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DOMESTICATION OF WORLD CULTURAL MODELS
City branding in Tampere as a case

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the discursive and rhetorical process of domestication of world cultural models through analyzing the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere. The case study examines how the justification of world cultural model of place branding happens in the local context of Tampere. The focal point is that the rhetoric of Tampere municipality attempts to convince their local audience that city branding is necessary.

I study the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere through new-institutionalism and domestication theories. The isomorphic spread of place branding model worldwide can be described through the world culture and world society. However, what happens in the local context when the world cultural models are intended to be employed is crucial and the domestication theory explains this process very well. The main purpose is to understand how domestication of world cultural model of place branding happens in the local context of Tampere by posing this main question that how the municipality justifies the necessity of a brand for the city rhetorically.

I have interviewed agents of branding project in municipality of Tampere. The interviews and the texts provided in related websites, workshops and seminars related to city branding in Tampere are the main data. The data is analyzed through the method of rhetorical theory in order to find out what the premises of the city branding rhetoric are. Premises of the rhetoric describe what values are assumed to be the most prevalent in the society.

The result is found through discussing the premises of the city branding rhetoric in frame of epistemic governance. This means what the municipality of Tampere has done to justify the necessity of city branding, is epistemic. In other words, they have tried to influence the local politicians, resident and all the stakeholders via rhetoric and the premises of this rhetoric consist of particular (i.e. local) and universal imageries and values. The municipality could not simply

introduce city branding with merely fact and truth to the local audience, rather involving combination of universal and local values has turned the rhetoric to a persuasive one. World cultural model of city branding is applied locally, is domesticated rhetorically and the domestication process has gone through an epistemic work.

Keywords: Domestication, world cultural models, city branding, place branding, new-institutionalism, world society

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Tampere wants to become the next Silicon Valley in Europe, I heard a Finnish guy was talking about it” says an American professional in Copenhagen with a wide smile and sarcastic tone.

According to Business Tampere, a related organization to Tampere municipality:

Tampere City Region is one of the most attractive growth centres in Finland. It includes the city of Tampere, towns of Kangasala, Nokia, Orivesi and Ylöjärvi and the municipalities of Lempäälä, Pirkkala and Vesilahti. Tampere City Region is the second largest growth center in Finland and it is situated in Pirkanmaa. (Business Tampere 2018)

When I moved to Tampere in the summer of 2015, its beautiful nature and peaceful atmosphere was beyond my expectations. Later, I entered the rhetoric of how this city is isolated from the world and it should become more globally known. According to the statistics in Visit Tampere’s website (an organization related to the municipality), Tampere is the most popular city for Finnish tourists to visit. However, the municipality believes that Tampere is not known enough to people outside of Finland. It is perceived that when a city is globally known, it attracts more people to choose it as a tourist or living destination and this brings more companies and investments. As a result, the city would have a dynamic atmosphere while offering jobs to its residents.

Being unknown to the world seems to distress residents of a place (town, city or a nation) in the era of globalization. Gaining a profound recognition from other countries and cities would ameliorate the feeling of being globally accepted. Attempting to convince people from around the world to visit and live in a place is a process that includes different phases. Borrowing the term from corporation marketing, this process is called ‘place branding’. Place branding includes nations, regions, cities, towns and even villages and this concept has recently been researched widely in academia from different perspectives.

For instance, Katja Valaskivi’s research about nation branding indicates that becoming a desirable place to outsiders aims to draw more different types of capital (i.e. investments); and the process goes through circulating certain social imaginaries on the regional and global level (Valaskivi 2013). Social imaginaries include the creation of values, meanings, images and their circulation

through different mediums, which forms a shared identity in a society (Taylor 2002, cited in Valaskivi 2013, p. 3). Indeed, the endeavoring of a place to be globally known with certain peculiarities originates from the national level. According to Nation branding specialists, this concept intends to provide a tool for nation-states to gain soft power on global scale. (Merkelsen 2016)

For example, Cool Japan, which was promoted as a national brand for Japan, has been disseminated for more than ten years to create a positive image for the country (Valaskivi 2013, p. 1). The pursuit of forming a national brand has been happening in different countries and advisors in nation branding have been playing a great part in it. For instance, Simon Anholt, a famous place branding consultant, has been contributing to nation branding projects in 53 countries. (Valaskivi 2013, p. 3)

Place branding advisors and consultants have an important role in disseminating the city branding concept and methodology around the world. Their knowledge as specialists is powerful and carries a sort of rationality that is convincing to policy makers at national and regional levels. Moreover, the place branding specialists are creators of rankings and indexes in the field as well.

1.1. Place branding around the world

In place branding literature, indexes and rankings are research methodologies to study public opinion. Valuing public opinion as the main global authority, Simon Anholt mixes academic research and practical place branding consulting in his book *The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. In his book, Anholt perceives countries' prominence as equivalent to "the brand image of companies" (Anholt 2006, p. xi). Anholt, the creator of the "Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index" believes that the quality of countries' reputation overseas is measurable. The methodology included conducting online interviews with 1000 interviewees per country and the research has operated in almost 20 countries including both developed and developing ones. (Place Brand Observer 2017) For instance, Japan earned the highest score for its reputation worldwide in 2017 due to its strength in exports. France is ranked second in the 2017 study compared to 2016 in which it was ranked fifth; this improvement was due to French culture, tourism and exports. (ibid)

On the other hand, Anholt is also the creator of the Good Country Index, which measures how a country contributes to humanity on global scale (The Good Country Index n.d.). The methodology of the good country index involves "using a wide range of data from the U.N. and other

international organizations” with the data revealing “[a country]’s net creditor to mankind, a burden on the planet, or something in between” (ibid). According to Robert Govers, a colleague of Anholt, there is a correlation between the Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index and the Good Country Index. He “strongly suggests that countries, which contribute the most to humanity and the planet, tend also to be the most admired countries” (Place Brand Observer 2017). Anholt concludes:

The most admired countries, as we know, tend to get more trade, more tourism, and more productive international engagements generally. So the consequences of this correlation are hugely significant: essentially, it implies that “corporate social responsibility” is as relevant for nations as it is for corporations. (Place Brand Observer 2017)

Indexes and practical studies of this sort draw attention when we hear news such as Finland being one of the top best countries in the world. According to the index, the top rank indicates that Finland has been the most prominent contributor to humanity due to its significant rank in freedom of press, Foreign Direct Investment and cyber security (Helsinki times 2019). This ranking as a formulated image of Finland will circulate worldwide and will shape the social imaginary of the country. These kinds of Indexes are also a valuable tool to be used politically by policy makers to legitimize their decisions and policies in the local context (Aronczyk 2008). Another example is the top rank of Finland in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) that has been used as a justification for some changes in national education policy (Rautalin & Alasuutari 2009).

Similarly, in the city branding literature, indexes and rankings have the same function. A city’s brand has certain elements that brand researchers use to analyze and rank cities in the global context. For instance, according to the “Brand Barometer” created based on the Guardian and Saffron institute’s research, cities’ brands are measured based on two factors:

Its “assets” – attractions, climate, infrastructure (particularly transport), safety and economic prosperity – and its “buzz”, a combination of social media (Facebook likes and Twitter sentiment analysis) and media mentions. (Michael & Sedghi 2014)

Therefore, metropolitan cities such as London, New York and Paris are the ones with the highest assets and buzz. However, cities similar to Copenhagen and Oslo have a very high score in having assets but very low in buzz.

According to Resonance, a consulting and marketing company, another way to analyze a city's brand is to use six place equity indexes: the first index is the natural and built environment of a city which shapes the perception of a city. Therefore, if this scale is positive, it will receive a high rank on the global scale. For instance, Lisbon and Singapore are the top two cities in this dimension and they have good ratings for not having air pollution, having a high number of outdoor parks and safe neighborhoods according to Resonance's research. The second index is the rank of a city as a "Product", which indicates that local universities and the number of attractions, amusements and museums are all at a good level, e.g. Moscow has 500 museums and galleries and has ranked third after Paris and London.

The third index is called "programming" which measures the level of satisfaction in terms of things such as good food, shows, shopping and nightlife when visiting the city. The fourth index focuses on "People" and it refers to the amount of diversity in a city. If a city has a great amount of diversity then it would be able to produce more global ideas on a local scale. Dubai has the highest rank in this dimension. The fifth index is "prosperity", which measures unemployment rate, GDP per capita and the number of global headquarters. Singapore has the highest rank of prosperity among other cities in the world. The sixth and the last criteria is "promotion", which is the city's ability to tell its story that both locals and visitors share and feel the same. Cities should communicate and use digital marketing for their cities to promote their image and story worldwide. (Resonance, 2017)

The combination of these indexes contribute to the cities around the world competing to become more globally recognized and accepted according to place branding specialists such as Anholt. He articulates this competition by emphasizing globalization:

Today, the world is one market; The rapid advance of globalization means that every country, every city and every region must compete with every other for its share of the world's consumers, business and leisure visitors, investors, students, entrepreneurs, international sporting, commercial and cultural events, and for the attention and respect of the international media, of other governments, and the people of other countries (Anholt 2007, p. 1, cited in Valaskivi 2013, p. 489).

Perceiving the world as one market and being coerced to enter a competition with other cities means that there is a necessity to build a constructed identity. This would lead to defining the special features of a place and attributing new adjectives such as being cool, vibrant or having an

entrepreneurial ecosystem as part of their social imaginaries. This way, cities attempt to become distinctive and receive more global recognition.

From a marketing perspective, a city brand is an attempt to manage the complex image of a city towards a more appealing perception (Castillo-Villar 2018). There are other terms such as city marketing, place branding and urban or town branding which are prevalent and used interchangeably (Lucarelli & Berg 2011, p. 11 cited in Green et al. 2016, p. 3). Moreover, branding concepts that are employed in the traditional product marketing have entered the city branding terminology such as brand equity or brand identity. (Hafeez et al. 2016, p. 3) It seems that cities are considered as a commodity for marketing.

Cities use different strategies to brand themselves. For example, Edmonton, a city in the province of Alberta, Canada focuses on rebranding the city to attract talents. Its branding story started in 2012 when different stakeholders of the city gathered to define the visions of Edmonton until 2040. Image and reputation were mentioned as the main problems; one of the leaders said: “We need a story to tell” (Place Brand Observer 2017). The same year, they conducted a study to discover existing internal and external images of Edmonton and the result showed how there is a major contrast between the residents and outsiders’ images of Edmonton. In fact, people loved their city but they did not know how to express it; in the meanwhile the outsiders had a cold and boring image of Edmonton. As a result, the city stakeholders started to build the city’s story (i.e. a rhetoric) around the concept of being attractive to talents and they called their campaign “Make something in Edmonton”. (Place Brand Observer 2017)

Edmonton’s example shows that when the external image of a place is negative, the authorities aim to change it. To attain a way to show the world how residents of Edmonton love this city, the city stakeholders aimed to influence the social imaginaries of the place. Constructing a rhetoric of being attractive to the talents, the campaign claimed the involvement of the residents in the process. Indeed their shared love for the city was part of the rhetoric to attract talented people.

Paris in turn, is a very good example of having a solid brand and associating the city with love and romance, which has become more powerful over the years. New York on the other hand, has built its brand from scratch and focuses on the work culture. The “I [Heart] New York” campaign was a successful one and empowered the internal and external image of the city. Another successful branding campaign is “I Amsterdam” which has become the motto of the city. (Enakshi Sharma 2015)

1.2. City branding in Tampere

Similar to other cities around the world that try to become branded, Tampere has attempted to create a brand since 2011. The first and previous brand of the city was called “Tampere All Bright”, which was an attempt to show the world how attractive Tampere is (Haiko 2015, p. 25). In the previous websites (tamperebrand.fi and tampereallbright.fi) allocated to Tampere’s brand which are not available anymore, the strongest attributes of Tampere region were described as “Courageous, open-minded, relaxed and inspiring” and these features aimed to influence social imaginaries of the Tampere. In additions, the goal of the brand was defined to “attract tourists, skilled workforce and investments to the vivid region of 500.000 people.” (ibid)

Former TREDEA which is currently called Business Tampere (an organization related to the municipality) was responsible for the branding project and it was funded by EU. “Tampere All Bright” had two logos and seven slogans in English (Haiko 2015, p. 25). However, the meaning of the logo and slogans were not explained in English and in the Finnish part of the website the meaning was articulated in this manner: “an area which is filled with bright (välkky) people” (Haiko 2015, p. 26). This brand is not in use anymore and the municipality of Tampere along with related organizations such as Business Tampere and Visit Tampere have created a new brand using a different strategy. They believe that the previous brand was not relatable to the people of Tampere and it seemed like an imposed brand. Business Tampere believes that “Tampere All Bright” brand was not clear and it needed to be described all the time. (Business Tampere 2017)

The new brand is not funded by EU or any other organization outside of Tampere. Thus, the process of creating a new brand was initiated voluntarily by the municipality of Tampere since 2016. In order to understand the process of branding better, the official agents of the municipality made benchmarking trips to other countries and cities to see how they have done place branding. In additions, they conducted research and invited place branding specialists to organize workshops in Tampere. Becoming familiar with city branding literature, utilization of related terms entered the rhetoric of Tampere Municipality. For instance, DNA of a city is a term used by place branding specialists to define the core value of a place.

Attempting to find out the DNA of Tampere, in 2017 the municipality conducted a survey with its residents to realize how they define the story of Tampere. The survey is similar to a market research in marketing studies. However, the difference is that the municipality aimed to research public

opinion of Tampere residents about the city. After completing the survey, municipality defined the strategy of the city until 2030 and the city council approved it in October 2017. (Tampereen kasvot 2017)

The new brand process has gone through different phases and finally in 2019 the outcome is available to the public. The amount of money spent for the brand is 60000 euros and this time there is no slogan (Aamulehti 2019). “Tampere.Finland” the new brand of Tampere is described as the joint signature of Tampere residents (ibid). The new story of Tampere consists of six core words: idea, work, atmosphere, change, experience and home (Alkula 2019). Moreover, a new website (tampereenbrandi.fi) is dedicated to introducing the name of the brand and its strategy. The municipality has also made parts of the material available for local businesses and residents to use in their own publications, if they wish to do so. According to the Tampere brand website the survey created a shared story and the municipality with the dedicated marketing team created the concept and strategy of the brand. (Tampereen brandi 2019)

Becoming familiar with concept of place branding, the first question that made me interested in this topic was “why cities around the world are increasingly becoming branded?” Attempting to answer this question, I learned the rationality behind place branding: building positive reputation and being appealing to skilled workers, investors and tourists would attract more capital, hence, there will be more jobs and the city would grow faster. (Warnaby & Davies 1997; Papadopoulos & Heslop 2002; Kaplan et al. 2010 cited in Hafeez et al. 2016)

This rationality seemed to some degree very natural that I could not question it. But the more I thought about it the more I started considering another question: Why does every place apply the same rationality? There should be more layers to this isomorphic act, which is happening around the world. One of the possible answers might be that the spread of place branding is merely an imitation due to the existing competition between places (nation-states or cities). This assumption of rationality belongs to the new-realist perspective or as George Thomas and Boli (1997) call it “global new-realism” (p. 172). In this perspective the world consists of interdependent entities such as states and cities and they try to gain the most benefit due to their competitive nature. However, in contrast to the global new- realist view, new-institutionalist perspective conceptualizes that there is a global culture and the world polity is beyond the interdependent entities. (Thomas & Boli 1997)

The global culture here means “that definitions, principles, and purposes are cognitively constructed in similar ways throughout the world” (Thomas & Boli 1997, p. 173). Cultural models in context of

global culture are supposed to be functional everywhere, that is why similar construction of nation-states or mass schooling are adopted worldwide (ibid). This perspective is applicable to the diffusion of place branding as well. In other words, from a new-institutionalist perspective, the spread of place branding practices i.e. nation branding and city branding means that they are functioning as cultural models in the global culture.

However, the aim of this research is not to study the worldwide diffusion of place branding. The spread of policies and concepts has been discussed widely in the literature of diffusion theories such as new-institutionalism (world society, world polity and world culture theory) in form of dissemination of world cultural models, mentioned earlier. However, this theory does not explain the process that in practice these world cultural models are applied in the local context. The aim of this research is to explore the local process of justifying city branding by policy makers such as municipality authorities and adoption of world cultural models in a deeper level through the domestication theory. In practice, the justification goes through a process of creating rhetoric. Understanding the rhetoric and why certain rhetoric is fabricated to influence the mind of all the stakeholders and residents of Tampere in form of epistemic governance to domesticate the place branding model is very crucial. I will discuss this in the following chapters on a deeper level.

In what follows, the next chapter is dedicated to the earlier research on place branding and I will explain the literature of place branding through the main and important concepts that have been discussed in different fields. After that in the third and fourth chapters, I will describe the aim of the study and the theoretical framework will be discussed more in depth. The fifth chapter is “data and methods” and I will describe the data and analysis method, which is rhetorical analysis theory. Sixth chapter focuses on the data analysis and findings. The following chapter is discussion of findings through the theoretical framework.

2. EARLIER RESEARCH ON PLACE BRANDING

In this chapter I discuss the literature of place branding through some important concepts in order to understand different context and different dimensions of this topic. Place branding (including nation and city branding) has been the topic of several academic researches from various perspectives and in different fields. Communication science and marketing studies are the major fields that have conducted research on place branding. Urban planning, development and governance studies have also had an interest on the topic in a form of research. It is important to understand that mono-disciplinary approach to place branding is not enough, instead we should have a multidisciplinary perspective on this topic. (Lucarelli et al. 2011, p. 1) The multidisciplinary approach to place branding provides us a holistic understanding of this concept. Thus, this chapter embraces the multi-disciplinary attitude to deliver the context of the place branding properly.

Academic research related to “place branding” has become more prevalent over the last 40 years and the interest in this topic has been growing (Oguztimur and Akturan, 2015). Having researches in different contexts of place branding from tourism and destination branding to city, urban, region, and nation branding, there is an ambiguity of terms in the literature (Anholt, 2005 cited in Oguztimur and Akturan, 2015). Therefore, some terms are used interchangeably such as place marketing, place promotion, and place branding and due to not having clarity in definition of terms, comprehending the literature becomes more difficult.

Moreover, place branding is “semantically flexible” and that is why there is a wide length of academic literature in this regard (Merkelsen and Rasmussen, 2016, p7). This means that place branding can carry different meanings and thus, can be studied via different approaches. However, there are some important concepts that have been discussed in the place branding researches and reviewing the literature through these concepts would enable us to understand the earlier research better and they also help us to understand the focus of this thesis in a more comprehensible way. These concepts are: applying corporate marketing methods in place branding, politics of place branding, discursive nature of place branding, place branding and imaginaries and finally, the regional development and the role of regional powers.

In this thesis, I merely use the term place branding as an umbrella, nation and city branding as subcategories in order to prevent confusion and create more clarity in defining the literature.

2.1. Applying corporate marketing methods or going beyond

Place branding is not a very recent event and applying it traces back to 19th century (Gómez et al. 2018), hence, the concept is as old as governments. Governments have always wanted to build identity for the places and make an image. However, the scholarly research of place branding (e.g. city and nation branding) is a very new field in the academic world (Zencker & Beckmann 2013, cited in Gómez et al. 2018). One of the prominent concepts that is discussed numerous in the recent academic research is application of corporate marketing methods for places. In spite the fact that instruments, tools, and agencies that are involved in city branding evolve constantly, in contemporary time, marketing theories have been applied for branding places and places are seen as marketable assets. (Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2009)

However, scholars from other fields such as sociology, urban planning and human geographers do not agree with the notion of considering cities as business commodities (Oguztimur & Akturan 2015). They believe that “cities are not products to be sold and they are built through history and have socio-cultural and man-made character” (Reem et al. 2012, cited in Oguztimur & Akturan 2015, p. 362).

Ashworth and Voogd as scholars who have researched place branding since four decades ago state that despite being aware of challenges of applying corporate marketing methods for places (especially for cities), the possibility of such a application has been reinforced by marketing literature (Ashworth & Voogd 1994, cited in Green et al. 2016, p. 16). However, the adaptation of marketing theories became more specific in the beginning of 2000 and the complexity of places comparing to a simple product was acknowledged (ibid). On the other hand, application of corporate marketing methodology for places and trying to brand them has been criticized as well. “For instance, Blichfeldt (2005), Freire (2005) and Kapferer (2011) question whether it is even possible to manage cities as brands” (Green et al. 2016, p. 17).

Place branding professionals such as Simon Anholt believe that considering place branding practices (e.g. nation branding) as a product promotion or public relations is a simplistic notion and it is a more complex process (Anholt 2006). The simplified interpretation of place branding has led to define a brand merely as a logo and slogan by some scholars (Govers 2013; Kavaratzis & Hatch 2013 cited in Green et al. 2016, p. 2). During the progress of place branding in 1970s - 1980s, cities

were considered as businesses that required an entrepreneurial approach to be managed and consequently to be branded (Green et al. 2016, p. 13). Therefore, the entrepreneurial urban governance has applied marketing perspectives for place branding in the same fashion (ibid, p. 16).

Kavaratzis (2009) and Van Hamm (2008) criticize the effort of translating corporate marketing and branding methods for place branding (Cited in Bell 2016, p. 2). The reason for such criticism lies in not considering places as dynamic geographical entities that different stakeholders are involved with. The audience of a city is not easy to be defined as it is for a product. Hence, place branding research suggests going beyond the corporate methods and perceiving cities, regions and nations as constantly evolving, complicated and fluid entities. (Bell 2016)

2.2.Politics of place branding

According to Merkelsen and Rasmussen's research, ambiguity and semantic flexibility of place branding has led to conduction of research from different perspectives in academia. As a result, nation branding has entered the public diplomacy studies as well. Utilizing the theory of Scandinavian new-institutionalism, Merkelsen and Rasmussen believe that the homogeneous act of nation-states to apply nation branding is due to change of the global scene that they are instituted in. After the cold war, the global political scene has changed and as a result concentrating on soft power as a concept of nation branding "solves the problem of a declining relevance of public diplomacy" (Merkelsen & Rasmussen 2016, p. 8). In the following decade after 9/11, the change in the global scene and the call for a new public diplomacy has reinforced matching of nation branding and public diplomacy as two connected concepts. "Branding and public diplomacy are in fact largely complementary" (Melissen 2005, p. 20 cited in Merkelsen et al. 2016, p. 8).

Furthermore, Simon Anholt the nation branding theorist has developed his opinion on the relationship of nation branding and public diplomacy as well. He states that he used to believe in the traditional definition of public diplomacy "as a means of presentation and representation of the national interest" (Anholt 2006, p. 1). Thus, he considered public diplomacy as a subcategory of nation branding. Later, however Anholt has altered his opinion about public diplomacy being simply representation of government policy to another notion. He believes that the reputation, image and on the whole the brand of a nation can justify policies of a country. Therefore, there is no need to perceive that merely public diplomacy would be able to enhance the credibility of policies; if a country is in favor by public, even if a policy is wrong, it can be communicated in a positive

way and public opinion would accept it. On the other hand, if a country owns a relatively negative reputation, no matter how a policy is communicated, public would likely react negatively. Consequently, Anholt believes that:

Who you are, how you are seen, and what you do, are all questions which are intimately and perhaps inextricably linked, which is why no state can hope to achieve its aims in the modern world without a mature and sophisticated fusion of PD [public diplomacy] and nation branding (Anholt 2006, p. 5).

City branding compared to nation branding is not directly connected to the nation-states public diplomacy in the place branding literature. Rather, local political and economic institutions situated in the global context are part of politics of city branding. For instance, in *The Political Economy of City branding*, Ari-Veikko Anttiroiko analyses city branding with perspective of political economy (in form of classical definition), which is interrelation of political institutions and economy. (Anttiroiko 2014, p. 3) Thus, the way city branding is involved with politics in the literature of place branding has another form (e.g. city council) and it is in contrast to the nation-state's power. The degree of political autonomy of a city and its position in the global economy is the focus of the literature in politics of city branding.

Anttiroiko perceives urban development in the regional level to be directly connected to the global economy and it challenges the nation-state's centric view of urban planning and conventional approach. (Anttiroiko 2014, p. 6) Thus, cities and regions as urban areas are becoming independent entities. However, this autonomy is limited and still urban areas are forced to compete with others (Harvey 1985, p. 158 cited in Anttiroiko 2014, p. 6). This view assumes that competition works as a coercion force to the cities to position themselves on top of the urban hierarchy. They need not only to work on their attractiveness but also they need to attract skilled-workers and grow through innovativeness and creativity (Anttiroiko 2015). In the literature of place branding, it seems that politics of city branding on the global scale concentrates on competing with other cities and on how cities autonomously take part in this competition.

2.3. Place branding is discursive

Place branding tailors meanings, definitions, and values and composes them as a constructed identity for a place. The discursive nature of place branding is all about management of symbols

and interpretations (Johansson 2012). In other words, place branding claims the distinctiveness and superiority of a place through a discourse (mostly attaching to dominant ones). Moreover, the rationality of place branding is justified by tying to the discourse of the increasing global competition between places (e.g. nations and cities) (ibid, p. 2), a competition that aims to attract more capital.

Melissa Aronczyk (2008) in her research “Living the brand: Nationality, Globality and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants” focuses on nation branding and its discursive nature. The necessity of building a nation brand is justified in the national level through referring to the discourse of decreasing power of nation-states in the globalized world. Thus, creating a brand for the nation becomes imperative to not only gain more power but also creating a shared identity.

Not only does place branding need to be justified in the national or regional level to be conducted but also it is used as a tool to justify performing actions domestically or globally as well. For instance, nation branding is employed while taking part in international mediation to benefit from a better position in EU, UN and other organizations. In domestic affairs “nation branding is used to manage consensus by encouraging positive perceptions of international decisions” (Aronczyk 2008, p4).

2.4. Place branding and imaginaries

Prior to exploring the literature of place branding and imaginaries, one needs to distinguish the difference between the image of a place and its imaginaries. Image refers to the visuals of a place and its physical appearances and on the contrary imaginaries are intentional or unintentional representation of a place, which is part of a discourse. However, image and imaginaries throughout the place branding literature are used interchangeably despite the fact that they are not synonyms. The word image in this literature is metaphorical and does not refer to visuals and physical of a place (Vanolo 2017, p. 10).

Katja Valaskivi (2013) in her research “A brand new future? Cool Japan and the social imaginary of the branded nation” works on the transnational nature of nation branding and focuses on the Japanese brand project called “Cool Japan”. Valaskivi approaches nation branding from social imaginary theory and describes nation branding as a “conscious effort to influence the social imaginary of a nation” (Valaskivi 2013, p. 486).

The project of “Cool Japan” started in 2005 and two months after the big earthquake in 2011, the proposal was published (Valaskivi 2013, p. 487). The conscious attempt of building images of a nation both internally and internationally to circulate the social imaginaries was not necessarily a new concept. The way Meiji governments tried to build and reform the image of the Japanese nation in the past was similar while the strategies were different. Using branding concepts and theories to create social imaginaries for a nation and circulating them via different tools is the recent strategy of place branding. Moreover, consulting with place branding professionals has become a more common practice in the recent times as well. For instance, Simon Anholt the previously mentioned nation branding advisor has not been officially recognized as Japan’s consultant, but he has been in touch with Japanese politicians. (Interview with Anholt March 2012, cited in Valaskivi 2013, p. 486)

There are certain trendy features that most of the nations would like to be attributed to such as being creative, innovative, attractive, etc (Valaskivi 2013). Despite these attempts and creating similar slogans, nations might apply more abstract strategies such as what Finland has performed. Although Finland has created slogans such as “Finland gives you a lesson” or “Consider it solved”, the attempt goes beyond the slogans and tries to employ “a more abstract approach: such as ability to solve conflicts and creating effective systems” (e.g. prominent educational system) (Valaskivi 2013, p. 490). Valaskivi believes that branding a nation is not merely for external purposes but includes building internal self-confidence likewise. If a nation does not believe in the images and values broadcasted to the world, it will not be effective enough. Nation branding is for circulating social imaginaries both internally and externally. Valaskivi (2013) mentions an important point:

The very act of perceiving the nation as a brand already changes the social imaginary of the nation as such: a country becomes an object of consumption, a brand, a commodity, a product. As a consequence, the nation is imagined as a commodity, rather than as a community. (Bolin & Stahlberg 2010 cited in Valaskivi 2013, p. 499)

Using social imaginaries theory in Valaskivi’s research to analyze nation branding in Japan depicts a new angle in place branding literature, which is circulating certain images to gain more credibility internationally and to build a solid identity internally. However, Marjana Johansson (2012) in her research “Place Branding and the Imaginary: The Politics of Re-imagining a Garden City” describes how these imaginaries are both created and circulated through discourse. (Johansson 2012) Imaginaries are not created from completely new concepts; they are constructed from

circulating perceptions in the dominant discourse to benefit from their power (ibid). For instance, representing imaginaries of being innovative in ICT sector, E-stonia as the national brand of Estonia has utilized the already trendy concepts in the discourse of place branding (Valaskivi 2013, p. 489).

Alberto Vanolo (2017) in his research “City branding: The ghostly politics of representation in globalizing cities” believes that city imaginaries as representations of a place are always political, because they create new realities that affect the existence and future of a place. He uses an example of banal imaginary of Cambridge, Massachusetts as a city of technology and creative industries. This title is chosen due to having Harvard and MIT universities in the city. This imaginary has deliberately ignored other narratives that do not fit the discourse of place branding such as the situation of marginalized people in that area (Vanolo 2017, P. 6).

Moreover, Vanolo’s research discusses the fact that the imaginaries of places (e.g. nations, cities and regions) are aiming to attract certain type of global audience such as new enterprises, businesses, tourists, investors and skilled workers who would all be beneficial (Vanolo 2017). Whereas, for instance, political refugees and economic migrants from developing countries (e.g. Muslim countries) in the current European discourse are not considered as ideal audience for the fabricated positive imaginaries of European destinations. Hence, Imaginaries being political leads to define their ideal audience as well.

However, the literature of place branding in general and city branding in specific neglects the existence of the global culture and seems to miss this point that cultural model of place branding is disseminated through specialists and consultants as agents of world culture. The previous studies have mostly focused on the existing competition between places around the world due to power relations or rational reasons similar to new-realist perspective. The new-realist approach limits culture to being local and national and does not consider it global (Meyer et al. 1997). This view sees the world society as merely “dense networks of transactions and interdependence” (Jacobson 1979, cited in Meyer et al. 1997, p. 147). Nation-states and local authorities such as municipalities are perceived as independent and autonomous actors who interact in the political and economic system (Boli et al. 1997).

The literature of place branding does not specifically study why this global competition between cities and nations exists and cannot describe how it happens. In the studies discussed above, even though the practice of place branding is not assumed to be dictated by any powerful entity to the

cities, the reasoning for this widespread conduction lies on the functional rationality. In other words, places understand that they can affect their social imaginaries and they build a brand in order to respond to this rationality.

Place branding studies do not value the role of culture in the dissemination of branding practices worldwide as mentioned earlier. World culture is completely neglected and the diffusion of cultural model of place branding is supposed to be the coercion of competing with other actors (Meyer et al. 1997). However, the macro-phenomenological perspective in new-institutionalism theory sees municipalities (similar to nation-states) to be “culturally constructed and embedded rather than as the unanalyzed rational actor depicted by realists” (Meyer et al. 1997, p. 147).

World polity approach in new-institutionalism theory believes that culture is becoming more global every day (Boli et al. 1997). This means that world cultural models such as human rights, gender equality or place branding become legitimized by being articulated in a rational way. Considering some agency for the nation-states, regions and cities, these legitimized cultural models become implemented. However, this implementation does not occur in a simple process and the cultural models such as place branding need to become justified domestically. None of the earlier researches in place branding have answered this question that what happens in the local context and domestication theory is absent to describe the domestication process of world cultural models. I will discuss this gap more after introducing the last concept in the earlier researches of place branding.

2.5.Regional development and the role of regional powers

Regional studies are considered to be part of the place branding literature as they concentrate on the development of the regions. However, I chose to focus on Sebastian Büttner’s research due to employment of new-institutional theory, which serves as part of the theoretical context of this thesis. Narrowing down to his work, enables us not only to comprehend the theory better, but also to describe the gap in the place branding literature later in this chapter.

Büttner (2013) in his book *Mobilizing Regions, Mobilizing Europe* has studied regional mobilization in Europe. He believes that previous research related to regional studies is limited to three levels; local, national and continent. There is lack of regional studies in the global context in order to not limit characteristics to geographical scale. Employing New-institutionalist world society theory framework, Büttner (2013) states that contemporary attempts of regional mobility

and development are happening due to the existence of a global discourse related to this topic. Thus, the world cultural models impact on the decisions in the regional level, for example in Europe, and sub-national actors enact according to what is trendy in world culture.

Büttner's study is more emphasizing on the role of supranational organizations such as EU as entities that spread the world cultural model. For example in a case of regional development, the wave of "rationalization" (Max Weber's classical theory) is shaped by the EU and it is applied in their policy-making, which affects the regional mobilization in Europe. On the other hand, Büttner also indicates that sub-national entities such as regions and cities are not passive and merely recipients of global trends. In post-industrial capitalism era, they are "'key sources' and 'motors' of social development and economic innovation" (Ohmae 1995; Storper 1995; Keating 2003 cited in Büttner 2017, p. 27). However, the new wave of regionalism which has emerged since the 80's (Ohmae 1995; Storper 1995; Keating 1998, 2003; Le Gale 's and Lequesne 1998; Fawn 2009; Paasi 2009, 2013 cited in Büttner 2017, p. 27) has created new regional actors. This wave of regional mobility has not been shaped merely through actions of regional and national actors. EU has played a tremendous role by dedicating structural funds under the EU Cohesion Policy.

Combining these mentioned factors (regional actors, their activities and EU policies) and situating them in a broader framework of world society context, makes the regional mobility more of a general social phenomenon rather than a local, national or even European project (ibid p. 28). Büttner in his research describes the resurgence of regions and cities as a complex phenomenon that limiting its reason to merely economic factors seems wrong. What makes regional mobility prevalent contemporarily is beyond the unknown market pressures, other factors such as "intellectual developments, discourses, assumptions surrounding the nature of 'good' and 'prospective' development" (ibid, p. 28) have impact as well. Thus, despite the notion of multi-level governance, perceptions are not defined in spatial layers. The world is more interconnected and interdependent than dividing it into simplified layers such as local and national.

Instead of dividing the actors to local, national and supranational level, we need to position them in a more general social context. This is possible only through a macro-phenomenological perspective, which is rooted in Stanford school's world society studies. The core of this perspective is "the assumption of a massive worldwide diffusion of 'world culture' " (Lechner and Boli 2005 cited in Büttner 2017, p. 29). World society theory does not imply a monoculture existing globally and making different cultures homogeneous. This theory states that global scientific rationality has

increased in the world society and these worldwide rational models go through local adoption (Alasuutari and Quadir 2014, cited in Büttner 2017). World culture is not separate from local practices. World culture shapes and develops within the local society and institutions reflect the scientific and expert models through their everyday actions:

World-cultural diffusion is strongly embedded in scientifically grounded cultures of knowledge and shaped by relating expert practices and artefacts: theories, textbooks, best-practice models, standardized procedures, protocols and organizational models. (Büttner 2017, p. 30)

Experts translate the conceptual models to tangible and practical local solutions and hence this action is the engine of the world cultural diffusion. Büttner attempting to utilize the world culture theory to describe the regional mobility believes that instead of considering fixed actors in different spatial levels, we should consider a world context of diffusion of world cultural models. These models are shared by agents and experts that are the carriers of world culture; therefore, creating a new image of regions and cities as modern actors is what they do and these agents form expectations, perceptions, and interests for the region.

While this thesis shares partly the theoretical framework with Büttner's research, the latter does not explain the process of domestication of world cultural models. In other words, the local battlefield and justification of usefulness of a world cultural model by local policy makers in practice is not discussed. New-institutionalist perspective describes very well the reason of diffusion but it does not provide a framework to comprehend how the local adaptation happens. That is why I employ the domestication theory in this case study to understand the process of local justification of world cultural models.

Moreover, Büttner's research mainly focuses on the role of EU and its structural funds on regional development. However, the focus of this thesis is not on the role of these organizations directly; instead the fact that local governments (i.e. municipalities) are convinced that city branding is useful and the way they justify its necessity to their local audience is the focal point. Therefore, this research is not emphasizing on how international organizations affect the municipality of Tampere per se, rather rhetorical justification of city branding by municipality officials is crucial.

The discursive nature of place branding requires the justification of rationality of branding to be rhetorical in the local context. This fabricated rhetoric circulates through authorities such as

municipality agents and in case of city branding, premises that are acceptable for the local politicians and residents are embedded in the rhetoric. By applying theoretical framework of domestication in this thesis, I attempt to analyze the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere to understand how the municipality justifies the necessity and rationality of this concept for the local residents and stakeholders.

3. THE AIM OF THIS STUDY

The previous studies discussed in the last chapter have employed different theoretical, methodological and analytical point of view compared to this research. From theoretical perspective, putting aside the new-realist approach in place branding literature; the new-institutionalism theory, as well, does not provide a thorough explanation for how local enactment to spread the world cultural models happens in practice. In other words, local actors play an important role in “constructing, packaging and marketing the practices followed in another country” (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, p. 9) and how they perceive a policy might be different from another country. However, this does not mean that the domestication process of world cultural models is equivalent to translation of policies (ibid). Domestication theory explains how trendy exogenous world cultural models such as place branding become part of the “unique domestic creation” (ibid, p. 9).

Focusing on case study of city branding in Tampere, the aim of this thesis is to comprehend the process of domestication of world cultural model of place branding in the local context. This domestication happens through a discursive process which contains creating rhetoric. In other words, Tampere Municipality in order to employ place branding in Tampere needs to persuade the local politicians and residents that city branding is useful. To justify the essentiality of creating a new strategy and brand, Tampere municipality has fabricated rhetoric. To understand this rhetoric, the previous research methods in the literature of place branding are not sufficient and that is why I chose to utilize rhetorical analysis.

The main question of this research is: How do the municipality officials justify the necessity of building a brand for the city in their rhetoric? And to answer this question I have gathered empirical data from conducting in-depth interviews with heads of city branding project in Tampere and also used materials in the municipality and other dependent organizations’ websites, seminars and workshops. Employing rhetorical analysis, the preliminary aim is to understand the data through the rhetorical theory and finding the premises of the rhetoric is the core point. Rhetorics’ main attempt is to convince and influence somebody else’s mind. In the domestication process of place branding model, the municipality of Tampere as a local policy maker need to utilize particular and universal values in their rhetoric in order to convince their audience, the residents of Tampere, local politicians and other stakeholders.

The rhetorical theory is similar to epistemic governance which is a way of governance that works through influencing minds of other crucial actors (Alasuutari et al. 2016). The main aim of this research is to understand how domestication of world cultural model of place branding happens in a rhetorical and epistemic way in Tampere. Moreover, understanding that how consequently city branding in Tampere would appear as a “domestic or natural: self- evident and universal” (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, p. 9) is a puzzle that needs to be explored. I will describe the theoretical framework more in-depth in the next chapter.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conceptualizing the world as a single world society in new-institutionalism theory (Including world polity, world society and world culture theories as part of the main theory) describes how Nation-states and cities are becoming institutionally more or less copies of each other (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 1) The crucial point is that “there is no world government to tell the nation-states or municipalities to become organized in a homogeneous way” (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 2). In world society theory in contrast to new-realist perspective nation-states or municipalities are not “unanalyzed rational actors”; rather these entities are seen as “culturally constructed and embedded” in the world culture (Mayer et al, 1997, p. 147). Worldwide models shaped and constructed in the rationalized world culture are the reason of isomorphism existing in the world society (Meyer et al. 1997). If we consider regional authorities such as municipalities as agents, their agency in the “world society is “tamed” by the world culture (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 5). This means that regional agents such as municipalities are established “as actors by the same global cultural ideas, principles and values.” (ibid)

From the perspective of policy diffusion researchers, policies become widespread in four ways: coercion, competition, learning and emulation. New-institutionalist view in form of emulation (Rautalin 2013) describes the reason for similar policies on the national and regional level not merely due to simple copying derived by coercion or competition but rather due to the existence of the world culture and the world society (Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 2). However, diffusion researchers neglect that there is no simple “learning process and they [policy makers] are conditioned by belief patterns” (Simmons et al. 2008 cited in Alasuutari & Qadir 2013, p. 2). New-institutionalist perspective and world society theory do not provide a comprehensive explanation that how in practice world cultural models are applied domestically. In fact, domestication theory is an essential framework here to understand the application of world cultural models in the local context. Domestication theory does not have the top-down approach to explain the similarity (isomorphism) of policies on the national and regional levels. The aim is to use a bottom-up perspective to analyze how local actors connect with the world society and contextualize the global patterns and trends in their local context. (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014)

To explore the reason why all the cities in the world want to have a brand and be distinctive and known to the world, one would understand that this process does not derive from a superpower that orders all the cities to act this way. Even on the national level it is not dictated that cities should

build a great brand, instead it is mostly happening because of the local initiative. Thus, in the world society, the global models of the city branding exist and cities by applying these models conform to the world culture. To complete this explanation, which does not clarify how in the local context these models in practice are applied and domesticated by local authorities; we need to focus on the discursive and rhetorical nature of the local battlefields. Through them, policy makers attempt to justify necessity and usefulness of a world cultural model to their local audience.

Moreover, we need to consider the power dynamics that municipalities as local policy makers are situated in. Power here does not necessarily refer to money and military, but it rather indicates the process that policy makers are convinced to apply a new policy and their attempt to convince others as well. Policy makers in the nation-states and in regional level are not coerced to employ a new policy or they do not simply act due to competition, rather they become convinced when they know something is useful for them. Science and knowledge are produced and applied in order to tell politicians and policy makers what is beneficial for them. (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014, p 3)

Municipalities around the world being the main actors, who believe that city branding is a right way to have a better place to live and work, are not isolated from each other. Indeed, they are positioned in a similar comprehension of the world and they share epistemic assumptions about what policies are right or wrong for the cities according to production of knowledge by specialists (e.g. Simon Anholt) (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, p. 5). Cities “function as a kind of epistemic community, sharing norms and knowledge that comprise a rationalized world culture” (Meyer et al. 1997 cited in Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, p. 4). The structure of power here is not hierarchical; municipalities are convinced because the discourse of city branding as a global model aims to contain the shared values and beliefs that municipalities perceive to be right (Alasuutari 2018). The questions raised here is how the municipalities rhetorically transfer these beliefs and values to the local audience and how they domesticate the discourse of global model of place branding.

Domestication of world cultural models happens in a discursive and rhetorical way and the rhetoric draw to different kinds of authority (such as authority of science) to influence other’s mind. Power, in form of authority means that an actor tries to draw attention to the things and organizations that people respect in order to affect their mind and perception (Alasuutari 2018, p. 4). For instance, rankings and indexes introduced earlier in introduction chapter have authority in a way that they influence public opinion by their rationality and policy makers utilize them as a justifiable tool in

their rhetoric. This way of governing which works through influencing other's perception of reality is epistemic governance (Alasuutari et al. 2016).

Epistemic governance is the attempt to influence others through applying social imageries that are shared in the society. We are all limited to certain perception of reality that is shaped by language and culture (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 29). One of these social imageries shared universally is imagery of modernization which rooted in Darwinian evolutionary idea which means that evolving and progressing is the ultimate goal. Countries and cities need to become more modern and they need to change toward more progression (ibid, p. 39). In the domestication process, when the countries or cities start comparing themselves to other places, new ideas applied in those places become equivalent to a rational way of becoming more modern and progressed. (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014)

The second imagery is 'competing camps' that perceives entities such as countries and cities operating as communities with shared interest to be in a constant competition with each other. In this way, these communities need to identify themselves with special characteristics such as creating a brand. (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 40) The last imagery is 'hierarchal power' which assumes that power is divided in global, national and local levels. All these imageries are shared universally; however, the epistemic work of local authorities, such as municipalities, in order to justify a world cultural model to the local audience needs employment of mixture of both universal and local imageries. In rhetorical theory which is the methodology of this thesis, the epistemic work is done through a rhetoric which employs premises with both universal and particular values. The local battlefield in domestication process of world cultural models happens in an epistemic way, which means employing a rhetoric containing premises with universal and particular (i.e. local) values; and the main aim is convincing and justifying.

Epistemic work and actors who apply epistemic governance concentrate on three objects in order to influence the perception of reality in a certain audience (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 40). These three objects (Ontology, identification and norms) and combination of the mentioned imageries provide a tool to understand how rhetoric and its premises are part of domesticating a world cultural model. Epistemic governance and rhetorical theory are similar in a sense that both of them focus on the act of influencing others. Finally, the domestication theory becomes more comprehensible when the findings of the research (which are analyzed through rhetorical theory) are discussed through epistemic governance. In the next chapter, I will describe the rhetorical theory in a deeper fashion.

5. DATA AND METHODS

5.1. Data collection

In order to analyze how the municipality of Tampere justifies the need for a globally accepted brand in Tampere, I have collected data by interviewing the official agents of the city branding project in the Municipality of Tampere and the written texts in their official websites as well. These interviews are important as they answer the main question of this research: How does the municipality of Tampere justify the necessity of city branding in their rhetoric? Therefore, what they say depicts the rhetoric of the city branding in Tampere. While they have created their own local rhetoric, they are simultaneously consumers and reproducers of the existing rhetoric in the world society as well.

Moreover, during my internship in “Business Tampere”, one of the main public organizations (related to the Municipality) that attempts to promote Tampere through different mediums; I entered the rhetoric of necessity of building a solid brand for Tampere. Taking part in workshops and seminars I became familiar with some of the interviewees. However, reaching out to some of them for the interview was not a straightforward task.

In additions, I found some online information available in English and in Finnish in the municipality, Business Tampere and Visit Tampere websites related to the city branding project. They have also created two websites called “tampereenkasvot.fi” and “tampeerenbrandi.fi” for the branding project and the final brand outcome. The texts available in these websites cannot solely play the role of the main data resource due to not disclosing the whole rhetoric of city branding project. It also does not depict the whole picture of how municipality officials justify the necessity of creating a solid brand to the local residents and politicians. Considering this fact made me more determined to collect the data through interviews besides the public data. Therefore, along with the interview data, the available texts in these five websites, some presentations in the workshops and seminars are used in the findings and analysis chapter. I have utilized both Finnish and English materials available.

I conducted three interviews with the people responsible for the branding project in Tampere. There are other actors that have been involved in city branding such as place branding specialists who held the workshops. However, I did not intend to interview them because what they say is not the

focus of this thesis. In other words, what city branding specialists say as knowledgeable people is part of the rhetoric of Tampere municipality but they do not (personally) attempt to justify a policy to the locals of Tampere. Thus, the interviews are focused on municipality and other related organizations in Tampere.

The titles of the interviewees were head of marketing team in Visit Tampere, head of marketing in the municipality and head of the city branding project in the municipality. The styles of the interviews were similar to having a “conversation with purpose” (Webb & Webb 1932, p. 130, cited in Ritchie et al. 2013, p. 138) and two of them happened in a cafe and one in the office. These interviews took on average 30 minutes and I started them with a general question of “Why Tampere has decided to have a brand” and later on during the interview I was asking more questions such as “why Tampere should be globally known?” The rhythm of the interviews was determined according to the way the interviewees were answering the questions. Sometimes, they were answering other questions before I ask them. Therefore, I was opening the interviews with the mentioned general questions to deal with the main dilemma of this thesis and to explore the rhetoric of “building a solid brand is necessary for the city”.

The detailed questions during the interviews were mostly asked in order to make their arguments and rhetoric more clear. For instance: How do they define a good city brand? How should it look like? How do you connect new claims for the city such as “becoming the next Silicon Valley” to the old heritage of Tampere? What does Tampere not want to look like and what kind of narrative you do not want to happen? What does make the DNA of Tampere special? How are the surveys from the residents of Tampere happening and what do you think of them so far? And other questions to make their arguments more comprehensible.

However, it is important to consider that interviews are not simply a channel that information flows from interviewee to the interviewer. Rather “Knowledge is constructed” through the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee in the post-modern perspective (Ritchie et al. 2013, p. 139). Thus, the data gathered from the interviews in this thesis are the product of the interaction between the municipality authorities and me as a researcher who is resident of Tampere. The roles of the rhetor and the consumer of the rhetoric are already set in the interviews.

5.2. Rhetorical analysis

Method of data analysis in this research is rhetorical analysis (according to rhetorical theory), which focuses on the usage of language by certain “people within different social situations” in order to have an effect on others (Bazerman et al. 2003, p. 281). In other words, how is a message tailored to have the wanted influence on the listener is the main point of the rhetorical theory (ibid). In this research, chiefs of city branding in the Municipality of Tampere are perceived as the creators (rhetors) of a rhetoric, which attempts to justify the “necessity of creating a brand in Tampere”; and at the same time, these city branding chiefs are seen as spreader of the rationality of city branding in the world society. Tampere is not the first city that attempts to build a brand for certain goals; other cities around the world have employed the world cultural model of city branding isomorphically. City branding is spreading in the domestic level through rational and functional justification. The crucial point is that how this justification happens and in case of Tampere how the municipality rhetorically justifies the necessity and usefulness of having a brand to their local audience (e.g. politicians, other stakeholders, and Tampere citizens).

In the next paragraphs, I will explain the origins of the rhetorical theory. Later on, I will describe “premise” a very important component of the rhetorical theory and why this concept is essential for this thesis. In the end, the ethical concerns will be clarified.

In order to understand the Rhetorical theory better, we need to know the “major conditions” that are required for an argumentation. When we are arguing, we make claims that are not self-evident. We expect certain people, who believe that our claim is true to find it reasonable (Perelman 1982, p. xi). Perelman, one of the main scholars in the sphere of modern rhetorical theory, does not believe in the acceptance or rejection of a claim. As an alternative, he speaks of seeking for adherence in the audience and increasing it as the main goal of an arguer (ibid, p. xii). However, it is important to mention that in the modern rhetorical theory, which is used in this thesis, the arguer does not merely speak to a crowd; arguments can happen in private between two people as well. Moreover, the arguments can be in either oral, written or in both forms (ibid, p. 5).

Returning to the conditions of an argument, another major condition is that the arguments are made for humans whose lives are always embedded in a certain situation. In other words, when they encounter an argument, their situation affects their choice of judgment. Therefore, the argument’s method should become reshaped at the time that the audience’s condition and nature alters. For

example, Hitler's argumentation before World War II was more agreeable to their audience; however, after the war that kind of an argument could not be acceptable and reasonable. Ambiguity in language is another major condition that shapes an argument. In mathematical terms "have firm fixed meanings by arbitrary agreement" (Perelman 1982, p. xiii). While in arguments, we do not use fixed terms and we use definitions, thus, "the task is rhetorical rather than logical" (ibid, p. xiv).

The last major condition is that ideas need to become connected in argumentative discourse. Perelman uses the term *liaison*. In cooking, *liaison* means thickening and it happens usually by adding cream or egg to the soup or sauce. Thus, in arguments, the ideas need to be "thickened" together and create a *liaison* between them (Perelman 1982, p. xiv). This *liaison* means to create a firm connection in the structure of an argument to achieve more adherence in the audience. Learning major conditions of arguments enables us to understand the construction of them and consequently the rhetoric better. Thus, through analyzing, we would realize how an argument is made and what the underlying premises are.

5.3. How do arguments become acceptable?

There are some techniques to make an argument acceptable. One of the techniques is to avoid incompatibility. For instance, if a member of parliament declares that all humans should have equal rights and at the same time states that immigration from particular countries should be under strict regulations, one can find incompatibility in her/his arguments. That is why politicians, policymakers, and speakers try to avoid any incompatibility in their argument to make their rhetoric more acceptable. (Perelman 1971, p. 202)

Argument from authority is another technique used in building rhetoric. Authority necessarily does not mean someone in power; it can consist of public opinion, specialists, scientists, religion and such (Perelman 1971, p. 307). For instance, in Tampere branding rhetoric, it is often referred to how specialists believe building a brand for a city can develop and attract more capital. However, utilizing authority in the argument is not always merely a simple technique but it can also be the main premise of an argument. In other words, the whole rhetoric can use the premise of the authority of any kind to seek more adherence in the audience. In the analysis chapter, this premise will be discussed extensively.

5.4. The origin of theory of rhetoric

The origin of rhetorical theory goes back to the ancient times and to Aristotle's notions stated in his book *Organon*. He believed in "two types of reasoning: Analytical and Dialectical" (Perelman 1982, p. 1). Aristotle established the ground of formal logic. However, modern logicians have not recognized that Aristotle is the founder of dialectical reasoning as well, which is the basis of rhetoric and theory of argumentation. (ibid)

The analytical reasoning that refers to formal logic in mathematics does not concern the audience. Whether the hypothesis is accepted by the audience or not, does not matter since persuasion is not the main attempt. However, the dialectical reasoning that refers to rhetoric and argumentation cannot be impersonal (Perelman 1982, p. 3). There is always an audience when an argument is shaped. In argumentation, "the effort is not to deduce results from premises but to reach and increase the adherence into the audience" (ibid, p.9). Thus, what audience thinks and judges matters.

Sometimes it is simple to recognize the audience of argumentation, for instance, a teacher and the students. However, at times distinguishing the audience is not apparent; a Member of Parliament is a good example of such situation. Is she/he addressing merely other members of the parliament or at the same time broadcasters and maybe even the whole nation? Another example would be a journalist that is interviewing someone; it is unclear if the interviewee is talking to the journalist or to the audience of the journal. In this study, I can probe if the interviewees of this research that are the agents of the branding project in Tampere answer the questions to only me (as the interviewer) or to a bigger audience (e.g. Tampere residents). I assume that when I ask them why Tampere needs to be globally known, their answer is not just for me and it addresses a whole bigger audience. Their answer is their argumentation to justify the necessity of building a brand for Tampere. They do not create the justification once I ask them the question but they repeat the rhetoric that had started creating it a while ago. The important question is that what premises are used in this rhetoric.

5.5. Premises

Aristotle speaks of premises that are used in dialectical reasoning. Premises are those notions that are accepted by the majority of a certain audience. This audience can be universal or particular

(Perelman 1982). Arguments do not try to prove the truth to their audience, rather attempt to increase the adherence of the audience to their conclusion. Therefore, an argumentation needs to be adapted to the audience's premises. Values are part of the premises, thus, certain values let us reach an agreement of a certain audience.

The agreement of the audience is something that is assumed in the commencement of an argument. At times, their agreement is based on obvious or explicit premises and sometimes on special associating links (Perelman 1971, p. 65). In other words, what is agreeable to the audience matters the most. Choosing the proper premises to create the foundation of an argument, a speaker or writer leans on the adherence of its audience to these premises. In other words, how much the audience agrees with the selected premises defines how much adherence they have toward the arguer (Perelman 1971, p. 65). Some particular premises are very evident to everyone, thus, their obvious familiarity makes the arguer to not mention them in the argument and assume the audience will add them themselves (Perelman 1971, p. 144).

One might ask why finding premises hidden in the rhetoric of Tampere brand is crucial in this thesis. To answer this question, we need to study the premises and their components on a deeper level. Perelman states that all the arguments include a premise of agreement amidst the creator of rhetoric and their preferred constructed audience (Perelman 1969, p. 65-114 cited in Bloomfield et al. 2012, p. 2).

A constructed audience of a rhetoric can be universal or particular, thus, to persuade the different types of audience, the premises of the rhetoric need to adapt. To be more clear, premises are based on certain types of agreements and agreements have different objects: "Fact, truth, and presumptions are assumed to command the agreement of the universal audience, whereas values, hierarchies, and Loci only command the agreement of particular audience" (Perelman 1971, p. 179). Fact, truth and presumptions are in the category of "the real" and they represent objective rationalities. Thus, they are used for the universal audience. While, values, hierarchies, and Loci are in the category of "the preferable" and the agreements are based on choices and ratings, therefore, they are used for the particular audience (Perelman 1969, p. 65-114 cited in Bloomfield et al. 2012, p. 2).

However, the universal audience is constructed by the rhetor (creator of the rhetoric); in fact, "universality is a flexible term" (Crosswhite 1993, p. 394, cited in Jorgensen 2008, p.5). Perelman believes that the rhetor's mind creates the universal audience that represents any reasonable person

(Perelman, 1982, cited by Jorgensen, 2008, p.2). While, Crosswhite argues that “universality must be understood in degrees and is determined by the particular rhetorical situation”, thus, there is not solely one ever existing universal audience (Crosswhite 1993, p. 394, cited in Jorgensen 2008, p.5). The universal audience does not represent subjective rationality but an intersubjective one. What is rational or not rational is defined differently depending on the place and time (Perelman 1982, cited in Jorgensen 2008, p.2). Certain rhetoric can shift from a universal audience to particular one addressing different objects in the same argument, such as shifting from facts to values. In this way, the constructed universality and particular audience together make the usage of different premises persuasive.

In the context of this thesis, the municipality of Tampere as the rhetor has constructed a universal audience in additions to their particular audience that are residents, stakeholders, and politicians of Tampere. To create a solid argument, they choose certain premises compatible with their defined universal and particular audience to seek their adherence. These certain premises are opted for an argument to create an undeniable justification (Alasuutari & Rasimus 2009). When we look at the data including texts and interviews to reveal the rhetoric of necessity of building a brand for Tampere, we do not simply understand why this rhetoric with certain arguments are used to justify this necessity. We might see that other municipalities in the world use a relatively similar rhetoric and this would appear confusing; why they all perpetuate some similar arguments and yet different ones in the local context. Finding out the hidden premises of the arguments would not only enable us to comprehend how they perform as an argument but also we would realize what values are prevalent in the society (Alasuutari & Rasimus 2009).

Moreover, finding out premises of certain rhetoric will enable us to describe it better within the context of New-Institutionalism especially discursive Institutionalism and domestication theories. Here we need a brief flashback to the theoretical frame of this thesis: Considering that city branding discourse has been spreading as a world cultural model, policy makers and consultants both have been influenced and at the same time have affected on this discourse. The national and local policymakers while joining the global city branding discourse need to articulate certain rhetoric in the local context to justify the need for building a brand for the city. Adaptation of global cultural models and articulating the justifying rhetoric in the local context goes through a process.

It is said that “Worldwide models that can be justified by science and rationality spread more easily” (Meyer 2000, p. 245 cited in Alasuutari 2015a, p. 6). This might explain why the global

cultural model of city branding has been applied by numerous municipalities across the world. Local actors such as municipalities have a crucial role in the “local-global interaction” (Alasuutari, 2015, page 1). However, science as a factual object of a premise is not the sole persuasive factor of spreading global cultural models such as city branding. The rhetoric of city branding created by the municipality of Tampere is complex and utilizes different premises for their constructed universal and particular audiences, which work as a mechanism to spread the world model of city branding.

In my empirical analysis, the main aim is to find out the basic premises used by actors advocating city branding practice in Tampere and discuss why these certain premises are used in the Tampere Municipality’s city branding rhetoric. This would enable us to understand the mechanism of adoption of the global cultural model of city branding and domestication of it in the local context. Moreover, we would comprehend the local-global interaction better in regard to spread of city branding model worldwide.

5.6. Role of rhetorical discourse in new-Institutionalism and domestication theories

Focusing on discursive institutionalism in this thesis, incorporating global discourses in the local context is the process in which the actors are behaving similarly worldwide. The synchronization and uniformity of national and regional policies imply that this phenomenon does not happen as a simple rational process. Applying the global discourse in the local context goes through phases of building a justifying rhetoric internally. (Alasuutari 2015a)

Contrary to rational and functionalist theories that assume individuals and organizations make decisions and choose rationally, discursive new-institutionalism gives more space to “exchanging and conveying ideas through discourse” (Schmidt 2010, p. 3) to describe the dynamic of change. The ideas that are conveyed through discourse are varied from cognitive ideas to normative ones and are represented in different forms: narrative, rhetoric, stories, etc (Schmidt 2010).

The discursive branch of new-institutionalist view has a more complex way of analyzing why similar actions and policies are performed all around the world. Discursive new-institutionalist and domestication framework scrutinize the discursive process in a way that “ideas are constructed in a ‘coordinative’ policy sphere and deliberated in a ‘communicative’ political sphere” (Schmidt 2000 cited in Schmidt 2010, p. 3). This means that coordinative discourse is created by taking part of

policymakers to fashion policy ideas. Subsequently, the communicative discourse is bound with political actors who aim to legitimate the ideas constructed in the coordinative discourse (ibid, p. 3). Thus, in this phase, the political actors try to justify and persuade the public and other stakeholders to conform to the discourse. The rhetoric they build to justify a certain discourse needs to apply the premises of global and local context.

Building the rhetoric of the necessity to create a brand for the city, agents of Tampere branding project have been utilizing certain premises in their argument. Their audiences are mostly local politicians, stakeholders, residents of Tampere and their defined universal audience (e.g. all Europe) as well. Their rhetoric has been circulating through seminars, workshops, and websites. In the analysis chapter, the main attempt will be to find out the premises used in the arguments justifying the importance of building a brand for Tampere and domesticating the world cultural model of place branding. The interview data and online materials from the municipality's website will be rhetorically analyzed and the premises will be identified. In the discussion chapter, which is the following one, I will describe these premises in the frame of new-institutionalism and domestication theories (i.e. epistemic governance) to answer the main question of the research.

5.7. Ethical concern

Considering ethical matters in every research obliges the researcher to pay attention to some important points. The data gathered for analysis should not by any means hurt a person or a group of people. That is why interviewees' identity is confidential in this research and the data will not be used for any reasons other than this research.

Utilizing online articles and presentations offered in the municipality's website and other related websites does not concern ethical issues due to their public nature.

6. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Justifications used in defending the local adoption of city branding

Attempting to answer the main question of this thesis: “how do the municipality officials in Tampere justify the necessity of having a good brand in their rhetoric?” I have gathered data from interviews conducted with three official agents in the Municipality of Tampere and dependent organizations such as Visit Tampere. Moreover, the rest of the data is collected from the municipality’s website, two special websites for Tampere brand called tampereenkasvot.fi and tampereenbrandi.fi, and in additions Visit Tampere and business Tampere’s website. Other materials gathered from seminars and workshops held by these municipality officials. In this chapter, I aim to analyze all these texts (transcribed interviews and contents in the websites and seminars) utilizing the rhetorical theory methodology (which was described thoroughly in the previous chapter) and will describe the findings.

Creators of rhetorics attempt to justify certain arguments to convince a certain audience. That is why they try to build their argument upon certain premises that are accepted within their audience. Adherence of the audience to the arguments matters the most and premises are the foundation of acquiring it. Described in the methodology chapter, finding premises of the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere and how the officials justify its necessity to the local policymakers, stakeholders, and residents will enable us to understand how world cultural models such as city branding spread worldwide in practice and how they are domesticated and justified in the local context. Domestic adoption of world models happens in a local battle-field, which through it several arguments and counter arguments take place. These rhetorical arguments consequently determine the success of the model in the local context.

6.1. Recognizing the premises

The process of analyzing texts that are trying to convince an audience, takes a few steps. For the rhetorical analysis of these texts in order to find the premises, one needs to decide what steps should be taken. The first important question raised here is: should the arguments become divided by who said them? In this thesis, who said which argument does not matter. The most important point is that

which arguments are the most repetitive throughout the whole rhetoric of city branding in Tampere, created by the municipality officials.

The next step is organizing similar concepts under separate themes. For instance, internationalization as a buzz word is used frequently by the municipality of Tampere and its related organizations such as Business Tampere. Insisting that we need to promote internationalization and also focus on making Tampere visible on the international map belong to a shared theme. On the other hand, talking about how “Tampere is special in its own way and has hidden gems that need to be revealed” or “we do not need to change ourselves to become known” create another shared theme.

After going through the whole data and creating separate themes, finding the implicit and explicit premises becomes the main task of the data analyzing. When municipality officials utilize words such as growth, progress, innovation, creativity, etc., they are using universal premises that they assume everyone agrees to i.e. everyone agrees that we need to grow and we need to be innovative and creative. These kinds of premises are evident and explicit. However, some other premises go beyond the evident ones and they are more implicit.

6.2.Premises

Five premises are recognized through analyzing the data revealing the city branding rhetoric of the municipality of Tampere and justifying its necessity. These premises as the findings of this study are described by giving examples of what is said (by the interviewees and what is published in the municipality and other websites) and they show the trendy shared values that are accepted by the (defined) universal audience and the particular audience (here residents of Tampere, local politicians, and other stakeholders).

6.2.1. The premise of powerful cities

City branding rhetoric in Tampere argues that cities are the new countries. In other words, they say that cities are going to be the most powerful and independent entities in the globalization era. Therefore, municipality officials in their rhetoric insist on how Tampere should not be left behind of other cities in the world that are becoming more powerful every day. Therefore, we (Tampere) need to become a strong and powerful player through growing and being innovative on the global scale; the 2030 Tampere’s strategy report says:

In the future, globalization will lead to increased international competition between cities. The role of countries will be diminished while the position of cities as significant players will be strengthened. From Tampere's perspective, the important thing going forward is to connect to networks that are key to the city's development and reinforce the city's profile as a significant global player. (Tampere strategy 2030 report)

This premise focuses on this agreement that everyone desires to have more power and being powerful is a great aim for people and entities, thus, living in a powerful city is absolutely desirable for everyone. Mentioned previously in the methodology chapter, premises are built of the agreements that can have different objects. The main objects of this premise are truth and fact by providing statistics and discussing examples of powerful cities e.g., Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Paris, etc., Values of power and growth, and a presumption that more power leads to more opportunities for everyone. For instance, one of the interviewees mentioned that:

Different cities around the world can be considered as competitors of Tampere in different sectors (such as lifestyle, story, smart city and gender equality). For example, Edinburgh is a competitor of Tampere in smart cities sector.

By bringing up facts and values, the rhetoric addresses both the universal audience and a particular one (here all the Tampere locals). Moreover, power and growth are abstract values and if the rhetoric becomes more detailed in the content, these values would turn to more concrete ones and they would acquire adherence of a more particular audience. Here with a particular audience, I do not mean all the local people of Tampere versus universal audience anymore but a segment of the local audience in Tampere such as local Tampere politicians for instance (Perelman 1984, p. 76, 77, cited in Jørgensen 2009). To be more clear, if the abstract values of power and growth turn to the concrete values such as the power of tech industry, the growth of startups and new businesses, this premise might not be persuasive to everyone anymore but solely to a segment of the audience who directly benefit from it. Therefore, the whole rhetoric attempts to gain the adherence of all the segments in the audience by utilizing mostly abstract values. Thus, values of power and growth aim to be interpreted as growth and power for everyone.

However, in the events specialized in a certain sector such as industrial companies, the agents of the municipality of Tampere in their speech turn the rhetoric in a more detailed way and the values become less abstract in the context of the event. For instance, in an event called "Tampere Industry Start-up Forum", Teppo Rantanen executive director of economic policy, competitiveness and

innovation in the municipality of Tampere in his opening words of the event implied that Tampere needs to become attractive not only inside of Finland but also worldwide, and part of this attractiveness is growing industrial companies. Consequently, there will be more jobs and more people from other countries would come here to work and live. This statement means that the growth of industrial companies is related to creating an attractive image of Tampere.

On the other hand, Tampere has been an important city in Finland throughout the history, being an industrial hub to becoming a university city in recent decades, this city has turned to be the most popular place to visit and live in Finland among Finns (Yle 2018). In other words, this city and its residents desire to maintain its power not only on the national level but also in the international sphere. Therefore, utilizing the premise of powerful cities to gain adherence of the audience seems persuasive in the local context. The rhetoric implies that creating a good brand will accelerate the process of becoming a more powerful city and a strong global player in the future. Using the premise of powerful cities in the rhetoric of Tampere city branding turns the argument of the necessity of having a brand more justifiable. The world cultural model of city branding has become an asset to cities around the world to claim their powerful entity on a global scale and in this regard, regional developments are very important for valuing and measuring the power of a region or city.

For instance, the Baltic Institute of Finland has been chosen by the EU to become the new coordinator of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) Policy Area Innovation. “The European Union Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region (EUSBSR) is the first Macro-regional Strategy in Europe” (City of Tampere 2018). In the next EU programming period 2021-2027 the macro-regional strategies will gain more attention and they will become more crucial. The reason that the Baltic Institute of Finland is chosen as the new coordinator is:

Tampere’s strong and attractive innovation policies, activities and areas of expertise were important factors behind the selection of BIF as the new coordinator of EUSBSR PA INNO. This task will open up new international opportunities for Tampere”, continues Mr. Kokkonen. (ibid)

These sorts of news pieces in the municipality’s website are included in the rhetoric and according to the rhetoric, becoming a powerful and strong city by working on the brand and strengthening attractions and innovation policies can lead to becoming an important regional player. Thus, necessity of creating a brand and promoting Tampere as an innovative and smart city is justified partly by the vision of having better future position in the EU, receiving more funds and power.

6.2.2. The premise of “locally driven action”

Tampere municipality officials are proud that creating a brand for Tampere is their own independent decision and initiative. “No funding from the EU or national level, everything started from this table and this room”, says one of the interviewees pointing at the desk in an office room. Having the bottom-up approach and claiming that there is no national or international coercion to generate a solid brand and strategy are very praised; and it depicts how much independent and locally-driven decision making and being initiative are the main values in this premise.

In this rhetoric, the municipality officials insist that there is no coercion from outside to create this brand and it is locally decided. This is their initiative and they also will not force it on the residents of Tampere. Instead, they invite residents and stakeholders to become involved in creating a story and strategy for the city. (Tampere Municipality 2017) Values of independent and locally-driven decision making and being initiative are not very abstract in the context of Tampere rhetoric. They are chosen specifically to persuade the particular audience of Tampere local resident, politicians and other stakeholders. Since it is perceived that these values will create the most adherence in this particular audience.

“Tampere’s previous attempt in creating a brand was a failure”, says one of the interviewees. It was funded by the EU as a project and it ended up as a mere slogan and logo which was in English: “Tampere All Bright”. It was not fully accepted and not used by the local officials and residents. However, this time “nobody tells us what to do” and we do not intend to force anything on the locals either.

Mentioned above, the premise of “locally-driven action” is based on the value of independence and attempts to gain the adherence of the local Tampere audience, who presumably admire independent decision making and not being imposed by an outsider’s ideas and decisions. The presumption that this particular audience values independency, derives from the previous branding experience that was an EU project, mentioned earlier. The result was not successful and the reasons from the municipality’s perspective are that the process was not completely locally driven and the residents and all the stakeholders were not involved.

6.2.3. The premise of the authority of knowledge

Inviting international city branding specialists to organize workshops in Tampere has been part of creating the city branding rhetoric in Tampere. However, sometimes Tampere municipality officials have taken part in the workshops in other countries organized by these city branding officials. The crucial point is that Tampere municipality officials have utilized the consultation of the city branding specialists and professionals to support their arguments and to justify why they are initiating the process of creating a brand.

For instance, in the rhetoric, it is repeatedly brought up that the city branding specialists had advised “that we need a brand”. Specialists from Tendensor agency have had several workshops in Tampere and they generally advise that cities should find their own niche and centralize their story around it. Tendensor, a place branding agency, is originally from Sweden and due to the similarities between there and Finland, they have been actively involved in advising and helping regions and municipalities in Finland to brand themselves (Helsinki Business hub 2012). “The brand of Tampere is too broad at the international level and we need to focus on one angle”, says one of the interviewees. Following the advice of the city branding specialists, Tampere has focused on being a smart and innovative city and attempts to merge the current story of Tampere with the city’s vision of the future.

Specialists are assumed to know the topic of their specialty very well, therefore they hold some authority. When Tampere municipality quotes city branding specialists, in fact, they are making an argument based on the premise of the authority of knowledge. In other words, they are certain that their audience will adhere to that. City branding specialists with their authoritative figure, advice cities to become a powerful global player; Thus, the responsible authorities need to make a decision and create a brand for the cities to stand out. Their special knowledge in city branding positions them in the top of the hierarchy. As mentioned in the previous premise, it is claimed that there is no authority of the national or international entity to coerce the municipality to create a brand for Tampere. Instead, it is the authority of knowledge that invokes the municipality to take action to not be left behind of the other progressive cities in the world. This premise is used in the argumentation of justifying the necessity of creating a brand in Tampere due to the assumption that the local audience would adhere to the authority of the knowledgeable specialists.

In the premise of the authority of knowledge, the value of “knowledge is power” is one of the objects. Thus, the one that has knowledge is powerful and has authority. This value is abstract and universal and not only does it appeal to the particular audience but it also is reasonable to the universal audience. Moreover, hierarchy is another object in this premise. Having power as a knowledgeable specialist situates the place branding professionals on top of the hierarchy, thus, what they suggest and teach becomes persuasive.

The knowledge gained from the city branding specialists was required to be utilized in generating a new strategy for Tampere until 2030 by the municipality. However, this new strategy was ought to be justified, thus, a big seminar was organized in August 2017 and the draft of the city strategy was presented to the local stakeholders (Tampereen Kasvot 2017). This seminar was very important and as part of the rhetoric of necessity of creating a brand for the city, the main attempt was to justify it for the local stakeholders.

This seminar was held two months before presenting the final version of the Tampere 2030 strategy to the city council to be approved. This depicts that the approval of the local politicians cannot be sought in a simple way and it needs a fabricated strong rhetoric that justifies the necessity of this new strategy and brand for the city. Moreover, other stakeholders are required to support the execution of the strategy and brand in the future as well.

The name of this event was “Tampere strategy and brand seminar and workshop” and the keynote speaker was the former US ambassador Bruce Oreck. Inviting him and requesting him to have a motivational speech on how city branding is essential, once more the aim is to support the rhetoric based on the premise of the authority of knowledge. Oreck is not a city branding specialist but he is assumed to be knowledgeable in this field and is from a powerful country and knows Finland very well. He emphasized on how Tampere can have a global role and asked the audience to find the relatable ways (Tampereen Kasvot 2017). The report in Tampereen Kasvot website ends the summary of the Oreck’s speech in one sentence: “Make sure that every centimeter in Tampere is magical” Oreck cheered (ibid).

6.2.4. The premise of the authority of International validation

It is believed that international validation has an authority to confirm or not to confirm the existence of a city as a powerful and attractive place, thus, it is one of the main important premises used in the arguments of justifying city branding. The municipality officials assume that their audience agrees

that international validation is very crucial in order to grow and progress. They argue that “we are popular in Finland but nobody knows us at the international level” (said by all of the interviewees), thus, we need to create this brand.

Nobody wants to be called isolated and far from the international standards of an attractive place to live and work. This validation comes through different forms and for example, ranking high in indexes, winning different prizes and awards are some of the ways. For instance, Tampere in 2017 was one of the ten finalist cities that were selected as the most innovative cities in Europe. These ten cities have had the most innovative ideas and have involved citizens in community life. Tampere along with cities such as Berlin, Copenhagen, Helsinki and Paris has been one of the most innovative cities (European Commission 2017). Thus, Becoming visible and being able to compete on the same level with big and powerful cities enhances the international validation.

The presumption that “being unknown at the international level is equal to not existing” makes the premise of the authority of international validation more agreeable and it is assumed to be agreed upon by the local audience of the municipality of Tampere. Tampere being acknowledged by others is important and that is the reason why buzz terms such as “internationalization” or “globalization” are prevalent these days in Tampere and in Finland in general. These trendy terms as part of an argument are based on the premise of the authority of international validation.

If you are not internationally known or more specifically if a local business is not expanded at the international level, it means that you are not validated enough. However, locals of Tampere would not have complete adherence to this premise if there are not enough facts and truth to prove it. Providing statistics, measurements and comparisons to other successful examples makes the authority of international validation more and the premise would gain more adherences in both particular and universal audience. For instance, a municipality agent, Teppo Rantanen showed an effective example of comparison in one of the workshops I attended. He started the presentation by mentioning the cities that were important throughout the history and then the cities that are currently in the center of attention, such as Silicon Valley, Amsterdam and Copenhagen. After referring to these successful examples, he stated that Tampere is going to be the next Silicon Valley using the scale of past, current and possibilities in the future.

The premise of the authority of international validation is used to justify that making a brand’s story and a brand strategy for Tampere is the right policy; Because by having a better brand, Tampere gains more acknowledgment from outside of the country. Moreover, this argument justifies

conducting new projects and expanding the city's infrastructures as well. For instance, building skyscrapers and modern buildings in the heart of Tampere in order to be able to host more international events in the future are some of the new projects. As Teppo Rantanen, a municipality agent in the "International Tampere Aviation Forum" stated that:

We want to be the smartest city in the world and this is our goal. Tampere will look very different in the future; the new buildings in the city center and building an arena on top of the railway station, all those things significantly improve the attractiveness of Tampere. (Business Tampere 2017)

Another example is hosting Womex a famous global festival in the music industry in Tampere in October 2019, which is justified in a way that it is useful for the city's brand and receiving acknowledgment from other countries. On the other hand, hosting the International Gender Equality Prize ceremony and calling Tampere the capital of gender equality aims to gain international validation as well. This prize was awarded to Angela Merkel in 2018. Tampere Municipality describes why Tampere is considered as the capital of gender equality:

It is a privilege for Finland and Tampere to present the very first International Gender Equality Prize. Finland has a significant special characteristic that makes it a world leader in gender equality: It was the first country to grant women full political rights in 1906. Tampere played a significant role in the realization of women's suffrage. As early as in 1905, a total of 40,000 people gathered in the central square of the City of Tampere to demand general suffrage and it was granted the following year. (Tampere Municipality 2018)

All these efforts are to build a reputation, a global image and to become a powerful global player and the justification accompanies with providing facts to make the premise of International validation more agreeable to the audience.

6.2.5. The premise of uniqueness

"We are trying to find the DNA and essence of Tampere", says one of the interviewees. In the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere, it is believed that Tampere has its own special DNA and we merely need to discover it and tell the story to the world. "We are not building a brand, we are revealing our story and brand will appear itself." says one of the interviewees. In these arguments,

the premise is believing in the value of uniqueness. The city branding rhetoric tries to find adherence from the audience by expressing how unique this city is and we simply need to reveal this uniqueness and show it to the world. As one of the interviewees said:

Tampere has special characters but they are not visible. For example, this city is shaped narrowly between two lakes, so how the residents manage the traffic and living is special. These characteristics of Tampere are not yet known internationally to other cities in the world.

In another instance, during “Tampere Industrial Start-up Forum”, an agent of the municipality of Tampere, Teppo Rantanen said that:

One of the unique characteristics of Tampere is that there is a huge sense of collaboration in doing the projects, the way togetherness and collaboration works in Tampere, is not like anywhere else. (Business Tampere 2019)

The premise of uniqueness aims to remind the audience of the rhetoric that special characteristics of Tampere are not visible and these hidden gems need to be disclosed. Moreover, when the rhetoric attempts to articulate how the branding process is going, again it utilizes the premise of uniqueness. In other words, what Tampere municipality is doing is not a mere imitation: “We are doing this in our own special way”. The special way consists of the not hiring an outside marketing agency to conduct the branding project, not imposing anything on the local community, involving all the residents in the process and being transparent and clear and sharing the result with everyone. For instance, Anna-Kaisa Ikonen, the former mayor of Tampere says:

Collaboration is the strength of our city and I want to invite everyone to build the story of Tampere together. Tampere tomorrow wants to look more like its people (Tampereen Kasvot 2017)

Or Teppo Rantanen in the “International Tampere Aviation Forum” emphasizes how becoming a smart city as part of the brand is done differently:

Our aim is also to be internationally recognized as a sustainable smart city which is attractive for both businesses and citizens. There is a tough competition out there, you see that smart slogan comes on top of the names of a lot of other cities, so we need to differentiate ourselves. What we are doing differently is that we are building an eco-system

that all of our players are part of it. And we as a municipality, for us, everything is about our citizens and we want to provide the best possible things to live in this city for them. (Business Tampere 2017)

However, other cities' success can be a source of learning as well. For instance, one of the interviewees says:

We unofficially search for examples of what other cities have done and [for instance] I started googling about other cities in the world and read their stories and process of building a brand.

In the rhetoric, the emphasis on learning from others and not imitating is evident. Arguing that We (Tampere) are making our brand in our own way, thus, there is no need for imitation and nobody can imitate us either, utilizes the premise of uniqueness.

Uniqueness is a universal and abstract value that is correlated with a positive connotation. In contrast, imitation lacks creativity and correlates with a negative connotation. Claiming that the process of city branding in Tampere is conducted in a special way and Tampere carries special characteristics makes the argument more persuasive to the local audience as well as the universal audience. However, the universal audience (that is defined by the municipality) has degrees and it can be here the whole country (Finland), the Nordic region or entire Europe. (Jørgensen 2009, p. 5)

Elaborating on the special way that Tampere is branding itself, the emphasis is on the fact that the municipality is not trying to change anything in this city. In other words, in this argument it is said that we want to show "what we are" without glorifying all the good points and hiding bad parts. We are transparent, humble and whatever our "city's DNA" is we will show that to the world. For instance, one of the interviewees tells a story:

Someone told me when you go to Lapland or Rovaniemi the taxi drivers talk about positive things but in Tampere, the taxi from the airport, says just Moro and does not say anything especially to foreigners. Some people were saying how we can teach our taxi drivers. I say well they are actually part of our brand. We are very down to earth; we don't sell things that we don't have. We don't lie, that's part of the brand. We are very smart but at the same time down to earth and we are very easygoing. We are not trying to change things and people of Tampere, we need to be honest and not just say only the sunny part of things.

Historically, residents of Tampere have called this city a “big small city” and this concept that this city is not either too big or too small and it is just the right size has been very popular within the Tampere residents. Thus, claiming that finding our city’s DNA and keeping the way it is and showing it “the way it is” would be very persuasive to Tampere locals and proves more of the unique way that this branding process is done. Being aware of how the audience perceives “change” can lead to using the right premise with the right objects to create the most adherences. However, this unique way of not changing what Tampere is, contradicts to some buzz words such as becoming more international, innovative and smart. The previous mentioned premises such as seeking for international validation have required a lot of changes in Tampere. Despite the fact that “not making changes to the way Tampere is” in the premise of uniqueness seems contradictory to other premises, they are all together create the rhetoric in a way that contradicting parts are not noticeable. This is the nature of the rhetoric that combines different values that are more likely to be agreed by the audience, even though they might be contradictory; and agents of municipality are an important part of employing different values in the rhetoric, as Teppo Rantanen says about himself: “I am quite good at justifying why matters should be taken to certain directions. This way we can face fears and doubts related to new things” (Aamulehti 2016).

Some values in the premises of rhetoric play the role of the opposition of another value. In other words, one value without mentioning the opposite value can imply the context. For example, the exit sign implies that you are within a place that has an entrance (Feldman et al. 2004, p. 6). A rhetoric can imply what is right by talking about the opposite value. Here in the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere, when one of the interviewees says that:

We are not hiring a marketing agency to sell our city [similar to what Helsinki has done]; we do it ourselves because we want to have the positive and negative part at the same time and show the true DNA.

This implies honoring the values of honesty and modesty are the right things opposing to what other cities such as Helsinki have done by hiring a marketing agency. In other words, the rhetoric claims that Tampere is creating its brand in a unique and right way by being honest and humble in opposition to other cities. Another opposition used in the rhetoric to emphasize the uniqueness of the way Tampere branding process is conducted, is the significance of the binary relationship between people and the local policymakers. The involvement of people in the branding process makes it unique (contrary to the previous brand). Thus, the opposition between people and

policymakers fades away and this creates uniqueness. Fading the binary relationship between people and policymakers becomes clearer through telling the story of the last branding attempt (mentioned earlier), which was not a success and people were excluded from the process. In other words, rhetorics become more persuasive through utilizing the oppositions in order to gain adherence of the audience to a certain premise.

The last important point to mention is that these premises are not in complete separation from each other. They are sometimes overlapping and some concepts of arguments might belong to two premises at the same time. For instance, the focus on how Tampere is doing the branding in its own way, the branding project is not imitating anyone and no outside force is making the decision for Tampere belongs to both “Locally-driven action” and “uniqueness” premises. This argument is structured based on two overlapping premises.

In March 2019, the final outcome of the brand became public and the name of the brand is “Tampere.Finland”. All the premises discussed in the findings of this thesis are distinguishable in the final outcome of the Tampere’s brand concept:

Tampere remains familiar and welcoming even as it grows. The most attractive city in Finland is known, above all, for its relaxed atmosphere and large-scale projects. Tampere welcomes investments, new residents and visitors. The Tampere.Finland brand is for everyone in Tampere. It summarizes the Tampere attitude and the city’s strong, clear voice. The spirit of Tampere can now be projected loud and clear. Let’s be proud of our city!

The Tampere.Finland brand is as unpretentious as the city itself. It leaves room for interpretations and encourages dialogue. The brand attaches Tampere firmly in the international context. The Tampere brand is built on the city’s strengths. It’s all about the Tampere attitude, which is why it doesn’t need anything extra. The brand is as unpretentious as the city itself. (tampereenbrandi 2019)

Moving forward to the next chapter, some important questions will be raised: Why has Tampere municipality employed these five premises to create a persuasive rhetoric concerning the city branding in Tampere? Why do they find these premises agreeable to the local and universal audience? The answers are required to be discussed through the new-institutionalism and domestication framework in the next chapter.

7. DISCUSSION

This chapter aims to discuss the premises applied in the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere through the theoretical framework of new-institutionalism and domestication theories to answer the main question of the research which is “how does the municipality of Tampere justify the necessity of creating a brand for Tampere in their rhetoric?”. The goal of this rhetoric has been to justify the necessity and usefulness of a city brand to the local politicians, residents and other stakeholders in Tampere. This rhetoric centralizes its arguments mainly on this concept that Tampere is unknown on the global scale i.e. “Nobody knows us”. Repeating that Tampere needs to become globally known throughout the rhetoric, and inviting everyone to take part in creating the story of the city, all aim to shape the narrative of the city to be told to the whole world. Thus, with these proper measures, Tampere is able to take its place in the global map and will be strong in the competition against the other cities.

The rhetoric of city branding in Tampere is constructed of five main premises discussed in the previous chapter: powerful cities, locally-driven action, the authority of knowledge, the authority of international validation and uniqueness. These premises reveal what values are agreeable to people in Tampere as particular audience and the defined universal audience. The purpose of creating rhetoric is not to prove any truth but to gain adherence from the local audience (i.e. Tampere residents, politicians and other stakeholders). Thus, these specific premises are utilized to convince them that city branding initiative by the municipality of Tampere is a useful and right policy.

The premise of “powerful cities” focuses on the competition between cities around the world using the abstract values of power and growth. This means that this premise aims to gain adherence of people to whom the competition between cities seems rational and self-evident. Due to these abstract values, there is no specification of who is getting the power and growing, thus, these values are intentionally kept generic. In other words, it is implied that power and growth is for the city as a whole and for everyone.

The premise of “locally-driven action” on the other hand emphasizes on having no coercion from outside to build a brand. The municipality of Tampere claims that they have made the decision of creating a brand for Tampere because they know that it is a right way. Moreover, they invite the residents and all the stakeholders to take part in the process of city branding and to share their story. This premise stems from the previously failed attempt to make a brand for Tampere which was

funded by EU, but this time “nobody tells us what to do”. Thus, this premise attempts to receive the adherence of Tampere locals having this presumption that they value independency. The reason that they value independency is due to the experience of the previous brand that was neither successful nor locally driven.

The premise of “authority of knowledge” contains the consultation of place branding specialists and how their knowledge in the rhetoric of Tampere city branding is a tool to justify the usefulness of city branding. Specialists as carriers of world cultural model of city branding have been actively involved in educating the regional powers such as municipalities. They hold authority because they are assumed to know about certain topic in a scientific and rational way. The value in this premise is “knowledge is power”, which is abstract and universal and it not only appeals to the particular audience of the rhetoric but to any reasonable person.

The premise of “authority of international validation” is part of the rhetoric of city branding, which supports the justification of it. Because if a city is not known internationally, it is equal to not having any existence, thus, city branding would increase the international validation. This premise is also used to justify any action of the municipality of Tampere that is for good sake of the city: building a tram, high-rise building, venues to host international events, calling Tampere “capital of gender equality” in the world, etc.

The premise of “uniqueness” is based on this assumption that Tampere has its unique characteristics or its own special DNA (a term in place branding literature). Thus, utilizing this premise in the rhetoric, the adherence of the Tampere local is the main aim. Moreover, this uniqueness is widely discussed on the ways that the branding process is conducted as well: no coercion, no marketing agency, not imposing it on the locals, etc. The premise of “uniqueness” in additions insists that the progress of the city and having a brand would not change the way it is now. In other words, traditionally people in Tampere call this city a “big small city”, which is not too big and not too small either; hence, city branding does not aim to change the city as it is not going to impose anything on Tampere residents either.

Employing these premises in the city branding rhetoric, municipality of Tampere has attempted to influence their local audience’s conception of reality; and this fashion of policy making is called epistemic governance (Alasuutari et al. 2016). In other words, the municipality of Tampere has tried to act upon the local audience’s perception, beliefs, and desires to influence the regional policy and domesticate the world cultural model of city branding in order to apply it locally. (Rautalin

2013) The main aim of this research has been to understand how the domestication process of world cultural models such as place branding happens rhetorically in an epistemic way; hence, in next section the epistemic work of municipality of Tampere will be discussed.

7.1. Epistemic governance

Epistemic governance attempts to influence the conception of other actors via focusing on three objects: 1- Ontology (defining the situation and environment) 2- Identification (who we are) 3- Norms (defining what is right and wrong) (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 40-41). The premises of city branding rhetoric will be discussed through these three objects to clarify the epistemic work of the municipality of Tampere. However, these objects of epistemic work are constructed through three social world's imageries. I will describe these imageries first, so that the three objects and premises' contribution to them will be more comprehensible later.

The rhetoric of city branding in Tampere justifies the usefulness of this concept through rational and functional reasoning. Applying the authority of knowledge as one of the main premises indicates that this rationality is transferred from place branding specialists who are experts in this field. However, this rationality and their carriers (e.g. specialists, municipalities and other actors) are all situated in culture. This means that our conception of reality is always limited to language and culture. (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 29)

The world culture contains shared imageries such as belief in modernization and progress, which enables the actors such as the municipality of Tampere to rely on them and attempt to influence others. For instance, counting on imagery of modernization and progress, when the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere emphasizes the progression and employs the premise of "powerful cities"; in fact, it is trying to convince that becoming a powerful city in a globalized world is a rational route to become a more modern and progressed place, hence the rhetoric attempts to convey and share this imagery with the audience.

Imageries offer a simple explanation of the social world; hence people get engaged with them easily (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016). Hierarchical society is another imagery that is a shared perception in the world culture (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 28). Power is perceived to flow from a high level to the lowest level, not only in organizations, but also in the global social world and dividing the world to the local, national and global level. "Thus, the imagery of hierarchy functions as a self-explanatory

metaphor, filling in the black box of causal relations between variables” (ibid, p. 36). The premise of “powerful cities” implies the existence of hierarchy between cities that some are leaders and have more power and some will have to lose benefits due to less power. Moreover, the imagery of hierarchical power confirms that international validation of cities means gaining approval from a higher rank of power. Thus, applying the premise of “the authority of international validation” in the rhetoric is due to relying on this imagery that some cities are the leaders and we need to receive a confirmation that Tampere is scaling up as well. Moreover, emphasizing that the brand of Tampere is a locally-driven action without any coercion from national organizations or EU shows how the imagery of hierarchical power is embedded in the rhetoric.

The third imagery perceives the world splitting into the separate blocs and independent entities that compete with each other to gain more interest and benefits. This perception stems from a political realist perspective (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 38). The premise of powerful cities in the rhetoric of Tampere city branding relies on this imagery, which rationalizes the competition between cities. The place branding specialists such as Anholt mentioned in previous chapters articulate the global competition between cities as a major functional reason for creating a brand. This fact aids the dissemination of the place branding model as the policymakers justify its necessity relying on the competition imagery. (Alasuutari 2015b)

These imageries are constituted in the objects of the epistemic work (i.e. ontology, identification, and norms). However, the actors depending on the local context that they have an agency in use a different combination of these imageries and mix it with local and particular values (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016, p. 14). I will discuss the premises and the objects they belong to, using the variations of these universal imageries that are employed in them. However, the domestication of world cultural model of place branding has happened through employing local values along with universal ones. Thus, the combination of these universally shared social imageries and particular values have shaped the domestication process.

In the first object of epistemic work, which is defining the current situation and environment, the epistemic work is done by shaping the ontology via all of the three imageries (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2016). For instance, the premise of “powerful cities” describes in what kind of environment cities in the world are situated. The premise is based on this notion that cities are becoming the new countries and they are becoming more powerful global players. Thus, the evolution of cities to become more modern and progressive will lead to having a higher rank in the global power

structure. In additions, cities' independence allows them to compete with other cities in the world. Providing examples of other cities in the premise of "powerful cities" the rhetoric implies that even though Tampere is a powerful city in Finland, it needs to climb up the hierarchical ladder of power to become a strong city in the global level.

Trying to make a clear picture of the current situation, the rhetoric emphasizes that Tampere is unknown internationally, thus, the city brand would solve this problem. The important point is that the premise of "powerful cities" would gain adherence of Tampere local not only because it is relatable to them but also the situation of being unknown globally and its definition are accepted widely enough that the policymakers can utilize it to affect the minds of the audience of the rhetoric. (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 42)

The premise of "uniqueness" on the other hand focuses on what Tampere is identifying with and contributes to the second object of epistemic work, which is identification. Described in the previous chapter, this premise emphasizes how Tampere is a unique place and the identification of the city comes from its special characteristics and how people narrate its story. Moreover, Tampere's special characteristics make creating a brand easy because when we (Tampere municipality, residents and other stakeholders) know who we are, the brand appears itself; for instance, calling Tampere "Sauna capital" and "gender equality capital" of the world attempts to create an identity for the city. Here identification with uniqueness implies that this uniqueness is in relation to other cities in the globe. Competing with other cities in order to be distinctive and unique is the imagery of this premise and this uniqueness as an advantage should create a feeling of belonging to the city for the residents of Tampere.

The municipality of Tampere as a policymaker has tried to employ the premise of "uniqueness" in a way that is convincing to the local audience. In additions to identifying with the special characteristics of Tampere as a city, this uniqueness is attributed to the way the brand is conducted as well. In other words, if part of uniqueness means how the city and its people, on the whole, identify; utilizing unique methods to create a brand is also how the municipality identifies itself as a policymaker. The municipality of Tampere claims that the new brand for the city does not want to change anything in the city and maintains the right size of this place as Tampere residents have traditionally described it as "not too big, not too small". Intertwining the domestic values with imagery of competing with other cities and mobilizing them in the rhetoric is the way that policymakers try to affect their audience's mind. (Alasuutari & Qadir 2016)

Defining norms and what is considered as good is the third object of the epistemic work. In the premise of “locally-driven action”, conducting city branding as an initiated decision made by the municipality of Tampere is considered as the right way. Having the imagery of power hierarchy, the premise of “locally-driven action” emphasizes that there is no coercion from the national and international level. Considering the local experience of the previous attempt, funded by the EU, to create a brand for Tampere turned out to be a failure; drawing on “being independent and taking initiative” as norms of city branding while having imagery of hierarchical power aims to be persuasive for the particular audience (locals of Tampere) of the rhetoric. The policymakers in the municipality assume that locals of Tampere have the same notion of the world as hierarchical and also that they value independent decision making after a failed attempt, thus, they would adhere to the premise of “locally-driven action”.

Moreover, defining the norms, the municipality of Tampere believes that the independent and locally driven decision making is the correct approach due to the usefulness of city branding as a concept. In other words, creating a brand for Tampere by the municipality is not due to coercion but believing in the usefulness of the city branding. This usefulness is proved through the knowledge of place branding specialists. Thus, the premise of “authority of knowledge” is included in the rhetoric which implies that the specialists are right and performing their consultation will make Tampere a more progressed place (imagery of modernization). In this way, Tampere is believed to become a powerful global player (imagery of hierarchical power) compared to other cities (imagery of competing camps).

Epistemic governance though its objects facilitate the act of affecting other’s conception of reality. In this thesis, municipality of Tampere through city branding rhetoric has attempted to influence local politicians, residents and stakeholders. This is the way that in practice the world cultural model of place branding has become domesticated in the Tampere local context. It is justified by employing universal and particular values and imageries and at the end the outcome is perceived natural and authentic for the locals.

7.2. Authority in epistemic governance

The municipality of Tampere is convinced that city branding is the right way to make the city more progressed and competent, hence they appeal to the broadly accepted authority of knowledgeable specialists in order to influence the minds of their audience. Place branding specialists are carriers

of the world cultural model of place branding and policymakers, by relying on their authority, spread this model in the context that they have agency in it, i.e. nation-states or cities and domesticate it in a way that it will seem naturally coming from within the city. Authority of knowledge is a self-evident norm and thus is a natural part of the rhetoric of city branding in Tampere. This self-evidence is due to coming from a rational and science-based root that imagery of modernization and progress is based on. However, authority here does not refer to domination but rather to being influential (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 45), which here refers to place branding specialists' authority based on their knowledge. Authority here is epistemic and it is accumulative as well, thus, it is an epistemic capital (this term is merely a metaphor) (ibid). The epistemic capital gives more power to the rhetoric and to the main argument. City branding rhetoric appealing to the authority of knowledge is utilizing epistemic capital to have a stronger argument. The authority that place branding specialists hold is based on their expertise and it is utilized as a premise to justify the decision of the municipality of Tampere to brand this city (ibid, p. 46). The reason that expertise can be the base of authority is its root in rational and scientific thinking. Although the place branding specialists do not have established organization for themselves, the regional or national powers refer to them as "norm entrepreneurs" (Acharya 2004, cited in Alasuutari 2015, p. 48).

The last point is that epistemic capital, contrary to other types of capitals, does not have any amount of limitation for people to borrow them. The more a certain type of authority is used to justify arguments, the more power it gains (Alasuutari 2015b, p. 48). Therefore, the increase in employment of city branding model by the municipalities around the world and justifying it through the authority of knowledge leads to the escalation in power of place branding specialists.

Authority makes sense in relation to a subject that accepts the authority. Authority of the municipality of Tampere as a regional power means that they can make decision about policies. However, applying world cultural models such as city branding needs justification and the justification happens through epistemic governance. This means that the municipality needs to influence the local audience's conception of reality through describing the situation, identification and defining norms in their rhetoric. The rhetoric is fabricated with pieces of all the premises, mixture of particular and universal values, all together the aim has been to affect people's mind and justify the necessity of city branding in Tampere. The objective of this research was to reveal this rhetoric and discuss its premises; and more important, to understand how domestication of world cultural models happens in an epistemic way through the rhetoric.

The future researches about spread of world cultural model of city branding and epistemic governance in the regions can extend to organizations beyond the municipalities. Other influencing stakeholders such as universities, local associations and institutes are part of the epistemic governance as well and the future studies can consider their authority in shaping the rhetoric.

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