

**PLACE BRANDING FOR ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT.
THE CASE STUDY OF TUSCANY AND THE ARNOVALLEY BRAND**

Cecilia Pasquinelli

PhD Management, Innovation and Development

Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies

Pisa (Italy)

c.pasquinelli@sssup.it

Paper submitted to the Regional Studies Association International Conference
"Understanding and Shaping Regions: Spatial, Social and Economic Futures",
Leuven, Belgium 6th and 8th April 2009

Place Branding for Endogenous Development.

The case study of Tuscany and the Arnovalley brand

ABSTRACT Place branding tends to be introduced into the agenda of increasingly numerous public authorities as a tool for place management. Nations, regions, cities and inter-regional networks tend to relate their initiatives to brands in order to attract and retain resources e.g. capital and people. In light of the contemporary debate on regional and local development, this paper will analyse the potential of place branding to support endogenous development by legitimising emerging social groups and reinforcing their sense of place. That is, the project will contribute to filling in the literature gap related to internal branding aspects (Anholt, 2002) through the evaluation of the added value given by the interplay between all actors interacting with the brand. Accordingly, the main concern will be the understanding of the extent to which place branding may trigger three crucial issues emerging from the theoretical framework: social learning, institutional change and identity-building among communities. In so doing, the case study of Tuscany, Italy and Arnovalley, an attempt to brand the Tuscan milieu of innovation, will be carried out. Empirical evidence will prove that Arnovalley brand has produced spillovers concerning social learning, fairly weak community-building and little room for institutional change. Avoiding claims of universal propositions, the research aims at finding likely explicative links that may orient brand management in practice and further academic debate.

On all geographical scales, place branding tends to be introduced into the agenda of increasingly numerous public authorities. Indeed, socio-economic initiatives are often linked to brands for attracting and retaining resources e.g. people and capital. Accordingly, rising attention has been paid to branding, which is to be interpreted in light of public authorities' entrepreneurial attitude going with the neo-liberal shift in public management (Gibson and Davidson, 2004).

This ideological turn allows the interpretation of place branding as a *"marketing-led strategy of economic development"* (Greenberg, 2008:35), which implies that public authorities need to familiarize with competition, and accordingly with the translation of business principles and techniques into public tools. Consequently, marketing logics have been transferred from products to places, while the consequent *"significant shift in meaning... [and] in complexity"* (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005:511) has been dealt more or less cautiously.

Not little scepticism has been cast on place branding by simply stressing that places are not products and governments not entrepreneurs. The concern is that geographies are

becoming “a forest of logos, slogans and messages” (Power and Hauge, 2008: 125) as a consequence of the excessive confidence in brands by contemporary society. In addition, newspapers often claim that “public and private money is being thrown at the concept of place branding” (Harwood, 2005) also referring to considerable profits of consultancies in charge of creating appealing place labels. Moreover, serious philosophical contradictions seem to mine place branding capacity to contribute to development. By diffusing market principles and competition between geographies, place branding might be even worsening the “uneven development” which academic debate is focusing on (see Pike, 2007; Pike, 2009).

Put simply, could be place branding just a convenient escape from substantial political projects (Olins, 1999) by hiding ineffective initiatives under brilliant logos? Or, may it add any value to places for development? This paper will discuss place branding for local and regional development in light of both theoretical assumptions and empirical evidence.

Place Branding and Brands: a theoretical framework for discussion

Assuming a significant sophistication of the original notion of place promotion (Ward and Gold, 1994:16), only an intelligent and careful application of traditional marketing to public purpose has been recommended. Actually, only few commercial assumptions are claimed to be applicable to places, while the bulk of branding elements is to be derived from “an emerging synthesis of public and private sector theory and practice” (Anholt, 2007:6). Nevertheless, it is worthy saying that the absence of a dedicated theoretical framework for place branding (Hankinson, 2004) compels to the selection and adaptation of marketing concepts. Thinking theoretically, though scholars underline the numerous differences between product and place branding due to distinct objects to deal with i.e. product and place (Table 1), it is relevant to state that the adaptation of business paradigms to place management necessarily means an evident commodification of ‘place’ concerning the rising attitude of “transform[ing] competitiveness of spaces in the ‘place market’” (Pike, 2007).

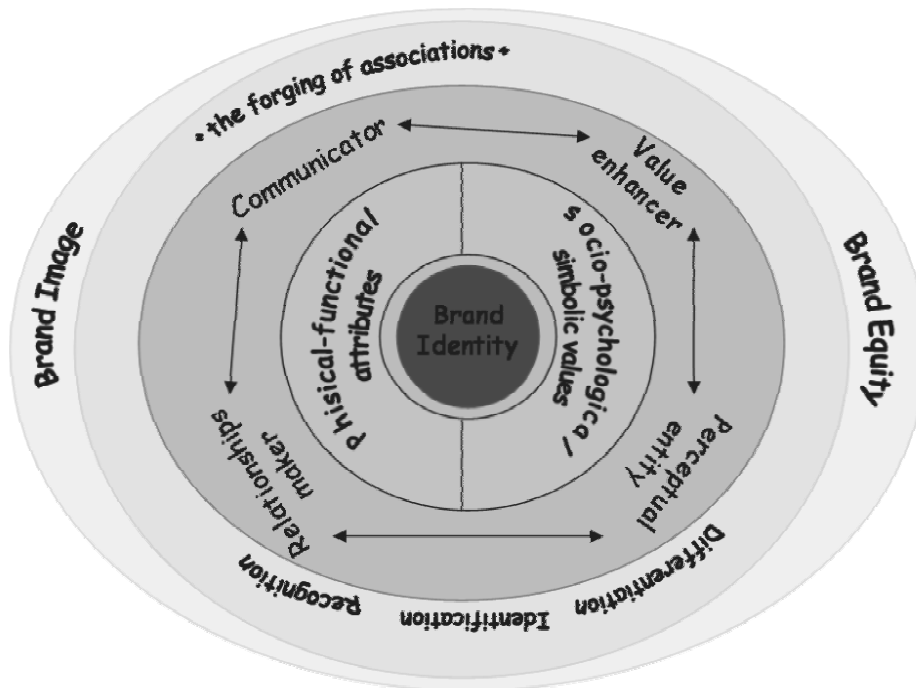
Table 1. Conceptual differences between Product and Place

	PRODUCT	PLACE
Brand Aim	Profit	Political Achievements
Complexity	Relatively Low: object well-defined	Very High: No boundaries in space and time <i>(place's links both to outside the region and to past and future!)</i>
Ownership	A certain organization owns both product and brand	Ownership not well-defined
Type of action	Proper Branding is viable <i>(e.g. the launch of a brand-new product)</i>	Re-branding <i>(place image normally exists even in the absence of branding endeavours)</i>

Source: (Adapted from Anholt, 2007; Hankinson, 2001; the author)

Bearing in mind the above arguments, the engagement with the analysis of brand and branding intimate relationship (Pike, 2009) is crucial. First, concerning brand as an object, the chosen theoretical approach takes into consideration all brand components in order to emphasize their mutual influence and the resulting complexity. Figure 1 shows the multi-layered and multi-functional nature of the brand, which features decreasing degree of both manageability and direct control running from the core to more external layers. Hence, whereas brand management might impact on the brand identity i.e. the core composed by both tangible and intangible attributes representing the way the place is to be perceived (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005), only indirectly it may influence the brand image i.e. *“the perception of the brand that exists in the mind of the consumers or audience”* (Anholt, 2007:5). That is, *“brands are made in the mind”* (Greenberg, 2008:33) and inevitably branding is to deal with this remote territory.

Figure 1. Brand complexity: from manageable to remote brand layers



Source: (Adapted from Kavartzis and Ashworth, 2005; Hankinson, 2001; Hankinson, 2004; Evans, 2003; Anholt, 2007).

If to achieve people's mind is hard, to establish what assets should compose the brand identity is absolutely controversial. Much literature insists on the role of culture as a vital element of the *competitive identity* (see Anholt, 2007) because of its unique attachment to the place. It is said culture reflects the *genius loci* and peculiarities to be rediscovered. But, how to define local culture? Not few problems occur in the effort to balance past and present culture, and to represent diverse social groups. Warnings against "*conscious and deliberate manipulation of culture*" (Philo and Kearns, 1993:3) are given for avoiding conflicts within communities. Accordingly, a sort of cultural democracy resulting in the prevalence of the hegemonic narrative is likely to produce a cultural impoverishment over time (Anholt, 2007) by driving communities to either forget or hide values and perspectives that consequently start disappearing from local heritage.

Consequently, there is the need to orient branding properly in order to avoid not only unwilling local actors but also angry and protesting ones that, not feeling part of the communicated identity, use any means, even same brand symbols, for counterbalancing positive messages (Greenberg, 2008). In so doing, it is worth underlining the use of stories. The power of rhetoric i.e. the discourse used to persuade an audience has always

been recognised (Gold, 1994). In addition, also economic geography is fairly familiar with the notion of narratives as a means to avoid communication break-offs within communities (see Cooke and Morgan, 1998). Similarly, the use of brand stories to orchestrate 'conversations' both involving isolated actors and guiding strategic dialogues seems consistent. In fact, image improvements might be fed by stories that give clear evidence of universal values designed peculiarly within the place.

Again, how to define stories? It seems that obstacles towards the definition of the brand identity still persist. However, there is room for reflecting on the chance to solve these flaws through the recognition of 'brand networked nature'. By borrowing the relational exchange paradigm from business (de Chernatoy and McDonald, 2003), brand may be seen as a relationship-builder whose communicative function may be absorbed by the wider role of *interface* (Lury, 2004) among all the actors interacting with the brand. That is, brand may be seen as a "*new media object*" because of the flows of multi-directional communication that make it "*a meeting point*" (Lury, undated) for a variety of stakeholders. In so doing, the deliberative selection of culture may be avoided and an open dialogue may be established around the brand in favour of communicative exchange within the place.

Assuming the intimate relationship between brand and branding (Pike, 2009), the underlying process seems to be necessarily dynamic and interactive, as Figure 2 shows. By the way, branding is deemed a "*structured social process*" whose set of relations among "*things, people, images, texts and physical environments*" (Sinclair, undated) features non-linearity and continuous feedbacks determining the added-value. Along with these loops there is the chance to turn perceptions into *brand reality* (Hankinson, 2004) i.e. the set of tangible and intangible assets characterising the place, including formal and informal institutions e.g. norms, rules and habits. As a matter of fact, a continuous enhancement of place values and aspirations may be experienced, following a proper learning path.

beginning of the process, branding should aim at networking actors increasingly over time so that a wide and robust coalition might result (see Ward, 2000). That is, governance not only is a crucial element to the process but also might be a positive long-term externality emerging from it.

Place branding: what for?

It is often said place branding is simply fashionable and politicians like it because it is easy, cheap and visible. But the above discussion highlights successful place branding is not easy at all and, depending on the context, neither cheap nor guaranteed in terms of political benefits. So, why to appeal to place brand? May it be functional to development concretely?

In light of the above theoretical assumptions, there is room for arguments supporting brand capacity to foster a sort of identity-building. Identities play a vital role for socio-economic development, being “*people’s source of meaning and experience*” (Castells, 2004) that inform human behaviours. Hence, if brand is an interface and branding an interactive and iterative process, it is reasonable to claim the emergence of a “*linking value*” (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005:510) driving communities to share a buzz where conversations uphold exchange and, consequently, promote change and openness.

Alongside this “*subtle form of socialization*” (Philo and Kearns, 1993:3), continuously branding may help (re)consider place reality by giving expression to emerging social groups that may enrich place culture with updated identities. That is, thanks to dialogue and mutual commitment, places may become open to change and innovation by dropping closed and traditional self-image, while a “*multiple identity*” (McCrone et al., 1995) is likely to replace hegemonic and mono-cultural representations.

However, branding is not carried out in a *vacuum* and inevitably expectations, practices and power relations constrain actions, seriously challenging the identity-building potential described above. The concern is about institutions i.e. the set of formal and informal rules, norms, routines (Pike et al., 2006) characterizing a place and necessarily impacting on brand. For example, if institutions drive the process towards the re-affirmation of the past with no trigger for openness and change, branding may be even harmful by reinforcing traditional and mono-cultural images and by demotivating those social groups excluded by the selective representation of the place. In this case, place branding may even worsen the institutional block of the system.

Therefore, it is relevant to think of the way to deal with the institutional impasse. The clue is probably represented by governance that may work for softening the institutional lock-in. In fact, the achievement of the right conditions for undertaking the process, governance quality included, is certainly a crucial issue. As Vazquez-Barquero states, governance is the result of historical processes that tend to produce new socio-economic needs and, consequently, new institutions (2002). Accordingly, alongside the improvement of brand governance through actions, a proper vision could derive, propelling the coalition towards a successful brand. In conclusion, it seems that non-linear and reflexive branding (Figure 2) may be an effective engine of innovation.

In conclusion, the theoretical discussion suggests that place branding may foster development, particularly whether interpreted and shaped within the framework of the endogenous approach to development. Indeed, the potential of institutional change the process may imply is intimately linked to the so-called *brand purpose* i.e. the internal brand image consisting in the spirit or the state of will of communities living the brand (Anholt, 2007). This plays a pivotal role in local and regional development since it impacts on “*the endogenous capacity to innovate*” (EC, 2006:11) that may avoid lock-ins and risky path-dependency. Accordingly, the claim is that internal aspects of place branding should be analysed carefully as they could even be the real source of place brands’ added-value.

Research Questions and Methodology

In order to discuss branding as a tool for endogenous development, the paper will analyse the peculiar contribution brands may give places alongside the embedding process of milieux of innovation, particularly thinking of the potential of strengthening grass-roots clusters. Although no lessons may be easily drawn from successful cases (see Hospers, 2006), it can not be denied that social networking, openness, propensity to learning and change are fundamental to the highly risky and dynamic innovative clusters. Furthermore, in the case of traditionally low-tech places, branding may be even more useful than usual to make new identities end with being socially recognized.

To test these propositions, a case study methodology has been used, analysing Tuscany, a centre Italy region, and the Arnovalley brand dedicated to the rising hi-tech milieu located alongside the Tuscan river Arno. Being ‘Arnovalley’ currently dropped, on the one hand crucial issues have been interpreted in light of following events, on the other hand the time-lag has challenged data drawing as secondary sources were not

comprehensive and primary data from interviews confused by memories related to subsequent events. Consequently, the “*construction of history*” and so the “*retrieval, selection, contextualization and ascription of meanings*” (Black, 2003:478) has required the use of multiple data sources, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The research procedure: Data sources

PRIMARY DATA	SECONDARY DATA
Analysis of 19 websites	Official documents
Blogs and Forums	Newspaper Articles (archive)
9 in-depth interviews (fully representative sample of actors involved into ‘Arnovalley’ process)	Academic publications

Case study: Tuscany and the Arnovalley brand

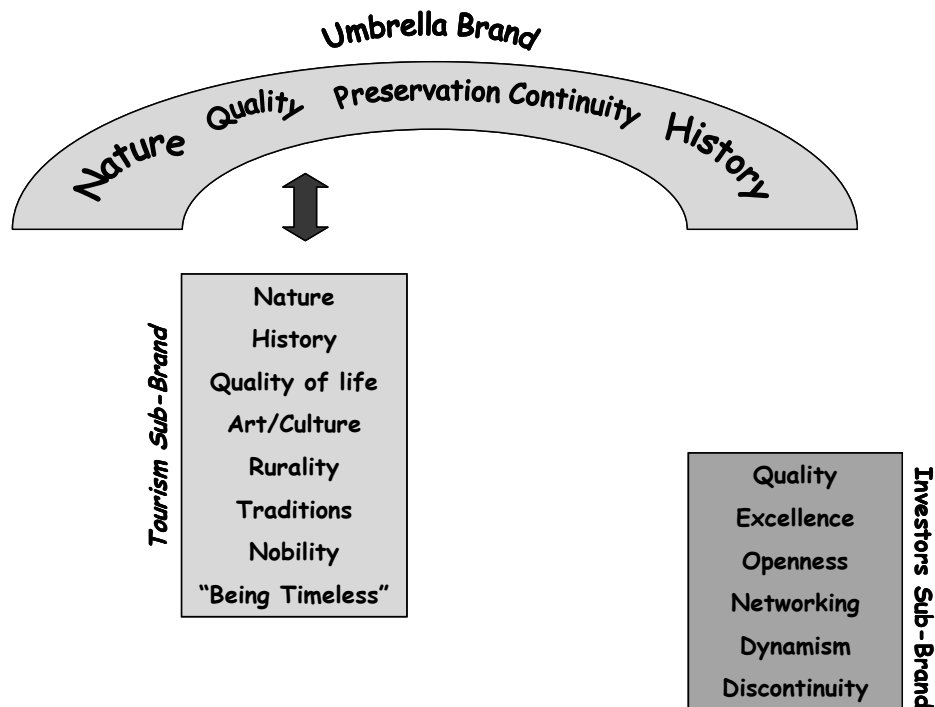
Tuscany may be deemed a “*famous place*” (Anholt, 2007:8), especially thanks to tourism and media that make it the most known Italian region in the world (Guarini et al., 2004). Regional economy has been characterized by manufacturing and industrial districts, whose claimed success contributed to the “*glorification of a material production culture*” (Cavalieri, 1999) and its values. However, contemporary debate in Tuscany suggests that regional authority should not only underpin districts recovery from the experienced decline of competitiveness but also make a bet on rising grassroots sectors inspired by knowledge economy (see Bellini, 2003).

Figure 3. Tuscany, a Centre Italy region



The tension between ‘tradition’ and ‘innovation’ seems to be reflected by Tuscany umbrella brand (see Bellini et al., 2008). This highlights the capacity of traditional sectors to fit regional imagery made by those “*simple cliché*” informing people’s opinions (Anholt, 2007:10), while only “quality”, a fairly vague value, links the umbrella brand to the sub-brands targeting innovative investors (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Umbrella Brand and Sub-Brands: To what extent do they match?



Source: (<http://www.toscanapromozione.it>; www.investintuscany.com; www.italia.it; www.agricoltura.terresiena.it; www.netideabusines.org; www.firenzebusiness.it; www.investinfirenze.it; www.intoscana.it; www.terresiena.it; www.pisaunicaterra.it; www.tourism-in-tuscany.com; www.yourtuscany.com/tuscany.asp; www.travelplan.it/tuscany_guide.htm; www.lamaremmafabene.it; www.turismo.toscana.it; www.terreditoscana.com)

As the survey proves, the brand identity is characterized by two main components i.e. nature and history. Particularly, history represents not only the glorification of the past, but also the preservation of values that determine an ongoing continuity between past and present. Tourism, agriculture and craft whose origins are traced far into the past benefit of the selected values, while *"not appealing economy"* (Pelz, 2004) i.e. services, education and research, which employ 62% of regional population at growing rate, do not fit into regional brand identity since, though real, they are not 'authentic' (see McCrone et al., 1995).

In this context, Arnovalley i.e. the brand for hi-tech cluster located in the glen between Pisa and Florence was in charge of giving support to innovation within a region clearly locked into its traditional self-image. The very asset to be promoted was, and still is, the presence of human capital for high tech composed by entrepreneurs and especially graduates that, born or educated in Tuscany, tended to stay or return (Paoli, 1999).

However, it was proved that high-tech businesses were affected by serious structural problems (see Varaldo et al., 1997) e.g. extremely small size, no propensity to systemness and risk that used to keep the industry in a condition of 'emerging' reality. Then, the speculation in the stock exchange in 2000 upset the system yet a sort of enthusiasm for high-tech withstood and the opportunity to exploit *"the imminent internet next wave"* was claimed (Balestrieri et al., 2002).

Generally, the need of *"intentional efforts"* for revitalization (Varaldo et al., 1997) was clear and it was stated that the establishment of a new common language and culture both rewarding technological risk-takers and diffusing sensitivity for innovation (Balestrieri et al., 2002) were vital in Tuscany. Accordingly Arnovalley brand, echoing the successful Silicon Valley, had to support the growing innovative milieu. Actually, its origin was due to the spontaneous use of this label by private and public actors referring to the high-tech concentration alongside the Arno glen. At first this label was used by a researcher interviewed about Tuscan economy and since then it saw such a rapid spread across local and national newspapers that *"weekly media used to speak about Arnovalley"* (Interview, 27.6.08), making the cluster gain in popularity through this *"fascinating allegory that evidently had some appeal"* (Interview, 3.6.08).

Afterwards, in 2002, Florence and Pisa Councils formally agreed to support the business community within the Arnovalley framework and this alliance achieved regional funding. However, behind the formal coalition, Florence and Pisa arranged separate governance and different agendas, heavily limiting the mutual exchange. For instance, the website Arnovalleycommunity.com (Figure 5), dedicated to Tuscan innovative community, was focused on *"identity communication for mobilizing endogenous resources and focusing attention on them"* (Interview, 27.6.08) but it used to be managed by two separate editing teams, the one for Pisa and the other for Florence.

Figure 5. Arnovalley Community Logo



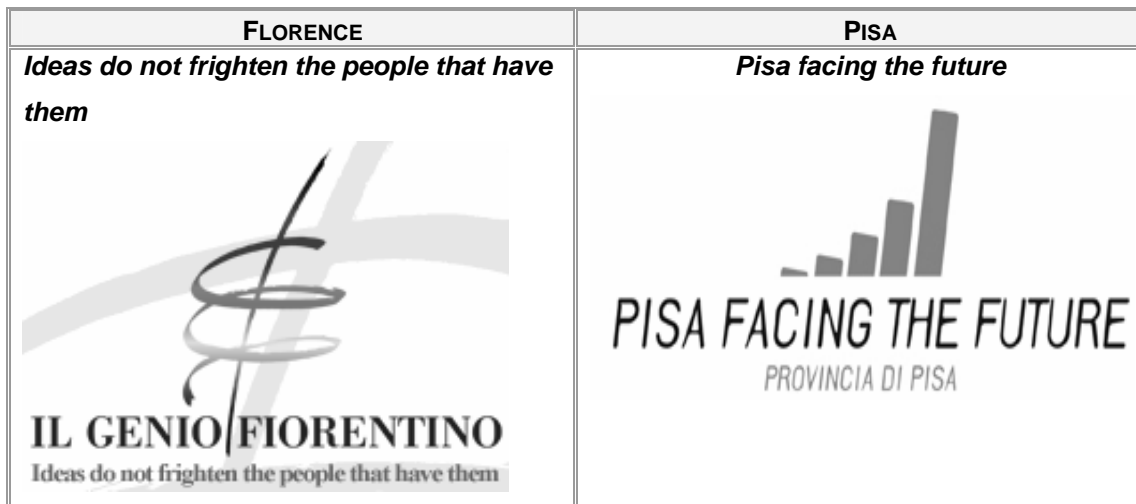
Source: (http://www.incubatorefirenze.it/root/asso_home.html)

Then, around 2003, Arnovalleycommunity.com was achieving success, as newspapers prove. It was deemed a channel not only for promotion but also for concrete proposals, and also politicians used to express satisfaction for such an exchange tool. Nevertheless, in this regard the survey has gathered conflicting evidence as some interviewees have affirmed the lack of any recognition of a proper project behind Arnovalley among high-tech companies. In the meanwhile, Pisa University and Sant'Anna School in the behalf of Pisa Council, in light of meetings with all stakeholders, advised the establishment of an organization i.e. the "Arnovalley Association", designed to be an animateur of the Tuscan hi-tech by favouring aggregation and openness.

Suddenly, at the end of 2003, Arnovalley was completely abandoned: the association not founded and Arovalleycommunity.com no longer updated. Indeed, after the following election turn, local administrations focused on other issues and regional funds became scarce so that a heavy financial discontinuity affected Arnovalley. Put simply, a sudden weak interest for hi-tech both at regional and local level occurred in contradiction with previous enthusiasm. In addition, failure and nasty stories about Arnovalley nestled in people's perceptions in relation to various unsuccessful and even bankrupt companies. In fact, much disappointment for the claimed "*alternative to the Tuscan mono-culture*" i.e. the net economy and its values occurred, whereas its "*fake promises and easy gain*" (<http://forum.teampay.it/lofiversion/index.php/t7168.html>) produced much scepticism.

Currently, general is the invitation to forget Arnovalley as "*it is only an evocative image, while now it is time to speak about concrete initiatives for a proper high-tech district*" (Peruzzi, 2008). Today hi-tech still represents an important economic engine for the region and new marketing routes seem to be necessary. Thus, in lack of a proper regional branding strategy, local authorities are defining their own brands for innovation, as the examples of Pisa and Florence show in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Pisa and Florence brands for innovation

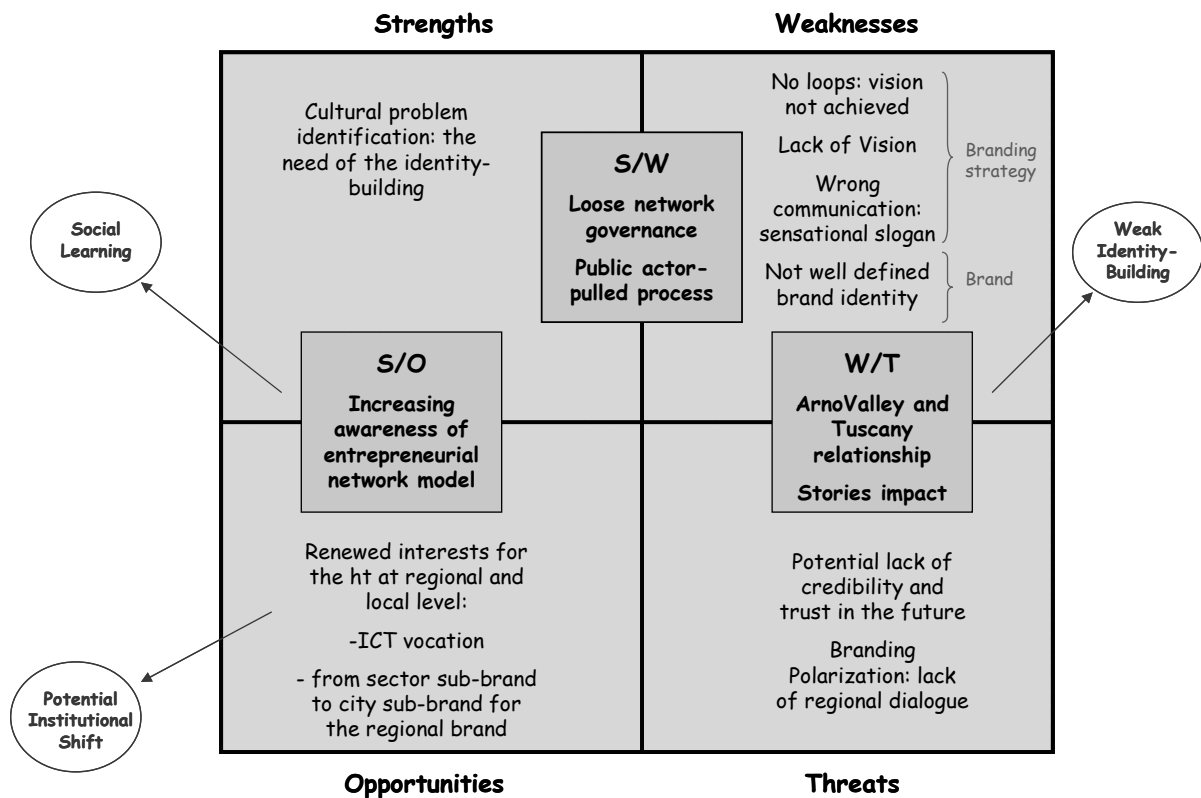


Source: (<http://www.geniofiorentino.it>; Pastena, 2008)

Discussing Arnovalley experience

To discuss place branding for endogenous development, Arnovalley achievements and failures are summarized in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Discussing Arnovalley experience: the results



Since the beginning, 'Arnovalley' was informed by the need of inner marketing approach in order to strengthen emerging social groups, embed new values and build a proper community. However, behind the aim of giving the label a "*linking value*", the brand lacked authenticity and the non-distinctive brand identity culminated being non-manageable and weakly effective. Perhaps, for the need of pushing forward a more appropriate entrepreneurial culture, the nature of regional high-tech vocation was forgotten, while sensational communication, which anticipated any proper strategy and linked negative stories to the brand, prevented 'Arnovalley' from reinforcing insiders' self-image and credibility (see Avraham, 2004).

Arguably brand strategy, especially when used to develop endogenous potential, carries on high risks since the definition of the brand identity implies such a hard balance between factual and aspirational components that effectiveness is challenged. Certainly, in this case, branding was affected by the interruption that occurred because of an evident lack of vision. As a consequence, the theoretical assumption about the potential of non-linear and reflexive branding is challenged since the case study demonstrates that initial lack of vision is likely to drive to early arrest of the process, before reaching the necessary shared long-term perspective able to break any institutional path-dependency.

It seems that Arnovalley fell victim to the "*webs of understanding of practices, identities, and interests of actors [prevailing] in particular historical context*" (van Ham, 2008:146) that do not allow the regional system to overcome traditional and mono-cultural images. Even municipal individualism, which historically characterised Tuscany, constrained brand action as governance proves. The arrangement went far over the loose networks suggested in literature, ending with poor coordination between Florence and Pisa. As a matter of fact, the space for exchange was limited within local administrative borders.

Generally, 'Arnovalley' values do not seem to have succeeded in enriching regional brand. The inadequacy in tackling Tuscany brand is probably due to both branding process and brand identity weaknesses. It is worth thinking of the absence of branding cycles, the short-term perspective and the lack of distinctiveness. As a consequence, an appropriate brand purpose i.e. the internal brand image was not achieved and the community-building aim was poorly fulfilled.

However, in light of current evolutions, social learning spilled out from Arnovalley. Indeed a sort of sensitivity towards hi-tech and innovation was spread, accelerating regional awareness of their socio-economic potential. Obviously, Arnovalley can not be given all the credit but certainly it turned new and advanced ideas into daily topics. Moreover, deep interest for hi-technology and branding is currently (re)emerging and a new deal has triggered by capitalising, consciously or not, on Arnovalley experience. As regards, it is worth noticing the new local strategies that today focus vision and brand identity deeply, by shifting from regional to local scale for branding. In conclusion, even though the process resulted into a failure on many points of view, place branding has offered the chance to stir useful conversations for innovation that might drive to some institutional achievements.

Conclusion

Assuming rising attention over place branding on all geographical scales, the project has outlined a theoretical framework to go beyond its superficiality reputation by linking it to endogenous approach to development. Particularly, brand power to stir endogenous potential i.e. emerging socio-economic assets has been analysed. Accordingly, the literature gap concerning inner place branding has been tackled.

First, brand has been defined by emphasising its complexity in light of theories considering brand as a *“new media object”* (Lury, 2004). Then, branding has been analysed as a strategic process rather than as simple and unsophisticated promotional effort. Furthermore, Arnovalley and Tuscany case study has tested the main propositions deriving from theory so that the discussion has highlighted the extent to which place branding may stimulate social learning, identity-building and institutional shift for change. Methodologically, this has meant learning from a failure as Arnovalley was left behind and mainly considered unsuccessful.

In general, it is worth claiming place branding is to be part of a broad set of policies, particularly innovation ones, remembering that some positive externalities may be produced even in case of unsuccessful brands. That is, the possibility to foster learning capacity and improve social capital endowment through place branding should be taken into account seriously. As regards the option of outsourcing branding functions to professional consultancies should be cautiously evaluated since it will probably give highly consistent arrangements, but little learning within the place.

Finally, along with the research, the concern about the chance to enrich regional umbrella brand with values coming from city brands has emerged. In this regard a wide field for further research arises. Indeed it should be worth on the one hand analysing the relationships and interactions between brands across geographical levels i.e. nation, regions, cities, and on the other hand defining a proper framework to manage these interactions for synergies.

References

- Aaker, J. L. (1997). "Dimensions of Brand Personality." Journal of Marketing Research **24**: 347-356.
- Anholt, S. (2002). "Foreword." The Journal of Brand management **9**(4-5): 229-239.
- Anholt, S. (2007), Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions, Basingstoke, Palgrave
- Avraham, E. (2004). "Media strategies for improving an unfavourable city image." Cities **21**(6): 471-479.
- Balestrieri, A. et al. (2002), Net Economy in Toscana 2002, Firenze, Regione Toscana
- Bellini, N. (2003). Rapporto di Ricerca. Quaderni della programmazione. La politica regionale per l'innovazione tecnologica e il rafforzamento dell'area hi-tech in Toscana. Contributi di analisi. Firenze, Regione Toscana.
- Bellini, N., A. Loffredo, et al. (2008). Images of otherness in place marketing: Maremma as the unexpected Tuscany. Regional Studies Association International Conference. Prague.
- Black, I. S. (2003). Analysing Historical and Archive Sources. Key Methods in Geography. N. J. Clifford and G. Valentine. London, Sage.
- Castells, M. and P. Hall (1994). Technopoles of the world. The making of 21st century industrial complexes. London, Routledge.
- Castells, M. (2004), The Power of Identity, Oxford, Blackwell.
- Cavalieri, A. (1999). Toscana e Toscani. Percorsi locali e identità regionale nello sviluppo economico. Milan, Franco Angeli.
- Cooke, P. and K. Morgan (1998). The Associational Economy. Firms, Regions and Innovation, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Crang, M. (2002). "Qualitative Methods: the new Orthodoxy?" Progress in Human Geography **26**: 647-655.
- de Chernatoy, C. and M. McDonald (2003). Creating powerful brands. Oxford, Elsevier.
- Dunford, M. and L. Greco (2006). After the Three Italies: Wealth, Inequality and Industrial Change, Oxford, Blackwell.
- Ernst &Young and Università di Pisa (2008). Being successful in Pisa. Pisa, Provincia di Pisa.
- Evans, G. (2003), "Hard-Branding the Cultural City – From Prado to Prada", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research **27**(2): 417-440.

- European Commission (2006). *Constructing Regional Advantage. Principles-Perspectives-Policies*. D. G. Research, Information and Communication Unit.
- Florida, R. (2004). *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York, Basic Books.
- Gibson, C. and D. Davidson (2004), "Tamworth, Australia's 'country music capital': place marketing, rurality, and resident reactions", *Journal of Rural Studies* 20: 387-404.
- Gold, J. R. (1994). *Locating the message: place promotion as image communication. Place Promotion. The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions*. J. R. Gold and S. V. Ward. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Gold, J. R. and S. V. Ward, Eds. (1994). *Place Promotion. The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions*. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons.
- Greenberg, M. (2000). "Branding Cities: A Social History of the Urban Lifestyle Magazine." *Urban Affairs Review* 36(2): 228-263.
- Greenberg, M. (2008). *Branding New York. How a City in crisis was sold to the World*, London, Routledge.
- Guarini, E., G. Petralia, et al. (2004). Introduzione. *Storia della Toscana. 1. Dalle origini al Settecento*. E. Guarini, G. Petralia and P. Pezzino. Roma, Editori Laterza.
- Hadjimichalis, C. and R. Hudson (2006). "Networks, Regional Development and Democratic Control." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(4): 858-72.
- Hankinson, G. (2001), "Location branding: A study of the branding practices of 12 English cities", *Brand Management* 9(2): 127-142.
- Hankinson, G. (2004). "Relational network brands: Towards a conceptual model of place brands." *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 10(2): 109-121.
- Harwood, J. (2005). "Can branding pave a city's streets with gold?" *Marketing Week* 9.
- Hospers, G. (2006). "Silicon Somewhere? Assessing the usefulness of best practices in regional policy." *Policy Studies* 27(1): 1-15.
- Kavaratzis, M. and G. J. Ashworth (2005). "City Branding: an effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick?" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 96(5): 506-514.
- Lury, C. (2004) *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy* Routledge: London
- Lury, C. (undated). *The doing and the living of the business of Barcelona: brandspace, brandvalue and brandpower*.

- McCrone, D., A. Morris and R. Kiely (1995), Scotland – the Brand. The Making of Scottish Heritage, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Olins, W. (1999), Trading Identities. Why countries and companies are taking on each other's role, London, The Foreign Policy Centre.
- Paoli, M. (1999), I settori innovativi in Toscana, Milano, Franco Angeli.
- Papadopoulos, N. and L. Heslop (2002), "Country equity and country branding: Problems and prospects", Brand Management **9**(4-5): 294-314.
- Pastena, G. (2008). Il Piano di Marketing Territoriale della Provincia di Pisa. Pisa, Ernst & Young.
- Pelz, M. (2004). Immagini della Toscana. Storia della Toscana. 2. Dal Settecento a oggi. E. Guarini, G. Petralia and P. Pezzino. Roma, Editori Laterza.
- Peruzzi, C. (2008). Arno Valley più forte all'estero. Nella produzione e vendita di computer il gruppo Cdc punta all'utile nel 2008. Sole 24 Ore. Centro Nord. 23 January: 7.
- Pike, A., A. Rodríguez-Pose, et al. (2006). Local and Regional Development. London, Routledge.
- Pike, A. (2007) "Brands, branding and territorial development" Draft Paper for the Regional Studies Association 'Regions in Focus' Conference, Lisbon, 2-5 April, 2007 (<http://www.regional-studies-assoc.ac.uk/events/lisbon07/papers/pike.pdf>)
- Pike, A. (2009) "Brand and Branding Geographies", Geography Compass **2** (1): 1-24
- Pike, A. "Geographies of brands and branding", Forthcoming in Progress in Human Geography, 2009.
- Philo, C. and G. Kearns (1993), "Culture, History, Capital: A Critical Introduction to the Selling of Places", in Kearns, G. and Philo, C., (ed.s) Selling Places. The City as cultural capital, past and present, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- Power, D. and A. Hauge (2008). "No Man's Brand - Brands, Institutions and Fashion." Growth and Change **39**(1): 123-143.
- Sinclair, J. (undated), Branding and belonging: globalised goods and national identity.
- van Ham, P. (2008), "Place Branding: The State of the Art", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science **616**: 126-149.
- Varaldo, R., N. Bellini, et al. (1997). Tendenze e vie di cambiamento dell'industria toscana. Milano, Franco Angeli.
- Vázquez-Barquero, A. (2002). Endogenous development. Networking, innovation, institutions and cities. Oxon, Routledge.

Ward, K. G. (2000), "Front Rentiers to Rantiers: 'Active Entrepreneurs', 'Structural Speculators' and the Politics of Marketing the City", Urban Studies **37**(7): 1093-1107.