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Place Marketing for Social Inclusion.

Abstract.

Contemporary place marketing is an expression of urban entrepreneurialism, a symbolic politics that sells not just cities but the politics of neo-liberalism. Place marketing reflects the dominant political values of the time, something that explains its ubiquity. Yet it does not need to be an explicitly organised activity. The built environment may reflect any politics and it does so in ways that are very different from what we are currently used to. The built environment demonstrated the values and assumptions of social democracy and municipal socialism, when they were dominant. At times when the dominant politics is problematic, however, it may not be impossible to develop forms of place marketing that put forward alternative political values. If we look at this activity in this light, it may be possible to develop more socially inclusive forms. This paper examines how this process operated in the past in order to make suggestions about contemporary possibilities.

Introduction.

As the introductory chapter to this book shows place marketing implemented within a neo-liberal polity has negative consequences for ordinary people. It has helped fashion a society characterized by enhanced insecurity in employment, housing, and indeed life in general. Place marketing is part of the shift in the mode of local governance that has seen the displacement of a local state concerned with the welfare of its population, by a business-friendly form, the entrepreneurial city. Yet while place marketing claims to bring prosperity to declining cities, it plays an active role in restructuring cities along class lines by making them attractive to the middle class and forcibly displacing the poor.

The emergence of the entrepreneurial city reflects the neo-liberal transformation of society that makes cities compete in the global economy. Corporate cities use image and spectacle to reposition themselves in the global hierarchy of consumption and production, on the assumption that cities will survive by becoming entrepreneurial. They subsequently are 'playing to the rules of capitalist accumulation rather than to the goals of meeting local needs or maximizing social welfare' (Harvey, 1989, p.16). Moving production from traditional areas reflects the state of global class relations; the new service jobs in the former industrial cities reformulate those relations so as to return them to the position they had prior to dramatic increase in power achieved by labour forty years ago (Glyn, 2006).

Globalisation helps achieve this new balance, overseeing an entirely different social and political infrastructure that depends upon the enhanced mobility of labour and capital. Place marketing is integral to these changes in the physical, political and economic environment of these cities, helping to construct a new type of consciousness. Places – and consequently people – are told to stand on their own feet without state support, expectations are lowered and collective social relations are replaced by unfettered competitive individualism. In short this is a policy that is primarily oriented around changing class relations.

This politics makes the cities more attractive by developing culture, heritage, entertainment, and shopping, creating a class monopoly rent that supports landlords and tourists, and through gentrification, attracts inward investment (Harvey, 2012, p. 90). Place marketing strengthens the implicit political assumptions of neo-liberal globalization that are used to interpret everyday life and that make it possible to create new class settlement. These ideas are so ingrained by constant repetition and exposure that they are barely recognized for the radical politics that they represent; they include low levels of democracy, a downsized local authority that no longer represents the interests of its constituency and the notion of the market as the organizing principle for society. Place marketing therefore obscures how it destabilizes and renews the working class. In this way it has become a symbolic politics that employs physical

propositions around localities and buildings to express wider ideas about society. It is a way of mediating and interpreting the narratives that are constructed by the dominant political values.

Place marketing, therefore, does not sell places; it sells politics through the built environment because of the Hegelian propositions, that what is real is rational, and that appearances conform to reality. Space has authority precisely because it makes political arguments real; it creates the lived experience that can be interpreted through ideological narratives such as that propagated by place marketing. Its concern with the changes that people and places must undergo to be competitive it infuses each dimension of daily life with neo-liberal values. Its power derives from its class politics that paradoxically denies the relevance of class and proposes a consensual politics for economic success - it is a class politics that remains invisible. One of place marketing's beneficiaries is tourism, which reproduces many of the class characteristics of neo-liberalism albeit in a low-key manner (Eisenschitz, 2016).

Canary Wharf in London's Docklands expresses this narrative. It illustrates how the values of individualism and freedom liberated markets from the dead hand of the state, overcame a local government bureaucracy that had been working on a plan for over a decade, and freed enterprise to provide wealth for all. That story is constructed as a set of dualities that structure neo-liberalism's opposition to social democracy - enterprise versus welfare, redistribution versus growth, markets versus state, the deserving versus the undeserving poor, dependency versus self-help and finance versus industry. The common account, however, hides four decades of class struggle and the combination of co-option and economic violence that has tamed the cities and their populations. Place marketing puts forward interpretations that legitimate this class politics despite the fact that it has forced wages down, destroyed jobs, removed many institutions of working class support, normalized insecurity and placed at least a quarter of the population in many advanced capitalist countries into the precariat (Standing, 2010, p.24).

A firm of progressive architects in Venezuela describes Caracas as frozen politics (McGuirk, 2014, p.144), with each building or district illustrating the politics under which it emerged. The argument here goes a step further – buildings, physical patterns and the iconic spectacle embody not simply politics but social relations (Debord, 1984). Place marketing comes into its own when those relations are precarious, when they need support, when there is opposition. Canary Wharf, for instance, makes a statement about the financialisation of the economy, namely that goods and services are best bought individually rather than collectively shared, that debt is socially acceptable and that mortgages are superior to social renting. Finance's contemporary domination of the City skyline conveys powerful support for the politics of financialization. Not only does that have a 'shock and awe' effect but it confirms the permanence and legitimacy of Britain's unbalanced economy and the politics of de-industrialization that, among other things, normalizes social exclusion (Young, 1999).

Currently we, as citizens, have abdicated our right to manage our own environment and create cities that reflect our needs and desires; we have instead allowed developers, landlords and bankers to shape the city in their own interests (Harvey, 2006, p.89). Planning for the public good has been replaced by landlord controls, typified by privatising public land, or the state leasing shopping centres built on public land, to private firms (Minton, 2009). Divided cities are considered normal. Gentrification is confirmed as the solution to poor cities the world over (Smith, 2002, p.439). In Britain former industrial cities such as Glasgow, have abandoned their working class populations and taken on entertainment and cultural attractions in order to attract tourists, the creative middle class and investors. This is place marketing's rationale, a narrative that tells a story from a particular political viewpoint in order to legitimate the politics of the day. Yet Glasgow's experience, where poverty has been exacerbated (Mooney, 2004), is not uncommon.

Neo-liberalism is an unstable settlement. The World Economic Forum sees inequality as the greatest threat to world economic health (Dorling, 2014, p.69). If that is so we need to develop alternative narratives of place marketing that look not to the inculcation of business values among the population, but that aspire to a fairer and more inclusive society. The new decentralized and entrepreneurial urban forms of governance do not necessarily support capital; they could use the focus on the symbolic as a step towards more democratic forms of decision-making (Harvey, 1989, p16). That is what this chapter explores.

In the following section we examine neo-liberal place marketing as a class strategy that may occur 'naturally' without marketing organizations. That is followed by an examination of place marketing under more democratic forms of politics, while the final section looks at the potential for developing this activity for a more inclusive society.

Place Marketing – a class strategy.

Place marketing uses space symbolically to illustrate, legitimate and reproduce more abstract political ideas and arguments through its physical symptoms. This activity has always existed, but not always in an institutional capacity or even as a conscious practice to put forward the hegemonic politics of the time. Spatial form conveys a political message in ways that are not dissimilar from place marketing, during early industrial capitalism, imperialism and the social democratic settlement. It has also helped create the consensus around the recent renewal of capital's dominance, externalizing assumptions and arguments that are subsequently accepted by the population without any explicit place marketing. It substitutes a place-based consciousness over one of class, proclaiming a 'we are all in it together' that serves to underplay class antagonisms. Such arguments are often developed through the spectacle - the London Olympics has served in a similar capacity in the era of austerity, as did the Great Exhibition that was held three years after the European-wide uprisings of 1848. As Black (2007, p. 272), argues, sports mega-events always symbolize inclusion whether to heal internal division or conflict between countries; the language is always that of universality,

using words like democracy, unity, coming together or multi-culturalism. Yet in practice they tend to increase the divisions within and between countries.

Architecture and urban morphology – from neo-classical architecture to council estates - are conduits for political discourse because they accommodate interpretations of the built environment that construct political narratives which subsequently diffuse throughout society Cairns, 2012). Built forms create multiple discourses over time, which reinforce the relations of power that structure society; currently these are extremely unequal relations (Desiderio, 2013). Council estates, for instance, were once symbols of a socially progressive society, but in the last decades have become icons of a broken society, a breeding ground for the 'other'. Place marketing cannot, of course, accept this argument since it sits uneasily with its professional self-image. Yet its success in convincing people that the future of cities lies with neo-liberal politics makes it imperative to articulate a political alternative.

If conventional place marketing is more than changing the image of places in order to encourage economic prosperity, then one may legitimately argue that any instance of urban design and morphology that uses imagery to represent political argument qualifies as place marketing. Even if that process 'just happens', it nonetheless reflects the temper of the times. That may be seen by that most potent of images, St Paul's Cathedral dominating the City during the Blitz, which spoke volumes about national identity, tradition, political stability and social democracy's common bonds between the classes in the face of adversity (Kerr, 2002, p.78). While that image was carefully selected it nonetheless had an impact on class similar to that of contemporary place marketing campaigns. 'Occupy', equally, used symbolic locations, its choice of St Paul's reflecting the Church's significance as a political institution with a history of support to social inclusion.

The politics of municipal socialism at the turn of the 19th century represented a progressive non-conformism (Hunt, 2005, p.321), a radical break with the past that was competing for

hearts and minds. It was branded by a spectacular public architecture, epitomized by the town halls of Manchester and Glasgow, which were represented as belonging to the people themselves. The extent of the power concentrated in the local authorities led to a century of conflict with central government, culminating in the near 30% cut in their budgets in the five years since 2010ß. Place marketing has been involved in the rise, maintenance and fall of this politics. As Sue Townsend (2005), the cartoonist, reminisces, 'I'm a child of the municipal. Everything good had this word carved above its grand entrance'. This alternative met people's basic needs with collective rather than individual consumption, its political significance emphasized by the imposing architectural appearance of the buildings. Place marketing was thus enrolled as a means of signifying the importance of prioritizing need over ability to pay that defined citizenship and social inclusion. It was no less political than place marketing is now, but it was achieved in a different manner.

Baltimore is place marketing's poster boy illustrating the virtues of market-based regeneration that has successfully regenerated the docks, creating a major tourist attraction that currently sees around 25million tourists annually. It has, however, been subject to another equally political form of place marketing that demonstrates why Baltimore's sustainability requires an inclusive approach to urban politics. That is the television serial *The Wire* that portrays a fourth world country physically adjacent to the Inner Harbour, but socially many miles away. As Zizek (2013) argues, the five series connect the abstract process capital's self-expansion to the actual reality of society. Furthermore, he suggests (2013, p.235) that its demonstration of the impossibility of real change within the political system opens spaces for radical change.

The series creates powerful imagery to motivate an engagement with political alternatives, particularly as for many it is a true representation of the realities of life for large sections of the population in many US cities (Levine, 2000). It successfully undermines place marketing's deeply reactionary proposition that 'a city can do well (in terms of capital

accumulation) while its people (apart from a privileged class) and the environment do badly…' Harvey (2012, p.29). A city's health can only be measured by the quality of life of its population, yet as the series demonstrates, the relevant institutions – police, education, media, unions, and local government's regeneration strategy - are unable to improve it at a time of disappearing manual working class jobs.

Whereas the Inner Harbour is an effective symbol of success that is falsely applied to the entire city, *The Wire* offers an incomparably richer set of symbols and political analysis that need imaginative application. While the narrative veers between radicalism and social democratic reformism, its Dickensian antecedents offer possibilities for the churches, trade unions and NGOs to employ symbolic resources to demonstrate how the USA creates exclusion, why the gentrification-led model of development is irrelevant, and why trickle-down effects cannot lead to social inclusion, a central claim of neo-liberalism. How then can cities be fashioned that allow growth to be more equitably shared and for place promotion to foster inclusion?

Social democracy and municipal socialism.

In this section we look at instances of inclusive place marketing during the long century of social reform. These are social democratic and democratic socialist strategies that promoted social inclusion through meeting basic needs by collective action and a degree of democratic control. Chamberlain's Birmingham with its promise of a New Jerusalem introduced strategies for inclusion and citizenship, represented by the concept of the civic. The policies were branded often on a spectacular scale because the underlying politics required legitimation in order to gain public support, particularly from rate payers. Many social institutions – schools, universities, libraries, baths, town halls, museums – gained support through the symbolism of their architecture. The importance of this symbolism was reflected by vituperative debates over the styles most suitable for public buildings. To Ruskin, for instance, the gothic symbolized the skill of the craftsman in opposition to the tyranny of the

machine that emasculated its workers (Hunt, 2005, p.121). Given the disruption that industrialism represented and its transformation of working class lives, the gothic provided some 'ethical certainties' from a more remote period that was seen in ecclesiastical architecture (Hunt, 2005, p. 127). Civic buildings and the architecture of civil society, on the other hand tended to take an Athenian form, since Greece epitomized the values of reform that the emerging industrial bourgeoisie identified with: rationality, liberalism, democratic government, civic mindedness and the flowering of the arts and humanities (Hunt, 2005, p. 198). Place marketing's equation of industrial capitalism with these idealist values constituted an early version of laisser faire citizenship (Faulks, 1999).

A century later during that era's post-war zenith, the New Towns, Green Belts and the house-building and slum clearance programmes symbolized this politics through its liberation from the stultifying impacts of class relations. Social reform was branded by modernist architecture (Beech, 2014, p.196). The shift in the balance of power towards people and greater democratic accountability was reflected by lack of unnecessary ornamentation, openness, light, space, simplicity and by prioritizing function over form, and human need over aesthetic dogma. These values were aptly represented by the Festival of Britain, as well as such icons as the Finsbury Health Centre, Bexhill's De La Warr Pavilion, (funded by the socialist 9th Earl), and London Zoo's Penguin Pool. Throughout Europe council housing adopted that style because its association with both democratic socialism and social democracy gave those political streams wider recognition. Showpieces such as Islington's Highbury Quadrant explicitly illustrated the state's potential to effect political change. East London's Balfron Tower, the creation of Erno Goldfinger, is a classic instance of a building symbolizing the politics of social inclusion.

> 'Like it or loathe it, this was intended to be heroic architecture that offered the best of design to the masses, freed people from condemned slum housing, and elevated them – literally – to a better life. Balfron

> Tower is the welfare state in concrete. It deserves, nay demands, our attention' (Municipal Dreams, 2014).

Place marketing therefore is always aligned to a particular politics that employs demonstration projects to diffuse awareness of successful initiatives. However such marketing may remove the progressive element of welfare programmes. The Garden City model behind the New Towns was a class politics that threatened private land ownership and symbolized the benefits of communally-owned property. It may be marketed by different paradigms, as an instance of either the freedoms of consumption, or the politics of social justice, democracy and the moral economy. Place marketing may then take a particular policy, but allow its own universalism – a politics that we have seen is demonstrably false – to conceal and distort a radical politics. That is a strong reason why any attempt to construct place marketing for inclusion must be careful of how such policies are marketed.

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Demonstrating alternatives

Place marketing provides a class framework for interpreting society. The profession constructs place images of consensus but these obscure the oppressive class relations that underlies it. One starting point for inclusive strategies must be to demonstrate the mechanisms whereby these status quo strategies operate. Baltimore illustrates how policy statements and place promotion act as pedagogic schemes to socialize both citizenry and tourist into the neo-liberal interpretation of the world through the conventional dualities of who counts and who does not, of wage earners and the demonized welfare dependents (Silk and Andrews, 2011). Place marketing operates through discourses that make tourists feel safe, discourses that justify measures to contain the working class, to concentrate socialized investment and state power and to signal to capital the spaces where investment is secure. The anti-democratic nature of the spectacle, the sporting mega-event and the large-scale renewal project benefits

capital (Colomb, 2012), prevents individuals from expressing and developing their own autonomy, and clearly demonstrates how place marketing furthers social exclusion.

Identifying how place marketing reproduces existing relations of power lets one investigate alternative politics and processes that benefit the disadvantaged: resistance by the poor, reformist capital concerned about neo-liberalism's inefficiencies and instabilities, or the possibilities of moralistic critiques. One must choose the agents able to articulate these processes, whether civil society or the state; and one must decide on the criteria that would define greater inclusivity such as democracy, community, the de-commodification of public goods, redistribution or welfare. Inclusive approaches could inspire more bottom-up forms of decision-making by empowering ordinary people to conceptualize their needs. For this they must to learn to think politically about society and themselves, as this relationship is mediated through the built environment. In this way people would be able to collapse the personal and the political and stimulate individual reflexivity so as to let people gain an understanding and influence over the forces that mould their lives and the many different elements that make up their inclusion into society.

Multiple possibilities arise if one looks at how examples of place marketing could be examined for enhancing social inclusion. For instance citizenship, the rights that markets fail to provide and needs that are frozen by the operation of markets, yield interesting ideas. London's transport system is a major element in its branding. Yet its distinctiveness and the non-profit element, its association with high quality art and design arose out of notions of citizenship; that ordinary people deserved the best that society could offer. That provides an entirely different orientation to place marketing and one closer to the Moscow metro. Second, markets often fail to satisfy human need – one of the most important is the right to feel secure in all spheres of life. This is a composite good made up of individual and communal circumstances but it is absent among those groups that need it most as a consequence of neo-liberal individualism, welfare cuts, and a lack of concern over social capital and community.

Third, the intensified emphasis on sport for place marketers creates spectacles for passive consumption (Nauright, 2004), yet this can damage society because it excludes participation in sport aimed at strengthening community bonds, personal development or the provision of identity in people's lives. Each example opens a different line of enquiry.

If one locates social inclusion in notions of enhancing individual and collective autonomy, if the tendency of policy making has been authoritarian and state-led, if one remembers the class basis of welfare, and if one rethinks health as a holistic phenomenon, then the Peckham Health Centre from the thirties is a good example of how place marketing could embrace a more inclusive stance. It located poor health in the totality of the environment that faced residents, and saw the solution in overcoming anomie by creating spaces for social interaction that strengthened the individual within the community. The approach impacted positively on health by enhancing social interaction and boosting working class self-esteem in many ways, including the introduction to the country of self-service throughout the centre (Pearse and Crocker, 1943, p.74). This democratic socialist politics was branded by a modernist building that used light and space to break down traditional client-professional relations and create opportunities for autonomous activity by local residents. Whereas neo-liberal place marketing foregrounds wage cutting, competitiveness and efficiency, democratic socialism adopted real citizenship, personal autonomy and community engagement as its criteria. This was effective since the cause of most of their patient's symptoms lay in their class position.

The same criteria sees South America displays an architecture and urban politics that corresponds to Illich's ideas of autonomy for the excluded. Brazil has pioneered a form of participative democracy that invites citizens to determine part of their local authority's spending, thus giving voice to the marginalized (Avritzer, 2009). This has significantly changed the balance of class relations, giving the poor real benefits and including them as citizens for the first time. It originated in Porto Alegre, a town of over 1 million, and within a few years had thousands of participants including those in the poorest localities. Surprisingly,

rich and poor worked together, with poor areas gaining facilities such as sewage and roads. It is a political movement that is to be judged by its re-distributional impact and its success in developing mass mobilization among the population so as to resist multinational power and fashion, and to create an environment suited to people's needs. Whereas re-distributional strategies can be easily countermanded, changing the political environment can have lasting impacts on social inclusion.

This politics has been widely disseminated with the support of the World Bank (Pateman, 2012) but what is being sold is participation rather than the development of a radical class-consciousness. Effective place marketing would demonstrate under what conditions this could change the relationship between state and civil society, just as it could have focused on the unique politics of land that underlay the New Towns experiment.

In a similar vein Latin America provides examples of housing developments that have abandoned top-down practices in favour of embodying principles devised by the residents themselves. They may include developing physical connections to the rest of the city, cheap ways to provide community facilities and novel solutions to the provision of basics, such as dry toilets (McGuirk, 2014, p.147). In Chile, for instance, one estate aimed at the poor managed to retain a central location unlike the usual schemes, but given the higher cost of land were only able to provide half a house, leaving the tenants to build the other half themselves, when they were able to (McGuirk, 2014, p.80). Here are two initiatives that lend themselves to marketing using emotive symbols and language – direct democracy, empowering the poor – that constitute a politics with widespread appeal

Localism and holistic political strategies

Community and locally-focused policies aimed at the excluded such as training or physical regeneration appear attractive to those wishing to reduce inequality yet they are often zero-sum and move the poor around the poverty line but rarely change their class position. Local

urban initiatives are limited because of their fragmentation, narrow focus and reliance on discretionary financing. Local policies are often treated apolitically because they appear to be so obviously 'good', that they fall victim to the class politics of the market (Sharzer, 2012). The British Transition Towns (Taylor, 2012), for instance, foreground place marketing for inclusion, but without a political motivation they do the opposite, since the middle class buy their way in and bid up house prices. Like so many local policies – community energy is a good example (Seyfang, Park and Smith, 2012) - they focus on sustainability and resilience and ignore the economic processes that cause exclusion and shun explicit political connections. That frustrates their social aims (Sharzer, 2012).

Challenging entrenched class power necessitates framing local initiatives through a political strategy. Community energy, for instance, could be organized so as to prioritize democracy, change workplace relations, reduce the power of the large energy companies and consider new means of distribution that support inclusion. If that is not done, then apparently progressive strategies will offer false hope to the poor since the aims of self-reliance and autonomy have been redefined in a 'politically regressive, individualized and competitive direction' (Mayer, 2012, p365). If policies do not explicitly resist that politics, they are likely to result in greater inequality because of the dominant political environment (Harvey, 2012, p.83). Pro-poor tourism, for instance, is often thought to help inclusion but it is likely to increase overall levels of exclusion (Chok, Macbeth and Warren, 2007). The social economy, similarly, promises workers greater autonomy but often leads to self-exploitation and cooption for similar reasons (Eisenschitz and Gough, 2011).

Social exclusion has multiple causes. Policies may fail because local and immediate gains are compromised. One area may benefit but the problems are exported. Advances in housing for the poor may be undermined in the longer term, by shifts in the location of employment. The situation is complicated because there is no simple dualism between 'in' and 'out', either socially or spatially. The poor are not physically or morally separated from the included but

are integrated in society in many ways: they have internalized the values of consumption yet are excluded from the well-paid, meaningful and secure work that would allow access to that society (Young, 2003, p.397). At the same time the better off working class as well as the middle class can be subject to various forms of alienation and exclusion such as the absence of community and in London, the problems of housing. One cannot therefore focus on the very poorest but must take a class viewpoint.

Two instances of a more comprehensive approach, spring to mind. Coin Street in central London was born out of a seven-year battle by the community. Two planning enquiries and support from the socialist Greater London Council that placed conditions on the use of the privately owned part of the site in order to reduce its market value, made it possible for the community to acquire it (Tuckett, 1988). As a social enterprise it not only managed to build social housing and repay the loan, but uses commercial activities to support social housing and workshops that provide a degree of individual autonomy to residents within a collective framework.

The second example is Boston's Dudley Street Neighbourhood Initiative (DSNI). That community saw collective self-help that developed endogenously by strong political organization that was aimed at taking on both the state and capital (Medoff and Sklar, 1994). This poor and socially disorganized locality developed strategies of direct action that managed to create a working community in which nearly everyone participated. By combining direct democracy with grants from foundations it forced the state to grant it Eminent Domain legislation to buy out their slum landlords and form a Community Land Trust to keep that housing under local control. It developed a holistic programme of economic and social development that was focused on all the dimensions of community citizenship (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern, 2016). This experience could act as a demonstration project to poor communities the world over on how to improve the quality of life without

succumbing to what conventional place marketing would describe as the realities of the global marketplace.

Where to intervene?

Intensified central government control over local authorities and civil society within a market-oriented political environment has reduced opportunities for representing spaces to promote for social inclusion. One has therefore to look beyond traditional institutional structures maybe to urban social movements that may occasionally have an effective politics of inclusion (Harvey, 2012, ch5). Resistance to neo-liberalism increasingly lies in the interstices of society (Dinerstein, 2012). It may lie where there is resistance to the dominant urban politics, for instance action against the forces of dispossession that are blighting the lives of those who have become surplus to the upwards transfer of wealth (Harvey, 2006). Resisance may involve the protection of communities from the privatization of communal resources such as social housing or pensions. Tourism is a particularly good example of accumulation by dispossession, since it reduces cultures to stereotypes for consumption and sees firms dump their costs onto society and hotels enclose beaches as a consequence of their economic and political power. There has been little resistance because of tourism's benign image. Yet the narratives of place marketing are eventually being challenged by alternatives; Podemos' mayor of Barcelona, for instance, wishes to limit the sector's growth because of its impact upon exclusion (Gant, 2016).

Place marketing is narrowly focused upon a location's competitive edge and the money coming into it. This is mostly irrelevant since most of that money does not go to those who need to most. In fact the richest locations often have the greatest inequalities and may enclose the poorest populations. Strategies for inclusion must deal with the reactions of the excluded in this situation and their attempts to regain control whether through drugs or crime, as collectivities, such as family and community, fall apart. Initiatives may try to resist the spread of individualism by encouraging communal ways of social organization in order to increase

security and enhance social capital. They may try to reclaim human rights that are embedded in subsistence necessities, such as affordable and healthy food and water, air, housing, healthcare and safety, but to be effective they would require transformed social relations, and new conceptions of citizenship. Inclusive place marketing would put forward an attractive vision of society that rests conceptually on the damage neo-liberalism does both to humans and capitalism itself (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Wherever that is achieved, it should be branded into the very fabric of the location so as to demonstrate the significance of promoting values that are in opposition to the conventional wisdom of place marketing and neo-liberalism.

The difficulties of doing this should not be underestimated. Spaces that promote social inclusion require a politically-educated citizenry schooled in reflexivity, able to read cities and conscious of how we internalize ideas as part of our socialization. Above all they must be able to link their personal situation to institutional processes. On the other hand we should not underestimate the potential for real change that can be achieved since physical artefacts and patterns stir strong emotions and can generate movements in defence of communal rights.

A particularly striking example was achieved by Chris Searle a primary school teacher in East London who was able to engage schoolchildren to write poetry about their perceptions of their local environment, using a class framework corresponding to their own lived experience (Davis, 2009). By giving them a sense of autonomy he unleashed a vein of political creativity that led to their walking out of school when he was sacked for publishing their work. Similarly, the DSNI's success reflected the way that its political organisation and its collective experience of exclusion inevitably led to particular model of society and politics. That in turn explained the nature of its strategy and its model of community citizenship. In both these instances the experience of social exclusion and their understanding of its underlying mechanisms in particular places, created solidarity between people and politicized them.

Conclusion

We have argued that place marketing strategies for social inclusion requires explicitly political approaches. Conventional place marketing uses the built environment to change and legitimate class relationships, but does so in the belief that this is a universal principle that provides benefits to everyone. Its lack of reflexivity ensures that its assumptions are unchallenged, while a rationale other than economic growth is deemed 'unrealistic'. There is accordingly little resistance to the global epidemic of dispossession by a place marketing that extols the virtues of the newly gentrified spaces or supports land grabs. Similarly there is little resistance to the symbolic politics of sporting mega-event or iconic projects and the way they intensify the problems of deeply divided societies.

Promoting social inclusion is difficult, not least because it is a vague concept with differing criteria. Like motherhood it is rarely opposed, but since it can be implemented within a range of political positions there will be many ideas over what it means to define and achieve inclusion. Localist approaches that appear to be attractive tend to exacerbate the problems. Yet if one ceases to see place marketing just as a conscious activity, but a process in which spatial structure develops under a range of political, social and economic forces, there will be a congruence between the values of the dominant loci of power and the built environment, mediated in ways that are read by the population. This process can sometimes be captured by subordinate groups; that is particularly likely when the dominant politics is itself problematic. In this post-crisis age of austerity that is increasingly possible.

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