TOURISM.
CITY.
IDENTITY.

Critical Analysis of How Tourism Has Influenced the Identity of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Figures

'Critical Analysis of How Tourism Has Influenced the Identity of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee.'

Introduction

Just as a person has an identity, a core set of characteristics which define them, so do cities. A person possesses physical features by which others may identify them, such as their height or the colour of their eyes. In comparison, cities have buildings and landmarks of which the size, scale, and aesthetic properties can vary dramatically. A person also has their memories and values which are part of their personal character, which are analogous to the socio-cultural aspects of a city's identity. This includes the narratives created by the residents of the city as wells as organised events that celebrate heritage and attract tourists and visitors to the city. Tourism, the act of travelling for business or pleasure, has played an enormous role in shaping the identity of cities both positively and negatively. It has undoubtedly benefited cities by incentivising the preservation of cultural heritage and providing the economic means to do so. However, tourism has also influenced significant changes of the built environment and way of life in cities to accommodate for tourists. Alvarez-Sousa (2018) asserts that curating the city for tourist consumption suggests cities may "lose their identity symbols, their cultural heritage", adapting a city in this manner may have negative consequences in terms of city identity.

This essay will examine the concept of city identity by looking at the social interactions between culture and the urban landscape and how groups, specifically tourists, respond to this. It will also analyse how influential the tourism industry can be on city identity regarding how it is portrayed, the perception of the city from residents and tourists and the influence on the built environment. Lastly, it will analyse the theory of city identity and the influence tourism has on it, examining how this impacts Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee. These three cities in Scotland are at different stages within the tourism industry as Edinburgh is globally recognised with a booming tourism industry, Glasgow has been regenerating its city over the past few decades from a working-class industrial city to a progressive city encouraging the growing tourism industry. Dundee over the past few decades has been creating a new distinguishable identity to the UK from a working-class industrial city, similar to Glasgow, to

a creative and vibrant city that is a growing tourist attraction. As part of the research into these specific Scottish cities, interviews were conducted with local tourist guides, the team leader of city planning and economic development in Dundee as well as the Chief Executive of the Dundee Heritage Trust. This gives a perspective from the people that work specifically in the Dundee tourism sector. Exploring the trends and effects of the tourism industry within these cities will give an indication how much influence tourism has on city identity in order to analyse its influence.

1 – City Identity

1.1 Defining City Identity

City identity is a crucial component of social and economic development and can serve as a major point of attraction, both commercially and for tourists (Shao et al., 2017). Although the concept of city identity can be loosely defined as "the sense of a city that distinguishes itself from other cities" (Zhou et al., 2014). What precisely this means for any given city can be difficult to unpack due to the multiple, interconnecting layers of society which operate at different scales. A city is not one homogeneous entity with all areas and neighbourhoods holding the same beliefs and values, they consist of many different subcommunities, each with differing perceptions of the city. The term identity itself has become increasingly prevalent in multiple disciplines with publications discussing city and place identity increasing dramatically from 2005 to 2019 and now conveys a diverse range of concepts (Peng, Strijker and Wu, 2020). The identity of a city has been described as a "social construct" that involves elements in which cities can be distinguished from one another. This includes a city's physical environment, such as its architecture, and the sociocultural aspect of a city such as values, traditions and history which bring residents together (Potts, Dedekorkut-Howes and Bosman, 2013; Yaldız et al., 2014; Pol, 2016; Lotfabadi, 2013). Considering all these points, it makes sense to think of city identity not as a fixed "noun", but as a fluid, everchanging set of ideas and characteristics that, in their totality, represent the essence of a city.

Social and cultural identity of a city is shaped by residents "creativity and interaction between societies", as well as the communication between each other. Values, behaviours

and customs of residents can also represent the cultural identity of a city (Assi, 2022; Chen and Lin, 2016). Jaeger and Mykletun (2013) suggest that cultural festivals provide "a sense of belonging" to residents within a city and reinforce its identity. They connect people with their cities and preserve the heritage and culture that exist within the identity.

1.2 Physical Identity

Quoting Winston Churchill in 1943, "We shape our buildings and afterward our buildings shape us." The built environment is created by people and those buildings go on to influence the identity of people and the city (Gibson, 2008). Architecture and iconic landmarks within cities can communicate a symbol of the past and present as well as informing the cities future identity. Architecture portrays different historical layers of a city, and this can be perceived by an outside audience (Jones and Svejenova, 2017). Beh and Bruyere (2007) assert that "Each period's architectural values alternately embody national identities and serve as essential components of city identity.", they argue that architecture should be preserved as they represent the identity and culture within the city and with residents. Rifaioglu and Güçhan (2007) proposes that creating new architecture to follow trends of growing tourism can lead to "irreparable losses in their fabric and character" and can lead to historic architecture within the city unused and forgotten. They mention that to conserve the city's character, we must recognise and value the local identity of the city. Specific landmarks and architecture within cities are important for communicating identity, however with the introduction of contemporary architecture this can also become part of a progressive identity.

MacKay (1997) suggests that an effective way to portray an image and identity of a city is by promoting specific landmarks, creating symbols that strongly identify with the character of the city and its residents. Examples of architecture becoming a symbol of a city can be seen globally. The Eiffel Tower built in Paris in 1887 (Figure 1) is a great example of a landmark that allows residents or tourists to easily locate where they are within the city and demonstrates the development of modern architecture at the time of its creation in the 1800's (Jones and Svejenova, 2017). The Statue of Liberty in New York built 1876 (Figure 2) is recognised as the symbol for American national identity and the recognition of human freedom, but as slavery had not been abolished yet, it can also be seen as an icon that has

different meanings for different people (Stovall, 2018). The Edinburgh Castle (Figure 3) serves as a noteworthy example of architecture that symbolises the national identity of Scotland, representing not old the city of Edinburgh but the country as a whole. It can be seen as a representation of "Scottish cultural heritage" and its identity (Zhang and Pearce, 2019). These examples advance the view that landmarks and architecture can create an easily identifiable image of a city. Political and social landmark, the Statue of Liberty, however, demonstrates that symbols do not always accurately represent all residents.

Figure 1, Eiffel Tower (Paris)

Figure 2, Statue of Liberty (New York)

Figure 3, Edinburgh Castle (Edinburgh)

2 – Tourism Influence on City Identity

2.1 Branding a City

The global tourism industry has been acknowledged as a dominant source of income for cities and countries across the world (Liu, Kim and Song, 2022; Baranowski and Furlough, 2001). Tourism is a constantly growing industry with an worldwide increase of 400 million international tourist arrivals in 1997 to 1.3 billion in 2017 (Garcia-López et al., 2020). As

cities capitalise on the tourism industry, city branding can be used to carefully project and communicate a positive image or narrative that can easily be identified by a wider audience. Potts, Dedekorkut-Howes and Bosman (2013) advance the view that city branding can create a positive image that merges with the distinguishing characteristics of a city that create its identity. Dinnie (2004) highlights that the importance of city branding is evident and that to attract tourists and investors, the city's image and its reputation is important.

There is no paucity of research on how to successfully brand a city. Bernardo, Almeida and Martins (2017) assert that with the growing tourism industry, preserving the identity of cities should be a priority when constructing a city brand. For cities to discover unique selling points and distinguish themselves from other competing cities, it is advised that a city initially showcases what they already have, such as architecture, city events and its residents. Günter Soydanbay contends that successful place branding involves looking at what the city already has to offer. He suggests that branding a city requires an internal evaluation of what the elements a city has to offer, then a brand and narrative can be produced around viewing the city from an inside perspective. He brings attention to how product branding differs to this as it relies heavily on the outside perspective then looks at creating the internal components (Kaefer, 2021). Though Kirgiz (2013) argues that city branding should be approached as if the city were merchandise and can be branded the same. A significant weakness in this argument suggests a lack of knowledge on the literature in conveying city identity, creating a brand of a city as if it is a product suggests a surface level understanding of the internal mechanisms of what creates a city identity. With more of a focus on how it can be seen by the target audience, this could result in an unsuccessful brand that is weak and lacking in character. Having an in-depth understanding of a city and what it has to offer in conjunction with understanding what target audiences' perception of a place is, can help create a successful city brand.

Hardy (2018) draws attention to effective city branding logos and campaigns of global cities. He notes the integration of the significant Paris landmark the 'Eiffel Tower' (Figure 1) hinted in the letter "A" within its city tourism board logo (Figure 4). This is a great example of emphasising the features that a city has within its branding. He highlights Amsterdam's 2004 branding of the easily recognised "**I am**sterdam", created to celebrate the diverse city's

identity. It has shown to be effective as tourism numbers increased and the physical aspect of the branding by creating a 'monument' has encouraged thousands of tourists to physically interact with by taking photos with it (Figure 5). This example not only demonstrates the identity of Amsterdam as an inclusive city, but it also introduces a new dimension that creates an identifiable physical part of the city. Hardy also brings attention to New York's "I love New York" revolutionary campaign that was created after New York's negative reputation with the media in the 1970's. This campaign proved to dramatically improve New York's reputation and increased tourism as well as tourism spending within the city (Figure 6). This conveys how branding can improve an image and identity of a city through branding. This is further analysed in section 3.0 in comparison to Scottish cities.

Figure 4, Paris Tourism Board Logo

Figure 5, I amsterdam Letters

Figure 6, I love New York Logo

City residents play a role in being part of the city identity. Using residents as a focus groups when forming a city brand can not only make it more accurate to the city's existing identity, but also the reality of the city is reflected by the locals, and this can be seen by tourists that visit (Donald and Gammack, 2007), (Yu and Kim, 2020). As Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker (2013) contend that residents are ambassadors for their cities and gives integrity to the message the city brand wishes to establish. This suggests the influence of resident 'participation' in city branding can strengthen the brand as it can create a more authentic and accurate brand that conveys the reality of the city. Research into the effectiveness of residents being involved in the city branding has been explored extensively by city branding experts.

Research on whether the city branding in Barcelona aligns with the view of residents revealed that the resident's perception of Barcelona differed to the global perception of the city. The residents noted that Barcelona to them feels like more of a "theme park, a place that is losing its soul in favour of low-cost tourists", they felt as though the priority on

tourism has left them being pushed to the side (Compte-Pujol, Eugenio-Vela and Frigola-Reig, 2018). This shows the perception of the identity of Barcelona is inaccurate to how the resident's view their city. In their case study Eshuis, Klijn and Braun (2014) assert that an accurate city brand can be encouraged through the engagement of residents. Creating a brand around the resident's perception of their city's identity proved successful. Involving the identity and narrative of the residents within the branding can express the culture and social character of the destination as well as the emotional impact of heritage and history. This can be evaluated further in comparison to Glasgow's 'People make Glasgow' campaign in section 3.0.

Contemporary media trends such as online digital information through websites and social media have proved to be the most popular and influential sources of advertising. Riza, Doratli and Fasli (2012) assert that with this advancement of technology it has created a competitiveness between cities to market themselves. Using social media has allowed tourists to capture images of their own to share with family and friends that can indirectly market content to reach a global audience. This form of advertising shows the city through a deeply personal level and creates an identity of a city through the perspective of a tourist rather than a highly constructed brand. Research into the effects of user generated content, which is information that is published online by a tourist or anyone who is not being paid to do so. The results offered initial findings that contemporary media has a strong influence on tourist choice in destination Magno and Cassia (2018). Similar research influence of contemporary media on tourist destination choice revealed that contemporary media highly influences the choice of destination and attitude towards a city Sparks, Perkins and Buckley (2013). Additionally, (Torres, 2021) search data revealed that around 70% of tourists research online before they decide where to visit. With the apparent influence of contemporary media on potential tourists, this can be used to incentivise the curation of online content to attract tourists. The information provided by this form of media can be used to influence tourist's initial perception of the city.

2.2 Perception of a City

City branding and reputation can influence the perceived identity and image of a city to tourists and outsiders of the city. A city's identity can be perceived differently between a tourist and a resident of the city. Bernardo, Almeida and Martins (2017) expand on this, referring to the "observer's point of view", how identity can be seen through a visitor's perspective of the physical qualities of a city through the built environment and landmark buildings as well as how the city is branded and its image. The "point of view of different users" is how the identity of a city can be seen through a resident's perspective such as social culture, heritage and personal experience. Analysis of the Gold Coast in Australia in 2011 indicates that there was a drastic difference between visitor and resident perception on the accuracy of the city branding and image compared to the reality. Potts, Dedekorkut-Howes and Bosman (2013). This shows that presenting identity through branding can be consumed and interpreted from many different perspectives and how influential it can be to tourists and residents.

Creating an identity of a city through branding and media, such as film and literature, can lead to inconsistencies. Thus, we must question the authenticity of branding and how it can be misleading to tourists. An example of the disconnect between city branding and reality of a city can be seen, specifically in Paris. Mennel (2008) notes Paris is known globally as the 'City of Love' due to its portrayal in media such as film and literature, highlighting how it "differs radically from the sugar-coated version of contemporary Hollywood", this can be observed through the phenomenon 'Paris Syndrome' discovered in 2006. Leclerc (2014) discusses the 'Paris Syndrome', which was discovered by psychiatrist Hiroaki Ōta in the late 1980's. The syndrome affects predominantly Japanese tourists and it is described as the psychological distress due to their perception of Paris compared to the stark reality that has been described as a "culture shock". The most popular tourist destinations were examined in 2021, revealing what cities did not meet tourist's expectations. Paris was found to have one of the highest mentions of being "overrated". It was also noted that "news and tourism media are primarily responsible for creating the syndrome's less-than-realistic image of Paris." , highlighting the disconnect between city branding and image being extremely different to reality. A similar comparison to Edinburgh in section 3.0 can be observed where this phenomenon is beginning to occur.

A strong narrative can be noted as an important element when portraying city identities, creating stories that people can connect and relate to influences the perception of city identity. For cities to discover and brand their identity, there has been research to what the most effective way to approach this is. Beh and Bruyere (2007) express how influential a narrative can be to portray an identity, "People's identities are the stories they tell about who they are, what they share with someone like them, and how they see the world." They compare how city identity can be portrayed in a similar way to how we as people do the same about ourselves. This reflects how residents' opinions can be an extremely valuable source when it comes to the branding of a city and perception of tourists.

2.3 Reinventing the Built Environment

Architecture is extremely valuable within the identity of a city. Tourism can influence change of the built environment and consequently the identity of the city. Elhagla, Nassar and Ragheb (2020) explain that in the context of urban renewal "the significance of architecture exceeds the symbolic and the functional features and become a catalyst for urban changes". The addition of new and modern developments within architecture can be a positive benefit from tourism in redefining a city's identity. Riza, Doratli and Fasli (2012) assert that the "construction of iconic buildings has been extensively utilised by many cities in order to get attention and attraction", adapting the built environment to promote a strong image has worked to the tourism sectors benefit. Ebejer (2022) suggests that contemporary architecture helps to form a city image and therefore the perception of city identity to tourists. As cities introduce new building developments to increase global identity, they create new attractions, landmarks, and urban transport links. This can positively impact a city's economic sector and in doing so, can improve the tourism market and the attraction to cities.

An excellent example of introducing contemporary architecture to increase tourism and a positive city image would be the Guggenheim Museum situated in Bilbao, Spain (Figure 7). Bilbao during the 1980's suffered with economic and social hardship. The architect Frank Gehry designed the Guggenheim Museum which was constructed in 1997 and redefined a new city identity and image for Bilbao (Scerri et al., 2016). According to Plaza and Haarich (2013) they advance the view "the museum has succeeded as a tourist magnet and an

image-making device" and became the first step to transforming the city from an industrial working city to an increasingly popular tourist destination and encouraging new building developments to follow it. Additionally, suggesting that the form of digital media such as online and social media

Figure 7, Bilbao Guggenheim Museum

platforms helped to project the city image and convey this dramatic change to a global audience reaching potential tourists from all over the world. MacCannell (2011) comments on the recognisable term 'Bilbao Effect', it signifies the success and impact that the Guggenheim Museum has had on re-inventing the city and identity as well as the image of Bilbao and shows as an example that can inspire other cities. Creating new buildings and architecture is extremely beneficial to cities that struggle with tourism engagement and provide a new vision and identity of the city. A clear example of this in Scottish cities on a smaller scale can be seen in section 3.0 with Dundee.

Cultural tourism is when the tourist's incentive for travelling to a specific city is to experience and understand the culture of a city, this leads to tourists wanting to "live like a local" (Richards, 2018). Thus, tourists are increasingly booking accommodation within the city centre. It appears that short-term rental websites such as Airbnb, established in 2008, are becoming more popular within highly visited cities with "100 million hosts and guests worldwide" in 2017. Airbnb provides a more authentic style of residence for tourists and gives "customers the opportunity to live like locals in a listed apartment" (Hati et al., 2021). Analysing tourist's top motivators for choosing Airbnb over traditional hotels was specifically the authentic living element that allows them to interact with the local culture more easily (Guttentag, 2019). It was discovered that residents from cities that experience a significant amount of tourism creates an untenable increase in properties (Postma, Buda and Gugerell, 2017). Examples of this can be seen specifically in Barcelona and Venice.

In a documentary about how tourism impacts Venice, it reveals accommodation within the centre of the city is becoming increasingly catered to tourists. Property owners are increasing rent as tourists are willing to pay more for apartments within the city centre than residents as tourists are paying for a shorter stay. In most cases this allows tourists access

cheaper accommodation than hotels in the same location as well as allowing them to experience authentic living within the city centre. This leaves locals struggling to afford the rent prices and being forced to leave and relocate, thus defeating the purpose of tourists wanting to experience the authentic culture of the city when there are less locals living in the area. (DW Documentary, 2018). In Barcelona, it was found that the effect of Airbnb increased rent prices by 7%, as well as housing prices by 14% (Garcia-López et al., 2020) With the influence of Airbnb, Bock (2015) contends that this could result in "residential areas losing their unique identity and character" with the priority of catering tourists. This indicates that tourism can influence city identity, with increasing rent local residents are struggling to afford accommodation within city centres. Further analysis of Scottish cities in section 3.0 suggests this trend is occurring in Edinburgh.

3 – Case Studies

3.1 Edinburgh

Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland, is home to over 500,000 people as of 2021 and growing (National Records of Scotland, 2022). It is undoubtedly the most popular tourist destination in Scotland and with over 5 million annual overnight stays and almost 25 million day visits in 2019, compared to just over 3 million visitors in 2010 (Edinburgh Tourism Action Group, 2016; Visit Scotland, 2020). Edinburgh's distinctive skyline and contrasting architecture of the 18th Century medieval Old Town juxtaposed to the 19th Century Georgian architectural New Town has led to its 1995 UNESCO World Heritage accolade. The world heritage organisation aims to protect and preserve sites that are deemed as having cultural and historical value (Eva, 2018; Rodwell, 2013). Unlike Dundee, tourism doesn't have a major influence on Edinburgh's built environment as heritage landmarks and architecture is one of the leading attractions to Edinburgh. In 2019 it was revealed that the top tourist attractions included the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh Castle as well as exploring the Old and New town (Visit Scotland, 2020). The importance of the overall architecture in the city including the Edinburgh Castle (Figure 3), which has been intrinsically linked to the city's image, has encouraged the conservation of heritage buildings and landmarks within the city (Ronchini, 2018). This suggests Edinburgh's identity has been highly influenced by the tourism industry as it has heavily encouraged the preservation of the older architecture.

Undoubtedly the benefits outweigh the issues from not proposing the development of newer buildings as the city is praised for its historic city living. An issue of this can leave the city stagnant and stuck in its heritage identity with little space for growth and new opportunities.

In the early 2000's the Edinburgh Council began the preliminary research into the planning of city branding for Edinburgh. In 2005, Edinburgh promoted the well-established

Figure 8, 'Edinburgh Inspiring Capital' Logo

'Edinburgh Inspiring Capital' (Figure 8) as its city branding to enhance the reputation of Edinburgh in aims to increase appeal of the city as a place to "visit, invest, live work and study", encouraged that institutions across the city share the same message about Edinburgh to create a uniform image of the city (Dinnie, 2010). This branding suggests an emphasis on capital investments and encouraging the growth in this sector within Edinburgh that focuses more on the economic assets of the city rather than the cultural aspects. Despite the city being recognised under many different organically curated names by residents such as 'Athens of the North', 'Auld Reekie' and 'The Festival City' it is interesting that the council felt as though they needed to create a new name and brand for the city that seems very commercial in its approach, that doesn't necessarily reflect the residents outlook of the city as section 2.1 highlights that resident participation in branding can be highly influential.

Edinburgh has explored city image through a range of different tourist attractions, from the city's numerous outstanding festivals that are globally recognised to the rich heritage sites within the city. Successful city branding can be formed around existing features of the city as section 2.1 proposes. Festivals have been described as "essential in city marketing" for attracting tourists to visit (Hague, 2021). Edinburgh's festivals have been adopted within its city branding and has long been referred to as 'The Festival City'. Popular festivals including the Edinburgh's International festival, the Tattoo and the Edinburgh Fringe have been noted as "a celebration of cultural expression and commercial enterprise". With over 4 million attractions to all the city's cultural events alone, this demonstrates the importance of the

festival culture that gives Edinburgh prominence in the tourism industry (Jamieson, 2016; Ferguson, 2019). Regarding Edinburgh's cultural identity, there is potential tension as the city transforms over particularly the summer months when the major festivals begin. Residents experience more of the potential issues regarding city festivals than tourists as their living environment is disrupted as the use of festivals in tourism industry prioritise the needs of tourists over residents.

High tourism rates, especially through the festival season, affects accommodation in the city centre for tourists and specifically residents. This can be compared to section 2.3 where the dangers of the city becoming overrun with tourists are seen when rental sites such as Airbnb result in raising the price of properties for residents and pushing communities out of their city. According to Ross Hendrie, a local tour guide in Edinburgh, the city is gradually at risk of becoming a "theme park" as this is reflected in the increasing number of properties in the Edinburgh city centre being rented to visitors (Hendrie, 2022). This trend has been identified in Edinburgh's city centre and has been compared to Barcelona as there has been a surge in Airbnb listings. In 2018 there were over 10,000 listings compared to 3,000 listings in 2015. These listings have been noted as a disproportionate cluster on smaller areas, specifically the new and old town (Rae and Alasdair Rae, 2019). In 2019, Edinburgh accounted for over a third of all Scottish Airbnb listings. This has had a noticeable impact on the communities of residents in these neighbourhoods, as Edinburgh residents have viewed it negatively, describing they felt a "lack of control and powerlessness" and have raised concerns about property prices increasing due to short-term rental sites (The Scottish Government, 2019). Increased tourism has influenced the identity of the city and its residents as it has led to loss of community strength due to impact of housing affordability and as tourist's visitors rent out properties, residents are increasingly not knowing those living in their area.

In section 2 issues and similarities concerning the 'Paris Syndrome' can be directly linked to Edinburgh. The image of Edinburgh is created as a romantic scenic cityscape with hidden gems that can be enjoyed on a relaxing holiday for tourists. The branding and advertising of Edinburgh through digital media provides a limited depiction of the city's daily hustle and bustle and reduces it to a scenic city. This can lead to the perception of Edinburgh being distorted to tourists, and with concerns over the increasing amount of tourism it has led

tourists to question to what the reality of Edinburgh life is really like. Research has suggested the Royal Mile, which is at the heart of Edinburgh's Old Town, is "losing it's character" and that tourist's expectations for the city do not meet the reality of it as they are mostly surrounded by fellow tourists rather than Scottish residents (Kavaliauskaite, Jin, Hotham, 2019).

In the experience of Hendrie tourists are expecting a "Scottish romantic experience" of beautiful architecture when usually they find themselves in overcrowded streets which comes as a shock. He also notes that there is a high likelihood that his accent is the only Scottish accent they hear when walking through the Old Town as they realise everyone else is also a tourist. Hendrie suggests that the reality of Edinburgh is not what the media describes it to be (Hendrie, 2022). The differing perception of the city and tourist's expectations in this case can be influenced by many factors, however this issue could be linked to the city becoming more catered to tourists. Linking back to the issue of accommodation, the result of this is that residents are struggling to afford the housing within the city centre therefore more tourists are occupying the space, and this could be the reason that tourists are not encountering many Scottish residents within the city centre. This analysis suggests that tourism has influenced the identity of Edinburgh through the city image, the architecture and the socio-cultural aspects including the identity of residents.

3.2 Glasgow

Glasgow, Scotland's biggest city, has a population of over 630,000 residents as of 2021. Glasgow's industrial history, specifically shipbuilding and the trading industry in the early 19th century has shaped its identity as well as the extreme poverty and economic hardship with the Great Depression in the early 1930's. The juxtaposition of the wealthy and poor communities in Glasgow has been an issue the city has faced for decades and suggests a very prominent difference between the perception of identity of residents from each community. Glasgow, one of Scotland's most multicultural cities, has been praised for its vibrant city life and "characteristic humour which are intrinsic parts of its identity", though this aspect is usually only viewed by tourists that visit and experience the city life in person. Hendrie notes that Glasgow can be viewed as the industrial city it used to be but since its regeneration in the mid 1970's, tourists are often surprised at the city's ability to deliver a

Scottish living experience that feels more authentic in comparison to Edinburgh (Hendrie, 2022).

Glasgow's city branding has been effective in reinventing the city and its image. In 2014, the Commonwealth Games was held in Glasgow and with the eyes of the world on the city, the year prior to the event encouraged the city to evaluate its city branding and image. In section 2.1 the importance of residents being involved in the city branding has been highlighted and Glasgow's 'People Make Glasgow' city brand (Figure 9) is an excellent example of this. Glasgow's city council communicated with residents across the city through digital media to discover in their opinion

Figure 9, 'People Make Glasgow' Logo, George Square (Glasgow)

"what makes Glasgow great", this is said to have encouraged the reflection of Glasgow's distinguishable character through the brand while creating pride within the residents as they feel it accurately reflects their city. The brand was described by a council member in 2013 as portraying a "truly distinctive identity for the city" and acknowledging that "the people of Glasgow are at the heart of this brand" due to resident's contributions in designing the brand (Howarth, 2013). The influence of the commonwealth games and the tourism possibilities has evidently influenced the branding and reputation of Glasgow to create attention to the city and increase global visibility.

It is interesting that the Commonwealth Games spurred major renovations in order to facilitate the event. The economic and reputational benefits seemed to take priority over protecting the people of Glasgow in which the 'People Make Glasgow' brand highlighted residents make the city what it is. Despite the concerns raised by the residents of Glasgow regarding the demolition of local businesses and housing that had to be removed to allow the event to go ahead, the city council continued with their plans (Jordan, 2017). This irony of Glasgow making its whole city brand revolving around the resident, the economic and potential for the tourism industry to grow for the city was prioritised. Another example of this can be seen within Glasgow's museums, where the city has assigned the exposure through tourism as a priority and neglected to provide solutions for the change social-

cultural issues within the city such as high poverty levels and unemployment (O'Neill, 2006). This suggests events like the Commonwealth Games and city attractions are directly aimed at the progression of tourism rather than for the residents of Glasgow.

3.3 Dundee

Dundee, established as a city in the late 1800's in Scotland is home to a small population of just under 150,000 in 2022 (Dundee City Council, 2022). In 2014 Dundee was titled UNESCO City of Design, acknowledged for its work in the research medical field and the arts (Watson, 2020). Dundee has been characterised as having a rich history in the industrial industry and specifically the Jute, Jam and Journalism industries that flourished within the city in the 1900's. The city suffered economic hardship and sociocultural decline in the late 20th century that prompted Dundee to improve and change its image by reinventing itself (Domenico, Domenico and Domenico, 2007). Alison Motion, a local tourist guide, feels as though "Dundee is not enough generations away" to lose the sense of identity in being involved in industries that were much bigger than the small city of Dundee (Motion, 2022). Fiona Mackenzie, another local tourist guide, asserts that Dundee's identity and characteristics has been moulded by its industrial industries (Mackenzie 2022). Deidre Robertson, the Chief Executive of the Dundee Heritage Trust asserts that though the physicality of the city has been dramatically changed over the past 100 years, parts of the old city were reclaimed and now preserved such as the Dundee Discovery Point which holds the RRS Discovery that now serves as popular visitor attraction in Dundee and has established the change of the city image to the 'City of Discovery' (Robertson, 2022). Dundee today is an easily accessible city with the Tay bridge entering the heart of the city and straight into the waterfront development. With a successful growing student population and a recognised hub for the creative community Dundee has been able to allow the industrial history and new developments of the city to coexist.

Figure 10, Dundee 'One City, Many Discoveries' Logo

Dundee's new growing image and identity as the 'City of Discovery' over the past few decades has exponentially changed the city's reputation within the wider areas of Scotland and the UK. In an interview with Jennifer Caswell, the team

leader of planning and economic development at Dundee City Council, she revealed how city branding has helped Dundee become an up-and-coming tourist destination. Dundee brands itself as 'One City Many Discoveries', this reflects Dundee's identity most notably referencing the RSS Discovery ship. The main aims of Dundee's tourism strategy increase awareness of Dundee to visitors out with Dundee and Scotland and create a city that tourists want to explore as well as supporting local and bigger businesses and allow for collaboration between the two (Caswell, 2022).

As part of Dundee's regeneration, the iconic image of Dundee after introducing the waterfront development that started almost two decades ago has been the V&A (Victoria and Albert Museum). The V&A opened in 2018, after years of planning, has been described as "A living room for the city" by the architect Kengo Kuma (Cusack, 2018). Caswell revealed that the city promotion has used the V&A as the image of Dundee on every advertising platform, as she states in the interview it

Figure 11, V&A Building with architect Kengo Kuma

"creates a cohesiveness and puts forward a really strong consistent message" of the city and to "enhance the reputation and the identity" of the city centre and surrounding areas. The impact of the new developments has created a stronger visibility of Dundee within a wider range of people out with Dundee and Scotland. Statistics from Dundee's city performance show that there was dramatic increase in the number of tourist visits in Dundee between 2014 and 2019 following the lead up to the opening of the V&A. (Jennifer Caswell Interview, 2022). Dundee's V&A has been compared to the Guggenheim Museum in Bilboa, a fellow UNESCO city of Design. The Guggenheim Museum, as mentioned in section 2.3, has served as an excellent example of the integration between contemporary architecture within retired industrial cities to positively transform the image. The V&A has encouraged a similar result within Dundee as has evidently increased visibility within the tourism industry. This has introduced many more opportunities such as the proposed Eden Project which is hoped to positively impact the city's image and identity within Scotland.

Implementing the "cultural dimension" which is demonstrated in the branding of "Dundee City of Design" has created engagement with residents and tourists with the city encouraging a positive increase in the image of Dundee (Galerakis, 2020). This can be compared to the success in Edinburgh's cultural aspects in its branding with festivals. It has also been noted that the success in the arts within Dundee has been successful within global cities regarding "regeneration strategies" and improving city image and identity. This can be reflected in the "high profile institutions such as the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design and the Repertory Theatre" that reside in Dundee (McCarthy, 2016). Mackenzie suggests that Dundee's resident's view upon the city has positively changed over the past few decades (Mackenzie, 2022). Dundee's sense of self and the perception of residents and visitors has positively increased since the new developments on the waterfront which has created a strong link from the waterfront to the city centre. As section 2 highlights, residents of the city act as representatives of the city branding and as the city's sense of self has evidently been positive prior to the redevelopments it can be reflected in the identity of the city.

Conclusion

In conclusion, analysing the theory of city identity and the tourism influence on global cities has been effective in relating these trends within Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee. The influence has been evident in regard to the impact on physical and social aspects of identity. In the case of Edinburgh's identity tourism has influenced the preservation of the city which allows the historical aspect to prosper however can limit the growth and expansion of the identity. The social aspect of the city's identity has been interfered and influenced by tourism as communities have migrated out of the city centre due to accommodation impacts due to increased tourists staying in these areas. Glasgow has faced the influence of tourism as it's city branding has been praised for its reflection of the city's identity, however curating new developments in the city particularly for tourists rather than protecting the identity of Glasgow and its people. Dundee has seen the most positive influence on identity as tourism has encouraged Dundee to physically adapt the built environment to regenerate. This led to the need for Dundee to evaluate and define its sense of self within the residents

that live there and with the new tourist developments positively changing and helping the resident's living environment.

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