabric became more and more apparent as efforts were directed to normalising society. This is explained by Reid, 2006.

“In the residential areas and the business district of the inner city, enforcement of by-laws ceased, and building control, land-use management and other planning regulations, along with credit control, were all but abandoned. The inner city housing environment became increasingly unstable, with white landlords and the new black tenants in contestation over rentals, obligations and rights. Many landlords milked their properties, and abandoned them. Banks, facing increased default, and a breakdown in public service delivery, responded by massive redlining of most of the inner city, causing more disinvestment and the self-fulfilment of the banks’ prophesy of urban decay.”

By the mid-1990s, it was clear that, more than any other area of any city in South Africa, the Johannesburg Inner City had become an area of contestation; over turf among traders and taxi operators; between formal retailers and informal traders; between the foreign migrants and South Africans, both seeking economic refuge in the inner city; and between the diverg-

ing economic and social systems of the north (and significant aspects of the city centre's economy) linked into the global economy and a significant portion of the labour force operating either outside the formal economy or "directly linked to the rest of Africa through migrant networks" (Rogerson and Tomlinson, 1999)

There are three major issues that underpin the contestation of space in the context of the Johannesburg Inner City.

- the presence of the rural in the urban
- the transient nature of the city and
- the need to deal with increasing uncertainty and complexity:

Rural in the Urban

Africa is fundamentally a rural place. However, modern Africa possesses an important urban heritage. Cities like Timbuktu, Gao, Uialata, Ife and Kano exist in the same location after centuries embracing traditions that are poorly suited to modern life. "In contrast, colonisation and the capitalist economy have created large cities with no traditions or solid roots and their uncontrolled gigantism has led to deep imbalances in local communities." (Cissoko, 2003) The concept of "urban" is thus very important for the development of Africa.

Traditionally, the city is a centre of trade, manufacturing, power management, religious and cultural activities, etc. (Laboratoire "Connaissance du Tiers-Monde"). Can this definition be applied to Sub-Saharan Africa? How do Sub-Saharan Africans define their cities? According to research many African peoples do not have words to describe 'a City,' or, rather, they do not distinguish it from a village. The city is seen as a large village, a place for trading and a place of survival. However, the city is distinct from the village;" The city is heterogeneity, while the village is homogeneity." (Cissoko, *ibid*) This general comprehension of the notion of 'City' is often the reason for the presence of "rural in the urban", each paradigm contesting dominance of space for survival. This also manifests in the contestation for symbolism and various attempts to grasp for meaning in the 'foreign' urban environment. (eg animal slaughter, keeping livestock in apartments, etc)

Transience

"...Joburger's come here for opportunity, then move on. As a result the City is often a work in progress" (Matshikiza, 2004). Most people come to Johannesburg because they are seduced by opportunities of quick wealth, often providing cheap labour in exchange for meagre livelihoods. Some come to be educated, others to be domestic workers. Either way, they leave as soon as possible, entrenching the transience of the City. Transience, in turn, entrenches a rapid 'turn-over' in the nature of the use of public spaces, a struggle to establish immediate, temporary 'ownership' of the space, purely for survival.

"I cannot help feeling that the growing disorder of the modern city stems at least in part from the fact that it has lost its air of permanence. The city has become as temporary and disposable to the eye as the discarded junk that drifts through its streets and alleyways" (Scruton, 1996)

The proliferation of uncertainties.

"Life has become exceedingly precarious for most urban Africans. Conditions and situations are turned upside down and inside out. In some cities young children are either the major or sole breadwinners, who must maintain their willingness to be exploited long into adult-

hood. Many families have simply ceased being, and the claims people make on each other have turned increasingly vociferous and violent. It is a time where few can assume that they belong to anyone or any place in particular, and the willingness to share places and resources has greatly diminished. “ (Simone, 2003) In any successful urban environment, there is a need for the management of and care for the physical environment in which the social environment exists and in which aspirations may be fulfilled. Sub-Saharan cities seem now to reflect very different tendencies. Contestation over public space has contributed towards the erosion of various forms of social cohesion. Struggles over who belongs where and who uses what space are becoming increasingly violent. Urban residents face intensified local competition for space, resources and opportunities. According to Simone, 2005, citizens are increasingly uncertain as to where they are and how to operate. Under such circumstances, it is difficult for planners and city officials to make commitments to the sustainability of place and indeed, the city. Thus contestation of space leads to increasing uncertainty and complexity in the urban environment.

The inner city of Johannesburg serves diverse groups whose economic and social interests most often reach far beyond the inner city itself. These groups might co-exist in fragmented and often unforeseen ways, working in proximity to, but apart from, one another..... but equally often, these groups can intrude on one another. Informal retailers inconvenience office workers by blocking the footways, they diminish the sales of formal retailers by selling contraband goods at low prices. Taxi groups take over streets spur informal retailing, and drive out former activities. Contestation over “turf” easily becomes violent when, for example, people perceive that migrants threaten “their” trading area, or “their” taxi rank or route is being used by another taxi service.

The role of the informal sector is increasingly characteristic of countries in Southern and Central Africa as an ever-larger proportion of the labour force will probably never find formal employment. In these countries, where formal jobs are few and informal opportunities require ingenuity, competition frequently comprises circumventing the rules. Where the implementation of the law is weak, the competition also entails theft and violence. For many thousands the inner city serves as an ‘economic refuge’. There are many people for whom the market has ceased to serve their most basic needs and who also no longer look to government for much support. They might be defined by economic disadvantage, social exclusion, institutional isolation, lack of employment opportunities, (often) race, and (in the past) spatial exclusion. Nowadays the inner city offers the best opportunities for survival in this sector, albeit that this often occurs through bending the rules in one way or another. The point is that the economic success of the inner city entails addressing the needs of this group as well and creating opportunities for economic and social inclusion, that is, in addition to managing public realm.

Addressing the problems - processes

Since 1996 a number of major processes have been introduced to address the regeneration of the inner city but also to deal with the issue of the ‘normalisation’ of the city centre. It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with such processes but just to record that from 1996 to 2002; following a visioning exercise and the development of a spatial and economic framework, a series of strategies were developed and implemented under the name “Johannesburg Mayivuke” (Johannesburg Awake)

From 2002 to 2007; a new set of strategies were developed in what came to be known as the “Five Pillar Strategy.”

Finally, from 2007 to 2012; a “Charter and Inner City Summit” process was embarked on,

initiated by the Executive Mayor and aimed at “re-energising the urban renewal process” in the inner city.

The Charter process was to provide:

1. a blueprint to guide and prioritise future interventions and investments in the inner city and
2. a benchmark of the city’s commitments, roles and responsibilities with regards to regeneration

A copy of the Charter in relation to open space is provided as Annexure 1 hereto.

Some examples of solutions to spatial and contestation issues flowing from the urban renewal processes.

Precinct development

Spatial and economic analyses undertaken in 1999 had identified the city centre as a place of interconnected precincts or districts (City Centre Development Framework, 2000), and the recognition of this fact “helped shape a process of urban design that began to move from addressing merely utilitarian aspects of the environment to finding ways of articulating the identity of the precincts - and hence the city - and accommodating competing uses.....urban design thus becomes a tool for promoting a sense of place as well as opportunities for economic growth of new sectors (Reid, 2006)

This process of creating environments that supported broader social and economic development objectives for both the City and its users became a priority, and required a new approach to the strategies and processes of, and outcomes from, the redesign and development of the built form. Whilst urban design was emphasised as one of the critical tools to realise the development objectives, it was not the starting point. The urban design brief was developed on the basis of an analysis and understanding of the role of the city centre, economically as well as socially, that addressed the needs of new users, the major points of contestation and conflict, new economic opportunities and how urban management – or getting the basics right - could be enhanced. The design response was critical in supporting other strategies: how to design out the over-reliance on enforcement agencies to ensure that competing needs could be accommodated; how to create environments where urban amenity would be enhanced while retaining the functionality which a myriad new users of the city required; how to develop the public realm so that it enhanced social integration and new economic opportunities, be it in residential, commercial or retail development; how to create environments which would support the formalisation of the important and long ignored informal sector.

But, equally important was for the strategy to deal with and understand the inner city as a series of interrelated but differentiated districts or precincts. Urban design interventions would be used to uncover, articulate and strengthen the organic character of each area whilst ensuring that the whole function in an integrated and efficient manner.

Spatial Development Framework (2000)

A typical example of precinct development and economic support using space as the catalyst can be found in the development of the ‘Fashion Kapitol’. Both the Spatial and Economic Framework had identified a precinct in the Inner City that not only had historical roots in the clothing industry (it had been the centre of clothing, design and manufacture, in the

'60s) but had also become a centre for 'informal' manufacture by the '90s. The Economic Strategy therefore proposed that;

“A set of interventions is recommended to strengthen the competitiveness of this (clothing) cluster as a whole and to seek to shift the industry away from a trajectory of mere survival to one of long-term growth. The proposed garment district draws upon what might be described as the best practice concerning sectoral interventions, particularly as regards clothing.”

Accordingly, the district was defined geographically, its footprint emphasised by creating a pattern of mosaics that were recessed into the footways (the pattern being that of a number of electric sewing machine stitching), architectural gateways to the district were erected; a Fashion Institute to “stimulate, guide and monitor interventions to promote the garment industry” was established and specific projects identified.

The first of these was the development of a significant public space, the 'Fashion Kapitol'. The strategy around this intervention was to develop a multi-functional robust urban space; accommodate fashion specific activities with the incorporation of a fashion ramp, promote integration with adjoining streets and spaces, facilitate pedestrian movement through the square and accommodate some retail related uses. The City agreed to expropriate a building in an appropriate location and the Square is now in the final stages of construction. It has subsequently attracted about R450 million in new investment to the district, ten times the value of the City's investment, and promises to continue attracting a great deal more.

Upgrading the public environment.

In practical terms, the apartheid policy of the previous regime started to crumble in the late 1980s/early 1990s. As a result the city began to experience massive demographic changes. The residential population went from almost exclusively white (excepting the domestic workers who inhabited the “locations in the skies” – rooms built to house them at the top of high rise apartment buildings in inner city suburbs) to almost exclusively black” (Reid, 2000).

The numbers of inner city residents grew 25% between 1992 and 1996 without an increase in housing stock, (Inner City Housing Upgrading Trust, 1996). By 1999 the inner city population numbered 220 000 and the private sector began to recognise the opportunity presented by the rapidly growing residential population. In 1998 private investment in the inner city was R23 million by 2005 it was R351 million (Urban Inc). A high proportion of this investment related to residential accommodation.

About 5 000 'new' residential units were provided in the inner city between 2001 and 2006 from refurbishments and conversions of commercial space to residential – at least another 5 000 units are currently being constructed and the city is aiming to increase the number of inner city units by a further 70 000 over the next ten to fifteen years. The inner city population has almost trebled from 120 000 people in 1992/3 to an estimated 343,000 and will probably grow to nearly three quarters of a million over the next ten to fifteen years. (Source: Urban Inc)

The city, already under stress from the depletion of its public space over its short history, now has to provide for a population it was never designed to support. Whilst developers have been able to upgrade existing apartment buildings and convert much of the vacant commercial space into residential, this takes place in a densely developed cityscape. The creation of new managed public urban space is critical. In this regard the Charter (Annexure 1) states: “The City of Johannesburg wishes to achieve a liveable Inner City with sustainable

and cohesive neighbourhoods in which all people, whether wealthy or not, can live in dignified circumstances. Such neighbourhoods require culturally appropriate and authentic public places that are accessible to all. To realise this, the City will work with all stakeholders to increase the amount of space within or immediately adjacent to the Inner City that is made up of parks, playgrounds and other quality public places. The aim will be to see at least 5% of total space within the boundaries of the current UDZ3 developed as quality public open space, and to ensure that no person need walk more than 300 meters to find public open space. This will be achieved by 2015”

The upgrading of a number of parks in inner city residential areas has already commenced. To date the work has been funded by the City and carried out by City Council agencies. However discussions are now well advanced in certain areas for developers of residential accommodation to take over the management and maintenance of public parks in areas where redevelopment is taking place. The role of the private sector in upgrading public space, whether parks or streetscapes, as well as providing subsequent management and maintenance, is one of the features of the inner city renewal process.

The first of such projects was the regeneration of what was originally known as Church Square.

Contest over control and use of the site has been ongoing since the earliest days of the formation of the Square. In essence, such contest has revolved around who is entitled to exercise rights there, who ‘belongs’ in the space, and connected to that, who is represented there. As borne out by the more recent history of the site, such contestation continues down to the present. (Itzkin, unpublished))

Church Square is reflected on the original 1886 map of the layout of the mining camp. But it appears that it was never used for religious purposes being exchanged with Government for an alternative site. The site was sold to one of the newly established mining companies where they erected a magnificent Victorian style double storey building that was to be used as a clubhouse for white mine managers. Before the building was completed however, the ZAR government of the time expropriated the square and building and converted the latter into a courthouse and government offices. Many were convicted here under discriminatory laws. The name of the Square was changed to Government Square.

When Johannesburg was surrendered to Lord Roberts on the 31st May 1900, the ceremony took place in front of the law courts which had assumed the symbolic status of the seat of local-state political power.

The building was demolished in 1948 and the Square was transformed into the main bus terminal for the “whites-only” bus service of the city. Another name-change, this time to van der Byl Square after the first Chairman of the parastatal electrical corporation – Electricity Supply Commission, The bus terminus consisted of a number of parallel reinforced concrete “bus shelters” which ran the whole length of the square from east to west. By the early 1990s the Square had become an unmanaged decaying public space. The tops of the concrete shelters were used by homeless people and street children and the square was filthy and well-known for the high rate of muggings and disorderly conduct it attracted.

One of the owners of a property bordering the square, approached the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) with a request that they establish a coalition of the owners of properties surrounding the Square and attempt to get them to contribute to the upgrading of the Square. The property owners were reluctant to provide funding for what was public space unless they had a degree of control over the space. The Council agreed to a quid pro quo that the

private property owners fund the upgrading of the area and the City would sign a 45 year Use Agreement with the property owners coalition. The use agreement however retained the rights of the City to use the Square as a bus terminal but only utilising 40% of the space. The space was redesigned to create broad public ways for pedestrian movement and a spill over of pavement coffee shops and cafes.

The property owners would be responsible for maintaining, cleaning and providing security in the Square over the life of the Use Agreement. The property owners provided the necessary funding in proportion to the values of their properties together with R500 000-00 awarded through a provincial government urban renewal fund. The city also agreed to the advertising income from the bus shelters on the square being retained by the coalition and ring-fenced for payment of the capital cost of the bus shelters and the maintenance of the square itself.

The upgraded square, completed in 1999, was renamed Gandhi Square in recognition of the fact that the Mahatma, during some of his years in South Africa, had practiced as an attorney in the Law Courts that had once graced the space fighting discriminatory practices and where he himself was tried and found guilty for refusing to register under the pass laws – he recalls.

“I had some slight feeling of awkwardness due to the fact that I was standing as an accused in the very court where I had often appeared as Council. But I remember that I considered the former role as far more honourable than the latter, and did not feel the slightest hesitation in entering the prisoner’s box”

The impact of the regenerated Square has been enormous. The substantial office space component surrounding the Square has moved from a 15% occupancy to a 15% vacancy whilst rentals have increased sharply, those of ground floor retail by at least 250%.

Extending the private-public model

The ‘Gandhi Square model’, or variations to it, was used for a growing number of public-private initiatives of public space upgrading. The Braamfontein streetscape programme was typical of a much larger (geographically and financially) public space upgrading. Business contributed R12 million and the city R28 million for repaving all footways in the area, new lighting, street furniture, planting and trees. “Braamfontein, a high-density adjunct to the Johannesburg city centre, accommodating diverse interests: local government, a large number of non-governmental organisations, educational institutions, including the University of the Witwatersrand, large corporates as well as smaller businesses, convenience retail, a small residential component and the City-owned Civic Theatre Complex. But like the city centre, the area had suffered from the blight, crime and grime leading to a marked deterioration with prime business and retail tenants moving to suburban locations with resultant high vacancy rates and a degraded public environment.

The re-development of Braamfontein targeted the creation of a well-managed, vibrant, and physically attractive area, with a growing evening economy, better use of property stock and increased private sector investment that would support new economic opportunities and create the space to “enable a multiplicity of ways of being in the city”.

The urban design brief was developed through a series of engagements with key stakeholders to better understand the area and was informed by a detailed economic analysis and study of the management of the area. A multi-disciplinary team was appointed to develop the urban design framework through a highly interactive design process. It involved a number of activities. Focus groups and workshops were held with a range of stakeholders,

including Wits University, the major corporates, informal traders and taxi drivers, residents, small businesses and NGOs. (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2002)

The R40 million invested through the public-private streetscaping process has generated close to R1 billion in new investment including some further private sector funding for public sector amenities.

The property owners in Main Street followed a similar process for completely re-engineering the street over six city blocks including repaving of the roadway, footways, lighting, street furniture and planting. In this case, business invested R12 million and the city R2 million. In addition the street was themed on a mining theme including the provision of historical mining artefacts. The upgrading and resultant wider footways have attracted a number of pavement cafes and new retail activities which has reintroduced active life on the street.

There are a number of other examples of the upgrading of public space either by public-private co-operation or directly by the City itself. So successful have these initiatives proved in terms of attracting fresh investment and increasing property values that the city is to upgrade most of the inner city area over the next five to ten years and has just commenced its first major programme under the Charter process in the dense, badly decayed residential inner city areas of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville.

The funding for this work is via an Inner City Fund established by the City Council through an additional levy on the rateable value of all inner city properties. .

Informal traders (hawkers)

The number of hawkers or informal traders who were permitted to trade off the city's pavements was historically both extremely limited and carefully controlled. The City's bye laws in the early 1900s required street traders to move their pitch 25 metres every 20 minutes making trading extremely difficult. Most informal traders clustered around the railway stations on the commuter line and "some clusters of hawking situated mainly on the periphery of the defended space of the CBD, almost reminiscent of fairs up against the walls of a medieval city." (Beavon, 2004) Subsequently, the Urban Areas Act of 1923 restricted Africans to selling "basic necessities" and then, only in township areas. In 1947 the Council declared a restricted area of 192 city blocks in the inner city where access for street trading was by licence and only before 07h00 and after 18h00. "It is therefore hardly surprising that in the years of segregation and apartheid the CBD of Johannesburg never saw hawkers in any great numbers, except on the ever-expanding periphery of the restricted area. (Beavon, 2004).

However, in the early 1990s, the last of the 'undemocratic councils'⁴ decided, whilst not going so far as to repeal the restrictive and punitive bye-laws of the city, that they would simply not enforce them.

The result of this decision was that by 1993, surveys conducted in the city centre reflected figures of about 5 000 to 6 000 traders in the inner city streets. (Central Johannesburg Partnership)

The traders were not just South Africans! The inner city increasingly serves a migrant community, as residents, traders and owners of enterprises and as employers. Migrant traders have turned Johannesburg into the centre of a trading network reaching throughout sub Saharan Africa and are adding enormously to the retail turnover in the inner city.

Because of apartheid laws there have never been facilities created to accommodate the traders, no storage, no toilets, no washing facilities, etc. With no available space for the thousands of hawkers to store their goods safely overnight, a number of public parks were annexed by entrepreneurs and illegally 'let' to hawkers for storage. For example, Oppenheimer Gardens, a small public space in the middle of the centre city was 'taken over' by one such entrepreneur who enjoyed a booming business for the number of years it took for the City to react and eject him. He then demanded compensation as the City were denying him the livelihood he had become accustomed to! A derelict building owned by the State was designated by Council as a storage area. It was some distance away from the main informal trading hub of the centre city. As a result, for a number of years, motorists had to dodge informal traders as they fanned out on the roads from this building, pushing 'borrowed' supermarket and other trolleys to get their wares to their pitches both early in the morning and late afternoon. At one stage the City actually designated informal traders' paths within the road reserve (like bicycle paths) in order to provide a safer passage for both the traders and the motorists!

In the late 1990s/early 2000s the City decided to develop an informal trading policy through which it would classify informal traders into various groups and also classify various public streets or geographic areas. Thus specific streets were designated as 'non-trading' streets whilst others were left for any trading to take place (but within certain requirements) and still others where there were certain restrictions either related to hours of operation or goods to be sold. In addition, the policy provided for the development of a series of informal trading 'markets'.

Many problems emanated from the 'free' trading areas. They were extremely dirty, restricted the use of the pavements, blocked the view of the formal retail shops and were places for criminals to drop stolen goods whilst eluding the police. In an effort to make the streets appear more 'managed' the City resolved to provide traders in 'free' trading areas with pre-manufactured stands which would be rented to 'registered' hawkers. However, lack of adequate management or bye-law enforcement has resulted in chaotic and intimidating conditions.

Contestation for space also manifests itself in that 'formal' retailers use hawkers to 'front' for them ie the formal retailers supply the hawkers directly in front of their store space with their own goods in order to control that space and maintain some degree of orderliness and cleanliness. In addition, importers of cheap goods, usually counterfeit, utilise hawkers to sell their wares.

In many ways the provision of markets has been more successful but insufficient to cater for the numbers of traders eking a living on the streets. A number of linear markets have been provided (Kerk Street); free standing markets (Yeoville) markets combined with taxi ranking facilities (Metro Mall) and specialist markets (Faraday). A new initiative to create 8 linear markets in the Inner City is currently under consideration.

Taxis

The 'black-taxi' industry grew out of the deregulation of black business in 1976. Initially from "a handful of six-seater vehicles used as taxis in the late 1970s". By 1998, some 35 000 vehicles (10 to 16 seater mini-bus taxis) were registered with the provincial authorities conveying at least 70 per cent of the African commuting public every day. A normal day would see taxis shuttling from their base to the inner city in the early morning, parking for most of the day in the inner city until the afternoon rush in the reverse direction. Because of a total lack of planned space to accommodate them, taxis simply took over whatever road or open

space they could find. Thus the Union Grounds, previously referred to, became an informal taxi rank catering for thousands of taxis which were washed, serviced and repaired during the day when not in use transporting passengers. A close association exists between taxi ranks and informal trading and the latter, under the most crude conditions, were attracted to these areas in large numbers. A lack of public conveniences, storage, water etc saw these areas become massive cesspits of filth and litter. There is no doubt that whilst the taxi industry has served the majority of Africans who have no private transport they have contributed to crime, violence, degradation and the closure of formal shopping.

These informal taxi ranks brought with them a myriad of problems, stifling commercial and retail activity in the buildings around them, and bringing increased vacancies and decline. Similarly, the abolition in 1991 of all local authority by-laws to regulate and manage informal street trading brought a massive influx of street traders and resulting increase in waste management problems, congestion of the pavements, informal control of space, and further decay in the built environment. Indeed, most businesses that left the city in the mid-90s cited unregulated street trading as one of the major reasons for relocating. Interestingly, the only attempt to address these issues came from business through the improvement districts, which began slowly to de-densify street trading and provide trading facilities for informal traders within the districts. (Reid, 2004)

Many of the city's bye-laws were not effectively enforced leading to overcrowded pavements and already unruly mini-bus taxis becoming a law unto themselves. The situation progressively deteriorated until the mid '90s.

The Park Central/Jack Mincer development

Park Central/Jack Mincer, the first formal taxi rank for an industry that transports between 70% and 80% of the 800,000 daily commuters to the city centre was only built in 1998 and opened in early 1999. Located some 500 metres from the central railway station and serviced by a number of bus routes, it accommodates 2000 mini-bus taxis and is used by over 100,000 daily commuters.

Prior to 1994, when the facility had been handed to taxi associations to be used for taxi holding (parking during off-peak) and ranking, Jack Mincer had been a municipal parking garage. By 1998, it was characterised as chaotic, dangerous, and dirty. Waste management was non-existent, and competition over space and routes, as well as street crime, made it extremely unsafe. For commuters, there were no facilities: no shelter from the weather and the few public ablution facilities were blocked and unusable. However, standing on an adjacent building and looking down on the informal rank, it was clear that it was far from chaotic in the way in which the taxi associations managed their business.

Previously, a taxi rank would be developed with little engagement of the taxi operators. Why this should have occurred might be bewildering, given that no-one would approach the development of a shopping mall without engaging with the anchor tenants. It is explained by the fact that mostly at that stage the informal taxi industry was marginalized and was seen as – and indeed often was – violent and dangerous. A site would be identified by city planners, surveys of the number of taxis and commuters who would probably use the facility conducted and the facility designed and built. It would then be presented as a fait accompli to the taxi industry.

A different process for the development of the Park Central/Jack Mincer Rank was adopted, together with the developer of a proposed adjacent retail centre. The taxi leadership was brought into the design process from the beginning. Representatives of the six associa-

tions which would ultimately use the rank were brought into the project team, engaging with urban designers, architects and traffic engineers on design and management issues. The process, although difficult and initially characterised by posturing and positioning taking, allowed ultimately for the development of a facility that addresses both commuter and industry needs. While placing new demands on the professionals, requiring them to build relationships with an industry that until then operated on the margins, the process produced a number of design innovations incorporated into the development, and without which the effective use of the facility by the industry undoubtedly would have been compromised. Most important, the new facility produced efficiencies in the industry that resulted, on some routes, in a reduction of travel time of up to 45 minutes, as well as increased business for taxi operators. It also produced a sense of investment and ownership on the part of taxi operators, and developed new management systems to manage the completed facility with the City.

In a very practical and obvious sense, top-down planning processes were transformed into participatory processes in which professionals become facilitators not experts. For city official and professionals, it has meant learning to work with the new users of the city. It has meant understanding the way in which the new communities of the inner city live their lives and engage with the built environment. It has meant understanding how the informal systems, networks and supply chains of the informal sector work, and through engagement and innovative design, designing out the bad and reinforcing the good. Most important, it has meant building a city which can accommodate the “diverging economic systems of the north” and a labour force operating outside formal economy. (Reid, 2004)

Management

“Investors and residents alike are more likely to be persuaded to stay in the city or to be newly attracted to it if it offers an environment which is safe, attractive and vibrant. A poor environment will reinforce the vicious spiral of decline.” (Draft Manchester Development Framework)

Government of Southern Africa at all levels, but particularly at local level, appears to find the requirement to approve large sums of money for capital expenditure reasonably simple. Providing the funds are available and the need adequately motivated, public capital investment takes place. However, the requirement to make what will become a long term commitment for both maintenance and management is seldom dealt with.

The Johannesburg Inner City private sector was thus willing to invest in what essentially were public environment projects but, the caveat that accompanied such investment, was that it would only take place if the private sector itself was allowed to take a large responsibility for the management of the investment.

Following extensive research, the Central Johannesburg Partnership established the first BID (Business Improvement District) in South Africa in 1993. In the absence of appropriate legislation the BID was established on a voluntary basis. In 1999 Provincial legislation in the form of the ‘City Improvement District Act No. 12 of 1997’ (the Provincial authorities preferring the connotation of CIDs to BIDs) was passed into law.

All the public-private urban space initiatives referred to in this paper are managed and maintained by CIDs providing security, cleaning and maintenance, gardening, marketing etc.

Conclusion

The informality in South African cities, encourages and allows for the existence of a “melting pot” of existing and emerging ideas. The notion of complexity and uncertainty present in Southern African cities, one result of the contestation of space as described can have positive effects. Complexity is positive – requiring non prescriptive approaches, encouraging open-ended consequences “Any city is a cauldron of multiple, often competing, rationalities (and irrationalities), interacting within a specific and changing matrix of power.” (Harrison, 2004) *Cosmopolitan! African! - Johannesburg displays all the complexities of multiple rationalities and resulting unreason of a vibrant metropolis, just more overtly. Here, (ir)rationality is ‘in your face’. To become an inclusive City, there is an increasing need for planners and those with power to embrace notions of neo-rationalism, “retaining a commitment to ideas of reason and rationality whilst engaging positively unreason, power and disparate values... leading to an engagement with the multiple (ir)rationalities of the many players whose decisions and actions are shaping the city.” (Harrison, 2004)*

Planners in our cities need to embrace the duality of allowing the urban fabric to morph and evolve creatively and to express itself without too much regulation yet within a sense of order, management and structure. We have to learn how to encourage the physical and spatial expression of local cultures, foreign cultures and subcultures, how to allow the cities to become more ‘human’. How deep do differences in rationality between urban cultures go? However deep, the challenge for renewal in Johannesburg is to find new possibilities between multiple and often conflicting rationalities / cultural values and norms, to recognize complex forms of interdependence, contestation for space and resources in the City and a deep acknowledgement of diversity.

“Urban integration and Cities can never be reduced to functional imperatives but are irrepressibly vibrant spaces of cultural contestation and struggle. Social justice is never delivered on a platter, but must always be seized by determined actors” (Pieterse, 2004)

It is critical that we recognise the impact that places have on ourselves and our cities and particularly on our ability to function as citizens in a democratic society. Well designed and managed democratic space is where different age groups, different social groups and different ethnic groups can meet – it is an antidote to fear and a good crime prevention strategy. Good public space gives hope to citizens.

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Notes

1. Johannesburg Inner City. A geographical area of 17.6 square kilometres which includes the city centre (CBD) but also the immediately surrounding commercial and residential suburbs. The inner city area was determined in 1996 through the concern of the newly democratically elected local authority that a regeneration focus on the traditional city centre would leave the decaying contiguous areas behind. The Inner City stretches from the historic suburbs of Vrededorp, Pageview and Fordsburg in the west to Jeppestown, Troyeville, Judith's Paarl and Bellevue East in the east and from the M2 Motorway in the south to the northern boundaries of Vrededorp, Braamfontein, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and Berea, an area now within the boundaries of the Urban Development Zone for this region.

2. Witwatersrand – literally “The Ridge of white waters” so called by the early Boers who first noticed the sparkling streams running down the rocky hills in the early morning sun. It was here that gold was discovered and the mining town laid out

3 UDZ Central Government introduced a tax incentive to be provided in pre-agreed areas within major cities known Urban Development Zones. Johannesburg's Urban development Zone approximates the boundaries of the Inner City.

4 “Undemocratic Councils”. The councils elected since the founding of Johannesburg but more particularly during the apartheid era were considered by the majority population as undemocratic and illegal as they were elected by the minority white group on in the city. The minority white group elected, until the very latter years of the regime, only white representation.

Annexure 1

Section 2. Public Spaces, Arts, Culture & Heritage

1. Parks, playgrounds and other public places

Issue:

International comparison suggests an acceptable benchmark of 2 hectares of quality public open space per 1000 residents in dense urban settings. By this measure the Inner City of Johannesburg has a severe dearth of parks and playgrounds to cater for its rapidly increasing population. The current lack of quality public spaces means existing parks and playgrounds are over-utilised. In addition, a lack of accessible community sports facilities means that parks originally designed for passive recreation now have to cater for active recreational usage. As a result the available public open space has been significantly degraded within a short period of time. The City needs to upgrade existing public open space, and also develop new space taking into account innovative new concepts such as tot-lots/pocket parks.

Desired outcomes:

The City of Johannesburg wishes to achieve a liveable Inner City with sustainable and cohesive neighbourhoods in which all people, whether wealthy or not, can live in dignified circumstances. Such neighbourhoods require culturally appropriate and authentic public places that are accessible to all. To realise this, the City will work with all stakeholders to increase the amount of space within or immediately adjacent to the Inner City that is made up of parks, playgrounds and other quality public places. The aim will be to see at least 5% of total space within the boundaries of the current UDZ developed as quality public open space, and to ensure that no person needs to walk more than 300 meters to find either hard or soft public open space. This will be achieved by 2015.

In line with sustainable cities principles and specific Department of Environment and City Parks objectives, all new and refurbished public open spaces will be designed, developed and upgraded in a manner that is compliant with ecological best practice in respect of storm-water attenuation and run-off management, heat island effect mitigation, etc.

Commitments:

- By December 2007 the City of Johannesburg will draft an implementation plan for a coherent approach to upgrading and maintaining existing, but currently dysfunctional, open spaces and parks. This plan will be rolled out by March 2009. Key parks to be re-developed include the Alec Gorschell Park; the Donald Mackay Park; the End Street Park; the Pieter Roos Park, the Wilds, and others. Opportunities will be sought for creative approaches to the management of public open space where appropriate, including co-management arrangements with property-owners/developers and community organisations.
- By March 2008, the City of Johannesburg will, together with stakeholders, identify possible new spaces to contribute towards the desired outcome. In this plan it will:
- Explore the development of "Partnership Places", to be co-designed and co-managed with communities. For example, the residents and management of the eKhaya precinct has identified three spaces that should be upgraded into landscaped public places, such places to be managed by the precinct;
- Following the Main Street model, explore the development of other "Partnership Places", to be co-designed and co-managed with the private sector under an arrangement that

- guarantees public accessibility;
- Develop simplified procedures for lease agreements over public places re management & maintenance;
- Identify potential buildings to be released from the Better Buildings Programme or City of Johannesburg owned property that can be demolished to make way for public open space;
- Develop new public open space concepts that can feasibly be developed in the dense urban landscape of the Inner City. Special attention will be given to so-called pocket parks or tot-lots.
- As a major intervention the City will investigate the feasibility of constructing a linear, continuous public open space 'spine' from Yeoville Ridge, through Pullinger Kop, and down along the End Street Park. Extension of the spine in the space behind the Windybrow theatre, and even innovative approaches to decking the railway line to the south of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, may also be investigated.
 - A feasibility and business / development plan will be completed by July 2008;
 - If the feasibility plan concludes the idea is viable, the development and upgrade will be completed by March 2010;
 - A management agreement will be in place by September 2008.
- Other key public open space interventions to be investigated by March 2008 include: Braamfontein Cemetery; a park at the base of the Hillbrow Tower; a major park east of the Supreme Court and West of Joe Slovo Drive to cater for the large number of conversions from office to residential currently underway; and public open space close to the Standard Bank Superblock.
- Within the process of upgrading existing public spaces and creating new spaces, the City of Johannesburg will identify and configure a number of places that can be used as Fanfest Spaces for the 2010 Soccer World Cup. These will be developed by March 2010. Design and development will ensure that these spaces remain as appropriate, meaningful and well-used legacy places after the World Cup event has concluded.
- Public spaces will be developed in a way that encourages and enables the installation of public art in alignment with the City's Public Art Policy of 2006.

2. Walkable streets / public environment upgrading

Issue:

Recent systematic upgrading of streets in Braamfontein and along Main Street shows what can be done if a concerted effort is made to ensure that the public environment is safe and walkable and dignified. These upgraded spaces attract private sector property investment, and convey a sense of dignity and pride to Inner City residents who have come to experience significant degradation in the urban environment. However, most Inner City streets still remain un-refurbished, cluttered, and, in particular, un-walkable after dark. The opportunity for some streets to be pedestrianised has not been fulfilled. Some pedestrian thoroughfares need to be upgraded. Alleyways are not well managed.

Outcomes:

The City of Johannesburg, in partnership with private sector property owners and communities, will work consistently towards a walkable Inner City, with a safe, clean and green public environment in a good state of repair, and with streets connected to appropriate and interesting public open spaces and or iconic public places.

Commitments:

- The City will develop a comprehensive Inner City streetscape / public environment upgrade plan by December 2007, and implement this fully in a phased manner by March 2011. This upgrade will include:
 - New paving;
 - The planting of street trees;
 - The rolling out of edge treatments in line with ecological principles for managing run-off;
 - Street trading management;
 - Provision and maintenance of clean public amenities;
 - The provision of appropriate street furniture (seating, bus-stops etc);
 - The replacement of existing lighting, and the provision of new lighting suited for a pedestrian environment;
 - The provision of refuse bins;
 - The replacement of manhole covers;
 - The integration of all ICDS / BRT stops with walkable street network and public places;
 - The upgrade of relevant facades & foyers adjacent to semi-public places, such as facades & foyers to be identified in agreement with the CoJ;
 - The ongoing monitoring of visual clutter.

- Upgrading of identified priority streets and precinct areas will be implemented by December 2009. Amongst others, key streets will include:
 - Rissik Street as a processional boulevard;
 - Kerk Street as east/west connector, pedestrian priority road, with limited and managed linear market;
 - Diagonal Street as pedestrian priority and partnership space in alignment with relevant development framework;
 - Eloff Street reconfigured and re-landscaped as pedestrian priority, high level retail use at ground floor and public transport dedicated lanes;
 - Pritchard Street as connector spanning Diagonal Street, High Court Precinct, Fashion Kapital and End Street;
 - The completion of Main Street as pedestrian priority to complete the link with ABSA campus.

- Key precinct areas to receive foremost priority will include:
 - Hillbrow/Berea;
 - Doornfontein;
 - Fashion District;
 - Fordsburg/Paigeview; and
 - Others to be determined.

- In the process of upgrading the public environment City departments and municipal entities will work together in a co-ordinated manner in line with commonly agreed guidelines, design principles and standards. As far as possible departments and entities will sequence their maintenance and repair work to ensure that it does not undo upgrading just completed. The City will also make every effort to ensure that non-City enterprises – notably Telkom and iGoli Gas – also take into account City led street-upgrading plans in their own maintenance planning and repair work.

- As part of a structured “Partnership Places” agreement facilitated through JICBC, selected private sector partners will lead and fund a complimentary programme of public-environment upgrades in key areas (the programme will be operationalised through

leases, management & maintenance agreements as per the established practice of recent street upgrades such as Main Street).

- Private sector property owners will assist the City of Johannesburg with litter removal, monitoring, managing and maintenance of pavements and street edges adjacent to their own properties.
- Where possible and appropriate, private sector property owners will work with the City of Johannesburg to open up and upgrade semi-public spaces (e.g. bases adjacent footprint of buildings, wide entrances to buildings, ground floors and foyers) in alignment with design principles adopted by the streetscape upgrade programme, such places to be identified and agreed with the City.
- Through JICBC structures the City will work to promote alternatives to existing steel roller-shutter options, to provide more light and interest on the streets at night, without compromising the safety of ground-floor business.

3. Iconic Public Places

Issue:

Over the last five years a number of new 'iconic' public place projects have been completed. These include Constitutional Hill, Drill Hall and Mary Fitzgerald Square. These 'iconic' public place projects are distinguished from other public spaces described in Issue 1 above in that they are generally focused on a building or cluster of buildings as opposed to an open space; have strong symbolic, cultural or heritage significance; are key tourism destinations; have served as so called ripple-pond investments, often within broader area focused/precinct re-development projects; and have provided key new geographical anchor points to the urban form and fabric of the Inner City.

While they have made an enormous contribution to the regeneration of the Inner City, a challenge with some of the iconic public places that have been developed over the last five years is that they have not yet reached their full potential. Some have not been fully completed, with completion delayed due to a number of administrative factors. Some are not yet accessible to or well-utilized by the public. Some are yet to see the establishment and full capacitation of an institutional arrangement with secure operating finance that is able to maintain the facility in good order.

Apart from the iconic public places that have already been developed, there are also a number of further opportunities for major public place interventions that have not yet been realized. The most obvious example is the Gauteng Provincial Government Precinct / Square.

Desired outcomes:

The City of Johannesburg, working with a range of stakeholders, wishes to see the iconic public spaces developed over the last few years reach their full potential and achieve full operational sustainability. It also wishes to see other new opportunities for iconic public space implemented in order to complete the spatial picture of an interesting, attractive and liveable Inner City.

Commitments:

- Working with stakeholders the City of Johannesburg will finalize a sustainable management and financing model for all key iconic public places by December 2007. This will resolve some of the outstanding issues holding back the completion of some of the developments.
- Through the leadership of various stakeholders, feasibility and business plans for the development of a number of other key iconic public place projects will be finalized by March

2008. These may include the Old Park Station and the Gauteng Provincial Government Precinct Square, as well as others.

- To rehabilitate the site of the Worker's Library in the heart of Newtown, the City will promote and facilitate the development of a world class museum of labour migration by March 2010.

4. The visual cityscape

Issue:

The visual appearance of most dynamic central cities is almost invariably busy. However, concern has been raised that the visual appearance of the Johannesburg Inner City is becoming unnecessarily cluttered through an excess of inappropriate outdoor advertising and building wraps. In addition, there is evidence that in the difficult rental market for both commercial and residential property, wrapping an Inner City in advertising may sometimes bring in more reliable revenue than would fully letting the building. This provides a strong negative incentive against re-investment.

A careful balance must be struck between different interests. On the one hand the interests of property owners and advertisers must be respected within clearly established rules of the game. On the other hand the desire of a general public for a cityscape that is not overwhelmed by inappropriate visual clutter must also be recognized.

A related issue is the quality of architecture and urban design. In rapidly redeveloping inner cities, especially where there is a concern to meet pressing demand for new uses such as residential space, there is a risk that architecture and urban design of lasting quality, that is rooted in local contexts and reflects prevailing societal norms and desires, may be sacrificed for mere functionality. In its 5-year IDP, the City of Johannesburg has committed itself to improving urban design, both by stimulating debate about good urban design and by setting out appropriate principles.

Desired outcomes:

The City of Johannesburg wishes to see a visually coherent cityscape without excessive clutter from too many inappropriate outdoor adverts and building wraps, and with quality architecture and urban design appropriate to the local context.

Commitments:

- By December 2007 the City of Johannesburg will review its current policy governing outdoor advertising and building wraps through a consultative process involving a range of stakeholders.
- As part of this review the City will introduce strict regulations prohibiting the full wrapping of buildings on a semi-permanent or permanent basis, in lieu of using the building for its established use.
- The City will make every effort to collect revenue from outdoor advertising due to it, with funds accruing from outdoor advertising in the Inner City being devoted to public environment upgrading in the area.

5. Public events and public art

Issue:

Public open space, walkable streets and iconic public places should not be static spaces. Once refurbished they provide ample opportunities for more active usage on a planned basis, either through public cultural events or through dynamic forms of public art. The annual Diwali festival in Newtown or the New Year's eve Carnival through the streets of the Inner City demonstrate the opportunities.

Desired outcomes:

- The City of Johannesburg will scale up a programme of sustainable public events such as festivals and carnivals to be run in Inner City streets, parks and public places. A calendar of possible events will be drafted for public input by September 2007, and developed for roll-out on an annual basis from July 2008. A steering committee of City officials and stakeholders will be constituted to develop and oversee the implementation of the programme.
- Together with the finalisation of a calendar of public events, the City will develop mechanisms to ensure the proper and sustainable financing, organisation, marketing and management of all events to occur in public places.
- The City will translate its public art policy into a clear public art programme that plans and schedules the roll-out of key public art interventions and installations in tandem with the redevelopment of public spaces and streets. The envisaged public art installations may be of a temporary or permanent nature. Planning and roll-out will be done in close consultation with key stakeholders.
- The City will also work with various civil society organisations to support well-managed organised activities in parks, with a special focus on the needs of children. The City will investigate the waiving of a community tariff applied when community organisations make use of public parks for their own activities, if it can be demonstrated that the activities have clear development objective. A new approach will be determined by June 2008.

Development of town centre management schemes in Poland - opportunities and threats

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Abstract

The number of urban revitalisation projects in Polish town centres has seen a steady rise since 2004. This trend is strongly linked with the influx of European Union structural funds into Poland as a result of the country's successful application for membership of the EU. Applications for urban revitalisation projects have been welcomed by the EU's Regional Development Fund during 2004-2006 with a new call for bids opened recently. The beneficiaries of these funds may be, among others, neighbourhood associations, housing associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other not-for-profit organisations. Yet, the actions and interventions carried out by these stakeholders rarely represent a coordinated or managed process. In fact, the only document that outlines the funding investments made for local interventions and projects is the Local Revitalisation Plan drafted by a town or city's Local Authority. However, this document has primarily a planning focus and seldom shows the level of detail required for the coordination, integration and effective implementation of all the different projects operating under the urban revitalisation umbrella. Many of the problems faced by Polish towns and cities are quite similar to those of similar European urban environments where town centre management schemes operate, as the political will for an integrated management approach to places becomes increasingly more apparent. Some of the key problems faced by Polish cities include slow socio-economic development as a result of a number of social pathologies, falling sales for local small and medium retailers as a result of competition from large edge-of-town retailers, as well as unregulated urban development and crumbling infrastructures. These problems are exacerbated by the lack of cooperation between town centre stakeholders. It would appear that one of the possible

solutions worth considering would be the creation of town centre management schemes. Yet, research carried out by Doradztwo Gospodarcze DGA S.A. has shown the extent of the lack of awareness by senior management in Polish local authorities of the opportunities offered by town centre management. Another objective of this research was also to outline the management needs of town centres in Poland as well as potential problems to be expected with the implementation of any TCM model. This study is the first of its kind to be carried out in Poland with towns and cities.

Strategic planning and place marketing: the italian case

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Abstract

Purpose: This paper intends to analyse the connections between strategic planning and place marketing on a theoretical level, by comparing them and taking into consideration Italian empirical cases.

Approach: Literature references are wide and include different schools of thought. In Italy, the first strategic planning attempts emerged at least two decades after the best foreign examples.

Findings: In a contradictory panorama of increasing competitiveness among territories; cities and local systems express innovative signs of vivid economic and social enhancement. Strategic plans are indeed new forms of territorial governance that engage and stimulate the active involvement of local stakeholders.

Practical implications: Along with strategic plans, many place marketing plans use typical product and business plan methods applied to geographical contexts, such as cities and territories.

Originality/value: On the one hand strategic planning should be a forum for local interests in order to achieve consent on some strategic goals and define a strategic view through problems and analysis processes, outcomes monitoring and collective learning. On the other place marketing aims at becoming a policy tool in order to match demand and deliver on urban and territorial issues. What are increasingly emphasised are the immaterial aspects of urban life, such as emotions, knowledge and creativity. Place marketing moves from economic factors to cultural design aspects where communication turns out to be one of the main means of allowing cities to express themselves through a wide range of signs, symbols and concepts.

Urban revitalisation of former 19th century mill towns: the cases of Lodz (Poland) and Manchester (UK)

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Abstract

Urban revitalisation is currently one of the key driving models of socio-economic intervention in Polish town centres (Heczko-Hylowa, 2007), particularly as a result of recent capital injections from the European Union's structural funds (Wesolowski and Wojnarowska, 2007). This paper builds on the comparative human geography study of Manchester and Lodz compiled by Liszweski and Young (1997) and explores some of the parallels that have influenced the approach of these two cities to the revitalisation of their town centres, both of which were shaped architecturally by the advent of the textile industry in the nineteenth century. While Manchester's city centre management approach has evolved from economic intervention in 1994 to a higher focus on social infrastructure through the creation of the Manchester City Centre Management Company, Lodz has been host to one of the most ambitious historic revitalisation projects in Europe – the Manufaktura Shopping Centre. This initiative, based in and around one of Europe's largest textile mills from the Industrial Revolution, has played a key role in the economic revitalisation of the town centre. Following on from this project, other revitalisation initiatives have followed, thus opening a new chapter in the urban history of Lodz. In spite of this, social deprivation continues to be a challenge in both city centres and their nearby districts. Based on previous work by Radominski and Coca-Stefaniak (2007), this paper concludes that urban revitalisation can only succeed in Poland through an integrated coordinated approach that incorporates key stakeholders in the early stages of decision-making for place management interventions.

Place management's impact on people: case study of City Akademin (the CityAcademy)

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Abstract

Purpose of this paper: The purpose of this project was to improve the image of working in a shop, by providing education to retailers in Malmö, thus making the shopping experience in Malmö even better.

Design/methodology/approach: Our town centre management organisation, Malmö Citysamverkan, is a non-profit organisation with three stakeholders: the municipality of Malmö, the commercial property owners in the city centre and the retailers in the city centre. With limited funds, but many projects, we have to utilise project finance to a great extent. In the case of City Akademin, we saw the possibility to apply for a grant from the European Social Fund. Following the routine for application requested by the Social Fund in Sweden, we were eventually granted SEK 9.2 million (approx. € 980, 000). The project began in February 2004 and lasted until June 2006. The project was aimed at the retail sector and only those who are members in our organisation, i.e. approximately 350 shops. One hundred shops signed up to the project. One person at each participating shop was responsible for project managing each individual's requirement for courses within their own organisation. The shop owners, managers and employees were offered 4 days education. Together with their project manager they could choose from relevant topics such as marketing, negotiation skills, sales skills, interior shop lay-out, computer skills, shop window dressing, customer care, the Danish customer, to mention a few. Parallel to offering separate courses, a number of larger seminars were also held to be able to draw from experience from well-known speakers on specialist subjects, such as new trends & shop development, consumers & buying patterns and customer psychology & communication. The expected result was that the increased knowledge on these topics would ensure that the employee could provide a better service to the customer and also feel a greater pride in their work.

Findings: The project resulted in 600 people being educated in their field, thus contributing to a better shopping experience in the city centre. Apart from the increased level of knowledge and elevating the role of working in a shop, the project also resulted in better communication between the shops and creating a new, informal business network within the city centre.

Research limitations/implications: All participants were requested to fill out an evaluation questionnaire at the end of each separate course. These showed a high level of satisfaction with both the topic and the relevance for the end-user. Many also wrote about the bonus of networking with others in a similar line of work.

Original/value of paper

This paper serves as a good example for town centre managers and retail association managers as to how they can improve the shopping experience at very little cost and yet to great effect both for the individual participating and to the city centre overall.

£ 30

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