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Re-Imaging of Industrial Cities:

A Comparative Case Study

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Abstract

Many industrial cities found themselves in a difficult situation in the course of the 1970s and 1980s. The decline of the industrial sector with all its consequences not only caused economic and social problems but also severely affected the image and perception of urban areas. At the same time a globalising economy forced cities to compete with each other on a worldwide scale and concepts of place image and place marketing gained importance. In this paper I analyse the marketing strategies of two case study cities that significantly changed over the last two decades – Linz and Bilbao – based on theoretical approaches to promotion, marketing and branding as well as to narrative and iconic communication. To evaluate the impact of the cities' marketing measures I present a qualitative and quantitative news media content analysis based on the coverage of the international newspapers The Guardian, The Observer and the online source guardian.co.uk of the case study cities. Key questions include how the image of a city is formed, what role the media play, which strategies cities use to influence their image, and how the media reflect the physical and perceptional transformation of cities.

Die 1970er und 1980er Jahre stellten viele Industriestädte vor neue Herausforderungen. Industrielle Produktion verlor an Relevanz, was nicht nur große ökonomische und soziale Einschnitte und Probleme nach sich zog, sondern auch das Image und die Wahrnehmung von Städten maßgeblich beeinflusste. Gleichzeitig zwang die Globalisierung und der damit einhergehende weltweite Wettbewerb zwischen Städten urbane Entscheidungsträger, sich mit den neuen Konzepten wie Standortimage und Städtemarketing auseinander zu setzen. In dieser Masterarbeit analysiere ich die Marketingstrategien zweier Städte – Linz und Bilbao –, die sich in den vergangenen 20 Jahren klar verändert haben. Dabei werde ich theoretische Ansätze zu Promotion, Marketing und Branding, sowie zu narrativer und ikonischer Kommunkation behandeln, Zudem evaluiere ich mittels qualitativer und quantitativer Inhaltsanalyse der Berichterstattung internationaler Nachrichtenmedien (The Guardian, The Observer, guardian.co.uk) die Auswirkungen der Imagemaßnahmen der Fallbeispiel-Städte. Die Forschungsfragen behandeln das Zustandekommen eines Stadt-Images, die Rolle von Massenmedien dabei, sowie die Strategien, die Städte anwenden um ihr Image zu beeinflussen, und wie Massenmedien die physischen und Image-bezogenen Veränderungen von Städten reflektieren.

Contents

1   Introduction

Since industrialisation set in in the first half of the 19th century cities have been developing and changing at an incredible pace. Factories were constructed, infrastructure created and masses of people moved from the countryside to the cities to benefit from the new possibilities. The world population has increased from one to two billion between 1800 and 1920[1], and since then has exploded to currently seven billion, of which nearly half live in cities – compared to a mere three per cent in 1800[2]. Cities were the sites of industrialisation. Large pieces of land were devoted to industrial production and the previously known appearance of a typical city radically changed. Factories and railway lines became an integral part of the urban fabric and complemented the traditional town centres.

At least in Western Europe and the US industrial production ceased to be the paradigmatic form of economic activity in the 1970s and 1980s. The decline of many manufacturing businesses left a huge imprint on cities and societies and created severe social and economic problems for many cities, including rising unemployment, high crime rates as well as social and spatial polarisation. Whole areas were abandoned and the remaining industrial structures were left to decay, with adjacent former working class areas frequently turning into grim places of poverty and deprivation. As a result of these developments many industrial cities became more and more unattractive, not only as a place to live but also as a place to visit or to do business. Media reports especially in British cities focussed on social problems, strikes, riots and violence and spread and enforced this negative image not only locally, but also on a national and international scale.

In the context of a globalising economy and increasing international competition between cities the necessity grew for local governments to develop and implement re-imaging strategies, as Bill Bramwell and Liz Rawding point out:

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1   cf. U.S. Census Bureau, 2002, p. 11
2   cf. Population Reference Bureau, 2012

„[...] in the present capitalist economy each place must compete with others more intensely than they have in the past in order to avoid a comparative decline, and thus manifest an increasingly active promotion of place images. It is contended that this competition is getting more important due to such trends in present-day capitalism as the globalization of the world's economy (which means there is a growing ease of spatial mobility of capital and people), the accelerating pace of technological changes (including new and faster communication technologies), and the greater propensity for long-distance leisure travel within a wider choice of destinations."[3]

There are countless examples of cities that would be suitable for studying the transformations and challenges which resulted from de-industrialisation, globalisation and the shift from a Fordist economy based on mass production of physical goods to a service-oriented and knowledge-based economy. Much attention has been paid to spatial and social developments such as gentrification, polarisation and new forms of organising the physical production of urban space (e.g. public-private partnerships). Yet it took some time to also consider the perception, the image of cities as well as their marketing and branding strategies as a crucial part of the bigger picture. A quick look at the years of publication of most papers and books focussing on place image in a comprehensive, interdisciplinary way reveals that research activity has been starting to increase only since around 1990, with Stephen Ward's seminal book „Selling Places" from 1998 deserving great merit for decisively fuelling this fruitful debate. Andrea Lucarelli and Per Olof Berg documented the development of the domain of „City Branding" (the terms branding, marketing and promotion and especially their at times confusing and interchanging use will be addressed later in this thesis) over the last two decades and found one single academic article published in English on city branding in 1988, but over 30 in each 2008 and 2009.[4] Yet in their state-of-the-art report of this rather young field of research they criticize a lack of comparative works and a lack of methodological diversity, especially in terms of quantitative research.[5]

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3   Bramwell and Rawding, 1996, p. 205
4   cf. Lucarelli and Berg, 2011, p. 13
5   cf. Lucarelli and Berg, 2011, p. 16

In this thesis both qualitative and quantitative methods will be applied to two case study cities in Europe. Each case study city will be analysed beginning with its historic background and specific situation after the shift from the industrial to the post-industrial age. The connectedness and interwovenness of global economic processes affects all cities, but certainly not in an identical way. Industrial production is still a strong sector in many European countries and cities and – as we will see – still plays an important role in the future development plans of places and their image strategies. In a first step of empirical analysis I will look at the cities' image strategies and the processes that led to their development and implementation. Based on research in official documents, scientific articles and on qualitative interviews with city officials, two approaches to re-imaging urban areas with considerable industrial structures and related image problems will be presented, evaluated and compared in detail.

When it comes to assessing the impact of image campaigns and branding efforts there are many techniques – from market research to visitor statistics to economic indicators – but hardly anyone of them is satisfyingly precise. It seems downright impossible to single out the effect of the re-imaging measures taken by a city from other factors. This problem cannot be solved here either, but in order to document and identify the impact of the cities' strategies a content analysis of international media will form the second step of empirical analysis and certainly allows new insights. By analysing newspaper articles about the case study cities quantitatively and qualitatively I will evaluate the media response to the cities' attempts to change their image. Number of references, context of references and opinions expressed in articles of selected newspapers over limited sample periods of time will provide the dataset for this evaluation.

„The media is key to urban reinvention"[6], as Charles Landry puts it, and for this reason it will receive special attention in this thesis. Yet the media as the main multipliers of information do not limit themselves to uncritical reproduction of messages. Media coverage is a great factor in the formation of public opinion, but media do report about cities incessantly and certainly not only when the city's communication department has

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6   Landry, 2006, p. 325

some news to launch. Therefore a chapter will be devoted to theories on public opinion and the power of the media to influence it with positive, negative or neutral reporting. In addition I will analyse why and on what occasions cities are featured in the media and what the relation between image strategies and media coverage is.

At the beginning, however, I will introduce and outline how the image of a city is actually formed and what impact the development and the most important theories on city marketing and city branding had. When in the 1980s common techniques of product marketing were applied to the promotion of cities and the first logos and slogans appeared, selling the city and attracting economic activity quickly became a focus of urban policy. If in the early days these image strategies were mainly based on new ways to communicate a city's strength and assets, they were soon recognized as important tools for city development strategies in general. Just as in selling products, where marketing is part of the process from the earliest conceptional stage of the product, many cities developed overall visions for their future development, target audiences and how the city as a product can be „sold" to them. Especially cities with a strong industrial sector attempted to reposition themselves as an attractive place to live, to visit, to work and to invest, often by focussing on cultural redevelopment. Not by accident was the European Capital of Culture (ECC) project established in 1985. „From flagship projects and hallmark events to grass roots participation and local festivals came a wider appreciation of the significance of cultural infrastructure and cultural diversity in local economic development."[7] Culture-based regeneration of industrial cities is one of the most common development schemes in today's cities. Examples range from British cities such as Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester to the Spanish Bilbao – one of the case study cities in this paper – where cultural infrastructure was used as a catalyst for economic development and image change.

Yet what does the image of a city consist of? Cities can certainly create a brand, but – complex as they are – they cannot fully control their brand image. According to a definition by Simon Anholt, „brand image is a set of beliefs or associations relating to a

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7   Freestone and Gibson, 2006, p. 32

name or sign in the mind of the consumer"[8]. Therefore the image a person has of a city might be formed by a myriad of different „beliefs or associations", including but not limited to personal experience, media reports, stories by friends, stereotypes and film images. A concept that describes the formation of an individual's image of a place is the urban mindscape: „An 'urban mindscape' is a structure of thinking about a city. It indicates something which exists between the physical landscape of a city and people's visual and cultural perceptions of it."[9] According to the mindscape-approach stories and narratives about places play an important role in how we perceive them. This can be considered one of the main connecting points to city marketing and city branding, where the creation of narratives and positive stories and associations about a city is crucial for „selling" the city to residents, visitors, businesses and the media.

Within this framework of industrial cities, re-imaging strategies, urban mindscape and media theories the key issues I will address in this thesis are the formation of a city's image among individuals, the strategies cities apply and implement to influence people's perception and to change their image, and the role of the media in influencing city images on the one hand and reflecting image strategies by policy-makers on the other hand. After laying the theoretical basis in the first chapters I will then apply the theory approaches and add empirical research in the case-studies section, which constitutes the second half of this thesis. Results and conclusions will be presented in the end.

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8   Anholt, 2010, p. 7
9   Bianchini, 2006, p. 13

2   City Marketing and Brand Image

This chapter focusses on the domains of city marketing and branding, and on the relation of these techniques to how individuals perceive the image of a city. Special attention will be paid to the relevance of cultural planning and its close connection to city marketing – especially in the last three decades –, as well as to the specific situation of industrial cities since the turn away from industrial production towards a service economy.

2.1   Historic Development and Cultural Planning

City marketing is not a new phenomenon. World exhibitions, beautification measures, infrastructure for 'high culture' like theatres and opera houses could all be considered marketing measures since they were clearly supposed to make the respective city attractive for certain groups. Sharon Zukin goes even further:

> „For several hundred years, visual representations of cities have „sold" urban growth. Images, from early maps to picture postcards, have not simply reflected real city spaces; instead, they have been imaginative reconstructions – from specific points of view – of a city's monumentality."[10]

Images of places exist since there were people around to experience them. Through communication, stories and myths, but also through pictures – as Zukin points out – images were spread among residents of a city but equally among people who had not experienced the place themselves. Antique metropolises certainly had a powerful image and were known for certain attributes far beyond their city limits. It is safe to assume that also some smaller places were known for their characteristics, be it for an impressive fortress, a busy marketplace or other features.

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10 Zukin, 1995, pp. 16f

With the industrialisation and the massive growth of cities in the 19th century the quick pace of inventions and development was starting to be showcased in big exhibitions, for which massive buildings were constructed. In 1851 the Crystal Palace, a huge glass-and-iron building, was constructed in London's Hyde Park on the occasion of the first World Exhibition; and it was made to impress. The whole exhibition was a sales event for showcasing products and the dominance of Great Britain's industrial development, yet it also put the City of London on display and added a new type of perception of the city for both residents and visitors. Culture and entertainment became more important as leisure time increased – at least for some parts of the population. Stephen Ward describes how large sums were spent on „libraries, concert halls, art galleries and museums", in order to „demonstrate the success of industrial civilization"[11].

It was at the same time when cities like Vienna and Paris started their redevelopment and beautification measures, with the Grands Projets in Paris and the Ringstraße in Vienna. Not only should cities become more liveable places – with sanitisation efforts and first improvements of living conditions in worker's homes being carried out – but they were also supposed to spur the imagination and highlight their cultural output.[12] Despite of its growing importance in the everyday life of big cities in the late 19th century, culture was considered a „by-product of economic surplus rather than an instrument in its creation"[13], or – as Ward puts it: „Culture was the 'icing on the cake'; today it has become part of the 'cake' itself."[14]

For most of the 20th century city marketing in today's comprehensive form was still not existing as part of policy-making in cities. Still, cultural projects and buildings played an increasingly important part in development plans, from the above mentioned monumental theatre and opera buildings to more neighbourhood-oriented cultural centres until the 1950s, and to flagship projects like the Sydney Opera House in the 1960s.[15] The last phase can already be understood as a transition period towards the

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11 Ward, 1998, p. 3
12 cf. Fessler and Berenstein, 2006, p. 243
13 Freestone and Gibson, 2006, p. 39
14 Ward, 1998, p. 3
15 cf. Freestone and Gibson, 2006, p. 23

post-industrial paradigm of cultural planning and city branding. The Sydney Opera House might still be rather the 'icing on the cake' than the 'cake itself', but it has quickly become a dominant image of Sydney across the world and certainly placed the city on the map of destinations with great cultural facilities and architecture. It therefore not only celebrated a thriving economy and improving quality of living, but it became a factor itself for stimulating economic activity and sending a positive image of Sydney out to the world.

2.2   Promotion, Marketing and Branding

The often interchanging use of the terms promotion, marketing and branding leads to a great deal of confusion, even in scientific debates. The main cause seems to be the lack of generally agreed definitions, therefore the next few pages will be dedicated to formulate definitions in order to avoid confusion at least within this thesis.

In classic marketing promotion is considered as one of four parts of the 'marketing mix', with the other three being product, price and placement.[16] Promotion deals predominantly with the communication aspects of marketing a product, service, or a city.

> „Too many place improvers believe that marketing a place means promoting a place. They view marketing as an image-building exercise, confusing it with one of its subactivities, namely promotion. Promotion is, ironically, one of the least important marketing tasks. Promotion alone does not help a troubled city. In fact, it only helps place buyers to discover early how troubled a city really is.“[17]

Promotion itself involves developing an image strategy and communicating it via advertising, public relations, sponsoring, events and other occasions that allow to present the positive features and advantages of a commodity. If the communicated image differs too much from reality, though, 'buyers' – as Kotler, Haider and Rain

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16 cf. Kotler and Anderson, 2010, pp. 72f
17 Kotler, Haider and Rain, 1993, p. 99

indicate above – will realize the difference more quickly compared to if the image were a more appropriate reflection of the actual situation. Another important task of promotion is to communicate the characteristics of the product's brand. Especially for cities promotion is not such an unimportant task as Kotler, Haider and Rain suggest. In fact communication strategies play a more decisive role for urban development than for product marketing, as the product 'city' cannot be created from scratch. Improving physical, economic or social structures is fare more complex and requires much more time than conceiving and launching a new communication strategy, so marketing strategies often start with image campaigns.

Still, compared to promotion the concept of marketing is far more comprehensive and sets in at the earliest stage of product development. Parallel to product marketing the marketing of places „has continued to move forward ever since [...], with place marketers adopting the new techniques of product marketers, more or less as soon as they appear.“[18] Applied to places, „place marketing means designing a place to satisfy the needs of its target markets“[19]. The techniques of marketing are supposed to make sure that in every stage of the process of product creation or place improvement the needs of the target markets and their satisfaction are the central driving forces. Place marketing, just as traditional marketing, includes four components according to Kotler, Haider and Rein: Firstly, places should be well designed in order to enhance their attractiveness, and develop characteristic aesthetic qualities and values (Place as character). Secondly, places need a good infrastructure to support mobility and at the same time respect the natural environment (Place as fixed environment). Thirdly, places must provide quality services for their target groups (Place as service provider). And finally, places need to provide attractions for local residents as well as for visitors (Place as entertainment and recreation).[20]

It has to be said – and the authors do it themselves – that this approach to city marketing „oversimplifies many of the problems of managing complex entities such as cities“[21], but

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18 Anholt, 2010, p. 2
19 Kotler, Haider and Rain, 1993, p. 99
20 cf. Kotler, Haider and Rain, 1993, p. 100
21 Kotler, Haider and Rain, 1993, p. 98

it still represents an often quoted and implemented guideline for marketing places. As city marketing as a field of research became more and more popular, though, standard definitions like Kotler, Haider and Reins were increasingly contested and criticized for their „generalising and formulaic"[22] view of the discipline.

> „The danger of describing places as urban products lies not only in their commodification but also in the disaggregation of the city into a series of attractive attributes (...). This process tends to avoid and even exclude the many other readings which diverse populations may have of the same environment. It promotes a schizophrenic attitude to place as a collection of discrete and identifyable pieces, each with a formulated image, rather than a layered identity with plural meanings."[23]

Erickson and Roberts suggests to openly work with the complexity of cities in marketing. Simon Anholt, founder and editor of the academic journal Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, agrees that „richness and complexity are valuable image attributes for any country, city or region"[24] and – as research confirms[25] - that there is no need to consider complexity as a problem in city marketing. In fact the image of a city „must be able to embrace and support the wide variety of industrial, cultural and political activity which countries and cities are likely to engage in"[26] instead of focussing on too limited target markets and developing an image that the majority of the 'consumers' of the city has no connection with.

Branding appears to be the „logical"[27] next step and delivers at least some answers to the rising criticism of simple place marketing models. Yet the lack of an appropriate definition of branding is even more acute as the scientific interest in this field – beyond its purely economic dimension – has only grown in recent years. Lucarelli and Berg suggest to define city branding as „the purposeful symbolic embodiment of all information connected to a city in order to create associations and expectations around

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22 Weiss-Sussex, 2006, p. 237
23 Erickson and Roberts, 1997, p. 57f
24 Anholt, 2009, p. 91
25 cf. Anholt, 2009, p. 91
26 Anholt, 2009, p. 91
27 Anholt, 2010, p. 7

it"[28]. Branding understood this way is certainly more open for reflecting the complex nature of cities, at least if branding agents do not assume that they will indeed be in control of „all information connected to a city". What branding is trying to influence is in fact exclusively the image of a city. Image is here not used in the simple sense of product promotion, where examples for main questions would be how the packaging should look like and how advertisements should be designed in order to evoke certain responses. Instead image is considered – as defined in the introduction – as „a set of beliefs or associations relating to a name or sign in the mind of the consumer". To analyse such a brand image scientists have to reach out into many different disciplines, including psychology, media studies, cultural studies and even semiotics, yet it still remains infinitely more difficult and complex to nail down what a mass of consumers relates to a city, compared to the more straightforward place marketing model by Kotler et al. The mindscape approach, which will be introduced later in this chapter, presents a fruitful attempt in this direction.

Simon Anholt argues that its brand image is actually what a city should be considered responsible for, not for carrying out marketing activities for specific services to consumers. Those should be left to private actors. „If the private operators are the dots, the job of government is to join them up in the end-user's mind."[29] With a positive image a city makes it easier for its companies to do business. But where does a positive image come from? How can policy-makers influence or even change the perceptions of people regarding a city? Designing a logo and a visual identity is certainly not enough.[30] Anholt reminds us that places have always been judged by what they do rather than what they say.[31] Especially a city that is experienced every day by countless individuals either personally or indirectly, for example via media, cannot pretend to be something completely different than people associate with it. A brand image must be rooted in reality, and there is hardly a way to avoid that since brand building is not an easily controllable process from top down. Instead every single individual that has a relation to a city becomes a representative of the brand. In this setting all branding can achieve is to

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28 Lucarelli and Berg, 2011, p. 21
29 Anholt, 2010, p. 3
30 cf. Anholt, 2010, p. 9
31 Anholt, 2010, p. 9

either alter people's perception by actually changing the city, or to focus on creating a dominant perception by using means of communication and promotion.

Anholt uses an example from the footwear industry to illustrate this argument:

> „Nike's fantastic brand image is the result of fantastic products sold in fantastically large numbers, accompanied by communication that encourage consumers to identify with the 'values' of a company. [...] Brand building is primarily achieved through product development and marketing, and has relatively little to do with branding. [...] If people buy a product and find it good, this will begin to create a powerful brand image for the product; the product will earn a good reputation. This reputation gradually spreads to non-users; even people who haven't bought the product will know, or feel they know, that it is a good product. The reputation spreads, drives up sales, and increases the value of the corporation."[32]

The basis for a successful brand must be a good product that appeals to its target audiences. The communication measures issued around the product are no substitution for a good product itself, but they can support the creation of a favourable brand image. In the competitive environment cities find themselves in it is hardly ever possible to design the 'product' – the city – completely from anew. Cities usually also already have a strong brand based on their history. The field of action for city branding therefore seems rather limited, yet some examples from the recent history – such as New York, Glasgow, Berlin, where the branding process was based on actions and/or existing strengths – show, that an approach to branding which is closely linked to the actual urban development can lead to a change in the dominant perception of cities.[33]

In fact it is the mix and the coordination of policy measures and communication strategies that is now considered to provide the highest chances of leading a city to a more positive future. „There are certainly policy approaches that enable places to improve the speed, efficiency and effectiveness with which they achieve a better image"[34], but neither policy measures alone nor exclusively communication campaigns are likely to convince people to rethink their existing perceptions of a place. „*Substance*

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32 Anholt, 2010, pp. 9-10
33 cf. Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2007, pp. 281-284
34 Anholt, 2008, p. 2

must be coupled with *strategy* and frequent *symbolic actions* if it is to result in an enhanced reputation"[35], Anholt argues and centres his concept of place branding, or rather *competitive identity*, around five new ideas[36]:

1. Places' engagement with the outside world must be clear, coordinated and communicative and involve a coalition between government, business and civil society in order to influence public opinion.

2. Brand image has to be understood as an external, cultural phenomenon that cannot be directly controlled but nevertheless remains a critical factor.

3. Brand equity must be managed, measured, protected, leveraged and nurtured over the long term as a hugely valuable asset.

4. The purpose of a brand is to unite groups of people around a common strategic vision in order to create a powerful dynamic for progress.

5. Innovation is crucial to influence public opinion, as new things and developments are far more interesting than the reproduction of the past.

In the case studies section of this thesis the cities' re-imaging strategies will be theoretically evaluated based on these three models of promotion, marketing and branding.

2.3   Narratives, Icons and Myths

As I have pointed out earlier creating narratives and myths about a city is an important concept for image strategies of urban areas. „Cities need stories or cultural narratives about themselves to both anchor and drive identity as well as to galvanize citizens"[37], Charles Landry writes. A successful city image must be a truthful and realistic, yet to a degree also an imaginative representation of the place in an individual's mind. It will most likely not be statistical facts or advertising slogans that come up first when

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35 Anholt, 2008, p. 3
36 cf. Anholt, 2008, p. 3
37 Landry, 2006, p. 3

residents or tourists are asked about a certain city (except those slogans cover very well a dominant narrative of a city), but rather impressions and stories that describe the characteristics of a city from an individual point of view. Stories are pieces of information that are connected in a meaningful way. They can be easily shared, they create emotional attachment and they allow a less anonymous, more personal insight on the urban experience. Such stories „allow individuals to submerge themselves into bigger, more lofty endeavours"[38]. Yet with the respecting of individual points of view also comes the difficulty for the policy-maker or marketer to get hold of what might be common lines of identity and – as a consequence – formulate visions that are shared to a high degree by target groups. Here is where criticism of city marketing and branding often – and legitimately so – sets in: The concept obviously must fail in uniting all actors under one (or more) defined brand(s). Even if all relevant groups are involved in the creative process there will be sometimes more, sometimes less, but definitely some who feel misrepresented and therefore do not support the vision. The multitude of actors in a city with their diverging interests cannot be encompassed in all their complexity.

Yet there are impressions, memories, stories that some groups share and that are accepted beyond the individual level.

> „When we envisage a city, we are quite likely – especially if we haven't been there before – to draw on previous, perhaps iconic, representations of it: postcards, paintings, maps (London's wonderful though abstracted Tube map), TV programme opening titles (*Eastenders* for London, *Friends* for Manhattan) and news images [...]."[39]

In Landry's list most of the examples he refers to reach a mass audience. If a set representation of a city, like in a TV series, is shown to a mass of viewers, they may not perceive it all identically, but they share a basic impression and have a common experience to draw from. They will have expectations, associations and beliefs of, for example, what a city looks like and what kind of people live there. In that sense the media and all other forms of mass communication are very powerful in introducing and supporting certain images and thus creating and shaping *public opinion*, a concept that

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38 Landry, 2006, p. 3
39 Landry, 2006, p. 68

will be explained in chapter 3 and is of great relevance to city marketers as it is precisely what they would like to influence in their favour.

However, it is not only mass communication and the power of the media that shapes public opinion when it comes to the image of a city. One important form of narrative is the myth. Klaus Siebenhaar calls myths – a blend of „concrete views, dream images, knowledge born out of experience, wishes, traditional tales and archetypes of attitude“[40] - even the key narratives relevant for the understanding of city images. Several layers of images and narratives come together to form myths, which „provide patterns of orientation and interpretation as regards the historical process as well as the contemporary urban process of communicating the city's self.“[41] Obvious examples of powerful myths would be Vienna as the hotspot of arts and culture around 1900, a myth that is deeply ingrained in many layers of communication about the city, not least in the official city marketing. Every 'golden age' cities have experienced, be it Vienna, Paris, Berlin or others, has turned into a myth that decades and centuries later still plays a big role in the perception of a city.[42]

> „Myths are immortal and they make immortal. This is a fact from which great cities profit, since they are usually possessed of a whole reservoir of myths. Cities create myths and become myths themselves. The formation of a myth serves in numerous ways to help a city find its own identity and develop a distinct image.“[43]

Certainly myths do not only exist for world cities with past glories. On a smaller scale every city has them, and it is the task of marketers to identify them in order to understand the stories that surround a city and their meaning. Myths can be both positive and negative for the city's image. When positive – for example if they are related to great periods of art or culture – cities will most likely make use of them in their communication strategy in order to reinforce and thus 'confirm' the myths, as they create desire and an emotional connection to the city. If a myth tends to harm urban

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40 Siebenhaar, 2006, p. 228
41 Siebenhaar, 2006, p. 227
42 Woody Allen's recent movie 'Midnight in Paris' about Paris in the 1920s is a prototypical example of how myths are constantly revived
43 Siebenhaar, 2006, p. 227

policy-makers future plans or to undermine image strategies – when for example mainly crime or a catastrophe is associated with the place – they will tend to counter it, which is a difficult task as „myths and images are long-living, stable and insightful and can be varied an passed on indefinitely"[44].

Charles Landry distinguishes narrative and iconic forms of communication strategies for cities. Narrative communication would include stories and myths as described above, it „is concerned with creating arguments; it takes time and promotes reflection. [...] It is about creating meaning."[45] Iconic communication, however, „seeks to be instantly recognized" and attempts to „'squash meaning' into a tight time frame, creating high impact by encouraging symbolic actions that make what is being projected feel significant."[46] The challenge Landry now identifies is to take the best of both worlds and fuse the two assumed opposites by embedding „narrative qualities and deeper, principled understandings within projects which have iconic power"[47]. Icons – defined as „projects or initiatives that are powerfully self-explanatory, jolt the imagination, surprise, challenge and raise expectations"[48] - should therefore be symbols that stand for the deeper meaning of the narratives behind them. With a successful combination of the two communication strategies cities could take the fast road to image improvement, yet from the 1960s to the present Landry only qualifies two new buildings as „immediately and popularly identifiable icons: the Sydney Opera House and the Guggenheim in Bilbao."[49] The number of attempts is certainly far higher, thus the concept seems to be difficult to implement. However, not all icons have to work on a worldwide scale to such a degree as the two examples mentioned. Considering an evaluation less strict than Landry's there have certainly been more iconic buildings constructed that feature symbolic value, high quality in architecture and content, and provide creative and imaginative input for establishing new myths.

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44 Siebenhaar, 2006, p. 231
45 Landry, 2006, p. 146
46 Landry, 2006, p. 146
47 Landry, 2006, p. 146
48 Landry, 2006, p. 148
49 Landry, 2006, p. 149

The gist of the concept of narratives, myths and icons is strikingly similar to Simon Anholt's concept of place branding, or competitive identity. It is actions that are the basis for urban re-imaging. Be it the construction of an icon or the development of a „web of stories"[50] around a city – or ideally a combination of both -, it has to be rooted in local culture, based on a widely shared vision for the future, needs to spur imagination and have drawing power.

2.4   Image Formation and Mindscape

A city image is constituted by many different and complex layers of meaning. In fact from the earliest days of city marketing the components of the image of a place have been subject of debate. Chris Jensen-Butler identifies the theory of environmental perception as one of the theoretical origins of city marketing.[51] Applied in a sociological and social-psychological sense environmental perception deals with the social construction of the meaning of place. Later, the notion of the city as a product became more dominant in city marketing literature, but in recent years concepts of branding, urban myths and narratives, as well as urban mindscape and imaginary gained importance and revived the idea of the city image being formed through meaningful cultural representations.

Franco Bianchini defines the urban mindscape as a „structure of thinking about a place", a connection between the „physical landscape of a city and people's visual and cultural perceptions of it"[52]. It represents an urban „image bank" and includes „local and external images of a city", which take form in the following ways:[53]

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50 Siebenhaar, 2006, p. 228
51 Jensen-Butler, 1997, p. 35
52 Bianchini, 2006, pp. 13-14
53 cf. Bianchini, 2006, p. 14

–   media coverage;

–   stereotypes, jokes and 'conventional wisdom';

–   representations of a city in music, literature, film, the visual arts and other types
         of cultural production;

–   myths and legends;

–   tourist guidebooks;

–   city marketing and tourism promotion literature;

–   views of residents, city users and outsiders, expressed for example through
         surveys and focus groups.

The concept of mindscape is an attempt to organize the multitude of individual views and perceptions of a city by systematically collecting and connecting them. The city „is a place of imagination which overlaps with the physical space, to the extent that the latter is experienced through images and symbols“[54]. These cumulated images and symbols result in a comprehensive mental image of the city as a whole body, similar to how humans are perceived.

> „Our knowledge of this 'collective image bank' or 'archive' of urban images, channels and
> mediates, whether we are conscious of it or not, our perception and experience of a city – and
> as such it is just as 'real' as the built environment in which we move.“[55]

Rolf Lindner argues that the imaginary even „gives the real greater depth and goes beyond it in the sense of adding something extra“[56]. He describes this 'extra' as meaning, sense, or spirit, as the „supplement which makes a city not only a lived place but also a dreamed one“[57]. Similar to a dream the imaginary of a city is neither inventable nor arbitrarily changeable. It is „deeply rooted“ and „antedecent to any willful act of imagineering“[58], Lindner continues. Yet such imagineering has been a key task of hordes of city marketers in the last decades, and it seems unrealistic to say that it didn't have any effect at all. Indeed Lindner admits that campaigns are not necessarily doomed to

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54 Bianchini, 2006, p. 17
55 Pizzi and Weiss-Sussex, 2011, p. 2
56 Lindner, 2006, p. 36
57 Lindner, 2006, p. 36
58 Lindner, 2006, p. 36

ineffectiveness, but they have to correspond and be homologous to existing imaginaries if they want to become part of futures ones.[59]

Naturally urban mindscapes are subject of contest and debate. City marketers may have other images, narratives and stories in mind than people who live in the city, work in the city, visit the place or only know it from media representations. There may be dominant codes of and associations with a city, but every individual is in a position to add a diverging perception to the „gestalt"[60] of the urban imaginary. Therefore invalid perceptions do not exist, and there are almost unlimited possibilities to approach the subject in an academic research. The focus on media texts in this paper is only one of them, albeit a particularly comprehensive one that includes multiple layers of meaning.

In fact the urban mindscapes approach is not only useful for the research interest in this thesis, it also appears rather promising when it comes to place marketing, since it provides on the one hand the tools for analysing existing images in a high degree of complexity, on the other hand it also allows to – at least attempt – constructing mindscapes on a smaller scale (for example regarding single events and how they are supposed to represent the city) as well as on a larger scale (as a central part of an extensive marketing strategy, connecting urban development and communication). Yet the conscious and strategic use of mindscapes is certainly no easy task, and it never remains fully under control of city marketers. Moreover it involves the risks of failing to correspond to existing imaginaries Lindner pointed out above. From a scientific point of view, however, urban mindscapes provide a great framework for the research and analysis of the image of a city, that will also be applied in later chapters of this thesis, focusing on the impact of media coverage.

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59 cf. Lindner, 2006, p. 36
60 cf. Lindner, 2006, pp. 35-42

3   Cities in the Media

What is uniting almost every approach towards the analysis of a city's image is the high importance that media coverage receives. Be it narrative or iconic communication, classic place promotion, marketing and branding, or the focus on myths and mindscapes, the media as a catalyst of all communication targeted at a mass audience comes to play a decisive role. „People construct place images and cognitive maps according to the kind of information they receive from various sources."[61], Eli Avraham writes. About anything that does not happen in their immediate environment people learn mainly through the media. Usually news from far away places is not considered crucial enough to verify it personally, so „the 'reality' that the media transfers from distant places is conceptualized as the places' 'objective' or 'true' reality by those who do not live there"[62]. Even though social networks and online platforms changed the media landscape significantly in the past years news from distant places are still consumed predominantly from rather classic sources. Thus the news media image of a city is of crucial importance for its international perception and – as a result – also for its position in the international competition for tourism, investments, labour and residents.[63]

However, media companies hardly ever have the same interests as the agents – for example city marketers – who want to distribute information via newspapers, radio stations, television channels or the internet. The media acts as a gatekeeper for information, deciding on the one hand what information will be processed and released, and on the other hand how this information will be presented and in which set of meanings and opinions it will be embedded. City marketers would surely prefer to have their messages delivered to the audience – media consumers – as directly as possible, similar to advertising but with the help of the credibility and reach of the media. Before we go into the question if and how city actors can influence the media perception and

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61 Avraham, 2000, p. 364
62 Avraham, 2000, p. 364
63 cf. Avraham, 2000, p. 363

successively the public perception of their city a basic question that has to be asked is: Why and under which circumstances do cities appear in the news?

Two of media studies most cited and researched theories will help to answer this question: the gate-keeping theory and the news value theory. Following Pamela Shoemaker's and Tim Vos' definition

> „gatekeeping is the process of culling and crafting countless bits of information into the
> limited number of messages that reach people each day, and it is the center of the media's
> role in modern public life"[64].

The gatekeeper is the journalist sitting at his newsdesk and filtering all incoming information – be it from news agencies, public relations agents, police sources or own research. He or she decides what is relevant enough to be put in the newspaper, on the radio show, the television channel or the online platform, and what is not worth mentioning. Gate-keeping in fact is deciding what's news and what's not, and it is one of the key services that news media provide to their customers. Usually a huge majority of incoming information does not pass the 'gate' and in the past decades much literature has been produced about how public relations efforts must be designed in order to increase the changes of placing content in the media. The crucial question indeed is what characteristics a message needs to have in order to be considered newsworthy. Regarding the media portrayal of cities Avraham suggests four factors that determine the amount and nature of cities' coverage[65]:

1.   The city's characteristics
2.   Editorial policies affecting the city
3.   The social-political environment in which the media operate
4.   The public relations efforts made by the city

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64 Shoemaker and Vos, 2009, p. 1
65 cf. Avraham, 2000, p. 363

In terms of the city's characteristics, places with a large population, a high number of important national and international organisations as well as a geographic proximity to the location of news media tend to receive a lot of coverage. Editorial policy refers to the allocation of news reporters to a city, the presence of target audience of a medium in the city, a possible historic pattern of how a city is covered, and eventually also personal attachment of reporters and news people to a place. The social-political environment of the media plays an important role insofar that it determines how certain places are covered during a certain period of time. This factor is depending on the currently dominant values of a society. Avraham mentions the example of industrial cities, which were seen as symbols of prosperity in the past. After the transition to the post-industrial age they are no longer connoted with positive attributes but rather represent pollution and crisis which also influences the way they are covered in the media.[66] The fourth factor is the only one policy-makers in cities can directly influence: the nature and quality of their own public relations efforts. Given these four factors small cities have to face a difficult task if they want to appear in other media than local and perhaps national ones. World cities have the great advantage of their size and of their attractiveness for institutions, media companies and large target audiences. Studies of the portrayal of US cities in national mass media show that pretty much only New York, Washington and Los Angeles regularly appear whereas other cities „were almost ignored"[67]. If small cities were covered on the news it was „mainly about disasters, strikes, or crime and justice, while their political, economic, and social situation was barely discussed"[68]. In order to receive attention smaller places therefore need to produce news that is considered relevant enough by gatekeepers in the media to publish it. In the past decades strategies to achieve this predominantly focused on large-scale events, e.g. European Capital of Culture, big sports events and world exhibitions, or the construction of signature buildings by renowned architects. Yet the term 'news' implies that – if cities want to appear in media frequently – they cannot rely on one mega-event or one landmark building as interest would vanish quickly. Instead they need to produce newsworthy stories in a high frequency.

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66 cf. Avraham, 2000, p. 368
67 Avraham, 2000, p. 365
68 Avraham, 2000, p. 365

What decision-makers and city marketers have to take into consideration when planning campaigns or any other communication measures is the news value of their messages. News value is a measurement of how much attention is brought to a message by its receivers, in the media context especially by journalists on the one hand and by the audience on the other hand. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge identified eight important factors to determine the news value of a message in their seminal 1964-text „The Structure of Foreign News"[69]:

1. Frequency: Frequency describes the time-span an event requires to take place. Galtung and Ruge explain that „the more similar the frequency of the event is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable it will be recorded as news by that news medium"[70]. Daily newspapers therefore would prefer stories that unfold and can be told from one day to another, such as murder, sports results or political resolutions.

2. Importance: This factor refers to the threshold an event needs to pass to be recorded at all. The further it passes the threshold the more news value it has.

3. Clarity: The less ambiguous a message is the more and easier it will be noticed.

4. Meaningfulness: The event must be based on the values that are familiar to the receiver of the message. Culturally similar events will result more meaningful than culturally distant ones.

5. Consonance: The more the message corresponds with the mental image of what is expected, the higher the chance that it will be paid attention to. Events that are too far away from what is expected will not be registered.

6. Unexpectedness: Within those events that are meaningful and consonant with one's expectation, paradoxically the one's that are more unexpected and rare receive greater attention, whereas the regular and institutionalized attracts less attention.

7. Continuity: This factor is linked to the internal organization of media companies. News that has already passed all gates and received sufficient attention once is likely to create attention again.

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69 Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p. 65ff
70 Galtung and Ruge, 1965, p. 66

8. Composition: Media organization usually report stories of different types. If there is a surplus of events of one type, an otherwise less newsworthy event of another type might be included just to create a desired diversity. Therefore news values of one event can influence the news values of others.

Professional public relations work of cities needs to take account of these basic media theories in order to increase the chance to place its messages in news media. Yet the city's decision-makers should take into account how media work at an early point in formulated strategies already. It is much more effective to raise attention for projects and events that are actually carried out and happening instead of spending money on abstract communication campaigns.

Eli Avraham identifies four types of patters of city coverage[71]: There are cities that receive a lot of negative coverage, cities that are completely ignored by the media unless negative events happen, cities that receive a lot of positive coverage, and cities that are generally ignored but receive positive coverage if not. Small cities will most likely be ignored anyway, especially by international newspapers. The main challenge for them is to appear somewhat regularly and in positive contexts, yet the competition has grown enormously over the past three decades, with flagship projects, mega-events and ambitious cultural renewal plans appearing incessantly. The image that is transported about cities by the media can be distinguished between a rich image on the one hand and a one-dimensional image on the other hand.[72] A rich image is more desirable for cities as news media publish stories about many different topics and events related to the city, whereas one-dimensional coverage is restricted to a certain type of news which may not occur often, e.g. crime or natural disasters. A one-dimensional image can eventually lead to the city becoming a symbol exclusively for the type of news it is related with, which is a situation city marketers are keen to avoid even if the association is positive.

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71 cf. Avraham, 2000, p. 364
72 cf. Avraham, 2000, p. 364

Yet cities can even become symbols of what they long ago represented. As Avraham points out – referring to Anselm Strauss and Rob Shields – stereotypical coverage about places leads to a delay of the reflection of the changes happening in there[73], and myths that are once created and associated with a place tend not to disappear for many years[74]. An example of the complexity of news media images of cities is the relation of a case study city of this paper, Linz, with its past as Adolf Hitler's childhood and youth home. As we will see the city is frequently associated with Hitler in news reports that are otherwise unrelated to history. A possible explanation for such practices is the desire of news reporters to anchor their stories by adding information – especially about rather unknown topics – that a majority of readers can relate to. Linz may be unfamiliar to average UK readers, but by relating Adolf Hitler to the city they can connect a familiar piece of information to it.

Having outlined how news media reflect city images and how city marketers can make an impact on the quantity and nature of the coverage, an important question remains: How does the media portrayal of a city influence the opinions and beliefs of its consumers? What impact do news media have on the public opinion about cities? The concept of framing will help to answer this question. All news messages are framed by journalists and media companies producing and processing them. This framing „highlights some aspects of the events behind a story and downplays others, often with the effect of supporting a certain way of looking at the world"[75]. A frame organises an experience, both on the side of the transmitter and of the receiver of a message. I will focus on the framing of messages issued by news media and how they are perceived by the audience. News content „carries embedded social meaning and reflects the prevalent organizing principles in society through journalists' selection of words, news sources, and metaphors" and thereby „reduces a complex situation to a simple theme, and shapes people's interpretations by make some elements salient while ignoring others"[76].

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73 cf. Strauss, 1961, quoted from Avraham, 2000, p. 364
74 cf. Shields, 1992, quoted from Avraham, 2000, p. 364
75 Baresch, Hsu and Reese, 2012, p. 637
76 Baresch, Hsu and Reese, 2012, p. 638

Dietram Scheufele identifies three dimensions of how individuals process news that is framed by news media: Active processing, reflective integration and selective scanning.[77] The first includes individuals who actively inform themselves by collecting information from several sources, being aware of the incomplete or biased nature of single pieces of news. Reflective integration describes a critical reception of news through debates with others or own reflections, whereas selective scanners only pick out information of personal relevance from the pool of available news. People usually rely on „a version of reality built from personal experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from mass media"[78]. When it comes to the perception of foreign cities – and particularly smaller ones – the first two sources will not be available in most cases, which makes information based on mass media the main input for people about a place. Consequently the power of news media in shaping and influencing the perception of a city and its image increases the less other sources individuals use. Paradoxically the image of a world city such as New York, despite a huge amount of coverage in all types of media, is less likely to change through media portrayal compared to a small city that only pops up occasionally on the news. A variety of sources also adds to a richer, more complex, multi-dimensional city image as public opinion has more layers and facets. The two case study cities I will present and analyse in the next chapter, Linz and Bilbao, both cannot be considered world cities and therefore largely depend on media portrayal to determine their international image.

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77 cf. Scheufele, 1999, p. 105
78 Neuman et al, 1992, p. 120, quoted after Scheufele, 1999, p. 105

4   Case Studies

In this section the theoretical concepts of place marketing, city image and media coverage about cities discussed in previous chapter will be applied to and analysed regarding two case study cities: Linz in Austria, and Bilbao in Spain. Both cities share many characteristics that will be explained in detail in the respective chapters. With 352.700 inhabitants Bilbao has almost twice the number of residents than Linz (191.767) and is part of a bigger agglomeration, yet in a national context Linz is the third biggest city in Austria while Bilbao ranks 10th in Spain. Both cities are regional capitals and can be considered as industrial cities – not only in the past, but also in the present. Both Linz and Bilbao started measures of urban regeneration in the early 1990s, yet the strategies chosen significantly differ. The examples of Linz and Bilbao and their similar preconditions but diverging re-imaging strategies will serve to review, explain, compare and evaluate two common approaches to city marketing and branding. In the empirical part of the case studies section the media coverage of Linz and Bilbao will be analysed both in quantitative and qualitative terms over the course of 20 years in the London-based independent newspaper The Guardian, in order to paint a concise picture of the effects of the cities' image strategies and the evolution of their image profile.

4.1   *Methodology*

Each case study consists of four sections. First, a short introduction including the most important facts and data about the city as well as a historic overview will be provided. These pages present information regarding the development of the respective city and some arguments why it serves as a case study for this thesis. The second section of each case study contains a review of current and relevant strategic documents and papers dealing with the city's development, promotion, marketing and branding efforts. Based upon the theoretical introduction in chapter 2 the concepts of Linz and Bilbao will be

analysed and criticised and put into context with current research on city image strategies. In the case of Bilbao – a rather famous example for the regeneration of a city, both physically and in terms of its perception – the material analysed for this step will be limited to official documents and scientific literature on the topic. As the evolution of image strategies of Linz is not equally well documented, semi-structured interviews with a number of key actors have been conducted and will provide additional insights in the planning measures and the organisation of city image campaigns in Linz. This second section is aimed at answering one of the principal research questions in this thesis: What strategies do the case study cities apply to achieve image change and how do they implement them?

In section three of each case study I will go into the empirical research conducted for this paper. This part presents the results of both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis of news media coverage related to the case study cities. The key research interest in this section is to find out how the media reflect the case study cities' re-imaging strategies; or in other words, to which degree cities are successful with their re-imaging policies. As I've pointed out in chapter 3 media coverage is of key importance for the public perception of a city, especially for people who do not have a personal connection to a place, for instance through visits. The media not only reports about cities, it also reflects many other ways cities are represented, for example in movies, music, books, jokes or history. It must be acknowledged, though, that analysing media coverage only allows an approximation towards creating a full image profile of a city and seeing it change over time. The way media represent a city must not be confused with the way people actually experience a city, as media consumption and its effect on people's perception cannot be explained using a simple stimulus-response model. Yet because of its power to start discourses and frame debates media coverage is a good indicator of public opinion and its evolution, especially when put in context with image-building measures of cities. In that sense the media coverage analysis serves as an evaluation of the targets of cities marketing programmes. Does media coverage reflect the image cities want to achieve? Or is the perception supported by newspaper articles a different one?

The media coverage analysis in this paper stretches over 20 years, from 1991 to 2011. Perception tends to change slowly, which is why this long period of time has been chosen. At the beginning of the 1990s both case study cities were significantly different from now, physically as well as in terms of their image. Around that time both started to develop image strategies in order to create a more attractive profile, not solely based on industrial production. Additionally there are key moments in the re-imaging process of both cities, which are included in the time frame of the analysis: In Bilbao it is the opening of Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in 1997, in Linz it is the year as European Capital of Culture in 2009. It can thus be said with some certainty that within these 20 years from 1991 to 2011 profound changes occurred in the perception of Linz and Bilbao.

For the purpose of this work it is necessary to have an international newspaper as the basis for the analysis. Local and national media certainly pay a lot more attention to the respective cities in their area, but they operate on a rather small scale and are less powerful in their impact on public opinion of a global audience of readers. In a local context people usually have their own experiences of a place and don't have to rely on account by media for their perception of the city. Moreover, in a globalised society cities not only affect and address the people in their direct surroundings. They are part of an international competition for labour, tourism, economic activity, cultural offers and residents, and increasingly direct their measures towards an international target market – see the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao and Linz as European Capital of Culture as prime examples. In the past two decades many medium-sized cities, including the two mentioned above and highlighted in this thesis, strived to get on the map of relevant and attractive places, to stand out among competitors for certain characteristic features. As a consequence of this new relevance of international target markets for cities I will focus on the international perception of Linz and Bilbao. The English newspaper The Guardian serves well in this context as it is – though London-based – a very internationally oriented newspaper, for which neither Linz nor Bilbao present an obvious city to focus coverage on. With a circulation of 211,511 copies per issue in June 2012[79] the printed

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79 ABC, 2012a, p. 2

version of The Guardian is among the biggest quality newspapers of the UK and among the most respected and quoted newspapers worldwide. Its online platform – http://www.guardian.co.uk – was launched in 1999 and has since then become an important source for English-language online news, both for UK-based and international users. Currently the website, which also features the content of the printed issues of The Guardian, The Observer and The Guardian Weekly reaches an average of 3.3 to 4 million unique browsers per day[80], 53,5 per cent of which are international (non-UK) browsers[81]. The Guardian and guardian.co.uk represent a valuable source for this paper, as they include both printed newspapers and online news, daily and weekly releases, news, features, comments, blog-posts and all other key elements of news media. Therefore The Guardian and guardian.co.uk have been chosen as the source for the content analysis of the empirical section of this thesis. Content analysis as a scientific technique to systematically examine and interpret texts[82] is the principal methodology used in this part.

In the third section of each case study chapter, the quantitative part of the empirical analysis will be presented. For this, all articles referring to the case study cities Linz and Bilbao between 1991 and 2011 have been collected, with the help of guardian.co.uk's own search function and the LexisNexis University database. This set of articles forms the basis of all further empirical analysis in this paper. However, double references, use of the city names in other contexts (e.g. the Austrian football player Roland Linz) and other references clearly not related to the case study cities have been removed from the sample. The remaining articles – a total of 2290 – were then grouped into the most relevant newspaper sections: news, arts/culture, sports, travel, and other. The sample articles were also sorted by type of text, into the following categories: news, features, comments, reviews, service, and other. During the research certain keywords appeared frequently, therefore I created a third table counting the appearance of those keywords separately. All tables are sorted by year, so they allow to see the evolution of the number of references of any newspaper section, of any type of articles and of any keywords over

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80 ABC, 2012b, p. 1
81 ABC, 2012b, p. 7
82 cf. Diekmann, 2004, p. 481

the years. This simple type of frequency analysis[83] gives a quick and precise overview of how much attention each city received in the period from 1991 to 2011, and on which sections this attention is focussed. Moreover the most popular keywords and their evolution over the years gives a first idea of what the city's media image profile could be.

Section four of the case studies chapter will be devoted to the empirical analysis that deals with qualitative aspects of the sample of articles. Due to the large number of articles in the full sample it is not possible to conduct the qualitative analysis for the whole period from 1991 to 2011. Instead three sample periods will be examined: 1991, 2001 and 2011, plus one key year for each city, the choice of which will be explained in the respective parts of the case study chapters. The ten-year distance between the sample years will help to see changes over time. The total of articles in the samples for the qualitative part of this paper is 479. For every article first the number of references to the case study city was counted. Second, all opinions, judgements, attributes, associations or evaluations expressed in relation to the city were noted and coded according to a simple five-grade scale. The key questions for deciding how to code a specific part of the text is: Does this opinion, judgement, attribute, association or evaluation qualify to deduce a very positive perception of the city (code: +2), a rather positive perception of the city (+1), a rather negative perception of the city (-1) or a very negative perception of the city (-2). References that are accompanied by a neutral opinion, judgement, attribute, association or evaluation or by none at all are coded with 0. The sum of the coded values divided by the number of references shows a general tendency that is expressed in each article. Some of the coded variables clearly fall into one of these categories (e.g. if superlatives are used, or if no attributes at all are mentioned in relation to the city), others require more subtle coding. All coding for this research has been conducted with great care, exactness and – most importantly – consistency.

In a third layer of the qualitative analysis the general topic and context of all articles was noted down with a few keywords, or tags (e.g.: architecture, arts, Guggenheim, Frank

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83 cf. Diekmann, 2004, p. 496f

Gehry). Every set of keywords received a code on a three-piece scale (positive, neutral, negative). This coding helps to identify general tendencies whether a city appears predominantly in positive or negative contexts. In order to reach a high degree of consistency for the coding work a few rules have been identified: crime, violence, terrorism, war and similar contexts are considered negative, whereas relations to all forms of arts, travel and sports are usually considered positive. There are exceptions to these rules, of course, but since all articles are considered and coded individually for this thesis these exceptions have been paid attention to. All steps of the empirical analysis are based on common theories and models of content analysis, most notably „Frequenzanalyse"[84] for the first, quantitative part of the analysis, „Valenzanalyse"[85] for the coding of the contexts of the sample articles, and „Intensitätsanalyse"[86] for the coding of opinions, judgements, attributes, associations or evaluations related to the case study cities. The two case studies will first be considered separately in the chapters 4.2 and 4.3. Chapter 5 is then devoted to the comparative dimension of the research interest in this thesis and to conclusions.

4.2 Case Study: Linz

Linz is the capital city of Upper Austria, one of nine Austrian provinces. With 191.767 inhabitants it is the third-biggest Austrian city, after Vienna and Graz. According to recent population projections Linz is a slightly growing city and will reach 195.000 to 200.000 inhabitants until 2021.[87] In 2009 Linz was awarded the title European Capital of Culture, a result of the city's transformation from a place dominated by industrial production to a place where modern culture plays – at least – an equally big role. In an international context Linz is a medium-sized city. Similar to many other cities of a comparable size Linz is an example of culture-led regeneration of a formerly industrial city. The political and urbanistic path of Linz towards increasing its cultural offer, improving the quality of life and attracting visitors, residents and new economic activity

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84 cf. Diekmann, 2004, p. 496f and Schnell et al, 1995, p. 373
85 cf. Schnell et al, 1995, p. 373
86 cf. Schnell et al, 1995, p. 373 and Mayring, 2008, S. 92
87 Stadtforschung Linz, 2012, p. 26

started in the 1980s already and rather steadily evolved until the present day.

4.2.1 History

The consciousness of tradition is not particularly strong in Linz, chronicler Willibald Katzinger writes.[88] Indeed the recent past does not offer much to build the city's identity on, which may explain why Linz has strived to become a future-oriented, modern and innovative city rather than a place celebrating and reproducing its past.

The area where Linz is located today has been settled constantly since the late stone age. In the first century A.D. a Roman fort was built together with a small settlement on the area of and around today's Landestheater. The Danube was an important transport route at that time already and therefore its protection was of great interest to the Romans, who coined the name Lentia for the settlement. The first documentary mention of Linz occurred in 799, when the settlement gained importance due to the eastwards expansion of the duchy of Bavaria. Despite a growing economic activity Linz has lost significance from the 10th century up to the early 13th century, when it experienced growth again and was awarded the rank of a city. The city was increasingly doing well economically and became capital of the region north of the Enns river. Around 1600 Linz was again expanded and fortified and experienced a great influx of monasteries, nobility and the church. During the 18th and early 19th century Linz saw both great growth and progress – much of it related to reform measures by Emperor Joseph II – and several periods of war, occupation and also considerable destruction. Later in the 19th century industrialisation led to technological innovations, including the first horse-drawn railway in Europe from Linz to Ceske Budejovice and the introduction of steam boats on the Danube. Industrial production companies first settled outside of the city center, particularly towards the East and South. The most important industries in Linz in the 19th century were shipyards, locomotive factories as well as textile factories.[89]

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88 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 9
89 cf. Archive of the City of Linz, 2012

Yet Linz was not the place for big industrial business. None of the factories employed more than 1,000 workers[90]. Also politically – despite being a capital for many centuries – Linz did not attract significant power or public institutions. Instead, monasteries, garrisons and civil servants dominated the city along with the growing but not exploding industrial sector. The infamous German rhyme of Linz with province was hard to dismiss.[91] Unfortunately the provincial character was only about to change during the Second World War, with Adolf Hitler having big plans for the city of his childhood. On May 12, 1938, the day of the Austrian Anschluss into the Third Reich Hitler held a speech on the balcony of the Linz town hall in front of 60,000 to 80,000 people. Hitler was determined to make Linz a great city. His parents are buried on a cemetery in Leonding, a suburb of Linz. Despite having lived in Linz only for a couple of years in the first decade of the 20th century, Hitler considered Linz as his home town.[92] He saw himself as godfather of the city, spending a lot of time in Linz and commenting on many municipal issues. Until his death in 1945 he demanded that master-plans, expansion plans as well as air raid protection plans had to be presented to him.[93] Linz was part of Hitler's five „Führerstädte", alongside Berlin, Munich, Nürnberg and Hamburg.

Already before the Anschluss the Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht, Hermann Göring, planned to construct a huge steel plant in the Linz area, as it became necessary to continue the armament for the war. On May 13, 1938 construction work of the Hermann Göring Werke in the East of Linz began.[94] Simultaneously many housing developments and cultural facilities were planned in the central city, but much of it remained unfinished or unbuilt. In the last year of the war Linz fell victim to many air raids that caused a substantial number of casualties, demolished buildings and infrastructure. After the end of the war the Hermann Göring Werke were nationalised and renamed to VÖEST and expanded over the following years. So did other factories (e.g. Chemie Holding), and Linz became a symbol and flagship of industrial production in Austria – the steel city -, which it remained until far into the 1970s.[95] After Vienna

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90 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 93
91 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 9
92 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 121
93 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 121
94 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 122
95 cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 138

Linz was the second biggest industrial production center in Austria during these years. However, the economic crisis in the 1970s brought the upswing to a sudden end, with the state-owned VÖEST being hit especially hard. The economic downturn led to residents and workers increasingly criticising the bad living conditions, especially the environmental pollution caused by the dirty industrial production. Linz was a synonym for bad air quality at that time. Even worse, it was subject of frequent jokes from non-Linzers, especially from Viennese cabaret artists, who were making fun of Linz' appearance as a grey, dull and provincial industrial city.[96]

Throughout the 1980s awareness for the environmental damage due to the emissions of an old-fashioned heavy industry was on the rise and finally the issue ended up on the political agenda.[97] Political campaigns set the goal for Linz to become the cleanest industrial city of Austria, which – as Katzinger describes – was considered a joke back then but in fact quickly became reality.[98]

It was around the early 1980s when Linz was about the become not only a cleaner industrial city, but also a place that has other characteristics. The bad image was increasingly considered as a problem. The early days of re-imaging measures of Linz will be described in more detail in the next chapter, but Linz was certainly on the up when it comes to the creation of cultural facilities. Already in the 1970s institutions like the Brucknerhaus for classical concerts and Stadtwerkstatt for alternative modern culture were opened. The Klangwolke (Cloud of Sounds), a huge once-a-year outdoor concert and sound installation, first happened in 1979. The Posthof, a venue for popular concerts, opened in 1984, the Ars Electronica digital arts festival started in 1987 – so did the annual Pflasterspektakel street festival – and other cultural institutions followed. Linz slowly opened up to the world and took more and more steps to improve its appearance, create attractions and get a better image.

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96 cf. Janko, 2004, p. 608
97   cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 148 and Janko, 2004, p. 611
98   cf. Katzinger, 2008, p. 148

4.2.2 Image Strategy

The city of Linz considers itself a pioneer of city marketing[99] in Austria. As a result of the prolonged economic crisis of the industrial sector in Linz, and the bad quality of life in the city due to pollution, the city started to take first image-building measures in the mid-1980s. Reinhart Haslinger of Haslinger-Keck marketing agency, that has worked for Linz since 1989, says: „In Austria, Linz was a symbol for environmental pollution and a region in crisis. There were no cultural attractions, no tourism, but rather the aura of an amorphous provincial town that has grown too quickly.“[100] However, „the actual situation in Linz did not correspond to the bad media image of the city“[101], Karin Frohner, head of the Linz communication department says in an interview conducted for this paper.

Fig. 1: 1989 Linz logo

Fig. 2: 1989 Linz advertising sujet

The first image campaign arrived in 1989 when the air over Linz was already mostly cleared from pollutants. The commonly perceived necessity for working on the image of the city is reflected by a political resolution to invest in image campaigns, which was supported by all parties and members of the city council.[102] With a new logo and a new slogan (see Fig. 1), saying „Linz comes to live“, the city presented itself with an advertising campaign. The motif (see Fig. 2 as an example) evolved around associations of arts, style and urbaneness, thwarting the stereotypes of a dull industrial city with

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99   Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2012, p. 2
100 Haslinger, 2012
101 Frohner, 2012
102 cf. Frohner, 2012

little appeal. However, it is difficult to imagine that this showcased image of the city was readily accepted as it was significantly different from what Linz was associated with before. According to official documents this first campaign – by definition rather a simple promotion campaign than a strategic marketing or branding effort – was mainly targeted to local audiences and meant to change the consciousness of the population of the city itself. „Away from the dirty, old steel city image, towards a liveable, economically prospering and culturally interesting city appearance"[103], it says in an official account. „We started with an analysis of the actual condition of Linz and – on this foundation – developed guidelines how to position Linz. Three key strenghts were defined: Economy, culture and quality of life."[104] Despite some progress in this sector the environment was not taken into account yet as a strength of Linz. The 1989 campaign marks the shift from a rather defensive communication strategy – apologizing for and reacting to the unpopular characteristics of the city – to a positive one – focussing on the strenghts of the place.

From today's point of view this first promotional campaign anticipates – or rather lays the foundation for – the development of Linz and its marketing strategy in the coming 20 years. Although there were measures taken around the same time that changed the city physically – e.g. cleaner air and more cultural offers – the promotion concept and the physical development did not result from a concerted strategic effort but can rather be considered as a first step towards strategic image communication. Yet it seemed clear that a physical improvement of the quality of life in Linz had to be followed by a „radical image change"[105]. Both Karin Frohner and Reinhart Haslinger describe the first campaign as a milestone in the development of the city.[106] The corporate design that was created in 1989 was continuously used with the same logo and slogan until the year of the European Capital of Culture 2009.

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103 Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2012, p. 5 (own translation; original: „Raus aus dem verdreckten, alten Stahlstadtimage, hin zu einem lebenswerten, wirtschaftlich prosperierenden und kulturell interessanten Stadterscheinungsbild.")
104 Frohner, 2012
105 Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2012, p. 5 (own translation: original: „ein radikaler Imagewandel")
106 cf. Frohner, 2012 and Haslinger, 2012

This campaign as a first step of the re-imaging strategy of Linz can be considered as the beginning of the narrative of a „new" Linz. This „new" city is supposed to shake off all historic weight, be it its involvement in the Second World War as Hitler's beloved home town or the reputation as a centre of dirty industrial production. Unlike other Austrian cities such as Vienna or Salzburg, who heavily draw on their past and focus much less on contemporary culture, Linz decided to re-start in the late 1980s. Marketing guidelines clearly show that Linz doesn't want to be associated with any historic images, be it architecture, traditional clothing or Mozartkugeln[107]. „A key question we asked was: How is Linz different from other cities?", Reinhart Haslinger says. „We then came up with the idea to present Linz as the most dynamic, future-oriented city in Austria."[108] The deliberate differentiation from classic Austrian imagery – imperial, traditional, nature-oriented – put Linz in a rather unique position, at least within the country.

After targeting the local population with the first promotion campaign, attempting to raise the self-esteem of Linzers and fostering a more positive perception of the city, Linz launched a project called „Stadt auf Reisen" („City on the road"), with which city marketers attempted to raise awareness for the transformation of Linz in other Austrian cities, namely Graz, Salzburg and Vienna. An exhibition and presentation of Linz in a big tent on major squares of the three cities showcased Linz' new attractions and characteristics to people from other parts of Austria. „The initial image change from the ugly duckling to an at least interesting place happened more quickly then anybody expected"[109], Reinhart Haslinger says. The changing trend was documented through market research and, according to Haslinger and Frohner, clearly visible.[110]

After the success of the initial steps towards re-imaging Linz the campaign was continued for several years, with changing motifs and some minor projects attached to it. In terms of physical development the 1990s brought little change when it comes to cultural offers. However, important renewal activities were carried out in the central city and the old town and the environmental conditions improved further. In 2004 Linz

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107 cf. Stadtkommunkation Linz, 2006, pp. 24-25
108 Haslinger, 2012
109 Haslinger, 2012
110 cf. Frohner, 2012 and Haslinger, 2012

applied for becoming European Capital of Culture in 2009, when an Austrian city was to be given the title. In 2005 the European Council awards the title to Linz, and a second phase of re-imaging the city kicks off. After having carried out advertising and promotion campaigns for nearly one and a half decades the prospect of big investments in cultural facilities and projects as well as increased national and international attention leads to a more strategic examination of the possibilities for the image of Linz. At this point the strategies of the city shift away from a merely promotional approach towards an integrated branding approach.

In 2006 – as a preparation for the year as Capital of Culture in 2009 – the first „brand workshop" was held by the Linz department of communication. In the document resulting from this workshop mayor Franz Dobusch describes Linz as „adventurous, visionary, open and modern"[111], but also states that there is still more potential in terms of clear positioning and offensive communication work.[112] The report from the workshop documents a process that is usually the initial step of branding strategies: It includes an analysis of the strengths; some key positioning statements (e.g. Linz is a 'drive' city, indicating that forward-oriented dynamics at work in Linz); major qualities of the city, a „force-field" with several layers of what makes the brand distinguishable and how it can be communicated; other successful (city-)branding examples; target markets; ideas of how Linz can be represented in movies, pictures, products, buildings, traditions, and colours; briefings and guidelines for communication regarding culture, tourism and economy; and a Linz-brand-check in the end where the most important points are repeated for everyday use.

The slogan and the logo remain the same as in 1989, yet the process appears much more complex and involves many actors from the mayor to other political representatives, authorities, businesses, marketers; but no general public. Critics will find many simplifications, misrepresentations, invalid judgements and exaggerated optimism in such a document, but from a professional point of view it is a significant step towards an approach that integrates different sides of the city, a variety of characteristics and

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111 Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2006, p. 3
112 cf. Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2006, p. 3

opinions. The workshop-report issues practical guidelines for all public bodies and agencies involved in the promotion and representation of Linz and thus widens its scope. However, despite the increased number of stakeholders involved in the process of strategically planning the re-imaging work in Linz is essentially based on a top-down approach without significant public participation or debate. The stakeholders involved are all directly connected to the City of Linz through economic or political ties.

When it comes to the actual content of the 2006 „brand workshop"-report the strategy remains close to the key issues already defined 17 years earlier. Culture, economy and quality of life are still considered as the most important columns of the Linz image, with every column including a number of sub-themes. Referring to the 2006 workshop Karin Frohner speaks of a „sharpening"[113] of the positioning of the city with regard to the upcoming Capital of Culture year. Despite the initial confirmation of the existing corporate identity in 2006, the city decided to review its logo, slogan, campaigns and communication strategy soon after and eventually presented a new corporate identity in 2008.

From „Linz - Eine Stadt lebt auf" („Linz – A City comes to Life") the slogan was adapted to „Linz. Verändert" (both „Linz. Changed" and „Linz. Changes"; see Fig. 3), which is designed to be a statement about the past development and a promise to visitors of the city.[114] In the year of Barack Obama's presidential campaign „change" was a word with an almost exclusively positive connotation. Its inherent meaning is neutral, but with a troubled past or present in mind it becomes a synonym of the hope for a better future. In the case of Linz change on the one hand describes the physical and psychological development of the city from place characterized by industrial production and pollution to a thriving cultural city. It implicitly tells audiences that the city might represent something else – of course better – than they expect. On the other hand the slogan approaches people on an individual scale by indicating that experiencing Linz changes them personally. The slogan operates on an emotional level and at the same time refers to tangible developments that actually happen. It adds a chapter to the narrative of the

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113 Frohner, 2012
114 cf. Stadtkommunikation Linz, 2012, p. 7

„new" Linz started in 1989 by proclaiming that the transformation of the city has come to point where it is considered completed. The city has changed, the mentality of its inhabitants has changed, and a visit of Linz now will change you as well, is the inherent message of the slogan, ending with a classic „call to action".

Fig. 3: 2008 Linz Logo   *Fig. 4: 2009 Linz advertising sujet*

Linz' position „against the traditional, internationally accepted but obsolescent clichés of Austria as a whole – Alpine sunsets, the magic of mountain chalets, Mozart, Sissi, the Lippizaners"[115] was again confirmed and amplified by the motifs for the campaign for 2009. As key picture motif a fried egg was chosen with the yolk forming the „0" of „09" (see Fig. 4), which added an arty weirdness to the image of Linz. The communications campaign for 2009 started in 2007 already with a one-and-a-half-year logo launch campaign. The aim was to introduce the corporate design of „Linz09", to spread information and to fuel excitement for the ECC year. Then a positioning campaign set in in the second half of 2008, which included press conferences, commercials, image films, exhibitions and media promotion. The final weeks of 2008 were devoted to the „Big Bang", the opening of the European Capital of Culture on December 31, 2008. During the year 2009 itself communication was mostly designed to promote the actual elements of the programme.

Apart from minor shifts in the positioning of the city the campaigns designed especially for the Linz09 project were in line with the guidelines issued in 2006 at the first brand

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115 Linz 2009, 2010a

development workshop. Instead of economy, culture and quality of life as main pillars industry, nature and culture were focused upon during and before the ECC year. However, intersections between the previous and the new strategy are high so this can be considered a small alteration rather than a remarkable change of strategy. The conceptual work for the ECC campaign also included the artistic director of Linz09, Martin Heller, as well as a number of other people involved in the planning of the 2009-events, thus the creative input came from different sources than during other Linz campaigns.

In terms of numbers the ECC project was certainly successful and Linz recorded a plus of 10 per cent in overnight stays[116] as well as an increased media-coverage from all over the world – with a high share from the German-speaking countries[117]. „With the European Capital of Culture it was possible for us the send out a signal internationally, and to be perceived as an interesting city in international media.“[118], Reinhart Haslinger says. According to Haslinger it is a difficult task to refine the brand of Linz after the ECC year, when attention will unavoidably decline again[119] - even more so since budgets for branding, marketing and communications tend to shrink in times of economic crisis that also hit Linz.[120] For this reason another „brand workshop“ was conducted in 2011 with largely the same approach as in 2006. The currently unreleased report presenting the results of this workshop highlights past achievements and introduces a new approach towards defining the positioning of Linz: the big picture. The big picture is described as a dictionary of the brand Linz, a tool that helps associate the brand with certain terms.[121] Again three pillars are used, and again they represent economy, culture and quality of life, whereas die 2009-combination of industry, culture and nature has been abandoned. Every pillar is related to some descriptive, yet rather generic words, such as „fairplay“, „festival“, „venues“, „feeling of security“, „advantage“, and so on.[122] The following pages of the short report draw on the results of the previous „brand workshop“ in 2006 without

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116 cf. Linz 2009, 2010b
117 cf. Linz 2009, 2010c
118 Haslinger, 2012
119 cf. Haslinger, 2012
120 cf. Frohner, 2012
121 cf. Stadtkommunikation, 2012, p. 12
122 cf. Stadtkommunikation, 2012, p. 13

striking new elements. In the end it is recommended to people who represent Linz to design every communication about Linz with the adjectives „independent", „self-confident", „innovative" and „offensive" in mind. As in 2006 the participants of the workshop included politicians, representatives from authorities, businesses that are related to the city, the tourism board and city marketers, yet no representatives from the general public or from cultural organisation that are not directly linked to the City of Linz.

Summarising the past 23 years of re-imaging strategies of Linz, there are two clearly recognizable milestones. First, the start of image-building measures in 1989 with a promotion campaign and initial efforts to create a distinguishable reputation for the city along with a corporate identity, and second, the period from 2006 to 2009 with the preparation for the European Capital of Culture, the first „brand workshop" including the formulation of guidelines and examples of how Linz should be represented as a brand, and a new, updated corporate identity. The narrative that was introduced in 1989 – Linz as a changing and dynamic city that has less and less to do with its past reputation – was developed further up to the ECC year. The end of 2009, however, could mark also the end of this story of the changing city. The transformation seems completed and the challenge for the department of communication and other involved stakeholders is to either develop the same narrative line further or switch to another strategy. None of those opportunities has been addressed in the 2011-workshop, instead the image strategy of Linz appears to remain rather continuous.

4.2.3 Quantitative Analysis

As described in chapter 4.1 a quantitative media content analysis was conducted for this thesis, the results of which will be briefly presented on the following pages. The sample of texts for this analysis includes all articles published in the newspapers The Guardian, The Observer and the online platform guardian.co.uk (also including articles published in The Observer) that refer to Linz from 1991 to 2011. Every text containing a reference

to Linz was then sorted by year, type of text and newspaper department. Additionally some keywords that frequently appeared in relation to Linz were counted as well and sorted by year. The total sample for this analysis contains 292 articles.

The first graph shows the evolution of the number of articles referring to Linz over 20 years.

Articles referring to Linz
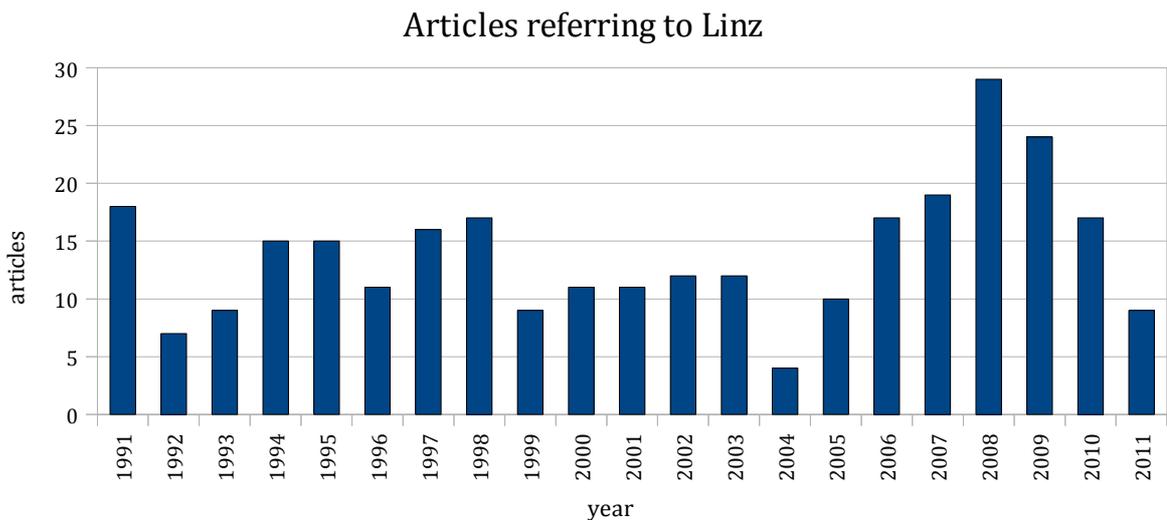
Fig. 5: Articles referring to Linz

From 1991 to 2011 Linz reaches an average of 14 references in The Guardian annually. Up until 2006 the numbers fluctuate from a low of 4 to a high of 18, from 2006 onwards the impact of the European Capital of Culture year is clearly visible. Yet the peak does not occur in 2009 but in 2008 with 29 references. This may be due to th high number of pre-event coverage and the strategic focus of Linz to promote the start of the ECC year. Therefore many newspaper articles were published at the end of 2008 already. Overall the numbers appear rather low and stable, given that the amount of total content produced by The Guardian significantly and continuously increased with the start of its online platform guardian.co.uk in 1999.
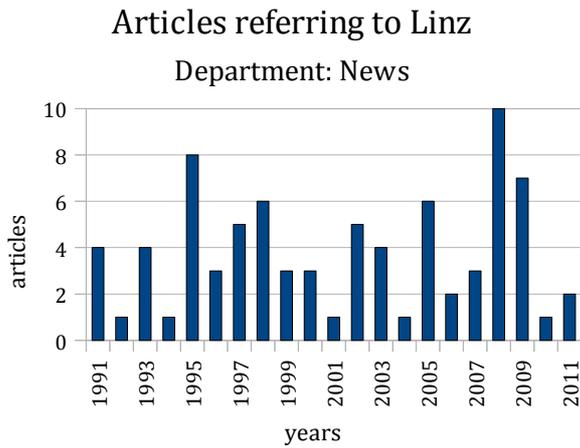
Fig. 6: News articles referring to Linz
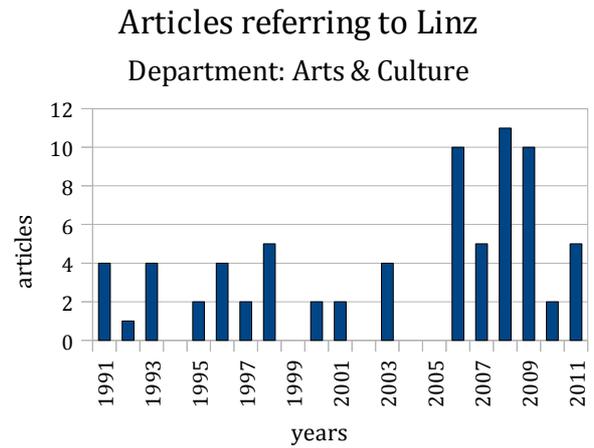
Fig. 7: Arts & Culture articles referring to Linz
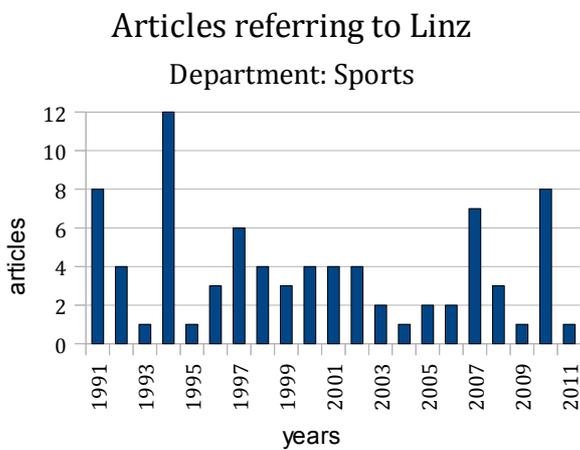
Fig. 8: Sports articles referring to Linz

Fig. 9: Travel articles referring to Linz

Sorted by newspaper departments Linz receives an annual average of 4 news articles and three articles in the arts and culture section. Both graphs peak in 2008 at 10 and 11 references respectively. There are never more than 5 articles referring to Linz in the arts and culture section except for the years 2006, 2008 and 2009, which shows an obvious relation to the Capital of Culture year. News articles show a higher fluctuation across the whole sample period with lows at only 1 and a high at 8 articles per year. These figures suggest that Linz is not a primary place of interest for the journalists at The Guardian. It needs special events or news for Linz to pop up in such an international newspaper.

Sports news (Fig. 8) is usually dominated by football. As Austria's league is not among the European top leagues and Linz did not continuously have a club in the first league –

let alone in European competitions – the number of articles referring to Linz in the sports section of The Guardian is – with an average of 4 – rather low. The peak in 1994 was mainly due to an increased coverage of the Linz Track & Fields meeting, a number of references also result from the annual WTA tennis tournament. In the travel section Linz was hardly present at all with the exception of 1995 until the awarding of the European Capital of Culture in 2006. Yet after the ECC year Linz completely disappeared again in The Guardian in 2011.

Articles mentioning Linz
by department

Articles mentioning Linz
by type of text
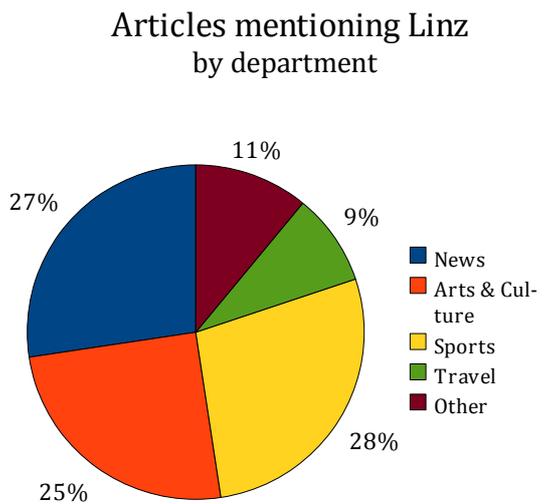
Fig. 10: Articles referring to Linz by department   *Fig. 11: Articles referring to Linz by type of text*
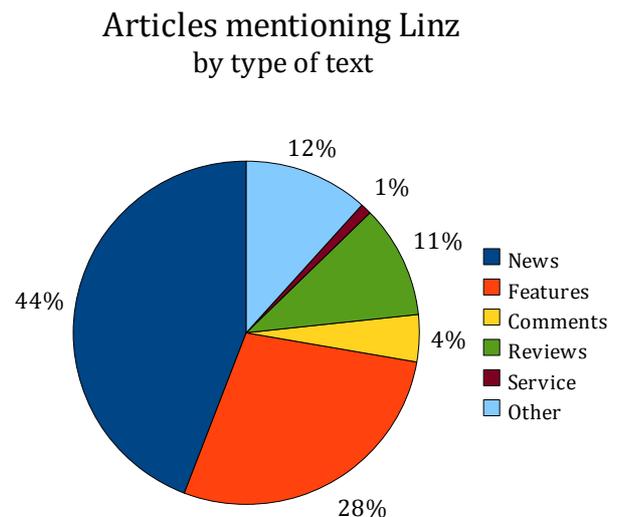
Sports, news and arts & culture each account for around a quarter of the total articles referring to Linz. Travel adds another 9 per cent (Fig. 10). In 2008 and 2009 the share of news, arts & culture as well as travel articles is significantly higher – over a third for news and arts & culture, and well over 10 per cent for travel – whereas the share of sports articles and others is clearly lower in these years.

As a part of this quantitative analysis I also collected the distribution of articles referring to Linz by type of text. Therefore purely informatory news articles, more in-depth features, comments, reviews, service articles, and others were distinguished. The distribution of the total of 292 articles is as follows (Fig. 11):

44 per cent of articles are news articles, with the second biggest group being features (28 per cent). Reviews, comments, service articles and other types of texts are of minor importance. Yet these total numbers from 1991 to 2011 do not show the big fluctuations among the statistical values over the years.

The way news is covered by media might follow certain rules, yet when newsworthy things happen is only predictable to a certain degree. Information about events such as the European Capital of Culture are available way before its start, therefore it is easy to predict a higher amount of references of the city in relation to such news. Other news are completely surprising and unexpected, especially everyday news such as crime or accidents. As a result the news-graph below shows a rather chaotic distribution:
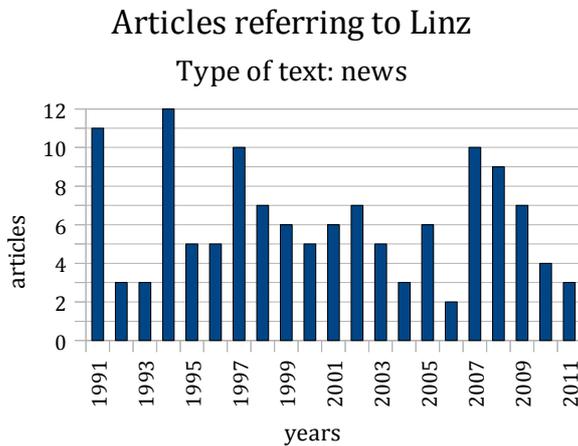
Fig. 12: News (type) articles referring to Linz
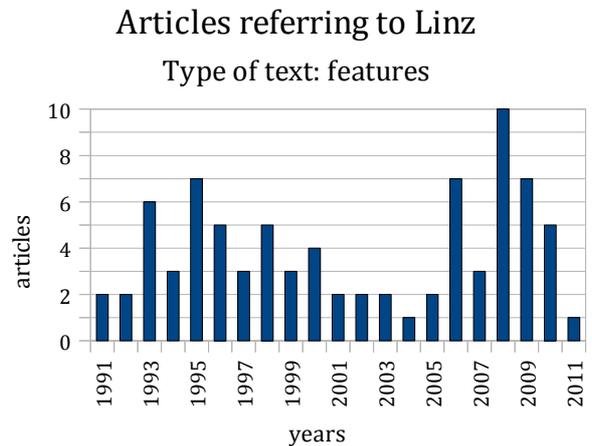
Fig. 13 Feature articles referring to Linz

References to Linz in news articles (Fig. 12) range from 2 to 12 per year with no clear pattern visible. Features (Fig. 13), however, are often detached from everyday news and it is easier to see a similar development as in several graphs of the previous section: Peaking values before and during the Capital of Culture year 2009.

During the research it became apparent that some keywords were frequently referred to in relation to Linz. The appearance of a keyword in an article where Linz is mentioned does not technically indicate any relation between the keyword and the city as it is only a quantitative analysis at this stage, yet for the five keywords chosen there is little doubt that they are used in relation to Linz. The keywords are „Hitler", „European Capital of

Culture", „Ars Electronica" (an annually held electronic arts festival in Linz), „Mozart" and „LASK" (the biggest Linz-based football club). The most popular keyword among these was „Hitler", which appeared in 24 per cent of all articles where Linz was referred to. Since 2002 the „European Capital of Culture" was referred to 10 times, which accounts for 6,5 per cent of all articles. The keyword „Mozart" appears in 12 per cent of all articles, while „Ars Electronica" and „LASK" appear in less than 5 per cent of all articles respectively.

The following graphs show the distribution of the keywords „Hitler" (Fig. 14), „Mozart" (Fig. 15) and „European Capital of Culture" (Fig. 16) over the sample period:

Articles referring to keyword "Hitler"
as percentage of all articles
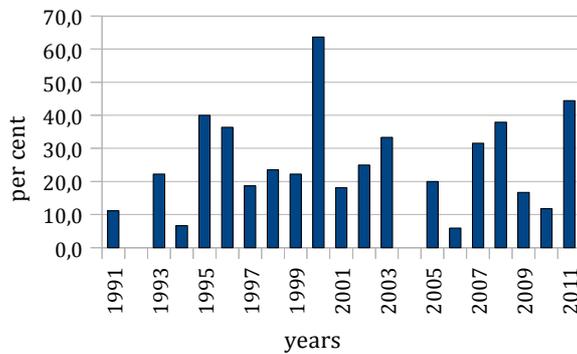
Fig. 14: Articles referring to keyword „Hitler"

Articles referring to keyword "Mozart"
as percentage of all articles
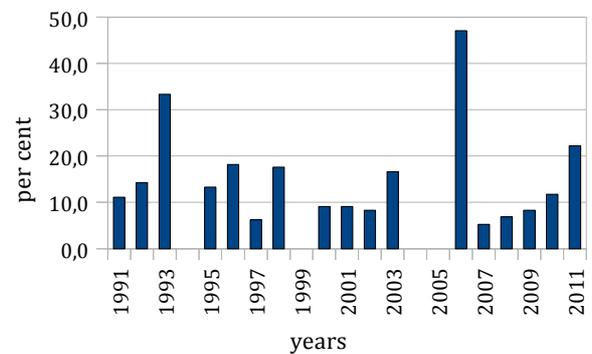
Fig. 15: Articles referring to keyword „Mozart"

Articles referring to keyword "European Capital of Culture"
as percentage of all articles
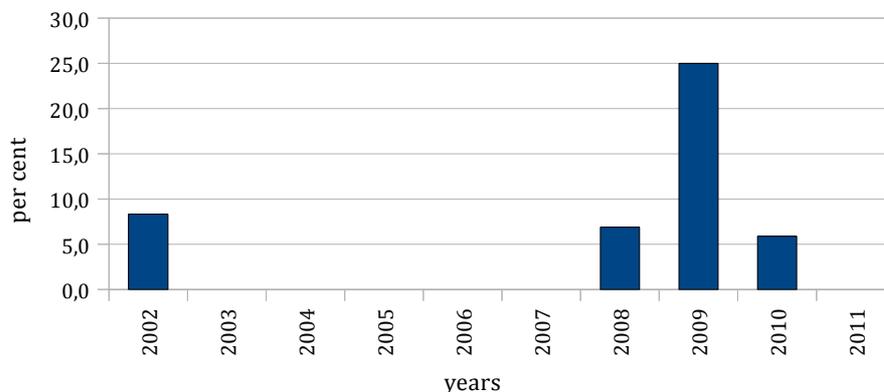
Fig. 16: Articles referring to keyword „European Capital of Culture"

One of four articles referring to Linz also mentions Adolf Hitler, in peak periods the number is even higher. In 2000 – for example – more than 60 per cent of articles from the sample include both words, without any obvious reason in terms of news value (e.g. the opening of an exhibition). The percentages do not suggest a clearly identifiable trend over these 20 years, the keyword seems to be present constantly, yet to a varying degree. The same holds true for the keywords „Mozart". The composer regularly visited the city throughout his life, he repeatedly spent short periods of time in Linz and also wrote a Linz Symphony as well as a Linz Sonata. References to Mozart in texts where Linz also appears are in most cases related to the Linz Symphony or to Mozart pieces performed in the city. With a varying frequency Mozart is continuously present in texts referring to Linz.

The „European Capital of Culture" first appears in 2002 in texts referring to Linz. It is no surprise that the appearance of this keyword peaks in 2009, where a quarter of articles include both Linz and the Capital of Culture.

The bare numbers suggest a rather low coverage of Linz in general. The trend is rather stable and the European Capital of Culture in 2009 appears to be an exception without visible long-term effects when it comes to newspaper references to the city.

4.2.4   Qualitative Analysis

In the next step of empirical research I will present the results of the qualitative analysis regarding the media coverage of The Guardian about Linz. As I've outlined the development of the number of articles referring to Linz as well as the appearance of some keywords in relation to the city, the research interest now is to find out contexts and especially attributes that are associated with Linz, and whether they paint a positive, negative or neutral picture of the city.

The sample periods for this step are the years 1991, 2001, 2008 and 2011, which results in a total sample of 67 articles in which Linz was referred to 109 times. The year 2008 was included because it is the year with the highest number of articles referring to Linz between 1991 and 2011, and it is the year before Linz was European Capital of Culture which produced a lot of pre-event coverage. Given all this extra attention 2008 can be considered as both an exceptional and a key year for the description of the media coverage of Linz.
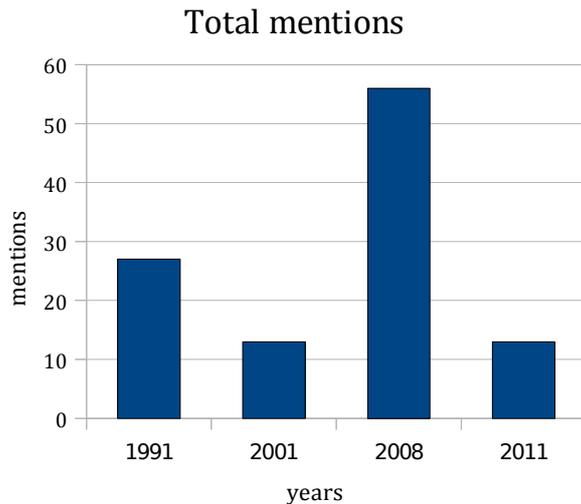
Fig. 17: Linz: Total references *Fig. 18 Linz: Average score*
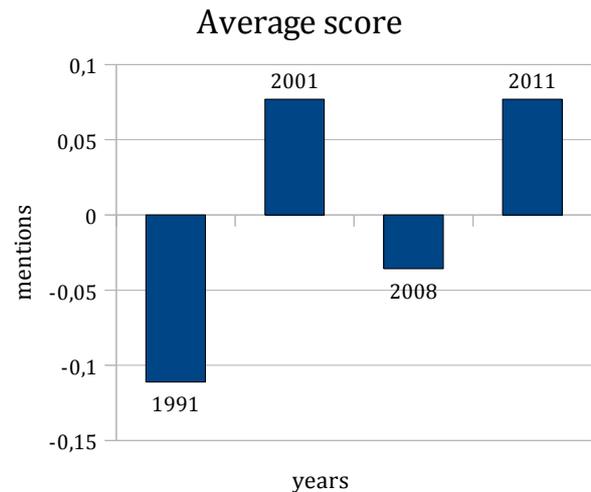
The first two graphs above present a rather complex picture that does not allow clear interpretations. The number of total references in all articles (Fig. 17) is – not surprisingly – highest in 2008, yet as we've seen in Fig. 16 only 6,5 per cent of all articles refer to the Capital of Culture in this year. A more detailed look at the actual texts on which this analysis is based shows that indeed many references are related to the European Capital of Culture, but they are concentrated in only two articles. Yet where does the high number of articles referring to Linz come from in this year? 2008 was the year where the big criminal case of the paedophile Josef Fritzl was uncovered. The story received a lot of international attention and most reports also focused on Fritzl's past. He lived in Linz for a while and was convicted and sent to jail for his first crime there. Thus, 2008 brought a lot of negative coverage for Linz due to the relation to the criminal history of Josef Fritzl, but it also brought very positive coverage through the European Capital of Culture. The rather high numbers in 1991 are the result of an increased

number of sports coverage, whereas in 2001 and 2011 literally no big news happened in or in relation to Linz. The low numbers of 2011 indicate that the European Capital of Culture failed to create long-term interest in the city by international media.

When it comes to opinions expressed and attributes associated with Linz (Fig. 18) the numerically low average score in all four years suggests that Linz is presented in a rather neutral light. Surprisingly the two years with the smallest amount of total references – 2001 and 2011 – have the most positive score. However, also in 1991 and 2008 the average is only minimally negative. The evaluation of Linz appears to be strongly dependent on the context it appears in, and the city seems to not have a strong reputation of its own.
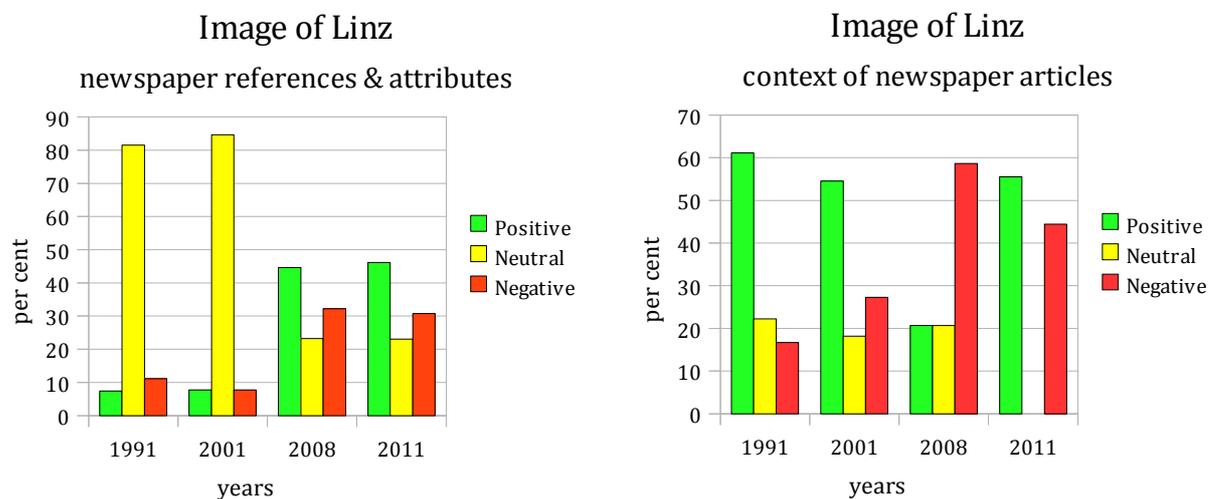
Fig. 19: Image of Linz: newspaper references & attributes Fig. 20: Image of Linz: context newspaper articles

Fig. 19 shows the distribution of the opinions and attributes among the mentions of Linz in the sample period. This graphs makes a clear evolution visible: Both positive and negative references were clearly increasing, whereas the number of neutral ones significantly decreased. Linz seems to have become more polarising, with a tendency towards the positive side of the spectrum. A higher number of positive or negative references instead of neutral ones may also suggest a more pronounced examination of the city in the media, as neutral references often do not present any relevant information about a place to the reader.

In Fig. 20 the context of all articles referring to Linz during the case study years is presented. In 3 out of 4 years more than 50 per cent of articles referring to Linz were written about „positive news" (e.g. arts, sports, culture). Surprisingly only in 2008 „negative news" (e.g. crime, violence) was dominant. As explained above this fact is to a large degree related to the uncovering of the criminal case Josef Fritzl and his connection to Linz. Yet no evident overall trend is visible in this graph. Linz seems to be on the news rather randomly, with the European Capital of Culture being the big exception. There are small hints that Linz09 has left traces in terms of the city becoming more relevant and interesting for international media coverage. One of these hints is that – if Linz appears on the news – it is clearly seen in a more positive light in 2008 and 2011 compared to 1991 and 2001. Moreover the number of articles dealing with the city in detail and presenting its characteristics has clearly increased. Before the ECC title articles where Linz itself was the main topic did not occur at all, but since 2008 there have been several.

4.3   Case Study: Bilbao

Bilbao lies in the autonomous region of the Basque Country in the north of Spain. The city is the capital of the province of Biscay and holds a population of 354.071 people.[123] Bilbao is the 10th largest city in Spain but has ranked higher in the past with well over 400,000 inhabitants in the 1980s. The metropolitan area of Bilbao has around one million inhabitants and is an important political, economic and cultural centre. As a port city Bilbao became a commercial hub soon after its foundation and experienced rapid industrialisation in the 19th century. As in many other industrial cities the economic situation worsened in the 1970s and Bilbao was forced to deal with consequences such as high unemployment and depriving neighbourhoods. In the 1990s, however, the city started a regeneration programme – with the Guggenheim Museum as a flagship – and is now an immensely popular example of cultural renewal of industrial cities.

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123 cf. Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 2010

4.3.1   History

In the medieval age Bilbao was a small fishing village by the river Nervión, some ten kilometres from the Bay of Biscay. In 1300 this settlement was being granted the status of a city by the ruler of the Kingdom of Castile. However, the province of the Basque Country was autonomous in terms of its legal system already back then. Many institutions and laws that have been introduced at that time exist until the present days.[124] Bilbao experienced economic development thanks to its strategic location and became a commercial and maritime centre with a growing population. Commercial activities and the proximity to the pilgrims route towards Santiago de Compostela also brought cultural enrichment to the city.[125] In 1452 Bilbao received special trading rights, which further boosted the economy and made the city become a rich hub and seaport connecting Spain with other European Countries and the Americas.

As population grew the old Casco Viejo district had to be expanded and a new Cathedral was built (Catedral de Santiago). Up until the early 19th century Bilbao continued its growth and economic development, yet never became a truly big city. Before industrialisation set in Bilbao had a population of around 10.000 inhabitants.[126] Throughout the 19th century, however, the city would „truly transform"[127], as the official website of the city states. Mineral deposits were exploited and brought considerable wealth to the city, iron and steel as well as shipbuilding industries appeared and as a result also Bilbao's port became more and more important. In 1838 the first iron industry plant opened, in 1857 a railway company emerged and in the same year the Banco de Bilbao was founded.[128] „By the turn of the century, industrial growth was accompanied by the development of major service sector companies, especially in commerce and finance."[129] As many other industrial cities in Europe Bilbao's population grew rapidly in the 19th century and reached 80.000 by 1900, which is eight times the amount of 100 years before. This growth of population naturally led to an urban

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124 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 5
125 cf. Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 2005
126 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 6
127 Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 2005
128 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 6
129 Plöger, 2007, p. 6

expansion, which mainly took place on the other side of river Nervión. The Ensanche area was created and soon became the new centre of the city.[130] At this time many prestigious buildings projects were launched, including wide promenades, the Plaza Nueva, the City Hall and Arriage Theatre.[131] Inspired by Paris and Vienna such beautification measures are typical for expanding, economically prospering and culturally thriving 19th-century cities. Bilbao's official website describes the city at the beginning of the 20th century as „the great economic icon of the Basque Country" and as being „among the most important cities in the State"[132].

After the Spanish civil war Bilbao and the Basque Country lost their state as an autonomous region in 1939 and Franco's dictatorship suppressed the local culture and language. The foundation of ETA, a nationalist and violent movement fighting for Basque autonomy, in 1959 was a direct reaction to the loss of regional rights. Yet during the Franco-years Bilbao experienced another phase of industrialisation.[133] The 1950s and 1960s saw the influx of heavy manufacturing industries, which strengthened „Bilbao's role as one of Spain's leading industrial cities"[134]. The city's population continued to grow enormously and increased by 500 per cent from 1900 to 1970, reaching well over 400,000 inhabitants.[135] The high growth rates along with the difficult topography along the Nervión led to a densification of settlements, which resulted in bad living conditions in poorer areas. At the same time the armed attacks of ETA had serious effects on Bilbao's attractivity, „frightening off investors, dividing opinions and isolations the city and surroundings for long periods of time from moderating influences"[136]. Even after the end of Franco's dictatorship and the re-introduction of autonomous rights for the Basque Country in 1978 ETA continued its violent campaign for three more decades.

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130 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 7
131 cf. Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 2005
132 Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, 2005
133 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 8
134 Plöger, 2007, p. 8
135 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 7
136 Plöger, 2007, p. 8

Just as most other industrial cities Bilbao was hit hard by the global economic crisis of the 1970s. The recession after the oil-shock in 1973 marked a turning point for the development of the city. However, the political situation at that time in Spain – still ruled by Franco - „delayed the crisis", which „reached (its) peak towards the mid-1980s"[137]. Unemployment rates soared from below 3 per cent up to 25 per cent within ten years and the comparison with Spanish data shows that the situation in Bilbao was even worse than on a national scale.[138] „Severe social problems, intense physical decay and a steep rise in unemployment between 1975 and 1985 were the most visible outcomes of urban decline."[139] Before the crisis Bilbao and the whole Basque Country had focused its economic activities almost exclusively on metallurgy and industries related to it. Everything „gravitated to the heavy engineering industry, up to the point that all economic activity in the province was dependent on it: auxiliary industry, the services network – all of them formed a very well-integrated structure"[140]. As a result of the crisis, that hit this sector and all related industries particularly hard, the numbers of workers employed in manufacturing decreased significantly and continuously, from a high of almost 140.000 in 1975 to well below 100.000 in the 1980s and less than 80.000 in the 1990s.[141] Along with the industrial decline and the unemployment the city of Bilbao began to shrink around 1980 and lost 16 per cent of its population within five years.[142] Environmental pollution, especially of the river Nervión and the soil on the sites of industrial production, increasingly became a problem and the housing conditions deteriorated quickly in the absence of further investment. Bilbao experienced an economic, social and environmental decline in these years that could only partially be extenuated through political measures such as early-retirement-offers for workers who lost their jobs in the state-run steel plants[143]. It was only a question of time until regeneration measures had to be taken. In the next chapter I will explain how Bilbao tackled its problems and the impact these strategies had on the city's development from the 1980s onwards.

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137 Plöger, 2007, p. 10
138 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 10
139 Plöger, 2007, p. 10
140 Gómez, 1998, p. 109
141 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 11
142 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 12
143 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 11

4.3.2 Image Strategy

The difficult times Bilbao experienced in the 1970s and the 1980s are no exception, but rather the rule of urban development of industrial cities during these years. Many cities with a strong industrial sector had to deal with the „typical" problems after the economic crisis and the oil-shock in 1973, including derelict industrial areas, environmental pollution and increasing social troubles. Yet the situation in Bilbao was even more complicated as the crisis coincided with the end of Franco's dictatorship, the creation of a new democracy in Spain and the violent fight for independence of the Basque group Eta. Bilbao was not only an unattractive place for economic activity, but also known for deteriorating living conditions and a difficult political situation. „The name 'Bilbao' conjured in the Spain of the late 1980s the unenviable image of bleak industrial landscapes, tremendous pollution, and terrorism."[144] The initial plans for recovery strategies were conceived in the 1980s and had much less to do with measures improving the image of the city than with physical regeneration. It was at that time when „political leaders at city, provincial and regional levels realised the significance of the structural changes underway"[145] and interacted on the basis of a „cross-cutting political consensus"[146] in order to develop a powerful regeneration strategy. Due to the high degree of autonomy of the Basque Country decision-makers in Bilbao – from the Basque government to the provincial government to the municipality – could easier implement local policies tailored to the situation of the city.[147]

Despite the widespread consensus that measures have to be taken in the 1980s the completion of a strategy required some years of debate. It was only towards the end of the decade that a strategic plan was agreed and its implementation could begin. Although the aims of the decision-makers in Bilbao were quite similar compared to those in Linz, the approach towards solving problems was different and perhaps more systematic from the start. Whereas in Linz change came with a new mayor and

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144 Badescu, 2008
145 Plöger, 2007, p. 15
146 Plöger, 2007, p. 15
147 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 15

successively with single measures to improve the physical situation of the city as well as its image, Bilbao got inspiration from other cities that successfully initiated their transformation in the 1980s and early 1990s. Among those were three Spanish examples (Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla) who focused on project-led urban regeneration and hosted large-scale events (Olympic Games, European Capital of Culture, World Exhibition) that put them firmly on the international map and went along with significant investments in the urban infrastructure.[148] Other examples of successful regeneration – starting from a more similar situation to Bilbao – included Baltimore and Glasgow. With those model cases in mind the political bodies in Bilbao and the Basque Country formulated strategic goals for the future development of the city and founded two agencies to realize the plans: Bilbao Metrópoli-30 in 1991 and Bilbao Ría 2000 in 1992.

The former agency was supposed to „act as a facilitator for the regeneration process and to promote the objectives set by the strategic plan"[149]. Thus the agency was involved both in implementing projects that physically changed the city, and in the image promotion of Bilbao. Within the first few years, i.e. the first half of the 1990s, image measures in terms of communication or advertising campaigns played only a minor role with the exception of Bilbao Turismo, which was created in 1992 in order to promote Bilbao as a tourist and business traveller destination. Apart from that the city focused on physical regeneration in order to build a foundation for a more positive future development. Four main fields of action were defined in the founding documents of Bilbao Metrópoli-30[150]:

–   Inner-city urban renewal
–   Environmental intervention
–   Formation of a knowledge-based high-tech sector
–   Culture-led regeneration

148 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 17
149 Plöger, 2007, p. 16
150 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 16

The choice of these fields of actions is very closely related to the critical issues that were identified in the first strategic plan for Bilbao in 1991, which include the investment in human resources, the creation of a service economy and modern industry, improved mobility and accessibility, environmental regeneration, urban regeneration (housing, infrastructure, landmarks), cultural centrality, coordinated management by public and private actors, and social actions.[151] Bilbao Metrópoli-30 was conceived as a partnership between public and private sector. The second agency, Bilbao Ría 2000, was formed in 1992 and was initially responsible for the management of large-scale projects involving former industral land by the river Nervión. Subsequently its competences have been expanded to other areas not located directly by the river. Bilbao Ría 2000 is a public body that operates like a private company and involves all political bodies relevant for the development of Bilbao.[152]

The initial years of regeneration measures in Bilbao clearly show the city's focus on improving the physical situation in the city, the quality of life and the economic prospects. Sara González describes these years as the first of two phases of urban regeneration in Bilbao.[153] Major projects of physical development included the cleaning of the river, the relocation of port activities from the city towards the sea, the renewal of inner city areas and the creation of a new underground system. Very little attention has been paid to promotional measures, advertising, image-building campaigns or creating a corporate identity until way into the noughties. From a marketing perspective the city concentrated on the improvement of the 'product' rather than on communicating values, visions or a city image. Many other cities, including Linz, opted for more parallel strategies including both physical regeneration and image-building campaigns together with brand development.

For the realisation of one of the first large-scale projects, the new metro system, Bilbao adopted a strategy that would become emblematic for further redevelopment projects in Bilbao itself and in many other cities. The internationally acclaimed British architect

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151 cf. Bilbao Metrópoli-30
152 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 18
153 González, 2006, p. 844

Norman Foster was hired to design the stations of the first new metro line, which was completed and inaugurated in 1995. Jörg Plöger defines the metro line as „particularly important for Bilbao's regeneration process. It was the first major project to be completed and gave confidence to the residents that recovery was possible."[154] Similar to the development in Linz the crucial turning point in the development of the Bilbao was reached through political action first and a successive positive shift in the attitude and confidence of the residents regarding their city. High quality design and architecture became a standard feature of successive projects in Bilbao and helped create attention locally, nationally and also internationally without still conducting classic communication and advertising campaigns.

During the works on the metro line the Bilbao Ría 2000 agency developed regeneration plans – according to the strategic plan for the revitalization of Bilbao – for four opportunity areas, two of which were located by the river. Abandodoibarra, a brownfield area previously used for harbour business and railway buildings, was the most central of these opportunity areas and should become the most famous one. Again a renowned architect was hired for the master plan of the area (Cesar Pelli), and again the money for the development was mostly public money as the private sector was still „very cautious about investing"[155] in Bilbao. For Sara González these developments already belong to a second phase[156] of urban regeneration in Bilbao, although some of the characteristics she attributes to this period also applied to the creation of the metro line. According to González a previously well integrated collective strategy with two newly founded agencies working on the basis of a – legally however non-binding – strategic plan gave way to a fragmented and market-driven approach.[157] Much emphasis was „placed on symbolic resources such as city marketing or attracting world-renowned architects"[158]. Yet this process did not start in the late 1990s, but already at the beginning of the decade when principal regeneration measures were conceived and developed. Although official documents do not specifically mention the integration of star architects this

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154 Plöger, 2007, p. 21
155 Plöger, 2007, p. 19
156 cf. González, 2006, p. 844
157 cf. González, 2006, p. 844
158 González, 2006, p. 844

strategy was being followed already with Norman Foster designing metro stations, a project launched in 1988, and Frank Gehry designing the Guggenheim Museum in 1993. The distinction of two phases of urban renewal outlined by González thus seems questionable. Instead Bilbao's strategy appears rather cohesive throughout the 1990s with a clear focus on physical redevelopment and signature projects involving high-quality design and architecture. Even the close relation with private-sector actors was part of the concept from the beginning, although investors were timid up until the Abandoibarra conference centre which was opened in 1999.

If the metro brought the re-development of Bilbao on the way, the Guggenheim Museum has certainly become the flagship of the process. There is no doubt that it is among the most cited and most discussed buildings of the past decades and has drawn huge scientific interest from architects, urbanists and other disciplines. The Guggenheim Museum was a project initiated in 1991 at the beginning of Bilbao's shift from a declining industrial to a post-industrial city with a positive perspective. It can be considered as a classic flagship project, located in an exposed area by the water and meant to draw local, national and international attention on the city as well as spur other investments and the development of a modern service industry. Jeremy MacClancy lists three main arguments the Basque Government used to defend the project against its many critics[159]: First, the Guggenheim foundation and its extensive and high-quality collection of 20th century arts were considered a perfect partner for establishing a modern arts museum in the Basque Country. Second, the museum was seen as an important component to improve the image of the city and as an emblematic building for Bilbao, similar to the Sydney Opera House for Sydney. Third, the museum was part of a larger strategy to transform Bilbao into a centre for service industries, high-tech and tourism. Given the huge and exclusively public expenses related to the museum its construction was contested from the beginning. In addition it served as a prime example for critics of the increasing tendencies of urban decision-makers to act like private companies and evaluate projects purely in economic terms.

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159 cf. MacClancy, 1997, p. 92

However, the effects of the museum for the image of the city and its economic development are mostly considered positive.[160] The international attention the museum building received – an attention that spilled over on the city as well – coined the term „Bilbao effect" for the regeneration of a city through cultural flagship projects. In the first years after the opening of the museum Bilbao received 43 per cent more international tourists and 20 per cent more national tourists annually[161] and surpassed San Sebastian, which was the most popular Basque tourist destination until then. The number of airport passengers in Bilbao has increased sharply, employment in the service sector has grown as has the number of business visitors.[162] Beatriz Plaza argues that the evaluation of a publicly-funded cultural building such as the Guggenheim Bilbao depends on the positive externalities it generates, which in turn are related to its uniqueness and the publicity it receives.[163] At least in its first years the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao scores very high in both categories and as a result generates considerable positive externalities for the city. The building is often called 'iconic' and became the most shown image of Bilbao from scratch. Plaza also calculates a positive Return-on-Investment for the Guggenheim Museum[164]. It is „undeniable that Bilbao is now a national and international tourist destination, something that was unimaginable only ten years ago, which has in turn brought positive effects for the local economy"[165], González Ceballos writes, yet it is highly questionable whether it is useful as a model for other cities. The immense total expenditure of approximately USD 374 million for the museum and its collection also suggests that it was a high-risk project.

Spurred by the success of the museum the city continued its regeneration programme and slowly started to develop updated strategies. The enthusiasm might even have gone a bit too far when Bilbao Metrópoli-30 issued documents saying that „Bilbao is positioned to be a leader in the new Society of Knowledge" and that Bilbao must secure its „place among the world-class metropolitan centres".[166] In fact Bilbao opted for a

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160 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 30; Plaza, 1999; Plaza, 2000; Goméz and González, 2001
161 cf. Plaza, 1999, p. 590
162 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 30
163 cf. Plaza, 1999, p. 591
164 cf. Plaza, 2006, pp. 452-467
165 González Ceballos, 2004, p. 184
166 Garrido, 2000, p. 1

strategy of international recognition from the beginning of its regeneration efforts. „The urban regeneration process of recent years is explained as a strategy to connect Bilbao to the world and make it internationally visible."[167] This „global development version"[168] chosen by decision-makers in Bilbao stands in contrast to an urban development built on existing strengths and focusing on the needs of local residents.

The new strategic plan for the revitalization of Bilbao shifted the focus from physical regeneration towards investments in „knowledge and values as a more effective long-term strategy"[169]. Whereas in the previous decade the main focus was to solve existing problems, to spur confidence in the future of the city and to generate investments by physical renewal it was now the time to formulate a vision. From that point on more attention was paid to the promotion of the city and the creation of a Bilbao brand as well. Bilbao aimed to become a place where ideas are developed and implemented, where creativity, knowledge and innovation are the main economic driving forces. Five key qualities and assets of the Bilbao metropolitan area and its population were identified: innovation, professionalism, identity, community and openness.[170] Regardless of the generic nature of these qualities the difference in focus from the 1990s is remarkable. The 1990s were the time for putting the city on the right tracks, from 2000 onwards strategists aimed at creating more of an identity for a city that developed from a derelict industrial centre to an optimistic post-industrial city. Instead of working on the development of a product city marketers were now busy with adding value to the product by embedding it in a larger context. In 2003 the city finally decided on establishing a corporate identity and issued its first logo (see Fig. 21) that successively appeared all over the city as well as in international promotion material.

Fig. 21: 2003 Bilbao logo

167 González, 2006, p. 847
168 Keating and de Frantz, 2004, p. 193
169 González, 2006, p. 847
170 cf. Plöger, 2007, p. 16

Compared to Linz there are several significant differences in Bilbao's approach towards urban marketing. Linz combined physical renewal (on a smaller scale than Bilbao) with early promotional efforts that were mainly targeted at local residents and successively to a national and – much later – to an international audience. A comprehensive branding approach was adopted in Linz in 2006 on occasion of the European Capital of Culture. Bilbao, however, initially was in a much worse situation and focused completely on physical renewal of the city paired with the attraction of international architects for flagship projects, most notably Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum. Promotion was no priority but eventually went along with the larger projects automatically due to the huge media interest. Bilbao adopted a – rather risky but in the end in many parts successful - „think big" approach and aimed at putting the city on the international map of tourist destinations, business centres and creative hotspots. With the modification of the strategic plan for revitalization of the city in 2000 Bilbao added branding techniques such as corporate design and formulating a (albeit lofty) vision to its measures and shifted focus from physical development (many large-scale projects were and are still carried out, though) towards the support of ideas, knowledge and creativity.

4.3.3   Quantitative Analysis

After describing the development of Bilbao I will now look at the empirical data collected for the Basque city. The total sample for this section of the empirical analysis contains 1998 articles, all of which were published in The Guardian, The Observer or guardian.co.uk between 1991 and 2011 and include the word „Bilbao". The structure of this part follows the same logic as in the corresponding chapter for the Linz case study (see chapter 4.2.3). Yet direct comparisons will only be drawn in chapter 5. The graph below shows the distribution of the sample articles over the whole sample period.
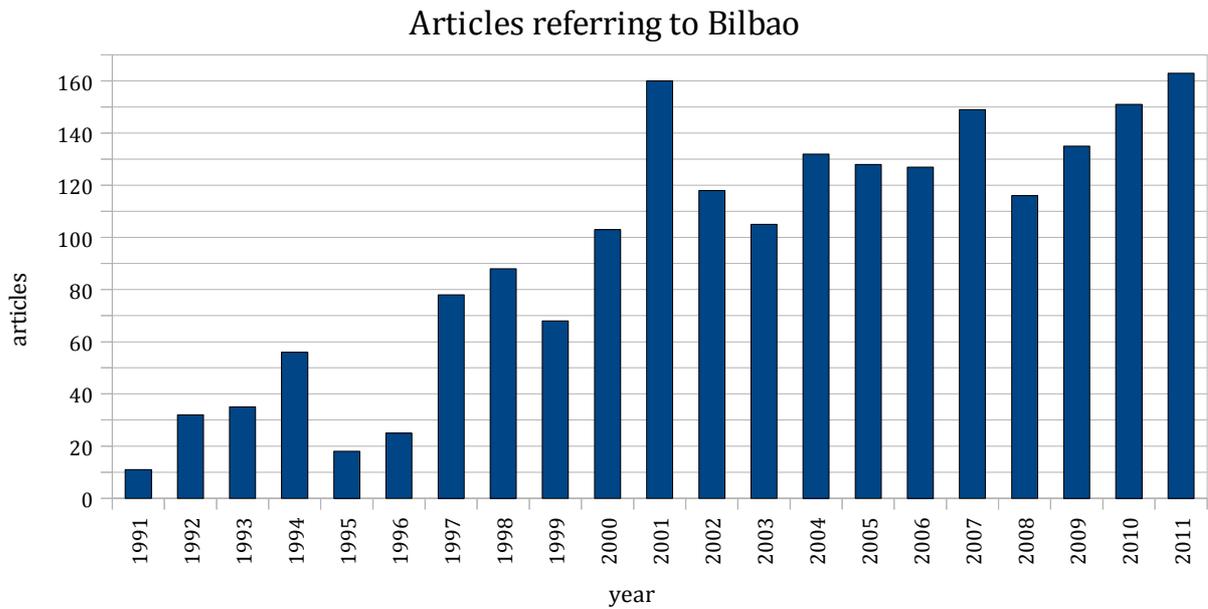
Fig. 22: Articles referring to Bilbao

The numbers show a clearly increasing overall trend. In 1991 Bilbao was mentioned in a mere 11 articles, whereas in 2011 the city appears in 163 articles. These two years also mark the lowest and the highest number of articles referring to Bilbao. Remarkable developments in the numbers occurred from 1996 to 1997 (from 25 to 78 articles) and from 2000 to 2001 (from 103 to 160 articles). In 1997 the increase is mainly related to the Guggenheim Museum which opened that year and received a lot of international media coverage. In 2001 no evident reason for the increase is identifiable, but an unusually high share of articles are related to the Guggenheim, sports news and travelling in this year. The other years show some fluctuations, but generally a steady increase. The average across the whole sample period is 95 articles.
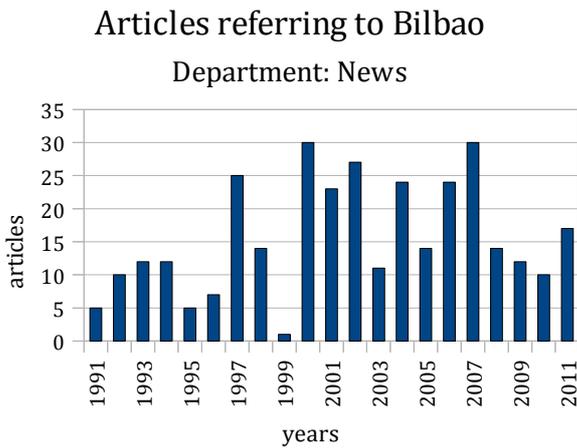
Articles referring to Bilbao
Department: News

Fig. 23: News articles referring to Bilbao
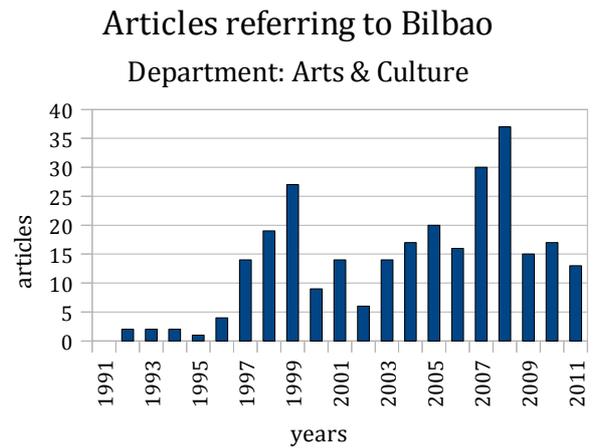
Articles referring to Bilbao
Department: Arts & Culture

Fig. 24: Arts & culture articles referring to Bilbao

Articles referring to Bilbao
Department: Sports

Fig. 25: Sports articles referring to Bilbao
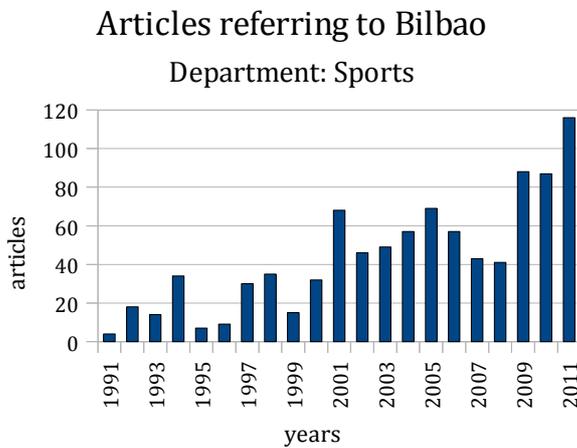
Articles referring to Bilbao
Department: Travel
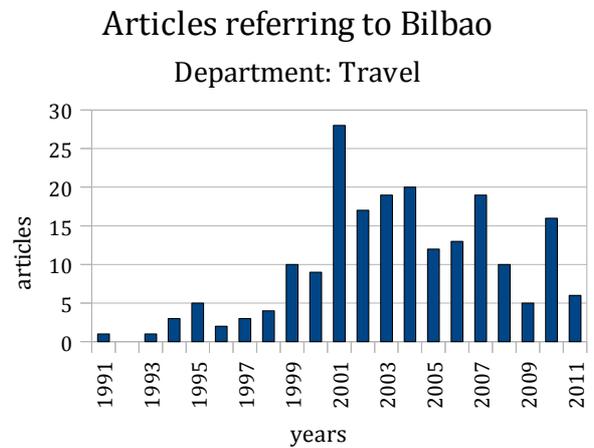
Fig. 26: Travel articles referring to Bilbao

Looking at the distribution of articles referring to Bilbao sorted by newspaper departments it is visible that the second half of the 1990s present a period of changing values in all departments. Be it news (Fig. 23), arts & culture (Fig. 24), sports (Fig. 25) or travel (Fig. 26), the numbers are rather low up until 1996. Then, 1997 marks a clear increase in the average number of articles referring to Bilbao, at least when it comes to news and especially arts & culture articles. Travel articles only increased significantly starting from 1999, while sports-related articles took off in 2001. On average the analysed media publish 16 articles on news topics, 13 on arts & culture, 46 on sports and 10 on travel. It is interesting that – though general tendencies are visible – fluctuation from one year to another can be very high in all departments. In sports a significant number – more than 80 per cent – of articles are related to the football club

Athletic Bilbao, thus most variation in the amount of coverage is related to the performance of the club, especially on a European level. In other departments the reasons for and main drivers of variations are less clear, but there are also other keywords apart from „Athletic Bilbao" that are put in relation to Bilbao frequently, the most important one's being „Guggenheim" (Fig. 27) and „Eta" (Fig. 28).

Articles referring to keyword "Guggenheim"

as percentage of all articles

Articles referring to keyword "Eta"

as percentage of all articles
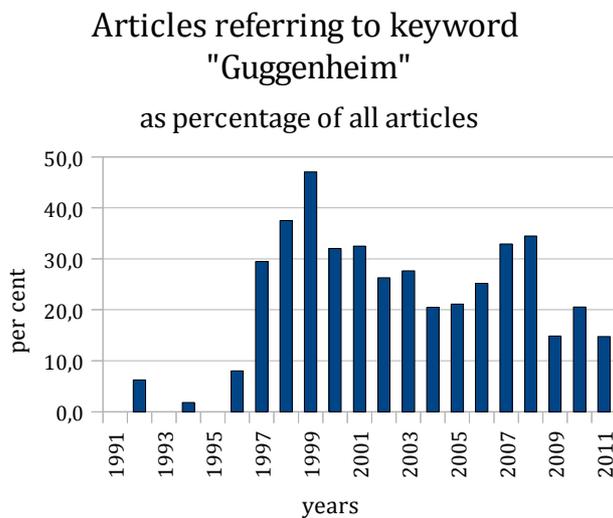
Fig. 27: Articles referring to keyword „Guggenheim"
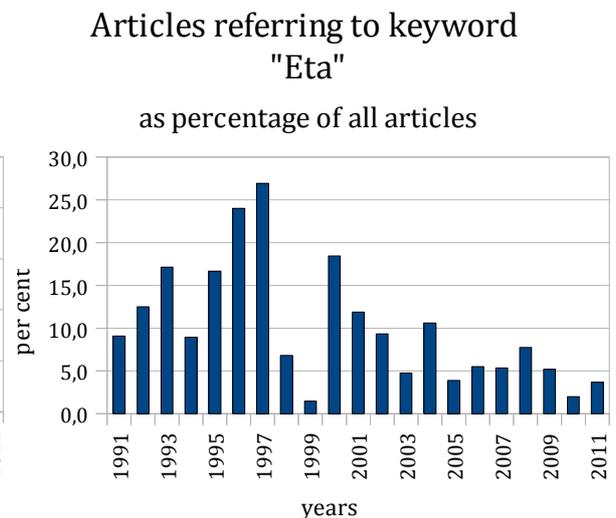
Fig. 28: Articles referring to keyword „Eta"

The Bilbao Guggenheim Museum by architect Frank Gehry was opened in 1997 and has since then made a huge impact on the newspaper coverage of Bilbao. A quarter of all articles referring to the the city also mention the museum between 1991 and 2011. Considering that the museum didn't exist during the first six years of the sample period for this analysis, the actual share since 1997 is even higher. The overall trend since the peak of the Bilbao-Guggenheim relation in 1999 is slightly negative, yet the museum remains an important and constant association for the city. References to the Guggenheim Museum appear predominantly in the arts & culture section, but also frequently in news and travel articles. Another important keyword that often appears in relation to Bilbao is „Eta", a Basque nationalist and separatist organization responsible for countless bomb attacks, assassinations and kidnappings in the Basque country and in Spain. Eta is most often referred to in news articles after attacks, but frequently also in more general contexts. After an increasing trend until 1997 with a peak over 25 per cent, the percentage of articles that relate Eta to Bilbao has been decreasing since then

and has remained under or around 5 per cent since 2005. Again the year 1997 marks a shift where the newspaper coverage of Bilbao significantly and permanently changed. Eta did not stop its actions at this point but has been active up until 2011, carrying out many attacks and criminal activities. Yet in terms of media attention other topics – in particular the Guggenheim – received considerably more interest.

The overall distribution of newspaper articles by departments and by type of text looks as follows:
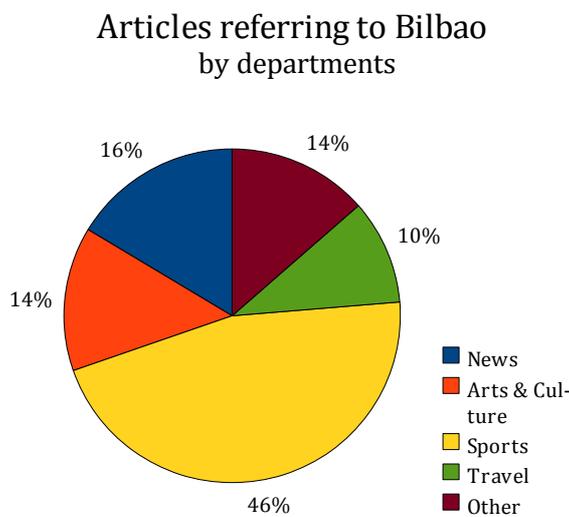
Fig. 29: Articles referring to Bilbao by departments   Fig. 30: Articles referring to Bilbao by type of text
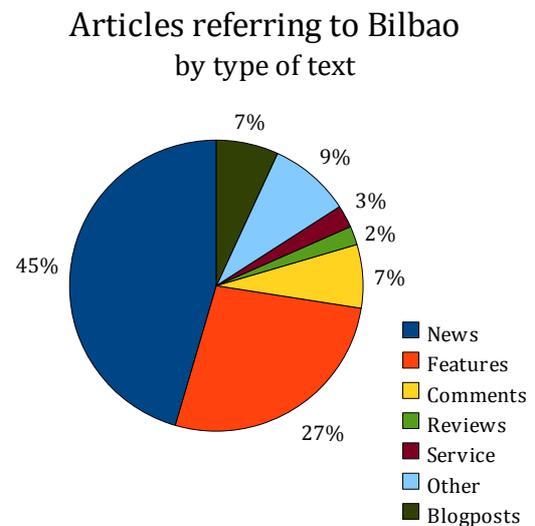
The left pie chart shows the high importance of sports coverage, accounting for almost half of the articles referring to Bilbao. News, arts & culture and travel coverage accounts for 16, 14 and 10 per cent respectively. The dominant types of texts (see right pie chart) in The Guardian, The Observer and guardian.co.uk are news articles with 45 per cent and features with 27 per cent. Other types of texts such as comments or reviews are less significant and account for below 10 per cent of all articles.

In more detail the development of the distribution of articles by type of text shows the increase of all categories in absolute numbers, which is no surprise given the overall development from 11 articles including Bilbao in 1991 to 163 articles in 2011. On average 43 articles annually are news articles and 26 are features. However, since

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around 2000 this average represents the lower end of the spectrum in both cases and the numbers vary between 40 and 73 for news articles (Fig. 31) and between 24 and 44 for features (Fig. 32). In the 1990s the spectrum ranged from 6 to 43 news articles and from 3 to 33 features, which illustrates well the profound changes the coverage of Bilbao – at least in its extent – underwent.

### Articles referring to Bilbao
Type of text: news

Articles mentioning Bilbao
Type of text: features
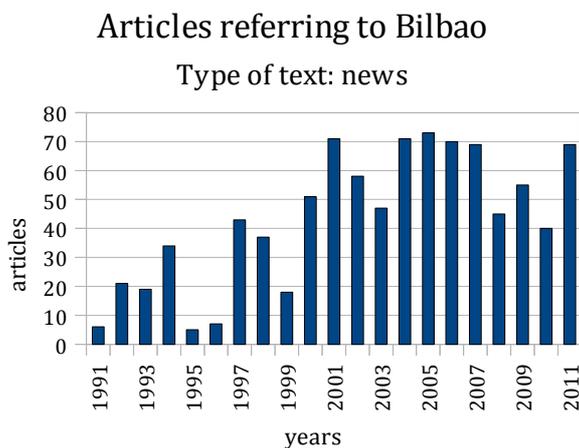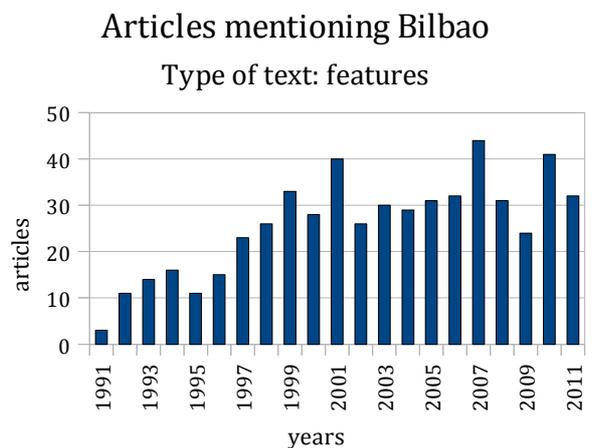
Fig. 31: News (type)-articles referring to Bilbao   *Fig. 32: Features referring to Bilbao*

In brief, the results of the quantitative analysis of 1998 articles show that Bilbao receives a lot more media attention now than twenty years ago. Numbers grew in all relevant newspaper sections and for all relevant types of texts. There is little doubt that the opening of the Guggenheim Museum in 1997 played an important role to support – or quite possibly start – this trend. While the number of references to Bilbao in relation to the Guggenheim Museum was growing, the relation between Bilbao and Eta became less important. Hypothetically the coverage of Bilbao should have become more positive given the impact of the Guggenheim Museum and the resulting strengthening of the relation of the city to arts, culture and architecture. At the same time Eta-induced negative coverage about crime, terrorism and bomb attacks became less. In the next chapter the qualitative analysis about newspaper coverage of Bilbao will deal with the question whether the picture painted of Bilbao by the media has significantly changed along with the numbers from this chapter.

4.3.4 Qualitative Analysis

The sample period for this empirical step includes the years 1991, 1997, 2001 and 2011. 1997 was included as it is a key year for the development of Bilbao – both physically as well as in terms of its image. The other three years form the standard sample period for this qualitative analysis in order to identify developments in the media coverage of Bilbao over a longer period of time. The total sample includes 412 articles in which Bilbao was referred to 637 times.
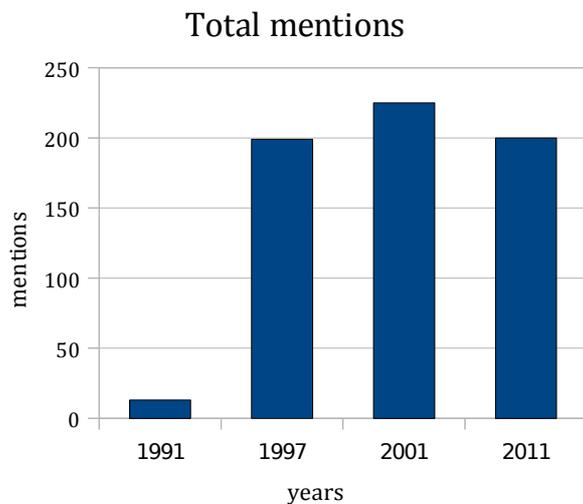
Fig. 33: Bilbao: Total references
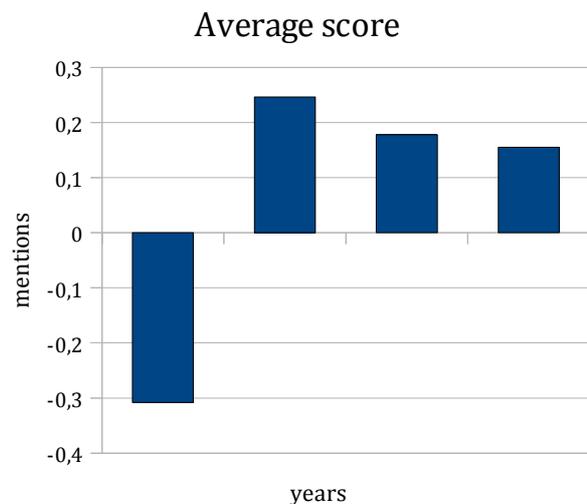
Fig. 34: Bilbao: Average score

The graph on the right shows the distribution of the total references to Bilbao in the sample articles. The development is striking, as in a period of only six years the number of references increased more than 15 times, from 13 in 1991 to 199 in 1997. In addition the average number of references per article increased from 1.2 in 1991 to 2.6 in 1997, which suggests a much more profound examination of the city in the media. More references per text indicate that more texts are actually about the city or at least dealing with the city in certain detail, and not just refer to it as the place where a newsworthy event happened. Not only did the number of references drastically change from 1991 to 1997 and remain on a high level in the following years, but also the average score – taking into consideration attributes, evaluations, opinions, judgements and association related to Bilbao – changed from clearly negative in 1991 to clearly positive in 1997, 2001 and 2011. Much of this change is due to the increased coverage about arts &

culture topics fuelled by the Guggenheim Museum, and to the fact that the city became more interesting for tourism.

The following two graphs further support the evidence gained in this analysis:

Image of Bilbao
newspaper mentions & attributes

Image of Bilbao
context of newspaper articles
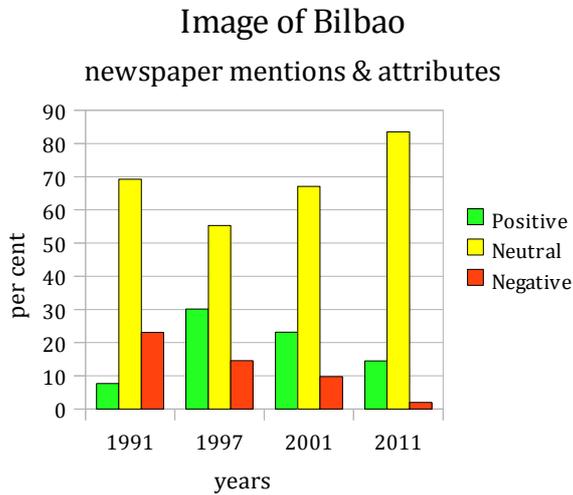
Fig. 35: Image of Bilbao: references & attributes   *Fig. 36: Image of Bilbao: context of newspaper articles*
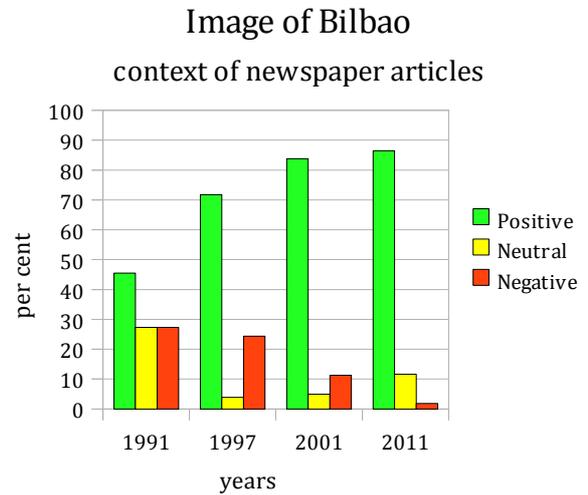
Whereas in 1991 the balance of positive and negative references was clearly leaning towards the negative side, the picture changed in 1997 and since then Bilbao receives much more positively connoted references than negatively connoted ones (Fig. 35). However, the biggest group are neutral references, which account for over 50 per cent in 1997 up to over 80 per cent in 2011. The high share of neutral references can be explained through the inclusion of most of the football news, which accounts for a large part of the total references since an average of almost 40 per cent of articles where Bilbao appears is concerned with football. When it comes to the overall contexts of newspaper articles referring to Bilbao (Fig. 36), the share of positive contexts continuously increases from 45 per cent in 1991 to 86 per cent in 2011. At the same time articles in a negative context almost disappeared in 2011 with only 2 per cent.

In the case of Bilbao all evidence points in the same direction: The city not only receives considerably more attention from news media since 1997, when the Guggenheim Museum opened, but also the quality of the attention has been increasingly positive for

the city since then. The city is now related to arts, culture, architecture, sports and travel to a much higher degree than to crime, separatism or its industrial character.

5   Results and Conclusion

The previous chapter has brought up many similarities, but also many differences between the two case study cities analysed in this paper. Linz and Bilbao had tough years in the 1980s including all the economic and social implications many other de-industrialising cities had to deal with as well; they were both far away from being recognized internationally and were – at best – important on a regional and national scale. As a reaction to their situation they started with new concepts in the 1990s. Even though both cities are mostly considered successful examples of urban regeneration their paths show some significant differences.

First of all, their strategies were different: Linz focused on physical renewal and promotional communication. Working on the image of the city was a strategic focus from 1989 onwards, yet it was neither a comprehensive marketing nor a branding effort but rather a series of promotional campaigns and events as well as a first step towards creating a corporate identity for the city. Image promotion and physical measures were not conceived together in an overall strategy but carried out separately. Referring to chapter 2 of this paper Linz chose a narrative form of communication, positioning Linz as a changing and dynamic city, or – in other words – the transformation of the city from the ugly duckling to a future-oriented, economically and culturally prospering place with a high quality of life. This 'new' perception of Linz was promoted consistently and consequently from 1989 onwards. Linz' strategy was oriented towards a local and national audience until around 2004, when the city applied for becoming European Capital of Culture in 2009. At this point the city shifted the scope of its actions and aimed at receiving international attention by staging a large-scale, year-long cultural event that went along with considerable investments in infrastructure, cultural facilities and marketing budgets. These marketing budgets also allowed the development of more elaborate strategic image planning guidelines, that can be seen as an intial step of city branding in Linz. Many actors were involved in developing concepts, formulating a vision, creating a corporate identity and issuing a branding document that should be

considered by all public bodies, companies and associations. Yet the process was organised in a strict top-down fashion and did only include actors related directly to the city. The European Capital of Culture year in 2009 without doubt was a milestone in the image development of Linz. The city received a lot of national and international attention and attracted high numbers of visitors. Yet the narrative that the city introduced in 1989 appears to have come to a conclusion 20 years later with the European Capital of Culture. Linz is no longer the transforming city, it rather has become the transformed city. Although interview partners confirmed that this is a challenge for the city, an updated strategic branding document issued in 2012 did not introduce new strategies or other hints how another cycle in the image development of Linz could be started.

Just as Linz Bilbao focused on physical renewal at the beginning, but adopted a different strategy. The political bodies in the Basque country decided to develop a strategic document in the late 1980s that was tailored to the local situation. They looked at other transforming cities such as Sevilla, Barcelona, Glasgow and Baltimore and studied their measures. Moreover, two agencies were founded to implement the projects suggested in the strategic plan which was thereby institutionalised without being legally binding. Bilbao's strategy concentrated on physical redevelopment in combination with high-quality architecture provided by star architects. Norman Foster's metro stations were the first example in 1995, and Frank Gehry's world famous Guggenheim Museum followed soon in 1997. Classical communication campaigns were not part of the strategy but proved not necessary due to the huge impact of the iconic Guggenheim Museum. Where Linz went for the slowly developing narrative of the changing, flourishing industrial city, Bilbao added iconic flagship projects to create huge local, national and international attention. Despite of much criticism and a high financial risk the strategy turned out successful and Bilbao became emblematic for cultural regeneration of industrial cities. Up until 2000 Bilbao was dealing with the "product development" part of city marketing without paying considerable attention to promotion or branding measures. With a new strategic plan, however, Bilbao shifted its strategy, formulated a vision for its future development and introduced corporate identity and branding

techniques. If in the 1990s the "product" Bilbao was improved and refined, after 2000 the communication of values became more important. The city positioned itself as a centre for knowledge, ideas and creativity. This position may not be very unique internationally – in fact Linz does the same – but Bilbao still profits from the advantage it got through the great effect of its regeneration measures.

Looking at the numbers resulting from the quantitative media content analysis (Fig. 37) Bilbao's approach had a higher impact on the amount of media coverage compared to Linz.
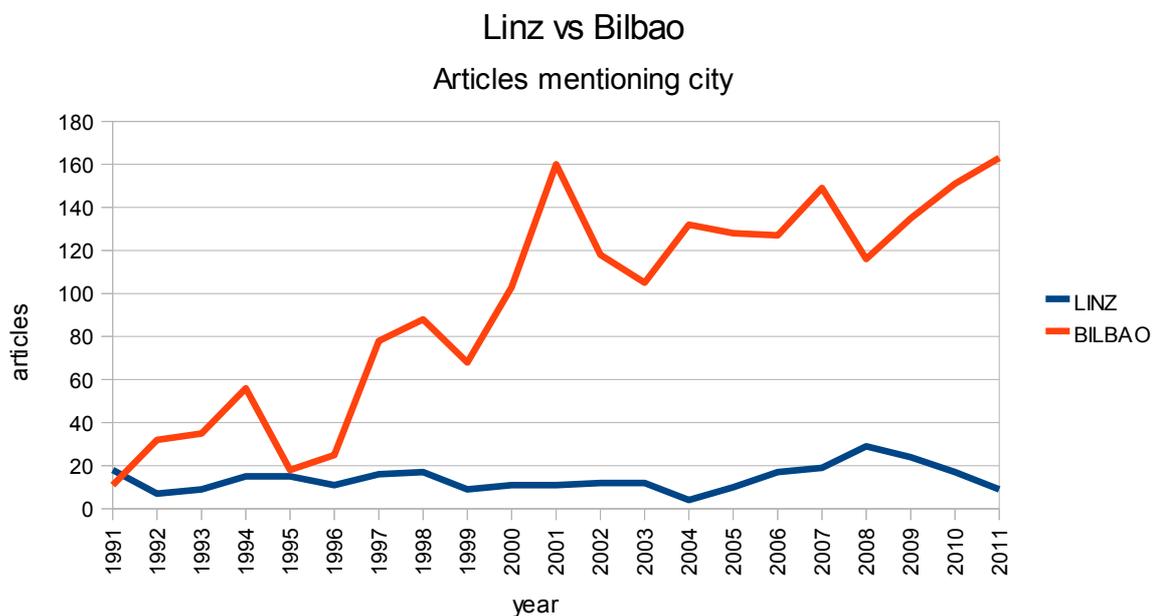
Fig. 37: Linz vs Bilbao: Articles referring to the city

Bilbao is not only appearing in news media far more often than Linz – although both cities started from the same level in 1991 –, it has also managed to receive predominantly positive references since 1997, despite the difficult legacy of Eta terrorist attacks frequently happening up until 2011. Linz is more dependent on events in order to appear in the news. The European Capital of Culture year in 2009 led to a significant increase in media attention, yet the effect did not continue in 2010 and 2011. Furthermore the low overall numbers of references to Linz in The Guardian, The Observer and on guardian.co.uk do not allow the creation of a continuous image profile. A single criminal case that receives international attention can decisively affect the

portrayal of the city in the news. Bilbao has a richer news image in the sense that it is covered positively in many newspaper sections, especially in arts & culture, sports, and travel.

Although the results from this media content analysis indicate that Bilbao's strategy of transformation and urban renewal turned out more successful compared to Linz, this conclusion would be somewhat unjust. Bilbao's way certainly was more compatible to how news media work. The city was also rewarded for the high risk it took with the Guggenheim Museum and profited from the rare fortune that the museum became emblematic for a trend in urban redevelopment. Another factor in Bilbao's favour is the more internationally-orientated marketing strategy that the city chose in 1989. Yet these results do not allow any conclusion which city has been more successful – however one defines success in this question – in transforming from an industrial to a post-industrial city. Many experts and scholars in fact refer to both cities as positive examples of urban development in the past decades.

It will be interesting to see how Linz and Bilbao continue their development from now on. The transformation from industrial to post-industrial seems concluded in both cases, and both cities embrace the idea of becoming centres of knowledge, ideas and creative industries. This field, however, is highly competitive and cities won't have an easy task in standing out from the mass of other cities that strive for the same goals. In this sense media portrayal – national and international – might become even more important than it is today, and cities will have to put more effort in producing and implementing strategies that are compatible with how media work.

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7 List of figures

8 Annex

A: Tables Linz:

Mentions by department

Year	Total	News	Arts & Culture	Sports	Travel	Other
1991	18	4	4	8	0	2
1992	7	1	1	4	1	0
1993	9	4	4	1	0	0
1994	15	1	0	12	1	1
1995	15	8	2	1	3	1
1996	11	3	4	3	0	1
1997	16	5	2	6	1	2
1998	17	6	5	4	0	2
1999	9	3	0	3	0	3
2000	11	3	2	4	1	1
2001	11	1	2	4	1	3
2002	12	5	0	4	1	2
2003	12	4	4	2	1	1
2004	4	1	0	1	1	1
2005	10	6	0	2	1	1
2006	17	2	10	2	2	1
2007	19	3	5	7	2	2
2008	29	10	11	3	4	1
2009	24	7	10	1	4	2
2010	17	1	2	8	2	4
2011	9	2	5	1	0	1
	292	**80**	**73**	**81**	**26**	**32**
Percent		27,4	25,0	27,7	8,9	11,0
Percent without sports		37,9	34,6		12,3	15,2
Average:	14	4	3	4	1	2

Mentions by type of news

Year	Total	News	Features	Comments	Reviews	Service	Other
1991	18	11	2	1	2	0	2
1992	7	3	2	0	0	0	2
1993	9	3	6	0	0	0	0
1994	15	12	3	0	0	0	0
1995	15	5	7	1	1	0	1
1996	11	5	5	0	0	0	1
1997	16	10	3	0	1	0	2
1998	17	7	5	0	2	3	0
1999	9	6	3	0	0	0	0
2000	11	5	4	0	0	0	2
2001	11	6	2	1	2	0	0
2002	12	7	2	1	0	0	2
2003	12	5	2	0	3	0	2
2004	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
2005	10	6	2	0	0	0	2
2006	17	2	7	0	6	0	2
2007	19	10	3	2	3	0	1
2008	29	9	10	2	1	0	7
2009	24	7	7	2	5	0	3
2010	17	4	5	3	1	0	4
2011	9	3	1	0	4	0	1
	292	**129**	**82**	**13**	**31**	**3**	**34**
Percent		44,2	28,1	4,5	10,6	1,0	11,6
Average:	14	6	4	1	1	0	2

Keywords

Hitler	%	ECC	%	Ars Electronica	%	Mozart	%	LASK	%
2	11,1	0	0,0	1	5,6	2	11,1	0	0,0
0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	14,3	0	0,0
2	22,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	33,3	0	0,0
1	6,7	0	0,0	1	6,7	0	0,0	0	0,0
6	40,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	13,3	0	0,0
4	36,4	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	18,2	0	0,0
3	18,8	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	6,3	0	0,0
4	23,5	0	0,0	2	11,8	3	17,6	3	17,6
2	22,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	33,3
7	63,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	9,1	3	27,3
2	18,2	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
3	25,0	1	8,3	2	16,7	1	8,3	0	0,0
4	33,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	16,7	0	0,0
0	0,0	0	0,0	1	25,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
2	20,0	0	0,0	1	10,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
1	5,9	0	0,0	1	5,9	8	47,1	0	0,0
6	31,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	5,3	0	0,0
11	37,9	2	6,9	1	3,4	2	6,9	0	0,0
4	16,7	6	25,0	2	8,3	2	8,3	0	0,0
2	11,8	1	5,9	0	0,0	2	11,8	2	11,8
4	44,4	0	0,0	1	11,1	2	22,2	0	0,0
70	**24,0**	**10**	**6,5**	**13**	**4,5**	**36**	**12,3**	**11**	**3,8**

Qualitative Analysis

Year	Appearances	Total Score	Avg. Score	Attributes			Context		
				Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1991	27	-3	-0,11	2	22	3	11	4	3
%				7,4	81,5	11,1	61,1	22,2	16,7
2001	13	1	0,08	1	11	1	6	2	3
%				7,7	84,6	7,7	54,5	18,2	27,3
2011	13	1	0,08	6	3	4	5	0	4
%				46,2	23,1	30,8	55,6	0,0	44,4
2008	56	-2	-0,04	25	13	18	6	6	17
%				44,6	23,2	32,1	20,7	20,7	58,6

B: Tables Bilbao:

Mentions by department

Year	Total	News	Arts & Culture	Sports	Travel	Other		without spo
1991	11	5	0	4	1	1		7
1992	32	10	2	18	0	2		14
1993	35	12	2	14	1	6		21
1994	56	12	2	34	3	5		22
1995	18	5	1	7	5	0		11
1996	25	7	4	9	2	3		16
1997	78	25	14	30	3	6		48
1998	88	14	19	35	4	16		53
1999	68	1	27	15	10	15		53
2000	103	30	9	32	9	23		71
2001	160	23	14	68	28	27		92
2002	118	27	6	46	17	22		72
2003	105	11	14	49	19	12		56
2004	132	24	17	57	20	14		75
2005	128	14	20	69	12	13		59
2006	127	24	16	57	13	17		70
2007	149	30	30	43	19	27		106
2008	116	14	37	41	10	14		75
2009	135	12	15	88	5	15		47
2010	151	10	17	87	16	21		64
2011	163	17	13	116	6	11		47
	1998	**327**	**279**	**919**	**203**	**270**		1998
%		16,4	14,0	46,0	10,2	13,5		
% without s		30,3	25,9		18,8	25,0		
Average	95	16	13	44	10	13		

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Mentions by type of news

Year	Total	News	Features	Comments Reviews	Service	Other	Blogposts	
1991	11	6	3	0	0	0	2	0
1992	32	21	11	0	0	0	0	0
1993	35	19	14	0	0	0	2	0
1994	56	34	16	4	0	0	2	0
1995	18	5	11	0	0	0	2	0
1996	25	7	15	1	1	0	1	0
1997	78	43	23	1	1	0	10	0
1998	88	37	26	6	3	0	16	0
1999	68	18	33	6	7	0	4	0
2000	103	51	28	11	1	0	12	0
2001	160	71	40	21	6	9	13	0
2002	118	58	26	14	0	11	7	2
2003	105	47	30	11	1	11	5	0
2004	132	71	29	12	3	7	10	0
2005	128	73	31	6	3	5	10	0
2006	127	70	32	11	1	1	8	4
2007	149	69	44	10	3	3	11	9
2008	116	45	31	2	4	2	19	13
2009	135	55	24	5	0	1	19	31
2010	151	40	41	15	5	0	14	36
2011	163	69	32	5	2	0	13	42
	1998	**909**	**540**	**141**	**41**	**50**	**180**	**137**
%		45,5	27,0	7,1	2,1	2,5	9,0	6,9
		43	26	7	2	2	9	7

Keywords

Guggenheim	%	Eta	%	Athletic	%
0	0,0	1	9,1	3	27,3
2	6,3	4	12,5	10	31,3
0	0,0	6	17,1	8	22,9
1	1,8	5	8,9	20	35,7
0	0,0	3	16,7	5	27,8
2	8,0	6	24,0	8	32,0
23	29,5	21	26,9	39	50,0
33	37,5	6	6,8	42	47,7
32	47,1	1	1,5	16	23,5
33	32,0	19	18,4	29	28,2
52	32,5	19	11,9	52	32,5
31	26,3	11	9,3	32	27,1
29	27,6	5	4,8	44	41,9
27	20,5	14	10,6	47	35,6
27	21,1	5	3,9	63	49,2
32	25,2	7	5,5	44	34,6
49	32,9	8	5,4	36	24,2
40	34,5	9	7,8	30	25,9
20	14,8	7	5,2	80	59,3
31	20,5	3	2,0	77	51,0
24	14,7	6	3,7	105	64,4
488	**24,4**	**166**	**8,3**	**790**	**39,5**

Qualitative Analysis

Year	Appearances	Total Score	Avg. Score	Attributes			Context		
				Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1991	13	-4	-0,31	1	9	3	5	3	3
%				7,7	69,2	23,1	45,5	27,3	27,3
2001	225	40	0,18	52	151	22	134	8	18
%				23,1	67,1	9,8	83,8	5,0	11,3
2011	200	31	0,16	29	167	4	141	19	3
%				14,5	83,5	2,0	86,5	11,7	1,8
1997	199	49	0,25	60	110	29	56	3	19
%				30,2	55,3	14,6	71,8	3,8	24,4

C: Selective interview transcripts:

Frohner, Karin (2012): Interview on the image strategy of Linz. Interviewed by Michael Luger; Stadtkommunikation, Altes Rathaus, Linz, March 27, 2012

"Ich bin die Leiterin der Stadtkommunikation Linz, das ist die Stelle die für Öffentlichkeitsarbeit der Stadt zuständig ist und die klassische Medienbetreuung macht; daneben auch Markenarbeit macht, den Internetauftritt der Stadt koordiniert – auch im Bereich Social Media – und Publikationen herausgibt, also auch im Bereich Stadtmarketing tätig ist. Stadtmarketing betrifft Positionierung, Markenarbeit, Kampagnen, wobei derzeit der Kampagnenanteil aus budgetären Gründen verschwindend ist."

"Linz war in einer besonderen Situation. Durch die Krise der Verstaatlichten und durch Umweltprobleme Mitte der 80er Jahre hatte die Stadt ganz massive Imageprobleme. Es gab damals zum Beispiel Artikel in den österreichischen Medien wie "Stirbt die Stahlstadt". [...] Daher hat sich die Stadt Linz damals entschlossen [...] Imagekampagnen durchzuführen, nachdem ja der Ist-Zustand nicht diesem Bild, das von Linz transportiert wurde, entsprach. Eigentlich gibt es seit 1989 Markenarbeit für Linz."

"Der Leidensdruck war wirklich dementsprechend groß, das ist sicher basierend auf diesem Leidensdruck geschehen. 1988 gab es einen Wechsel in der Stadtregierung, es ist Bürgermeister Dobusch gekommen, der hat bereits in seiner Antrittsrede angekündigt, dass es notwendig ist, Imagearbeit für die Stadt zu machen. 1989 im Juni ist dann begonnen worden, das war die Zeit der Konzeptionierung der Imagekampagne. Für diese Maßnahmen, die keine geringen Summen waren, einen einstimmigen Gemeinderatsbeschluss. Da sieht man auch, dass das Bewusstsein sehr hoch war, dass das notwendig ist. Einen einstimmigen Gemeinderatsbeschluss für Werbemaßnahmen zu kriegen, das habe ich sonst in keiner Stadt verfolgen können."

"Es gab zunächst eine Analyse der damals betreuenden Agentur: Wo steht eigentlich Linz, was ist das Ist? Aus dem wurde die Positionierung abgeleitet. Kommuniziert wurden die Stärken von Linz. Man hat damals auf drei Säulen gesetzt, das waren Wirtschaft, Kultur, Lebensqualität."

"Wir haben mit Meinungsforschern festgestellt, dass es sowas gibt wie das Linzer Syndrom: Die Leute fühlen sich zwar sehr wohl in der Stadt, entschuldigen sich aber auswärts, dass sie Linzer sind. [...] Das Selbstbewusstsein, in Österreich aufzutreten als Linzerin und Linzer war massiv angeschlagen. Darum haben wir ganz stark auch nach innen kommuniziert."

"Meilenstein war sicherlich der Start der Imagekampagne [...], dann war sicher sehr wesentlich die Bewerbung zur Kulturhauptstadt, im Vorfeld der Kulturhauptstadt war auch der Markenworkshop 2005/2006 [...] wo die Positionierung der Stadt nocheinmal geschärft wurde."

"Wir haben uns entschlossen, den Erfolg unserer Imagearbeit mit Meinungsforschung zu machen. An Faktoren wie Tourismuszahlen oder Wirtschaftsstärke das festzulegen halte ich für sehr gewagt, weil es auch durch andere Faktoren beeinflusst wird."

Haslinger, Reinhart (2012): Interview on the image strategy of Linz. Interviewed by Michael Luger; Haslinger-Keck, Schillerstraße 1, Linz, March 26, 2012

"Wir arbeiten seit 1989 für Linz. Damals wurde uns ermöglicht, mit einer sehr eigenständigen Kampagne die Kommunikation für die Stadt neu zu formen, was damals sehr notwendig war, weil Linz durch die Probleme, die die VÖEST wirtschaftlich gehabt hat, aber auch durch die Problematik der Umweltverschmutzung war Linz ein Symbolbild in Österreich für Umweltverschmutzung und eine krisenhafte Region. Wir haben mit einem sehr jungen Bürgermeister damals die Möglichkeit bekommen, das umzudrehen. Seit dem Zeitpunkt bin in erster Linie ich mitverantwortlich für die Entwicklung der

Marke Linz."

"Linz hatte das Problem, dass kulturell keine tollen Highlights da waren. [...] Es hat zwar schon verschiedene Anstrengungen gegeben, um aus dieser Stahlstadt, verdreckten Stadt, Ex-Hitler-Lieblingsstadt herauszukommen. Natürlich war touristisch gar nichts los. Die Menschen fahren an der Autobahn vorbei, insbesondere wenn sie dann auch noch Rauchwolken von Schloten sehen. Da hat Linz sicher Nachteile gehabt. Die Stadt ist sehr schnell gewachsen und hat halt so eine typische Aura einer nicht geformten, zu schnell gewachsenen Provinzstadt gehabt. Das war der Nachteil. Der Vorteil war, dass man auch noch etwas formen konnte. Da hätte man sich in Salzburg oder Innsbruck oder Wien, weil die Stigmatisierung des alten, kaiserlichen Österreichs dort wesentlich besser verankert war, das war halt in Linz überhaupt nicht."

"Durch diese negative Problematik hat Linz einen gewissen Pionierstatus in Österreich gehabt, eine Marke zu entwickeln."

Was sind die wichtigen Faktoren, die das Image einer Stadt bestimmen?
"Natürlich ist es in erster Linie Geschichte, ist es die Stigmatisierung aus verschiedenen Perspektiven. Das Problem Hitler und Provinz und verdreckt, und so weiter, spielt nach wie vor eine Rolle im Langzeitgedächtnis der Menschen, das ist überhaupt keine Frage."

"Für uns war damals wesentlich, dass wir einmal die geschichtliche Basis analysieren. Auf der anderen Seite war die Notwendigkeit, die Potenziale der Stadt zu analysieren: Was unterscheidet Linz gegenüber anderen Städten, gegenüber ähnlichen Städten, die nicht nur in Österreich sein müssen?"

"Daraus ist für uns eine klare Positionierungsidee entstanden, die die Möglichkeiten abgebildet hat, die diese Stadt in ihrer Zukunftsentwicklung hat; nämlich sich als sehr dynamische Stadt zu präsentieren, beziehungsweise auch diese Orientierung im Sinne einer sehr zukunftsorientierten Stadt. Hier haben wir ganz klar die Abgrenzung gesehen gegenüber diesem im Ausland sehr gepflegten k.u.k-Image, das eben Wien oder Salzburg gehabt haben. [...] Es war eine klare Positionierung und Ansage: Linz ist die dynamischste und zukunftsorientierteste Stadt Österreichs."

"Das tolle war: die Imageveränderung von dem hässlichen Entlein zu einem interessanten Punkt hat damals eine guten Basis gekriegt, und eigentlich irrsinnig schnell. Das haben wir alle miteinander uns nicht zu prognostizieren getraut, wie rasch auf dieser positiven inneren Stimmung der Menschen aufgesetzt werden hat können und mit dieser Kampagne ein eigenständiges Statement auch zum Selbstbewusstseinsprozess der Linzer geführt hat."

"In dieser Phase hat es schon eine Trendwende gegeben, was man auch in der Marktforschung gut ablesen konnte."

"Wo ich beteiligt war, war der Meilenstein eins 1989/90, die Kampagne war mit Wahlunterbrechungen 7, 8 Jahre."

"Mein wichtigster Job ist, nach der Kulturhauptstadt die Marke Linz in eine nächste Ebene weiterzuentwickeln, die natürlich nicht so viel mediale Kraft hat wie das Thema Kulturhauptstadt. Mit dem Projekt Kulturhauptstadt ist es möglich geworden, auch über die Grenzen eine Signal zu geben, wo eine eigene Ausgabe vom Merian plötzlich da war, wo eine Tatort in Linz sich abgespielt hat [...], wo in einer Zeit, in einer Frankfurter, in einer Züricher Linz als interessante Stadt wahrgenommen worden ist."

D: Content analysis Linz:

Qualitative Analysis: LINZ 1991-2001-2008-2011

1991

The Guardian, May 11, 1991
Arts: LMP – Royal Festival Hall

Mentions: 1 („Blech has always believed in giving value for money in his programmes, and after the relatively serious business of two Mozart symphonies (the Haffner and the Linz) and a piano concerto (the great D minor, K466, with Peter Frankl as nimble soloist) came the Toy Symphony.")
Context: classical music, Mozart, Symphony (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, June 16, 1991
Business: Sotheby's seeks Soviet spoils of war

Mentions: 1 („The collection was earmarked for a proposed museum in Linz, Austria, where Adolf Hitler spent his early years. Most of the the porcelain was destroyed during the bombing of Dresden.")
Context: looted arts, hitler, museum, linz, auction (-)
Attributes: Hitler's childhood town (-2)

The Guardian, July 4, 1991
Review: Enter the Euro choir – Classical diary

Mentions: 1 („FW-M is using his own choir from Linz for the Matthew Passion.")
Context: Classical music, Welser-Möst, Matthew Passion, choir (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, July 13, 1991
http://www.lexisnexis.com/de/business/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T15180179994&format=GNBFULL&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrlKey=29_T15180179998&cisb=22_T15180179997&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=138620&docNo=16

Mentions: 3 („For a long time it was - for the rest of the world, but certainly not for his widow, his three young daughters and for the villagers of St Radegund, a tiny place just a few hundred yards from the German border, in the diocese of Linz."; „He took himself off to the Bishop of Linz to ask for advice and was told to forget his objections and to do his duty."; „The new Bishop of Linz is promoting canonisation procedures in Rome.")
Context: Franz Jägerstätter, WWII, diocese (-)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Aug 8, 1991
Soccer: Twin Peake interest

Mentions: 1 („Manchester United were thrashed 5-1 by Austria Vienna in a friendly in Linz last night.")
Context: football, friendly, Austria Vienna, Manchester United (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Sept 6, 1991
Soccer: Another Austrian date for Spurs

Mentions: 4 („Their opponents, Hajduk Split, the Yugoslav cup holders, have decided to play the home leg of their first-round tie in Linz on Tuesday week."; „'Linz made us a better financial offer,' said a Hajduk spokesman last night, 'so the match will be played there on September 17.'"; „A Uefa spokesman said that the stadium in Linz, which holds 22,000, would be acceptable, provided security arrangements were satisfactory."; „The night after Spurs play in Linz, Arsenal will meet FK Austria at Highbury in the Champions Cup, with the second leg in Vienna a fortnight later.")

Context: football, Tottenham, Hajduk (+)
Attributes: better offer (+1), good stadium (+1)

Home groan

Mention: 1 („The Yugoslav tie has been switched to Linz, Austria, because of the unrest in Yugoslavia.")
Context: football, Tottenham, Hajduk, Cupwinners Cup (+)
Attributes: -

http://www.lexisnexis.com/de/business/results/docview/docview.do?
docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T15180179994&format=GNBFULL&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=1&resultsUrl
Key=29_T15180179998&cisb=22_T15180179997&treeMax=true&treeWidth=0&csi=138620&docNo=12

Soccer: Travel Problems add to Hajduk's woes against Spurs

Mentions: 1 (HAJDUK SPLIT overcame acute transport problems when they left strife-torn Yugoslavia by ferry
yesterday to play Tottenham in the first round of the European Cup Winners' Cup in Linz, Austria, tomorrow.)
Context: travel, hadjuk split, problems, (~)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Spurs wary of weary Hajduk

Mentions: 2 („Yesterday, as the Spurs players took a direct flight to the neutral Austrian venue of Linz, the
Yugoslav Cup winners were undergoing the land leg of their 1,000 kilometre-plus trek, having extracted
themselves from war-torn Croatia by ferry to the Italian port of Ancona 24 hours earlier.")
Context: football, Tottenham, Hajduk Split, Cupwinners Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Spurs split open by rare Walker error

Mentions: 1 (By RUSSELL THOMAS in Linz)
Context: football, Tottenham, Hajduk Split, Cupwinners Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Tottenham consider rest as a cure for Lineker's injuries

Mentions: 1 (Lineker was substituted during the first leg in Linz on Tuesday night with toe trouble and a back
strain.)
Context: injury, Tottenham, Hajduk Split, Cupwinners Cup (~)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Lineker to the fore after week of woe

Mentions: 1 (Adverse verdicts in Linz and the magistrates court have left them one goal down and a player
short, but on Saturday's showing neither will prove permanent set-backs.)
Context: Football, Tottenham (~)
Attributes: -

Computer: Chaos at the controls

Mentions: 2 („IN THE 'Restaurant at the end of the Brucknerhaus' at this year's Ars Electronica festival in Linz,
Austria, menu selection was electronic."; „A vast network of tunnels and bunkers, dating from the first world
war, honeycombs a hill in the centre of Linz.")

Context: Ars Electronica Festival, Computer art (+)
Attributes: user hostile (-1)

Soccer: Split task for Spurs

Mentions: 2 („In neutral Linz, much greater damage could have been inflicted by a young, technically accomplished Split side which mocked any cosy assumptions that the Croatian club would subside in their first competitive game of the season.“; „Hajduk took 24 hours to reach Linz; the journey to London took 36.“)
Context: Football, Tottenham, Hajduk Split, Cupwinners Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Tuttle football puts Split on the side

Mentions: 1 (But as the tempo inevitably dropped the high technique displayed in neutral Linz began to look more telling.)
Context: Football, Tottenham, Hajduk Split, Cupwinners Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Europe: The return of Mittel Europa

Mentions: 2 („But that has as little to do with today's Vienna, to say nothing of Linz, as Emmanuel Kant, who belonged to Konigsberg, has with that city in its continued existence as Kaliningrad.“; „The musical programme of the Bruckner Festival in Linz could just as easily be that of a festival in San Francisco, Tokyo, Seoul or Yerevan.“)
Context: history, politics, Central Europe, Bruckner Festival, culture (+)
Attributes: -

Moscow seeks deal on art loot

Mentions: 1 („An aide, Alexander Sherel, says that the looting was done on the orders of Hitler, who planned a collection in his home town of Linz to outshine the Louvre.“)
Context: looted arts, Hitler, home town (-)
Attributes: Hitler's home town (-2)

The Road to Maastricht: Waving goodbye to the last frontier

Mentions: 1 („But for an Austrian trucker who had driven here from Linz without customs formalities, there was always Britain, with its strict entry controls and a wait of up to five hours, to look forward to.“)
Context: open borders, politics (~)
Attributes: -

Review: The Hitler of History by John Lukacs

Mentions: 2 („Hamann's triumph was to return to the darkest, the most formative and least known part of Hitler's life: that of his adolescence in Linz, the Upper Austrian provincial capital, and of his early adulthood as a restless wanderer in Habsburg Vienna, the imperial metropolis, the cosmopolitan seat of an ancient empire.“; „After all, they were close friends during his formative years in Linz (they met at the opera), when their heads were clumsily full of yearning and dreams of limitless artistic achievement.“)
Context: Hitler, childhood, adolescence, book (-)
Attributes: provincial capital (-1)

Books: Young Adolf by Beryl Bainbridge

Mentions: 1 („'Such a strong willed young man,' says one of the little group who see him off to Linz. 'What a pity he will never amount to anything!'“)
Context: Hitler, youth, book (-)
Attributes: -

Science Update

Mentions: 1 („Regina Watschinger of Austria told the European Society of Clinical Microbiology and Infectious Diseases meeting in Istanbul this week that she had found why antibiotic resistant and potentially dangerous Acinetobacter baumannii appeared on hospital gastric tubes in Linz.“)
Context: hygiene, contamination, hospital (-)
Attributes: -

Travel: A world on two wheels

Mentions: 1 („A gentle tour that follows the meandering River Danube through Austria from Linz, ending up in Vienna, mostly on the flat.“)
Context: holidays, cycling, Danube (+)
Attributes: pretty sights (+2)

Police restore harmony to Mozartian protest

Mentions: 1 („"They're all capitalists, all out for themselves, and it's time we smashed them all," said 16-year old Johannes from Linz, who said Salzburg was his dress rehearsal for the upcoming Genoa G8 conference.“)
Context: anti-globalisation protest, Salzburg (~)
Attributes: -

Sports: Davenport in no mood for dancing with Williams

Mentions: 1 („Davenport's moment of consolation came late last year when she won their last encounter in the Linz tournament final, thereby bringing to an end a run of 35 consecutive victories for Venus.“)
Context: Tennis, tournament, Lindsay Davenport, Venus Williams (+)
Attributes: -

Henman wary about writing off Czech

Mentions: 1 („Vacek was beaten by his compatriot Slava Dosedel in the first round at Wimbledon, but won the recent ATP event in Linz, Austria.“)

Context: Tennis, US Open, Tim Henman, Jan Vacek (+)
Attributes: -

The way we live now

Mentions: 1 („Not long ago, I went to Austria for a weekend of performances in a village near Linz.")
Context: story, literature (+)
Attributes: -

Ice-cold Alex has national title in his reach

Mentions: 1 („The Wimbledon champion had previously withdrawn from this week's Linz Open in Austria to rest the wrist in the hopes of playing this coming week in Munich.")
Context: sports, tennis, tournament (+)
Attributes: -

Sport in brief

Mentions: 1 („Lindsay Davenport retained her title at the Linz WTA tournament yesterday, sweeping past the third seed Jelena Dokic to win 6-4, 6-1 and take her seventh title of the season.")
Context: sports, tennis, tournament (+)
Attributes: -

Austrian workers get Christmas gift of banknote that bounces

Mentions: 2 („Jumping the gun on the January 1 introduction of the euro, a workers' council at a hospital in the northern city of Linz distributed little purses containing €5 notes as holiday gifts for the 1,600 employees."; „It has asked for the money back "to avoid the confusion it could cause", said Axel Aspetsberger, the head of the central bank's branch in Linz, about 100 miles west of Vienna.")
Context: euro introduction, banknotes, gift, christmas, mistake, recall (~)
Attributes: -

The hunt for Doctor Death

Mentions: 1 („As an SS doctor at Mauthausen, a concentration camp near the Austrian city of Linz, he earned a reputation for exceptional cruelty.")
Context: WWII, concentration camp, Mauthausen (-)
Attributes: near concentration camp Mauthausen (-2)

All for one – more trips for singletons

Mentions: 1 (The nearest airport is Linz, served by ryanair.com from Stansted.)
Context: travel, singles, airport (+)
Attributes: -

Obituary: Alice Ricciardi-von Platen

Mentions: 1 („When war came, she worked as a country doctor in Upper Austria, at Pettenbach, near Linz.")
Context: obituary, WWII, author (~)
Attributes: -

Hitler owned painting now in National Gallery

Mentions: 1 („The dictator's love of art is well-known: apart from studying to be a painter, from 1938 he took a great personal interest in amassing works for a grandiose art gallery in Linz, Austria, much of it stolen or confiscated from Jewish collectors.")
Context: looted art, WWII, Hitler, museum (-)
Attributes: location of Hitler's grandiose museum plans (-2)

Purloined pictures

Mentions: 1 („The art historian Birgit Schwarz, author of a study of Hitler's collection for his museum in Linz, discovered in Washington a photograph album that apparently records the paintings in Hitler's private Munich apartment.")
Context: WWII, arts, Hitler, Lucas Cranach, museum plans (-)
Attributes: location for Hitler's museum plans (-2)

Austria's hidden nightmare

Mentions: 2 („Then there was the revelation in February 2007 that three girls had been imprisoned for seven years by their mother in dark, filthy conditions in a house in Linz."; „Like the Linz girls, when Kampusch was discovered her skin is said to have been remarkably pale.")
Context: crime, abuse, children locked in cellars (-)
Attributes: imprisoned girls in dark, filthy house in Linz (-2), Linz girls remarkable pale (-2)

Haneke's house of horrors

Mentions: 1 („A dull middle-class family in Linz are shown in a series of truncated scenes going about their daily life over several years.")
Context: film, Austria's mental state (-)
Attributes: a dull family in Linz (-1)

Police call former residents of Fritzl house

Mentions: 1 („The most difficult time for the family came in 1967 when Fritzl was convicted of raping a young woman in Linz, a crime for which he received an 18-month prison sentence.")
Context: Josef Fritzl, rape, crime (-)
Attributes: Fritzl raped a woman in Linz (-2)

'Every little thing she did, her father would hit her'

Mentions: 1 („A retired nurse who lives in Linz, 40 miles away, still remembers vividly what happened one night in October 1967 when she was 24.")
Context: Josef Fritzl, crime, rape, abuse (-)
Attributes: -

'My father chose me for himself'

Mentions: 1 („The fourth of his seven children by his wife, she was still an infant when, in 1967, he was sentenced to 18 months for climbing through an open bedroom window and raping a sleeping woman in the Austrian city of Linz, where he was working as an electrical engineer.")
Context: Josef Fritz, crime, rape, abuse (-)
Attributes: Fritz raped a woman in Linz and worked there (-2)

Fritzl to plead insanity, says lawyer

Mentions: 1 (Meanwhile the newpaper Oberoesterreichische Nachrichten reproduced what it said was a 1967 court record from state archives in the city of Linz, in which a Josef F was accused of breaking into the apartment of a 24-year-old nurse and raping her.)
Context: Josef Fritz, crime, rape, abuse (-)
Attributes: Fritzl raped a woman in 1967 in Linz (-2)

A nose for Nazis

Mentions: 1 („The woman in Linz who kept her children in a rat-infested hideaway for seven years had suffered a serious nervous breakdown - there have been similar, but thankfully very rare cases in America.")
Context: Austria, national psyche, Fritzl (-)
Attributes: Woman in Linz who kept her children in a rat-infested hideaway for seven years (-2)

What lies beneath

Mentions: 1 („Hitler grew up in Linz, not Leicester.")
Context: Austria, national psyche, Fritzl (-)
Attributes: Hitler grew up in Linz (-2)

Austrian kills family members with axe

Mention: 2 (The man later admitted to killing his parents, whose bodies were discovered in the town of Ansfelden, in Upper Austria, as well as his father-in-law, who was found dead in a house in the city of Linz.; He told officers he went to Linz to kill his 80-year-old father-in-law in the evening.)
Context: crime, murder, axe (-)
Attributes: man killed, body found in a house in Linz (-2), went to Linz to kill his father (-2)

Fantasy sleeps and pipe dreams

Mentions: 1 (The hotel consists of 9.5 tonne concrete tubes situated on a pleasant riverside campsite near the city of Linz.)
Context: travel, hotels, unconventional (+)
Attributes: pleasant riverside campsite near the city of Linz (+1)

Austria Squad for Euro 2008

Mentions: 1 (Ivica Vastic (Linz))
Context: football, Euro 2008, Austria (~)
Attributes: -

Euro 2008: predictions and profiles

Mentions: 1 (Vastic (Linz))
Context: football, Euro 2008, Austria (~)
Attributes: -

Austria

Mentions: 1 (IvicaVastic Linz)
Context: football, Euro 2008, Austria (~)
Attributes: -

Off the wall

Mentions: 1 (There is a photograph of Hitler in his last days in the bunker, giving all his attention to an architectural model of the new cultural capital he planned to build in Linz in Austria.)
Context: history, art, power, hitler, museum (-)
Attributes: Hitler planned to build a new cultural capital in Linz (-2)

'There is no compromise with Bruckner'

Mentions: 1 (He composed it for the consecration of the votive chapel in the new cathedral at Linz.)
Context: classical music, Anton Bruckner (+)
Attributes: new cathetral at Linz (+1)

The twisted road to war

Mentions: 1 („He himself followed later that day, March 12, making slow progress through the jubilant crowds of Austrians before reaching his home town of Linz.")
Context: history, WWII, Hitler, 1938 (-)
Attributes: „jubilant crowds of Austrians before reaching his home town of Linz." (-2)

Instand weekend … Linz

Mentions: 22 (Instant weekend ... Linz; September is a month of exhibitions and festivals in Linz and this year there's more going on than ever, as the city gears up to become European Capital of Culture 2009; More in keeping with the avant-garde spirit of 'Linz09', is the ultra-modern (and very comfortable) **Spitz Hotel** (Fiedlerstrasse 6, 00 43 732 733733; www.spitzhotel.at, doubles from €135).; The decor of each its seven floors is given over to a different one of the city's arts institutions, from the Brucknerhaus concert hall (the composer lived and worked in Linz) to the digital arts centre, Ars Electronica.; More unusual still is the new **Linz09 Pixel Hotel** (00 43 650 743 7953; www.pixelhotel.at, doubles from €124), so called because its rooms are dotted across the city (with breakfast in local cafes).; The **Goldener Anker** (Hofgasse 5, 00 43 732 771088, doubles

from €30) is the oldest guesthouse in Linz and one of Bruckner's favourite haunts.; The flagship **Ars Electronica Centre** (Graben 15, 00 43 732 7272; aec.at) is an Aladdin's cave of interactive virtual displays for adults and children: hang from the ceiling and 'fly' over Linz, don brainwave detectors and enter 'the cave' for a psychedelic 3D tour.; Linz is not so proud of its connection with Hitler - who grew up here and loved the city. He planned to build his art museum in Linz and this uncomfortable legacy is explored in the Linz09 exhibition, 'The Cultural Capital of the Fuhrer', opening 17 September in a newly built wing of the city's **Schlossmuseum.;** At the corner of Altstadt and Klosterstrasse you can look up at the room where Mozart wrote his Linz symphony, and along the Danube (not blue but nonetheless dramatic) are grassy parks and even a small swimming 'beach'.; The Austrians love their coffee break and Linz's speciality is Linzer torte (nutty pastry-cake with jam).; A wide variety of Linzer torte packed for travel can be bought from **Jindrak** (Herrenstrasse 22-24, linzertorte.at).; You can eat very well in Linz without breaking the bank.; Clientele include the Prime Minister of Upper Austria and artistic director of Linz09.; The most popular Linz excursion is up the **Postlingberg**, a hill on the edge of town topped by a pretty 18th-century pilgrimage church and 19th-century fortifications.; The 'Bermuda triangle' of narrow streets east of **Hauptplatz** is the centre of Linz nightlife, with numerous small international bars; Linz09 brings yet more cultural activity; see the Linz09 diary at linztermine.at.; Ryanair flies direct from Stansted to Linz (ryanair.com) but you can also fly to Vienna with BA (ba.com), Austrian (aua.com) or Easyjet (easyjet.com) and take the train (1hr 35mins) to Linz.;
Context: travel, recommendation, weekend trip (+)
Attributes: more going on than ever (+2), delightful hotel (+1), ultra-modern (and very comfortable) Spitz hotel (+1), concert hall and digital arts centre (+1), Lentos: interestingly curated, fascinating show (+2), flagship Ars Electronica Centre is an Aladdin's cave of interactive virtual displays (+2); Hitler grew up here and loved the city (-2), attractive Hauptplatz (+2), pleasant cobbled old town (+1), oldest church (+1), largest cathedral (+1), Mozart wrote his Linz Symphony (+1), Danube: dramatic, grassy parks, small beach (+1); Linzer Torte (+1); You can eat very well in Linz without breaking the bank (+1); excellent modern Austrian food (+2); trendy place, tasty dishes (+1); pretty church (+1), steepest adhesion railway (+1); numerous small international bars (+1) **(+22)**

Follow my lieder

Mentions: 4 (Next morning, we joined the ranks of perspiring, Lycra-clad heavyweights, parents towing kids, post-middle-aged couples and parrots (cyclists decked out in the latest plumage) on the Donau Radweg proper - our destination Linz - 228km upstream.; It was early evening before we entered the long, verdant park and recreation zone which heralds the approach of Linz, Austria's third-largest city and next year's European Capital of Culture.; The city was gearing up for the annual festival of local composer Bruckner which starts mid-September and runs until early October.; That evening we strolled down by the crowded, grassy banks of the river as a half-moon peeked out from behind the foothills of the Alps, the evening lights glittered across the water and from the huge riverfront stage, Bruckner's eighth symphony resounded to the skies.)
Context: travel, cycling holidays, Danube (+)
Attributes: „third-largest city and next year's European Capital of Culture, gearing up for the annual Bruckner-festival (+1), cultural renaissance of the city (+2), Cloud of Sound (+2) **(+5)**

Classical review: Schubert

Mentions: 1 (Herrn Joseph Spaun Assessor in Linz, bemoaning the absence of an acquaintance, is a satire of Rossini and a poor one at that - yet it also allows Trost, among the most versatile of tenors, to let fly spectacular sequences of top notes and giddy coloratura.)
Context: classical music, Schubert (+)
Attributes: -

Letter: Hitler's home town

Mentions: 1 (Ian Kershaw ("The twisted road to war", August 23) comments on the enthusiasm and welcome Hitler received from jubilant crowds "before reaching his home town of Linz".)
Context: WWII, hometown, Hitler (-)
Attributes: -

Letter: Home from home

Mentions: 1 (For Hitler, this was always Linz, where he grew up.)
Context: WWII, hometown, Hitler (-)
Attributes: Hitler's hometown was always Linz (-2)

Austria vandals deface Muslim graves

Mentions: 1 (Officials said some tombstones were toppled and others sprayed with black paint in the Muslim section of a graveyard in the town of Traun, outside the western city of Linz.)
Context: vandalism, graves, muslim, rightwing extremists (-)
Attributes: graves vandalised in a town outside of Linz (-1)

Letter: Hitler's classmate

Mentions: 1 (Ludwig was just six days younger than Hitler, and they both attended the Linz Realschule, although, as Alan Bennett points out in Untold Stories, it isn't certain that they were in the same class.)
Context: Hitler, Wittgenstein, school (~)
Attributes: -

Ob-La-Di hell: White Album sells for L 19,201

Mentions: 2 (The seller remains unknown, as does the auction winner. Only his location - Linz in Austria - had been disclosed.; Although Mozart spent time in Linz, we think it unlikely that the wealthy, deceased composer was the winning bidder - he seems like too much of an XTC fan.)
Context: Beatles White Album, auction, ebay (~)
Attributes: Mozart spent time in Linz (+1)

The Guardian, Jan 9th 2011
Aurora Orchestra/Collon – review

Mentions: 1 („The **Linz** Symphony")
Context: Mozart, classical music, (+)
Attributes: -

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guardian.co.uk, Jan 15th 2011
Sports: 'I am back in grand slam contention now,' says fit-again Ana Ivanovic

Mentions: 1 („Though her partnership with Gunthardt ended because the Swiss did not want to travel full-time, Ivanovic ended a 19-month title drought when she won in **Linz** last October and went on to win the Tournament of Champions in Bali, a victory that lifted her back into the top 20.")
Context: Tennis, tournament (+)
Attributes: -

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guardian.co.uk, Jan 20th 2011
Music: Glass: Kepler – review

Mentions: 3 („Landestheater & Bruckner O Linz/Davies"; „In 2009, Linz was one of the European capitals of culture, and among the specially commissioned events were the premieres of two significant music-theatre works."; „One was Michel van der Aa's The Book of Disquiet, based on Fernando Pessoa's novel; the other was Philip Glass's latest opera, built around the ideas of the 17th-century mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler, who spent 15 years of his life teaching in Linz.")
Context: classical music, theatre, opera, European Capital of Culture, Philipp Glass, Johannes Kepler (+)
Attributes: „European Capital of Culture" (+2), „significant music theatre works" (+1)**,** Location of Johannes Kepler (+1)

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guardian.co.uk, Feb 18, 2011
Comment: Friday quiz: Uber alles, liebchen

Mentions: 1 („7. When was Germany finally unified as a modern nation-state?
a. In 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War
b. In 1848, after the revolutions
c. In 1884, after a lightning quick Hohenzollern victory over the Hapsburgs at Linz")
Context: quiz, history, Germany, war (-)
Attributes: -

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guardian.co.uk, May 5, 2011
World News: Archive of artworks stolen by Nazis goes online

Mentions: 1 („The records include files documenting the systematic expropriation of Jewish property, Adolf Hitler's plans to establish a Führermuseum crammed with looted art in his Austrian hometown of Linz and the interrogation of art dealers.")
Context: Hitler, WWII, looted artworks, expropriation, museum (-)
Attributes: Hitler's hometown (-2)

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Art and design: Place Pulse: a new website rates city safety

Mentions: 2 („At present, there are just three questions (which city looks safer/more unique/more upper-class?) and five cities (Boston, New York City, Linz, Salzburg and Vienna), so it's not exactly a comprehensive survey, but from the results published so far, we can at least answer the initial question."; „We'll have to wait for their exhibit at Linz's Ars Electronica festival in September to find out what the hell that means.")
Context: Architecture, Technology, Online, City Safety, App (+)
Attributes: safety (+2), Ars Electronica Festival (+1)

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Books: Hitler's First War by Thomas Weber – review

Mentions: 2 („Find what occurred at Linz, / What huge imago made / A psychopathic God" – Linz being Hitler's childhood town.")
Context: Hitler, childhood, Auden (-)
Attributes: Hitler's childhood town (-2), „Find what occured in Linz..." (-1)

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Books: Girl in a Green Gown

Mentions: 1 („At least Hitler coveted it: the Nazis expropriated Germanic art from the countries they invaded, and "anything by Van Eyck became a prime target for the monumental gallery Hitler planned to found" in his home city of Linz.")
Context: looted art, Hitler's hometown, monumental gallery, Van Eyck painting (-)
Attributes: Hitler's hometown **(-2)**

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World News: European train operators step up rail services

Mentions: 1 („The same day the new privately owned Austrian operator, Westbahn launched a service between Vienna and Salzburg, via Linz.")
Context: rail travel, deregulation, Westbahn (+)
Attributes: new train service **(+1)**

E: Content analysis Bilbao:

Qualitative Analysis: BILBAO 1991-1997-2001-2011

The Guardian, March 9, 1991
Soccer: Kendall gets his teeth into another Everton stint

Mentions: 1
Context: football, manager (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, March 12, 1991
European Soccer: Ref removes foreign body

Mentions: 1
Context: football, spanish league (+)
Attributes: worst home defeat (-1)

The Guardian, Apr 10, 1991
Finance and Economics: Rescue go-ahead

Mentions: 1
Context: banking, Banco Bilbao (~)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, May 3, 1991
Europe: Earthquake hits Gerogia – This week

Mentions: 1
Context: news, bomb, killing (-)
Attributes: car bomb blew up and killed 3 (-2)

The Guardian, Aug 19, 1991
Hotel firm faces loans inquiry

Mentions: 1
Context: banking, debts, Banco Bilbao (~)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Sept 14, 1991
The city that lapped itself: Barcelona

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, olympics, Gaudi (+)
Attributes: develop a network of big cities, including Bilbao (+1)

The Guardian, Oct 16, 1991
Torero of the underpass

Mentions: 1
Context: obituary, Agustin Rodriguez Sahagun (~)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Oct 26, 1991
Double stroke of luck averts bomb mayhem in Spain

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, bombing, terrorism (-)
Attributes: bomb incident in Bilbao (-2)

Lamb lorries drive into the unknown

Mentions: 1
Context: lamb wars, competition, France (-)
Attributes: -

Soccer Diary

Mentions: 2
Context: football, diary, underwear (+)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Merson on Olympic high

Mentions: 2
Context: football, olympic, Athletic players (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Jan 28, 1997
Arts: Tokyo Storeys; As cities try to raise their profiles they want buildings that act as emblems

Mentions: 1
Context: urbanism, arts, city marketing, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: hope for higher recognition factor through Guggenheim (+1)

The Guardian, Feb 14, 1997
Spanish Truckers dig in

Mentions: 1
Context: news, strike, truckers (-)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Feb 18, 1997
Policeman killed as Basque violence increases

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, violence, killed (-)
Attributes: policeman killed in Bilbao (-2)

The Guardian, Feb 22, 1997
Overview: February 15-21

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, violence, killed, car bomb (-)
Attributes: policeman killed in Bilbao (-2)

The Observer, Feb 23, 1997
Terrorists push aside paralysed politicians

Mentions: 3
Context: terrorism, Eta, car bomb (-)
Attributes: policeman died in Bilbao (-2)

The Guardian, March 7, 1997
United again on the road to Munich

Mentions: 2
Context: football, Champions League, history (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, March 8, 1997
Separatists' strike call fails to stir Basques

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, strike, separatism (-)
Attributes: orchestrated violent clashes with police in Bilbao (-2)

The Guardian, March 19, 1997
Arts: Concrete Dream

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Guggenheim, Gehry (+)
Attributes: Frank Gehry's European masterpiece in Bilbao (+2)

The Guardian, Apr 8, 1997

Soccer: The flowering of French Youth

Mentions: 1
Context: sports, football, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Symbol of a century of horror to come

Mentions: 7
Context: history, Guernica, war (-)
Attributes: -

Soccer: Robson invited to take reins at Everton

Mentions: 1
Context: sports, football, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

News in brief: Police on Eta alert

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, policeman killed, separatism (-)
Attributes: policeman shot dead in Bilbao (-2)

News in brief: Guernica stays put

Mentions: 1
Context: Guernica, Picasso, arts, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: -

World news in brief: war of words over Guernica

Mentions: 2
Context: Guernica, Picasso, arts, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: new modern art museum (+1)

Soccer: English Clubs step up pursuit of pounds 7M Desailly

Mentions: 1
Context: football, transfer, France, Athletic (~)
Attributes: -

Discord in Disney Concert Hall Fantasia

Mentions: 2
Context: architecture, Gehry, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: highly praised Guggenheim art museum (+2)

Spotlight/Millennium Dilemma: Building on hope as cracks put dome in doubt

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, millennium dome, london, bilbao 2000, guggenheim (+)

Attributes: new developments (+2)

Soccer: Everton Aim to reunite Gray with Kendall

Mentions: 1
Context: Football, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Captive freed from Eta dungeon

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, terrorism, kidnapped policeman (-)
Attributes: policeman held in a bunker near Bilbao (-1)

Shot Eta hostage in coma

Mentions: 2
Context: Eta, terrorism, violence (-)
Attributes: peace demonstrations (+1),

Spain lays its martyr to rest

Mentions: 3
Context: Eta, funeral, protests (-)
Attributes: pitched battles in Bilbao (-2)

Defiant Eta names its next victim

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, separatism, violence, protests (-)
Attributes: offices burnt in Bilbao (-2)

Eta will not be crushed, say veterans

Mentions: 3
Context: Eta, terrorism, violence, founder (-)
Attributes: -

Saturday night: The teenage tourist

Mentions: 1
Context: tourism, diary, teenager (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Anglo-Scottish battle awaits

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, tie (~)
Attributes: -

News in brief: Policeman killed

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, car bomb, policeman killed (-)
Attributes: policeman killed outside Bilbao (-1)

Football: Said and Done

Mentions: 4
Context: football, Athletic (+)
Attributes: Bilbao – infamous for its highly militant separatist movement (-2)

Football: The challenge from Europe

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Spain, results (+)
Attributes: -

Arts Architecture: Prepare to be outraged

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Victora & Albert London, Libeskind (+)
Attributes: adventurous and challenging Guggenheim museum (+2)

Football: Uefa Cup, first round, first leg

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

News in brief: Two Eta gunmen killed in shootout

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, violence, separatism, killing (-)
Attributes: shootout in Bilbao (-2)

Sport on TV

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Ahtletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Keeper sent off as Sampdoria are knocked out

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Roundup: House red

Mentions: 1
Context: Travel, recommendation, Rioja (+)
Attributes: -

Football: The draws

Mentions: 1
Context: football, draw, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Gullit's Men Handed Trip to Lapland

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: obdurate, if beatable (~)

Arts Deal of the decade

Mentions: 22
Context: architecture, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: run-down sea port (-2), startling sight (+1), post-industrial gloom (-1), reincarnation of Marilyn Monroe (+2), unique structure … triumphantly (+2), remarkable piece of architecture and art (+2), faded glory of a former centre of shipbuilding (-1), Bilbao had missed the 1992 regeneration train (-1), the least glamourous of the Spanish regional capitals, its heavy industry left behind by the emergence … (-2), grands projets along the riverside (+1), metro system commissioned from Norman Foster (+1), bright, spanking new museum (+2) **(+4)**

Arts: Architecture: Up the creek

Mentions: 1
Context: Architecture, Deptford, culture (+)
Attributes: new Guggenheim museum (+1)

Trial of Eta Party strains Basque ties with Madrid

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, separatism, trial (-)
Attributes: -

Football: Everton ready to but – and sell

Mentions: 1
Context: Football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Where to go to see a Masterpiece: The Bilbao Guggenheim

Mentions: 40
Context: arts, Guggenheim, museum, travel (+)
Attributes: Masterpiece (+2), has the world's architectural community in a tizzy of excitement (+2), desolation (-1), green hills (+1), shiny, modern toy (+1), surrounded by hideous urban sprawl (-2), tough, sprawling, rust-bucket of a former shipbuilding community (-2), sad old nautical widow (-2), image problem (-1), you won't find Bilbao on anyone's tourist itinerary (-1), threat of ETA violence (-2), highest GNP of any area in Spain (+1), long and proud tradition of artistic endeavour (+1), began handing out commissions to the best and the brightest in the international architectural world (+1), the Guggenheim will do for Bilbao what the opera house did for Sydney (+2), zany requiem for a great age … (+2), wonderfully well it serves its function (+2), exceptional exhibition spaces, monumental artworks, displayed to superb advantage, brilliant use of light (+2), dazzling,

playful, monumental, exuberant (+2), remarkable departure (+1), stunning inversion (+2), a miracle (+2), great man-made structure (+2), blazing masterpiece. Go and see it, Hurry, run. (+2) **(+17)**

EU idea has a second chance

Mentions: 1
Context: EU, education, unemployed, initiative (+)
Attributes: pilot school in Bilbao (+1)

Madrid shakes off Opera phantom

Mentions: 1
Context: attack, Guggenheim, police (-)
Attributes: grenade attack on Guggenheim museum before inauguration (-2)

Policeman dies foiling bomb attack on Royal Opening of Bilbao Museum

Mentions: 2
Context: opening, Guggenheim, bomb attack (-)
Attributes: Policeman killed by shot from Eta rebels (-2)

Football: Spurs join Villa in chase for Gazza

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

In defence of England's war games

Mentions: 1
Context: football, history (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Little hint as Villa vie for Gascoigne

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Football's TV Dinners

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Ahtletic (+)
Attributes: -

Ryan's Euro express

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Ahtletic (+)
Attributes: -

News in brief: Guggenheim opens doors

Mentions: 1
Context: Guggenheim, opening, arts (+)
Attributes: new museum, fantastically shaped (+1)

Arts: Architecture: Acropolis now

Mentions: 7
Context: arts, architecture, Guggenheim museum (+)
Attributes: outlandish, explosive, controversial (+1), newly confident Bilbao (+1), Bilbao is clearly on the up (+2), new found confidence (+2), Eta machine pistols (-2), Bilbao is an Athens of our day (+2), Guggenheim Bilbao takes over for its slot in history (+1), noble beauty … has now landed in Bilbao (+2) **(+11)**

Football: Uefa Cup second round

Mentions: 6
Context: Football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: persevering Englishness about the club (~), passion among supporters (+1)

Radio

Mentions: 1
Context: Radio recommendations, Guggenheim, arts (+)
Attributes: Bilbao has reinvented itself as a Mecca of modern art (+2)

Football: Uefa Cup, second round, first leg

Mentions: 7
Context: Football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Gascoigne plays for time with Villa

Mentions: 1
Context: Football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Premiership preview: Evans gets the Wenger vote

Mentions: 1
Context: Football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Architecture: Basque in glory

Mentions: 12
Context: architecture, Guggenheim, arts (+)
Attributes: huge triumph (+2), extraordinary new museum (+2), like Sydney Opera, Eiffel tower, etc. (+2), magnet for international investment (+2), ETA plans to bomb the museum (-2), plenty of good bookshops and vibrant cafés (+2), Bilbao is a highly distinctive city (+2), truly unique people (+1), put them on the international map more intelligently and emphatically than all the guns an ammunition mustered by ETA (+1) **(+12)**

Football's TV Dinners

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Interview: Long before Damien Hirst sheep there was Robert

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, culture (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim museum (+1)

Football's TV Dinners

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Hughes is in control

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Aston Villa 0, Chelsea 2

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Football: How our European opponents fared this weekend

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

French blockade begins to bite: Western Europe barricaded

Mentions: 1
Context: Strike, barricades, blockade, France (-)
Attributes: drivers stranded in Bilbao (-1)

Football: Uefa Cup

Mentions: 2
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Uefa Cup

Mentions: 6

Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Uefa Cup

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

Computing and the Net: Netwatch

Mentions: 1
Context: Internet, Guggenheim, Website (+)
Attributes: Bilbao unusual-looking new Guggenheim museum (+1)

Said and done

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Uefa Cup, Athletic (+)
Attributes: -

Art centre paints the British out of the picture

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, museums, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: Look what's happening in Bilbao … treated with respect (+2)

End Zone: A trick up the old sleeve

Mentions: 1
Context: pop, Pink Floyd, Frieze Magazine (+)
Attributes: -

Travel: 3-minute guide: Bilbao

Mentions: 5
Context: travel, Bilbao (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim: stunning new showcase of art (+2), geriatric shipyards and deceased steel foundries (-2), immense, monumental, utterly magnificent (+2), Bilbao more than qualifies for the short-break league (+2) **(+4)**

Football: Juventus miss out on top spot

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, (+)
Attributes: -

Football: Uefa Cup

Mentions: 1
Context: football, Athletic, Uefa Cup (+)
Attributes: -

The taming of the screws

Mentions: 2
Context: Football, fouls (~)
Attributes: -

Spotlight Heathrow Fire

Mentions: 1
Context: Heathrow, fire, news (-)
Attributes: -

Arts: Architecture year: 1997s landmarks and eyesores

Mentions: 3
Context: architecture, best of 1997, arts (+)
Attributes: sensational building – the Guggenheim in Bilbao (+2), easily the most sensational building of the year (+2), Guggenheim has put Bilbao on the map in much the same way as the madcap Opera House did for Sydney (+2) **(+6)**

Schlock horror; Visual arts

Mentions: 1
Context: visual arts, Guggenheim, great minds (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Jan 2, 2001
Cities cash in on art scene

Mentions: 2
Context: urban development, arts, museums (+)
Attributes: Bilbao effect: success of the Basque town since building of the Guggenheim museum (+2); Bilbao trail looks far from going cold (+1) **(+3)**

The Observer, Jan 7, 2001
Top 10 dodgiest haircuts in history of football

Mentions: 1
Context: football, haircuts (+)
Attributes: sex symbol forced to cut mullet by Athletic Bilbao's owner (~)

guardian.co.uk, Jan 12, 2001
You Bet Your Life: week twenty

Mentions: 3
Context: football, bets, Athletic (+)
Attributes: Bilbao side that hasn't won all season (-1)

The Observer, Jan 14, 2001
Don't blame me, I only designed it

Mentions: 2
Context: architecture, critics (+)
Attributes: tainted Guggenheim in Bilbao (-1), spectacularly popular, suffering from nasty rash (~) **(-1)**

The Observer, Jan 14, 2001
Eta's loyal youth dreams of martyrdom and freedom

Mentions: 8
Context: Eta, terrorism, youth (-)
Attributes: young terrorists in the bars of Bilbao (-2); receivers in telephone booths ripped off (-1), Bilbao-born involved in shootings (-1) **(-4)**

The Guardian, Jan 16, 2001
The battle to shape Liverpool

Mentions: 1
Context: urban development, Liverpool (~)
Attributes: as important as the Guggenheim museum for Bilbao (+1)

The Guardian, Jan 20, 2001
Tapas dancing

Mentions: 4
Context: travel, Rioja, Spain (+)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Jan 20, 2001
Here for the Iberia

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, Spain (+)
Attributes: „Bilbao never really made it on to the tourist map until the opening of the funky modern-art museum, but Frank Gehry's titanium-clad Guggenheim is just part of a major pro gramme of urban renewal." (+1)

A pilgrim's progress

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, Spain (+)
Attributes: -

McGuggenheim?

Mentions: 8
Context: arts, museums, brands, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: critical success in Bilbao (+2), treasure-sharing arrangement will also encompass Bilbao (+1), Bilbao was an astonishing achievement (+2), at least as big a draw as Bilbao (+1), attracted an astounding 1m visitors (+1) **(+7)**

The space of things to come

Mentions: 1
Context: museums, Victora & Albert, arts (+)
Attributes: -

The sequel

Mentions: 1
Context: Egypt, library, culture (+)
Attributes: if Bilbao can make hay with its Frank Gehry-designed Guggenheim Museum (+1)

Go forth – and buy multiples

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, limited editions, investment (+)
Attributes: acclaimed architect of the Guggenheim in Bilbao (+1)

Ten ways to give your guilt a holiday

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, eco-tourism (+)
Attributes: charity bike ride from Bilbao to Barcelona (+1)

Ferries to the Mediterranean

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, service, spain (+)
Attributes: -

Choices

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, tips, whale watching (+)
Attributes: first ferry based dolphin observatory (+1)

Show time

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, cultural trips (+)
Attributes: stunning showcase of art (+2)

Killer threatens to tell all about Spain's dirty war

Mentions: 1
Context: crime, reveals, Spanish war (-)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Mar 3, 2001
In brief

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, tips (+)
Attributes: -

The Observer, Mar 4, 2001
Our cash fell into a Time warp

Mentions: 3
Context: money, banking, reader's stories (~)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Mar 17, 2001
Getting lost in Province

Mentions: 3
Context: arts, review, Sheffield (+)
Attributes: Bilbao boasts the Guggenheim (drawing thousands of visitors a year) (+1); rundown district (-1) **(0)**

guardian.co.uk, Mar 17, 2001
Stairway to heaven

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Guggenheim, Gehry (+)
Attributes: -

The Observer, Mar 25, 2001
More for less

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, cheap flights, service (+)
Attributes: -

guardian.co.uk, Mar 26, 2001
The Story of Spanish Football

Mentions: 4
Context: football, history, Basque (+)
Attributes: Athletic aren't just Bilbao's team, they're the Basque national side (+1), at the expense of other clubs in Euskadi (-1), Bilbao's monopolisation of Basqueness (-1) **(-1)**

The Observer, Apr 1, 2001
Bonny and Clyde

Mentions: 1

Context: architecture, Glasgow, renewal (+)
Attributes: following the footsteps of Frank Gehry's Bilbao Guggenheim (+1)

Hop picker

Mentions: 3
Context: travel, France, tips (+)
Attributes: -

Wonders and blunders

Mentions: 2
Context: architecture (+)
Attributes: blunder: Bilbao Guggenheim (-2), Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao seems like an ego-trip, cares only about the surface (-2)

Bloody bequest

Mentions: 4
Context: Eta, violence (-)
Attributes: trendy Bilbao bar (+1)

Nice and sleazy

Mentions: 1
Context: London, arts, architecture, Almeida (+)
Attributes: Frank Gehry of Guggenheim Bilbao fame (+1)

Fighting Back

Mentions: 1
Context: Education, attacks, teachers, students, violence (-)
Attributes: -

If we build it, they will come

Mentions: 1
Context: Norman Foster, Wembley, London, architecture, regeneration (+)
Attributes: Bilbao Guggenheim boosted GDP by 0.5% (+2)

Best offers

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, tips (+)
Attributes: -

Tate, our Tate

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, arts, Wembley (+)
Attributes: vulgar theme parks ranging from … to Gehry's Bilbao Guggenheim (-1)

Gunmen cast long shadow on Basque poll campaign

Mentions: 3
Context: Eta, violence, elections (-)
Attributes: -

The favourite exhibit in the world's favourite museum of modern art

Mentions: 2
Context: arts, Tate, exhibition (+)
Attributes: hugely hyped new Guggenheim in Bilbao (+2), top modern art galleries #4 (+1) **(+3)**

At last, a railway success story

Mentions: 2
Context: arts, museum, award, egg (+)
Attributes: much-praised Guggenheim museum in bilbao (+2), winners: Guggenheim, Bilbao (+2) **(+4)**

Eta kills Basque press executive

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, violence, separatism, killing (-)
Attributes: -

Some day, my plinth will come

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, sculpture, Rachel Whiteread (+)
Attributes: extraorinary piece - … and then Bilbao (+1)

Catalan who got the cream

Mentions: 1
Context: books, biography, Gaudi (+)
Attributes: sensational building transforms a provincial Spanish capital (+2)

Heavy case, light wallet

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, cheap flights, tips (+)
Attributes: -

Quick escapes

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, cheap, tips (+)
Attributes: Armani exhibition in Bilbao Guggenheim (+1)

Corrections and clarifications

Mentions: 2

Context: obituary, football, Athletic, Ronnie Allen (~)
Attributes: -

First past the post

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, awards (+)
Attributes: -

The art of being Armani

Mentions: 4
Context: Armani, exhibition, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: major retrospective (+1)

All the angles

Mentions: 1
Context: Libeskind, Victora & Albert, architecture (+)
Attributes: endear itself to the public as surely as … Bilbao Guggenheim (+2)

The cast show

Mentions: 1
Context: Rachel Whiteread, arts, London (+)
Attributes: -

Spain foils Eta plot to bomb Plymouth ferry

Mentions: 3
Context: Eta, terrorism, separatism, bomb, ferry (-)
Attributes: port security at Bilbao (-1)

Brits disappoint at Cannes ad awards

Mentions: 1
Context: awards, Cannes, advertisments (+)
Attributes: -

Corrections and clarifications

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, ferry, bomb, letters (-)
Attributes: -

Bilbao & the Basque lands

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, review, guide (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim put the industrial city of Bilbao on the tourist map (+1)

Ask the experts

Mentions: 3
Context: travel, service, tips (+)
Attributes: wealth of accommodation (+1)

Letter

Mentions: 1
Context: sports, letter, football (+)
Attributes: -

A toil for soil

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, cycling, charity (+)
Attributes: world-famous Guggenheim, spectacular building (+2)

Death in three acts

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, bull-fight, Spain (+)
Attributes: -

Architecture debate

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, debate (+)
Attributes: show off buildings (-1)

Northern exposure

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, Finland (+)
Attributes: less spectacular than Bilbao's Guggenheim (+2)

Fish as an art form – one bite and I was hooked

Mentions: 1
Context: books, aquaria (+)
Attributes: favourite museums: Guggenheim Bilbao (+2)

Whale-spotting

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, service, whales (+)
Attributes: -

I lost my heart in... Ikaria

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, guides (+)

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Attributes: -

In brief

Mentions: 1
Context: crime, attack, acid, separatism (-)
Attributes: acid attack in suburb of Bilbao (-2)

Office pin-up

Mentions: 1
Context: money, work (~)
Attributes: -

Catching on to Catalonia

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, Barcelona (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim Bilbao (+1)

Gehry's designs on LA site under fire

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Gehry, Los Angeles (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim Bilbao (+1)

The rise and rise of building sites – a whole new ball game

Mentions: 2
Context: arcjotectire. Arts)+)
Attributes: sculptural curves of the Guggenheim museum, Bilbao (+1), seductive as the Guggenheim, Bilbao (+2) **(+3)**

Don't look back

Mentiosn: 1
Context: comment, revival, 80s (~)
Attributes: glorious new buildings … Guggenheim in Bilbao (+2)

Let's hear it for young British talent

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, architecture, talent (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim in Bilbao transformed the public's appetite for architecture (+1)

On foot in Brooklyn

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, New York, Brooklyn (+)
Attributes: mind-boggling Bilbao outpost (+2)

Michael Pauls never travels without...

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, guide, info (+)
Attributes: -

Pick of the day

Mentions: 1
Context: radio, tips (~)
Attributes: Bilbao effect (+2)

Faith inspires or destroys

Mentions: 1
Context: terrorism, USA (-)
Attributes: murder another day in Belfast or Bilbao (-2)

The twin towers

Mentions: 1
Context: letters, terrorism (-)
Attributes: look at the absurd Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (-2)

Coming soon...

Mentions: 1
Context: culture, arts (+)
Attributes: … should do for Newcastle what the Guggenheim does for Bilbao (+1)

Bring on the Mitford gels... again

Mentions: 1
Context: book, review (+)
Attributes: -

Facelift gives grace to ugly sister

Mentions: 1
Context: Tate Modern, opening, London (+)
Attributes: a piece of architectural sculpture in the Bilbao manner (+1)

Low-cost airlines cut further

Mentions: 1
Context: Air Travel, terrorism (-)
Attributes: -

Country diary

Mentions: 1
Context: comment, countryside, ferry (~)

Attributes: -

Vegas Strip orders up a Guggenheim

Mentions: 1
Context: Las Vegas, Guggenheim, arts, urban development (+)
Attributes: Bilbao Guggenheim (+1)

Open for business

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, discounts (+)
Attributes: -

Art – the showbiz years

Mentions: 2
Context: arts, museums, Tate, Guggenheim (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim in Bilbao (+1)

Murder mystery haunts the Spanish police

Mentions: 1
Context: murder, crime (-)
Attributes: murder happened at La Salve in Bilbao (-2)

Bluenotes

Mentions: 1
Context: music, jazz, review (+)
Attributes: -

A little of what you fancy...

Mentions: 1
Context: Will Alsop, architecture, London (+)
Attributes: curving Guggenheim shining at the ends of canyon-like Bilbao streets (+1)

On the waterfront

Mentions: 4
Context: architecture, Turner, London (+)
Attributes: Basque industrial port (-1), do for Margate what Gehry's Guggenheim has done for Bilbao (+2), Bilbao is a capital city: Guggenheim shines in old docklands between bridges, does wonders for this industrial site (+1), **(+2)**

Sir James Cable

Mentions: 1
Context: obituary, diplomat (~)
Attributes: -

In brief

Mentions: 1
Context: world news, Eta (-)
Attributes: -

Eta blamed for judge's assassination

Mentions: 1
Context: news, Spain, Eta, murder (-)
Attributes: judge shot in outskirt of Bilbao (-2)

In brief

Mentions: 1
Context: news, Eta, murder (-)
Attributes: judge shot dead in Getxo, Bilbao (-2)

Last chance saloon

Mentions: 1
Context: lifestyle, food (+)
Attributes: -

Internment without trial will not stop terrorism

Mentions: 4
Context: terrorism, Spain, Eta (-)
Attributes: judge shot near Bilbao (-2), in Bilbao nothing changes (-2) **(-4)**

Eta extends armed struggle to France

Mentions: 1
Context: terrorism, Eta, protests (-)
Attributes: -

It's been so long, is terminal 5 now out of date

Mentions: 1
Context: archicture, airports, London (+)
Attributes: Calatrava's raptorish new terminal at Bilbao (+1)

Prado director is hung out to dry

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, museums, Prado (+)
Attributes: -

Second coming

Mentions: 1

Context: travel, art, architecture, entertainment, Manchester (+)
Attributes: a structure to rival Bilbao's Guggenheim (+1)

What to see and do in 2002

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, best of (+)
Attributes: structures to rival Bilbao's Guggenheim (+1)

+ 61 times:
Mentions: 1
Context: football, atletico (+)
attributes: -

+ 5 times:
Mentions: 2
Context: football, atletico (+)
attributes: -

guardian.co.uk, Jan 3, 2011
Spanish aristocrats row over rights of succession

Mentions: 2
Context: news, royal family, Spain, succession (~)
Attributes: -

The Guardian, Jan 11, 2011
Spain's extravagant City of Culture opens amid criticism

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, urban development, Santiago de Compostela (+)
Attributes: signature cultural buildings such as Bilbao's Guggenheim museum (+1)

The Guardian, Jan 22, 2011
Let's move to Margate, Kent

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, investment, real estate (~)
Attributes: designed to turn Margate into the Bilbao of Thanet (+1)

The Guardian, Jan 29, 2011
Tracks in time in the Basque country

Mentions: 5
Context: travel, Basque, train (+)
Attributes: chimney stacks of Bilbao (-1)

The Guardian, Feb 1, 2011
Fake Guggenheim countess on the run

Mentions: 1
Context: crime, scam, New York (-)
Attributes: art Galleries in New York; Los Angeles, Bilbao and elsewhere (+1)

The Guardian, Feb 7, 2011
New Eta political wing rejects violence

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, violence, rejection (~)
Attributes: -

guardian.co.uk, Feb 16, 2011
Guardian Camera Club: Trey Wheeler's Portfolio

Mentions: 1
Context: photography, arts, technology (+)
Attributes: -

guardian.co.uk, March 2, 2011
Mexican billionare's new museum gives The Thinker much to ponder

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, museum, Carlos Slim, Mexico (+)
Attributes: reminiscent of the Guggenheim in Bilbao (+1)

guardian.co.uk, March 17, 2011
Crystal Fighters

Mentions: 1
Context: music, live, review, Crystal Fighters (+)
Attributes: crowd-pleasing carnival of … suggests … transplanted from Brighton to Bilbao (+1)

James Stirling: visionary architect, and a very naughty boy

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Tate, James Stirling (+)
Attributes: -

The drain in Spain: the country's arts crisis

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, Spain, brain-drain, crisis (~)
Attributes: miraculous „Bilbao effect" (+2)

Basque country's thriving big society

Mentions: 2
Context: economy, development, Spain, Basque country (+)
Attributes: Athletic Bilbao, owned by its fans (+1); most important city, once a mephitic industrial hole, now bristles with civic pride (+2) **(+3)**

Artist of the week special

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, rising artist, Spain (+)
Attributes: -

Prince Charles touches down in Madrid – and other news from Spain

Mentions: 1
Context: Prince Charles, football, Eta (~)
Attributes: -

Is Spain sleepwalking into educational apartheid?

Mentions: 4
Context: education, school system, Basque (~)
Attributes: concrete jungle of … northern Bilbao (-1), excluding talented immigrants (Athletic Bilbao) (-1) **(-2)**

Buenas noches: budget hotels in Spain

Mentions: 2
Context: travel, hotels, cheap, tips (+)
Attributes: -

La vida Espana: what's new in Spain

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, design, Spain (+)

Attributes: -

Turner Contemporary's boardwalk empire

Mentions: 1
Context: Margate, gallery, Turner, London, architecture (+)
Attributes: similar impact as Gehry's eye-catching Guggenheim museum did in the rundown port of Bilbao (+1)

Turner Contemporary joins the regional arts charge

Mentions: 1
context: Margate, gallery, arts, urban development, architecture (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim Bilbao, that shiny, angular landmark building by Frank Gehry has become a template for what a gallery can do for the regeneration ofa n ailing, post-industrial city (+2)

Lessons in social enterprise from the Basque country

Mentions: 1
Context: politics, Basque, working hours, pay cuts (~)
Attributes: -

How to holiday like a rock star

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, luxury, celebrities (+)
Attributes: -

Las Arenas: Beware of the stampede

Mentions: 1
Context: bullfighting, architecture, mall, Richard Rogers (+)
Attributes: shining example is Frank Gehry's guggenheim, which not only put the Basque city on the cultural map. But helped bring a precarious peace between the separatist region and the rest of Spain. (+2)

Vishy Anand crushes Alexey Shirov with bravura performance

Mentions: 1
Context: chess (+)
Attributes: major chess events, including Bilbao (+1)

Amy Winehouse cancles part of European tour after jeers in Belgrade

Mentions: 1
Context: music, Amy Winehouse, tour cancelled (~)
Attributes: -

Magnes Carlsen back at N01 but Sergey Karjakin shines in Romania

Mentions: 1
Context: chess (+)
Attributes: -

A great white hope in Avilés, Asturias

Mentions: 2
Context: arts, museum, urban development, Avilés (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim effect (+1)

Frank Gehry: Dizzy heights

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, Gehry, New York (+)
Attributes: epoch-making Bilbao Guggenheim (+2)

Eta suspect arrested in Cambridge over plot to kill King of Spain

Mentions: 1
Context: Eta, separatism, arrest (-)
Attributes: attempted bomb attack at Guggenheim museum before opening (-2)

Alex James: plastic cheese punk

Mentions: 1
Context: Alex James, Blur, music, cheese (+)
Attributes: -

Chris Froome and Juan José Cobo declare on-day truce in Vuelta battle

Mentions: 1
Context: cycling, Vuelta, Spain (+)
Attributes: -

Chris Froome trails Juan José Cobo in Vuelta a Espana by 13 seconds

Mentions: 3
Context: cycling, Vuelta, Spain (+)
Attributes: first Vuelta stage in Bilbao since 1978 (+1),

Los Angeles: art's brave new world

Mentions: 1
Context: arts, architecture, Frank Gehry, Los Angeles (+)
Attributes: an even lighter and more dynamic creation than his Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (+1)

Cookery masterclass: Nieves Barragán Mohacho

Mentions: 1
Context: cooking (+)
Attributes: -

Regeneration? What's happening in Sheffield's Park Hill is class cleansing

Mentions: 1

Context: urban regeneration, comment, Sheffield (-)
Attributes: aiming at the Bilbao effect (+1)

Spain's €44m Niemeyer centre is shut in galleries glut

Mentions: 2
Context: architecture, Spain, Niemeyer (+)
Attributes: compared to the Guggenheim in Bilbao (+1), intended to have the same impact on the industrial Cantabrian sea port as the Guggenheim museum has had on Bilbao (+1) **(+2)**

Weatherwatch

Mentions: 1
Context: weather (~)
Attributes: -

Vasily Ivanchuk seizes on rivals' blunders to lead Grand Slam final

Mentions: 2
Context: chess (+)
Attributes: Grand Slam final switched to Bilbao (+1)

Scotland's 'independence generation' that could decide fate of the union

Mentions: 1
Context: politics, Scotland, independence (~)
Attributes: -

Northern Ireland looks to Titanic for economic boost

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, politics, tax income (~)
Attributes: with its gleaming glass, curved shape and illuminated roof, the … building resembles the Bilbao Guggenheim (+1)

Europe on the breadline: readers' stories from Spain

Mentions: 1
Context: crisis, letters, stories (~)
Attributes: similar effect to the Guggenheim in Bilbao (+1)

Magnus Carlsen recovers from slow start to win Grand Slam in Bilbao

Mentions: 3
Context: chess (+)
Attributes: Grand Slam final in Bilbao (+1)

Occupy the London Stock Exchange – Saturday 15 October 2011

Mentions: 1
Context: occupation, London, Stock Exchange, protests (~)
Attributes: -

A Spanish flavour

Mentions: 2
Context: food, lifestyle (+)
Attributes: -

Occupy Wall Street live: march on Times Square

Mentions: 1
Context: occupation, Wall Street, protest (~)
Attributes: -

Constructive criticism: the week in architecture

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, review (+)
Attributes: … wondering if he shouldn't have just given them another Bilbao Guggenheim and have done with it (+1)

Readers' writing competition 2011: accommodation review

Mentions: 1
Context: travel, accommodation (+)
Attributes: Guggenheim in Bilbao, a building that looks like the aftermath of a car crash but has transformed this dour industrial port into a tourist honeypot. Frank Gehry's building has been called "the greatest building of our time". (+2)

Spain's 'new Guggenheim' does not have a funding problem

Mentions: 1
Context: architecture, comment, Niemeyer, Aviles (+)
Attributes: intended to have the same impact on the industrial Cantabrian seaport as the Guggenheim museum has had on Bilbao (+1)

The Weekend Quiz

Mentions: 1
Context: quiz (~)
Attributes: -

The fresh ideas that can help save our world

Mentions: 1
Context: society, innovation, ideas (+)
Attributes: Basque Social Center for Innovation in Bilbao (+1)

A genuine New Deal is on offer for cities which take up our challenge

Mentions: 1
Context: urban development, UK (~)
Attributes: Bilbao, Toulouse and Dresden have comfortably more graduates per resident than any of our core

cities. (+1)

Centro Niemeyer closes but row over arts complex continues

Mentions: 1
Context: Niemeyer, Aviles, architecture (~)
Attributes: could help revitalise the city just as the Guggenheim museum had breathed new life into Bilbao. (+2)

Guardian Charity Awards 2011

Mentions: 1
Context: charity, youth (+)
Attributes: -

+ 91 times:
Mentions: 1;
Context: football, atletico (+);
attributes: -

+ 15 times:
Mentions: 2
Context: football, atletico (+)
attributes: -

+ 3 times:
Mentions: 3
Context: football, atletico (+)
attributes: -

Erklärung

Hiermit versichere ich,

dass ich die vorliegende Diplomarbeit selbstständig verfasst, andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht benutzt und mich auch sonst keiner unerlaubter Hilfe bedient habe,

dass ich dieses Diplomarbeitsthema bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in irgendeiner Form als Prüfungsarbeit vorgelegt habe

und dass diese Arbeit mit der vom Begutachter beurteilten Arbeit vollständig übereinstimmt.

Wien, 01. September 2012

Lebenslauf

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Gründungsmitglied und Mitbetreiber des Musikvideoblogs und Videokollektivs They
Shoot Music Dont They

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diverse Veröffentlichungen als freier Mitarbeiter für The Gap, Die Presse, Der
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Redaktionspraktikum bei der Tageszeitung Die Welt, Hamburg, verschiedene Ressorts

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Redaktionspraktikum bei der Tageszeitung Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, Ressort Berlin-
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