Rebranding the City –
The Case of Eindhoven
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Introduction

Throughout early history, cities have risen on geographically favourable locations for trade, like cross-sections of rivers, roads and other infrastructure. Further growth (or not) of these settlements depended on many different factors. Looking at 20th century history, the growth of certain cities often appears to have gone hand in hand with the rise of large corporations. These cities would not have their current size or influence, were it not for one or more large corporations that happened to start up and build their “empire” within their borders.

Although not consciously pursued at that time, the brand of these cities was unmistakably influenced by the activities of these growing corporations, sometimes even outside the influence of the local municipality and its institutions. And so it happened that not until the end of the 20th century, governments started taking deliberate attempts to achieve a certain city brand; partly caused by the de-industrialization following the departure of these companies and the growth in the amount of literature on brands and branding.

This paper shows a case study of such a city in the south of the Netherlands, called Eindhoven, where the current multi-national Royal Philips Electronics has its roots. The case study will show the enormous impact of both the rise of Philips at first and the later de-industrialization on the image this city has had and is trying to pursue at this moment. First, a review of literature on city branding is given, preceded with a section on product branding as this is were the branding idea originated. The literature study is concluded with an overview of the possible forms of communicating an image. Next, this is portrayed on Eindhoven through describing its growth since the foundation of Philips in 1891. A short intermezzo on the challenges of de-industrialization for cities shows both the motive for choosing specifically Eindhoven and Philips as a research case, and that these developments are not an incident in the Netherlands. The paper ends with an insight in the current efforts of Eindhoven to pursue a certain identity and the communication forms involved in this.

Brands and Branding

Since its introduction branding has evolved as an important strategic marketing activity. Especially the last two decennia of the 20th century branding products and services has gained more and more attention among scholars and practitioners judging the considerable amount of literature on the subject (Hankinson, 2001).

Research has shown that brands are multifaceted concepts and as De Chernatony (2006) states “to talk about ‘a brand’ sometimes overlooks the richness of this concept”. This richness among other things is rooted in the deeper meaning of the term brand. The word existed for over fifteen centuries before it was introduced in marketing theory. In relation to this Stern (2006) notices that “The survival of brand is a signal of its vitality, for it is one of the most ancients words in English” (p.217).

Brand is derived from Old-Germanic brinn-an (to burn). Due to the dual-function of brand as a noun or verb it refers either to entities (e.g. people, places, things) or processes included in a firm’s endeavor to make a product meaningful (e.g. naming the product, targeting and positioning it, and communicating its benefits) (Stern, 2006). The multidimensional application of brand is also caused by the ambivalence of the term in that it has positive and negative meanings. A positive definition relevant to marketing is the association with burning as a mark of identification. In a negative way, brand as a burn mark communicates the idea of disgrace stamped on something odious (Stern, 2006). The flexibility of the word is visualized in the multiplicity of adjectives with, according to Jevons (2005), “meanings that often are neither discrete nor clear” (p. 117). As a result there is, despite the abundance of literature, still no single accepted definition of the brand construct and it is often little understood (Wood, 2000; Jevons, 2005; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Hankinson, 2001; Anholt, 2005). In this respect Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) state that marketing experts often have compounded the problem by their attempts
to elaborate. However the authors observe that although there is no single accepted definition there is at least a general agreement in the marketing literature that the brand is more than an identifying name, logo or slogan.

Over time a shift can be distinguished in the focus on the definition of a brand which can be related to a different focus in marketing. According to Vargo and Lusch (2004) a new dominant logic for marketing has emerged. Within this emerging service-centered logic the customer is the central point in that the customer gives meaning to a product. The customer is a co-producer of service. In short there is a shift in focus from tangible to intangible resources, from frozen value to co-created value and from transactions to relationships. The new logic for marketing is among other things mainly provoked by globalization processes where the market places for products, services and funds are fusing into a single global community and the need for differentiation of products and services becomes evident.

The former can be illustrated by the diverse approaches to brand definition over time as described by Wood (2000). She distinguished several approaches, namely the product-oriented approach illustrated by the criticized but still dominant definition of the American Marketing Association (1960), the corporate perspective illustrated by the definition of Bennett (1988), and the consumer-oriented approach in the definition of Ambler (1992). Furthermore she notices that there are many other definitions and description that focus on the methods used to achieve differentiation and/or emphasize the benefits the consumer derives from purchasing brands.

Finally, Wood mentions a broad approach proposed by Brown (1992) who defines a brand as “…nothing more or less than the sum of all the mental connections people have around it.”

The boundaries between the definitions mentioned by Wood are not distinct, with each merely focusing on different aspects. This is in line with the observations of De Chernatony (2006). Based on a literature review and interviews with leading-edge consultants he defines a variety of interpretations of a brand, which he places into three categories (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input perspective</th>
<th>Output perspective</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Logo</td>
<td>Image</td>
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<td>Legal instrument</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
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<td>Company</td>
<td>Time perspective</td>
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<td>Shorthand</td>
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<td>Identity</td>
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Table 1 Different interpretations of “brand” Source: (de Chernatony, 2006)

The categories are based on whether the perspective is input-based (i.e. stressing branding as a particular way of managers directing resources to influence customers), output-based (i.e. consumers’ interpretations and consideration of the way brands enable consumers to achieve more) or time-based (i.e. recognizing their evolutionary nature). In relation with the latter, Rooney (1995) mentions that brands are not static and need to change with their environment.

With respect to the interpretations, De Chernatony (2006) argues that it would be wrong to interpret a brand solely in terms of one of these interpretations. He states that “these differing interpretations should be seen as building blocks for a brand, and a balance needs to be struck between the way that some of the input perspectives help customers to achieve greater satisfaction in particular roles. A brand is thus an amalgam of interpretations” (p. 61)

A brand’s strength is influenced by the extent to which the internal and external interpretations of the brand are congruent. In other words, to encourage brand success, organizations should not focus solely on characterizing their brand externally. Rather, organizations should consider how the brand is translated into the internal environment (i.e. within the organization). By aligning the external promise internally there is a greater likelihood of the desired brand promise being delivered (de Chernatony, 2006). The application of this so called “corporate branding” is emerging within marketing theory. A fundamental notion for corporate branding is corporate identity which refers to a holistic concept that articulates the corporate ethos, aims and values and presents a sense of individuality that can help to differentiate the organization within its competitive environment (Kavaratzis, 2004).
The expression of the corporate brand takes place through the company’s mission, core values, beliefs, communication, culture and overall design. The creation of a coherent corporate brand is complicated in that the entity has a higher level of intangibility, complexity and (social) responsibility.

Marketing Places

The awareness of the extensive use and success of product branding as well as the rapidly development of corporate branding within marketing theory have contributed to the popularity of branding cities and other geographical entities (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Hankinson, 2001; Hanna and Rowley, 2008). Currently there is a wide agreement that places can be market and branded like products (Parkerson and Saunders, 2005).

Although branding places like cities is a relatively new and emerging field of research places long felt the need to distinguish themselves from other places to achieve competitive advantage in order to attract residents, visitors or investors (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005).

The concept of city branding developed within city marketing. The concept of city marketing was first introduced in the 1980s, but elements can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century with the promotion of cities during the colonization of deserted places in Northern America influenced by railway companies (also called “city-boosterism”) (Ward, 1998).

The origin of city marketing in Europe dates from the same period as the city-boosterism in the United States. Promotion already played an important role in the 19th century in order to attract tourists to seaside resorts in Great-Britain and on the European continent.

Another important phase in the history of (modern) place marketing as described by Ward (1998) is the development of suburbs and its attendant promotion. In contrast to marketing seaside-resorts the focus of marketing of suburbs was more on the place itself as a subject of consumption not on the place as a location for consumption. With the rise of the industrialization in the beginning of the 20th century, the accent of promotional activities shifted from identifiable commodities such as real estate or tourist experience towards the promotion of places. The promotion of the industrial city aimed at a small number of potential industrial investors instead of a mass popular market.

The last twenty years of the 20th century can be seen as a new phase within urban planning. Cities faced major structural changes due to de-industrialization. Faced with inevitable employment decline, post-industrial cities needed to attract new sources of economic activity. The higher level business services were felt to hold the key to success. This reflected in the physical renewal of derelict areas. Marketing and the image of the city hereby were seen as important and effective measures. The post-industrial city has been marketed by all the traditional approaches and techniques used. Yet these have been pursued with ever greater professionalism, and they have been joined by many new approaches.

Eventually there were three developments which paved the way of transferring marketing knowledge from its initial field to places by the beginning of the 1990’s (Kavaratzis, 2004). First of all marketing in non-profit organisations has freed the application of marketing from its connection to financial marketing. Second the concept of social marketing introduced the possibility to use marketing in order to alter or reinforce sets of attitudes held by targeted individuals or groups. Finally the realisation that images effectively can be marketed while the products to which they relate remain vaguely delineated which lead to the concept of image marketing.

City Branding

An important aspect of a brand is its image defined as the perception of consumers of users of a brand. In the vision of Vermeulen (2002) the image can be used as a catalyst for the development of the actual city. He concludes that “it is not the city but the image that has to be planned”. The image is primarily based on well-won prejudices, desires and memories and only in part from a physical reality. Luque-Martinez et al. (2007) define the urban image as “a set of adjectival interpretations about a city spontaneously associated with a given stimulus (physical and social) that has previously unleashed in individuals a series of associations.” (p. 335). These associations form a corpus of knowledge called beliefs or stereotypes. Kotler et al. (1999) define a place’s image as “the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of that place.” (p. 160). The images are a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with the place. A city
image is a mixture of cognitive and affective elements. The former refers to those attributes by which an individual knows or identifies the city’s characteristics. The affective elements represent an individual’s attitudes to and feelings for the city in question, developed through past experience related to the place, its inhabitants and the objects and organizations connected to it.

Accepting the assumption of Vermeulen that the image has to be planned Kavaratzis (2004) proposes a theoretical model for the city image communication (figure 1). The model consists of three distinct types of communication.

![City Image Communication Model](source: Kavaratzis, 2004)

Primary communication relates to communicative effects of a city’s measures when communication is not the main goal. Within this category he distinguishes four broad areas of intervention namely “landscape strategies” (that is actions and decisions relevant to urban design, architecture, green spaces, generally public spaces in the city and the use of public art together with heritage planning), “infrastructure projects” (projects developed to create, improve or give a distinctive character to the various types of infrastructure that are needed in a city), “organizational and administrative structure” (refers to the effectiveness and improvement of the city’s governing structure) and the city’s “behavior” (referring to issues as city leaders’ vision for the city, the strategy adopted or the financial incentives provided by the city to various stakeholders). Secondary communication is defined by Kavaratzis as “the formal, intentional communication that most commonly takes place through well-known marketing practices” (p. 68). In other words it is about the promotional measures like indoor and outdoor advertising, public relations, graphic design, the use of a logo etc. Finally the tertiary communication refers to word of mouth, reinforced by media and competitors’ communication which is not controllable directly by marketeers but indirectly by the other types of communication.

The theoretical model displayed in figure 1 and described in the above section focuses solely on the communication of the city image. As stated before brands have an input, output and time-perspective which should be taken into account while constructing a brand. With respect to this Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) notice in a more recent publication that the boundaries of the brand construct are formed on the one side by the activities of a firm and on the other side by the perceptions of consumers. The activities of firms should first focus on the creation of brand identity, that is how the firm wants the brand to be perceived. Secondly the firm should focus on the positioning of the brand, which means that part of the value proposition is communicated to a target group that demonstrates competitive advantage. From the consumer’s point of view, central to the concept of the brand is the brand image or how the brand is perceived.

In relation to the theoretical model the foregoing implicates that it is not the brand image which is communicated it is rather the brand identity which is communicated by positioning of the brand. The result of this communication process leads to a certain brand image.
According to Hankinson (2001) there are several aspects which affect the city brand’s development. First of all there should be an appropriate organisational structure in order to align different promotional activities to achieve consistency in what the brand represents. Second brands cannot be developed by local authorities solely. There should be a commitment of other organizations especially those in the private sector because these stakeholders have a considerable influence on the shaping of the brand. Furthermore due to the diffuse boundaries of a place it is important, as Hankinson phrases, “to define the boundaries such that it forms a product or service which is perceived as attractive by the target market(s), and is able to deliver on the promise” (p.140). Finally Hankinson argues that it is important to measure the success of a place brand in order to demonstrate that place branding is an effective strategy.

The impact of corporations on a city’s environment and hence on shaping a (new) city brand will now be illustrated through the case of the city of Eindhoven in the Netherlands. Over the years the presence of Philips was felt in this city within the economical, physical and social domain.

**The History of Philips and its Influence on Eindhoven**

Eindhoven is often characterized as a “company town”: a settlement built and operated by a single business. However, Eindhoven existed already as an industrial town before Philips settled there in 1891. Main reason for this, is that the town was strategically situated on a railroad junction towards Belgium and Germany and thus was attractive for new entrepreneurs. Philips made of Eindhoven a “single company town” by growing into the largest company of the city. It changed the relatively small town into a “boom town” by its sudden and rapid growth (see also Schippers, 2007). This huge growth was the immediate cause to consolidate six villages in 1920 (Strijp, Stratum, Gestel, Tongelre, Woensel and Eindhoven) into one new town “Eindhoven”. By the end of the 30ties a pre-war milestone was reached with more then 20.000 Philips employees, working in multi-storied industrial buildings erected at the border of the old central village Eindhoven (Buildings “Witte dame” and “Lichttoren”, see figure 2) and its adjacent district Strijp. Not only the famous light bulbs were made, but also radiosets, X-ray machines, televisions and other electrical equipments. Henry Ford the famous American Captain of industry visited Eindhoven in October 1930 and was impressed by the “robust large buildings” and “the rational modern manufacturing” (Oord, 1990). Years later, in the sixties, the Italian architect Gio Ponti also expressed his appreciation for the harmonious way the Philips architecture was fit into the city.

The influence of the company was more far reaching though, than just through the presence of its corporate real estate. Because the (Roman Catholic) Municipality and its institutions were not willing or able to help the (Liberal-Protestant) Philips-family, the company built dwellings, schools, shops, sports- and recreational amenities (with a theater and a cinema) and lay out green spaces. They set up educational and medical services and a wide range of sporting clubs. Further, Anton Philips and his wife donated a large piece of land to develop a park (Philips-de Jong Park), for the consolidation of the six villages into “Large Eindhoven”. With these initiatives they quite often came into conflict with the established interest. The Philips Company built up “a state in a city”, that in certain areas had more power than the local community (Schippers, 2007). When Eindhoven became “Best City of Sport” for the first time (in 1957), 53 % of all sport facilities were owned or managed by Philips.

In 1910 the company started with the realization of “Philipsdorp”, a complete new neighborhood with infrastructure, dwellings and facilities. With these dwellings the company provided accommodation for its own workers and also for some railroad employees. A good relation with the railroad company that daily transported a huge amount of commuters was a major concern for Philips. In 1920 17 % of the dwelling stock was owned by the company or by the housing association founded by Philips. In 1932 Philips had almost 4400 dwellings at its disposal; 1650 built by the company itself and the rest managed by housing associations connected to the company (Otten, 1991).

The severe crisis in the thirties also hit the Philips Company as a result of which almost half of the employees became unemployed and a part of the dwelling stock became vacant. During the Second World War (wo-ii) the city of Eindhoven suffered considerable damage and a part of the Philips-factories became dismantled or was bombed. However after wo-ii the company re-established quickly, partly due to the support of the central government. The opening in 1966 of the Evoluon (see figure 3), the Philips-icon of Eindhoven was the crowning glory of the post-war development. In 1971 the company had 99.000 employees in the Netherlands, of which almost 41.000 in Eindhoven. Worldwide 367.000 people were employed (Oord, 1990).
Later in the seventies, the decline of the company started. The marketing of new products failed and the competitiveness declined. To meet the competition, massive redundancies took place and Philips focused on its core business. Some activities were closed down, replaced or sold out; others reinforced by worldwide cooperation. The manufacturing activities in Eindhoven faded out and the head office was moved to Amsterdam. However, the r&d activities remained in Eindhoven. The company foreign-activities like housing, education, health care etc. were disposed of. School- and housing-facilities became privatized and a lot of facilities were closed. For example, in 1989 Philips transferred the ownership of 12,000 dwellings to an independent housing association (Otten, 1991).

Also a lot of corporate real estate became excessive and the robust multi-storey large buildings experienced huge vacancy problems. Partly, Philips tried to cope with this through sub-letting the facilities to other (preferably related) organizations. But they also started up the process of disposing of the growing amount of excess corporate real estate and industrial land. This process started first in the inner-city moving slowly to the outer neighborhoods. It is just at its beginning now with long term plans reaching far into the future.

During the period of 1891 to 1991, Philips undeniably shaped Eindhoven. For many outsiders city and company were a unity. And also for a lot of inhabitants, employees and their families, the company influenced there daily live (work, housing, education, health, leisure). In 1990 still more then 25,000 people were employed by Philips. At that time the influence of the company decreased however and Philips became one of the many employers in the city. Eindhoven became more and more a post-industrial city in which the Philips-concern is one of the big players, besides old and new companies like DAF-Trucks, ASML, Nolte-group and institutions like the TUE, Fontys, Philips Design, Design Academy and Medical Facilities. Innovations are focused on ICT, Life-tech, mechatronic, automotive and design. This is the breeding soil for a new brand of the city and region.

Challenges for Post-industrial Cities

De-industrialization, like in Eindhoven, also happened in many other cities in the Netherlands. Till this day, many cities are still busy with the redevelopment of large sites caused by departing company divisions. To show, that Eindhoven is a good case-example but not a single incident, this section will give some quantitative data on the size of cre disposal in the Netherlands as a whole as a result of de-industrialization, before returning the focus solely back to Eindhoven and its current situation and image.

The off-shoring of economic activities to other countries is a normal economic dynamic, but it brings complex and multi-faceted challenges (Blinder, 2006). These challenges became visible in many Dutch cities, that were left with deserted sites with (sometimes) decaying industrial buildings, closed off to their inhabitants by fences instead of employing so many of them. The organisations want to sell their excess land for a good (reasonable) price and local authorities look at possibilities to redevelop these sites into new parts of the city. This is a long process, starting around the seventies, but still in progress today.
An analysis of 2 Dutch databases with over 5000 transactions shows that from 2000 till 2006, at least 10,000,000 m² of industrial land has been disposed of (see figure 3) by companies in 96 locations throughout the Netherlands (Delnoij, 2006). By the end of 2006, about 75% of these locations was (in the process of being) redeveloped. This is not surprising in a small country like the Netherlands with few available development areas. Also the sites were often located within the cities, which grew around the (originally outside the city developed) industrial areas through the years of large city expansions.

In more than half of the cases, the company moved to another country (or city) and did not need the site any more (see figure 4). And of all sites, 55% will be (or has been) turned into a multifunctional area (fig. 4).

The transformed areas should help support the city identity, which has no choice but change alongside the de-industrialization process. As mentioned before, the local authorities cannot achieve a new image by themselves, but have to commit private sector stakeholders (Hankinson, 2001). An example, “... is the real estate developer who has the opportunity to attach attributes like personality and identity to buildings in order to differentiate them from competing products. Having shaped this distinctiveness, communication tools can be used to draw the attention of the public to the site and to anchor its individuality in the mind of the customer.” (Sperl et al., 2006) This indicates that primary communication seems no longer enough, maybe because of the old image of the site that still lingers in people’s minds.

The analysis confirms the necessary involvement of different stakeholders. In 65% of the cases redevelopment took place through a public-private partnership between government, corporations and other parties, and another 20% by public parties alone; so only 14% is redeveloped without the involvement of public parties. Cross-case analysis showed that the redevelopment process is complex and unique each time, because of differing aspects like pollution, monument status of objects, size and stakeholders.

Of the 10 million m² disposed of between 2000 and 2006 in the Netherlands (according to these 2 databases), 2 million was former industrial land of Philips. Not all of these activities have gone abroad – some have moved to other cities within the Netherlands – but the impact of this organisation is evident. Almost 1.5 million m² of these Philips sites was located in Eindhoven, which makes this case so interesting. The last section will again focus on Eindhoven, but then in the present time.

Re-branding Eindhoven

Although the concept of city branding is a relatively new phenomenon one could speak of “The city of light” as a city brand avant la lettre. However this brand was not communicated as such via formal intentional communication. The image was rather derived through primary and tertiary communication.

Over the years the image of Eindhoven as the city of light has blurred due to the diminishing influence of Philips in Eindhoven. Several new slogans and images came in to fashion in order to characterize the city (see table 2). Consequently the current image of the city of Eindhoven is still diffuse and hybrid. Eindhoven as a city of sports is inspired by several successes in history and current successes such as the national championship psv soccer team and the hosting of the world championship swimming. In other more serious images the inheritance of Philips is still tangible in that they have a technological perspective. The rise of the creative industry in
relation to innovative business environments lead to images like “The city as a laboratory” or “Eindhoven the city of design”. It is questionable whether these are distinguishing characterizations of the city of Eindhoven

“Eindhoven city of sports”
“Eindhoven leading in technology”
“Eindhoven the city of knowledge”
“The city as a laboratory”
“Eindhoven the city of design”
“Eindhoven creative city”
“Eindhoven Brainport of the Netherlands”

Table 2: Several slogans for the city of Eindhoven

The past few years the designation of “Brainport Eindhoven” as a possible brand for the city of Eindhoven has found its way among policymakers and corporations. Several government reports recognized the Eindhoven/Southeast Brabant region as “Brainport”. This characterization seems to be the most suitable one because it is embedded within the historical industrial context of the city. Therefore “Brainport Eindhoven” as a brand for Eindhoven will now be discussed. To this end the concept of Brainport Eindhoven is applied on the adjusted theoretical model proposed by Kavaratzis (figure 7).

Brainport is characterized by a relatively high percentage of (creative) industry, is knowledge-intensive and innovative and aimed at high technological products. Besides technology, design plays an important role in the creation of added value (Lemkes-Straver 2007). With respect to the former, one could state that “Brainport Eindhoven” as a brand combines the technological and creative character of the city of Eindhoven. Brainport is rather a network of government, corporations, and institutions (also called “Triple Helix”) than a geographically or administratively demarcated region in that its dimension is based on relational patterns between corporations, education and knowledge institutes, with corresponding goals and active participation of all participants in their specific global networks.

Since the positioning of Brainport Eindhoven started, many programs and initiatives are set up in order to strengthen the economic structure, and to build its position in a competitive international environment. These programs and initiatives implicitly attempt to propagate and strengthen the image of the brand “Brainport Eindhoven”. Besides the formal communication of the identity of Eindhoven as Brainport via among others a website and several publications (secondary communication) the primary communication still plays an important role.
When looking at the primary communication first of all it can be noticed that the brand Brainport Eindhoven is communicated through the post-industrial landscape. In relation to this landscape the question has to be asked whether the physical and social landscape fits the requirements and needs of the position of Eindhoven as Brainport (Van Dijk 2007). It is acknowledged that the social cultural climate is important to attract knowledge workers and to stimulate innovation. With this respect Lemkes-Straver (2007) notices that the recommendations related to the economical and technological profile and performance level go hand in hand with the negative appreciation of the city life in Eindhoven. This omission should be taken into account in the redevelopment.

The redevelopment of the empty industrial buildings in the city might help to shape the brand image, through connecting the old image with a new functionality. Over the years, we have seen that especially young and progressive organisations seem to prefer old warehouses and refurbished industrial buildings over conventional office buildings (Meel and Vos, 2001). Also artists and other creative types are drawn to these sites and buildings, and help create a new image for these new old city areas.

Furthermore the physical presence of a High Tech Campus (see www.hightechcampus.nl) communicates the ethos of Brainport Eindhoven in that it contributes to "open innovation". It is argued that favorable innovations stem from combinations of knowledge instead solely from new knowledge.

Structure
The current administrative structure SRE does not answer the need for a super regional network within the framework of Brainport. Two attempts are in order to undo this shortcoming two courses are open. On the one hand the creation of Brabant corridor city ("Brabantstad") and on the other hand the internationalisation of Brainport within the triangle Eindhoven, Leuven (§), Aken (δ) ("ELAT"). However these different structures undermine the positioning of Eindhoven as Brainport.

Behaviour
The city’s “behavior” referring to issues as city leaders’ vision for the city, the strategy adopted or the financial incentives provided by the city to various stakeholders becomes visible in the Brainport governance model. This model is based upon the

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**Figure 7 Communication process Brainport**

- **Landscape**
- **Structure**
- **Behaviour**
concept of “open innovation” within the “triple helix”. This implicates collaboration between business, education and knowledge and governance. A problem with the Brainport governance model is that the investment in R&D by the public sector stays behind.

**Infrastructure**

In order to communicate the concept of Eindhoven as Brainport the infrastructure of the city should be adapted on a more international level. Strength of the city of Eindhoven in relation with the concept of Brainport is the presence of its Airport. Currently Eindhoven lacks an international railway connection though and suffers increasing congestion around the city.

Despite the attempts of local authorities to positioning Eindhoven as Brainport there is still some noise between the brand identity and the brand image. It can be questioned whether residents could identify themselves with the brand “Brainport Eindhoven”, or are still hanging on to the images that were communicated before.

**Conclusions and Recommendations**

As the Eindhoven case has shown, in the industrial era the image of cities emerged spontaneously, mainly through primary communication. Through the extensions of landscape and infrastructure, organisational structures and behaviour of different stakeholders, people acquired a certain image in their head that stuck. The rise of a large company like Philips could have a big contribution in this image, because of its involvement in the daily life of so many stakeholders. In the post-industrial society however, the growing interest in more formal and directed communication to purposely position a city made the branding process more complicated. Local governments and other institutions try to communicate the identity that they see fit for their city through so-called secondary communication but the analysis of Eindhoven shows that this might take more effort than expected. So far it is unclear, whether it is primary or secondary communication that has the most effect. In Eindhoven it seems that the primary communication aspects, which often still bare the marks of the past, interfere with the secondary communication that the authorities so eagerly try to get into the people’s heads. Also, the secondary communication efforts seem to be aimed more at attracting future organisations and inhabitants and therefore miss the large mass of current inhabitants that form such an important stakeholder. Future research into the effects of the different communication forms should shed more light on the different channels and their effectiveness in reaching the desired branding goals.

**Reference List**


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