Holding values in place:

The governance of place-making in globally embedded cities

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Abstract

Values lie at the core of landscaping processes. In human geography, the concept of landscape describes the way in which societies relate to space through collectively interacting with their environment. Landscapes are a way of seeing and perceiving physical space, assigning meaning to it, and shaping it by giving materiality to imaginations. Values constitute the nodes of the society-landscape nexus. Not only do they influence perceptions and conceptions of space, but they also motivate action and underpin place-making processes. With increasing internationalisation of economies, politics, and societies, values and sources of agency multiply and diversify, giving rise to an intricate relationship between stakeholders who engage in place-making practices and shape the space they encounter according to their personal perceptions, imaginations, desires, needs, and goals. The aggregated interest results in high levels of place contestedness, in which the ultimate constitution of a landscape reflects dominant values or the values of dominating agents. While shared and resonating aspirations can facilitate the accomplishment of goals, diverging interests create tensions among stakeholders. Due to the contingency of social structures and value sets, landscapes find themselves in a constant state of transition. As such, their constitution is always evolving, and development trajectories can be changed at any time. Thus, it is important to have a thorough understanding of each actor´s values and aspirations for the landscape in question as well as the power relations among stakeholders and their capabilities to shape the environment. Knowledge of the underlying power structures, combined with an awareness of each stakeholder´s aspirations, allows us to renegotiate reality and enhance the world we live in. This consideration, which has strong implications for policymaking, builds the point of departure for the research topic of my thesis. For eliciting how the values of a myriad of stakeholders are interwoven in landscapes which are globally governed, I use a two-fold

approach. I take the concept of multilevel governance as it is used in political science to make sense of actors and their capacity to engage and intervene in landscaping practices. The multi-scalar and multi-actor perspective implied in the multilevel governance framework is conducive to grasp place contestedness in the wake of globalisation dynamics. Having identified the governance structures, I turn to the concept of landscape and scrutinise the values stakeholders hold, assign, and infuse into the landscape. Once conceptualised, I turn theoretical considerations into practice by conducting a case study in the city of Venice, Italy. Due to its cultural endowment, Venice is one of the most famous tourist destinations in the world and consequently displays high levels of place contestedness with actors at all scales engaging in landscaping practices. Apart from yielding a myriad of important insights into power structures and governance mechanisms in Venice as well as each actor's interests in and aspirations for the city, my conceptual framework has proven conducive as an analytical tool to which policymakers can return when seeking to enhance multi-scalar cooperation and increase place values for all stakeholders.

Key words: values, place-making, landscaping, multilevel governance, global embeddedness

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Table of content

1   Introduction

Some places seem to be detached from space and time. They seem to mock the everyday and offer an alternative, unique version to reality. Conversely, those places that seem far from reality are often much closer to everyone´s consciousness and everyone´s reach than mundane places. Their significance to world society is uncontested. Most of the highly renown cities nowadays feature such places as their reputation derives from them. With increasing internationalisation of economies, politics, and societies, they make a recurrent appearance in the global public and are well connected to the outside world. While some of these cities, such as London, New York, Tokyo, Singapore, or Paris, offer a modern, futuristic version of city life, other urban systems like Venice in Italy, or Córdoba in Spain, feature places that are reminiscent of times gone by. No matter their inherent time scale, their presence in the global public realm makes them subject to power relations as various actors engage in processes of place-making and place-appropriation. Influential stakeholders range from local authorities, municipalities, city planning departments, as well as residents and foreign visitors, to national governments, local enterprises and transnational corporations, supra-regional political and economic institutions such as the European Union, with the United Nations at the top of a world governance structure. Spanning a ladder from the local to the global scale, those cities step out of their local context and enter the international domain.

Once cities start to transcend boundaries and sources of agency multiply, governance structures become blurry and levels of place contestedness increase. Power relations arise between various actors who shape the city according to their individual perception of the space they encounter as well as their personal motives for using the space with reference to their needs, desires, goals, and visions. Supposing that aspirations differ among stakeholders and power is distributed unequally, tensions can be assumed to emerge with some parties

experiencing adverse impacts of diverging interests. Likewise, if aspirations are shared and resonating, aggregated endeavour facilitates the accomplishment of a goal.

Desires, goals, and aspirations arise from the values an agent holds. Elaborating on the assumption of diverging aspirations among interest groups, place interventions that spark disapproval imply a loss in place values for stakeholders with deviating intentions.

By giving credit to relational economic geographers, most notably Geri Gereffi (Gereffi et al., 2005) and Neil Coe (Coe et al., 2008), and their work on Global Value Chains and Global Production Networks, I argue that the research on how internationally integrated cities capture, create, and maintain monetary value, is well established. At the same time, I find a considerable neglect of the non-monetary, subjective values of urban systems.

I devote this thesis to the study of values in cities, which, due to their importance to a myriad of stakeholders at all scales, display high levels of contestedness in place-making processes. At a later state, I will refer to these urban systems as "globally embedded cities".

I embark on the study of values by posing the research question: *How do globally embedded cities capture, create, and maintain values?* At this point, I use the plural version "values" to distinguish subjective, intangible value from measurable, monetary value. Throughout my research, such differentiation becomes redundant as I only deal with value in non-monetary terms.

The thesis proceeds as the following: First, I introduce the theoretical and conceptual framework of my research. I work with the concept of multilevel governance as it is employed in political science and combine it with the geographical concept of landscape. In so doing, I identify important stakeholders in globally embedded cities, examine their relative power in terms of policy space, and analyse each actors' values by scrutinising individual

perceptions, conceptions, motivations, and aspirations for the city. Then, I put this into practice by conducting a case study, in Venice, Italy. Findings are exemplary for cities with similar socio-economic endowments and comparable governance mechanisms.

2 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

2.1 The concept of multilevel governance

The concept of multilevel governance emerged concomitantly with increasing European integration processes. The failure of previous explanatory frameworks of intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism to make sense of observed changes in the distribution of power called for theoretical reorientations (Tortola, 2017). In its initial use, the concept of multilevel governance was deployed to analyse different types of governance structures, including competencies, duties, and scope of interventional capacity of each governmental body. Base for these analyses were the respective jurisdictions in force (Stephenson, 2013). Marks and Hooghe (Hooghe & Marks, 2002), identified two main types of governance, a rigid type with clear distribution and allocation of power to each institution according to its territorial tier, and a more flexible and fluid type of governance with overlapping competencies and territorial influences. While the former is often referred to as federalism, the latter accounts for all forms of transnational treaties, interregional agreements, and public-private partnerships (Hooghe & Marks, 2002).

Given the context in which the concept of multilevel governance emerged, it found many applications in the European domain. The consolidating structure of the European Integration Model after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 was accompanied by a redistribution of power away from national governments both upwards towards the European Union and downwards to regional and local authorities. This redistribution ignited debates about the future role of the state. Special interest arose for the repercussions of cohesion policies. The attention to financial instruments of the European Union, namely its structural funds, took over previous concerns with juridical implications of multilevel governance (Stephenson, 2013).

The utility of the multilevel governance concept to make sense of multilevel governance practices spurred its development into an overarching key tool for a myriad of studies in international relation theory. It covers the entire political realm, including its jurisdictional and institutional settings (polity), normative dimensions of decision-taking and action-based goals (policy), and the forms of making change happen (politics). As such, multilevel governance can be seen both as a structure and a process that spans a network between actors located at different territorial tiers (Piattoni, 2009).

With some adaptations, the multilevel governance approach makes recurrent appearance in non-European settings and moves beyond the hitherto state-centric focus. Nowadays, it can be found in many contexts with insinuating structures of global federalism or world governance. Instances include studies of the United Nations or the World Bank, as well as transnational and intraregional treaties (Stephenson, 2013). Along the "governance turn" in academia, scholars expanded the scope of application by involving private, corporate actors, and voluntary, non-governmental institutions in their analyses (Tortola, 2017).

Applications not only moved upwards, above the European Union, but also outside of the European Union, giving rise to investigations of governance structures in the USA, Latin America and Asia (Stephenson, 2013). Furthermore, investigations became more place specific. Eizaguirre et al., for instance, used the multilevel governance approach to shed light on subnational differences in the ruling organisation of territories within European countries (Eizaguirre et al., 2012).

Since the multilevel governance framework grasps both structures and processes, it is frequently used by scholars who examine implications of internationalisation and regionalisation with alternating waves of integration and withdrawal from globalisation dynamics (Picciotto, 2008). Investigations pay attention to paradigmatic shifts such as

neoliberalism in the wake of the Washington Consensus and the repercussions of the retrenchment of the welfare state, as well as major incidents such as the global financial crisis and the following period of austerity measures, or the Covid-19 pandemic. The implications of changing political ideals play out at the local level, with some regions emerging as economic champions and drivers of change, whereas others fall behind in their development. In return, aggregating inequalities with ceasing Keynesian redistribution policies become visible in the political sphere (Cucca & Ranci, 2022).

First attempts have been made to incorporate the multilevel governance concept in urban studies. Budd and Sancino (Budd & Sancino, 2016) found it conducive to show how a city´s relative power is still closely tied to and dependent on the national governance system, even within the European Union and despite multiple claims about cities emancipating themselves from the reigns of the state. However, having reviewed the literature on urban governance, I allege that the notion of place-based leadership finds more application when scrutinising power structures in cities.

Leadership is closely linked to policy making, which opens avenues for approaching it from a governance perspective. Many scholars, among them (Beer & Clower, 2014; Thomann et al., 2019), approach effective place-based leadership as a collaboration between public, private, and voluntary entities, which alley to enhance local conditions and are able to tackle so-called wicked policy problems. Trust and reciprocity between actors are seen as important requisites to reconcile diverging interests and leverage each actor´s potential in contributing to the achievement of a desired goal. Since cities are endowed with a myriad of powerful actors and relatively high degrees of autonomy, they are deemed capable of finding solutions for complex and unprecedented challenges with high levels of uncertainty regarding the effectiveness of implemented policies (Beer & Clower, 2014; Thomann et al., 2019).

To my research, the multilevel governance framework is conducive because it allows me to study power relations from a multi-actor and multi-scalar perspective, including each actor´s policy space and capabilities. Since I work on globally embedded cities, for my purposes, the emphasis on multiscalarity implied in the multilevel governance framework makes it outperform the place-based leadership approach.

2.2 Coining the "globally embedded city"

The notion of "embeddedness" has emerged as a buzzword, due to its frequent application in economic geography. Drawing on Hess (Hess, 2004), I provide a clarification of the term before positioning myself in the debate. In regional economic geography, the concept of embeddedness is employed to describe how businesses, entrepreneurs, and labour, as well as formal and informal institutions, work best when densely interlinked within their local context. In contrast to regional economic geography, which is mainly concerned with local scales, relational economic geography, and especially the literature on global value chains and global production networks, considers primarily transnational aspects and interlinkages between regions and firms in a global economy. For many scholars, the last decades have witnessed a disembedding of societies. The notion of disembeddedness goes back to Karl Polanyi´s seminal work "The Great Transformation" (Polanyi, 1944), in which he points out that society structures around political relations and market relations. Disembedding happens when economic motives take over and erode trust and reciprocity between individuals in a society. Later work on the disembeddedness of social relations mostly refers to Giddens´ theorization (Giddens, 1991) of how social and cultural ties of modernity stretch beyond local or national boundaries.

Thus, the term embeddedness is used whenever reference to linkages between various actors and institutions in a spatial context is made. In this work, I employ the notion of "global embeddedness" to cover the entirety of socio-economic and cultural interrelations from the local to the global sphere. I use the term to demarcate cities on which the multilevel governance framework can be applied. I coin these cities "globally embedded cities". In so doing, I differentiate between three types of globally embedded cities: the Global City/World City, the Creative City, and the Tourist City. While boundaries between city types are fluid, I use the provided categorization for a first overview over key actors and mechanisms in multilevel governance practices.

As conceptualised by Saskia Sassen (Sassen, 1991), Global Cities are the result of a spatial reorganisation of economic activity, concomitant with increasing internationalisation of markets. The augmentation of international trade, transnational production systems, and cross-border financial flows required more organisation and coordination of market activities than hitherto existed. Consequently, some cities took on the task of coordinating international markets when financial firms and accounting services started to agglomerate in the centres of particular urban systems (Sassen, 2018).

The notion "World City" is coined by both John Friedman in his postulation of the "World City Hypothesis" (Friedmann, 1986) and the works of Peter Taylor on the "World City Network" (Taylor & Derudder, 2015). Similarly to Sassen´s work, both scholars focus on the effects of increasing internationalisation of economic activity on urban development trajectories. As pointed out by Friedman, the way in which cities are interrelated with the global economy affects their composition and relative power. In that manner, some cities become the focal point of economic activity and finance. This allows them to establish a hierarchical relationship with other cities in which they succeed in attracting global capital and influencing the

international economy (Friedmann, 1986). Less concerned with hierarchies but equally concerned with transnational economic activity, Taylor conceptualises World Cities not as independent urban systems but as nodes in the international economy. Hence, world cities gain their status by being part of a network of flows of capital, information, and cooperative activity. The existence of global service firms is crucial and builds the bedrock of the analyses. Transactions between headquarters of key agents in terms of service value are taken as a measurement for connectivity. The nexus between agencies within the city, namely city governments, service sector institutions, and the nation state alongside service firms, is of secondary importance (Taylor & Derudder, 2015).

In compliance with the literature, the first type of globally embedded city is the Global City or World City. Global Cities and World Cities have a higher propensity to being governed by global forces yet cannot be seen in isolation from their national context. They appear to be detached from the state and are, to great extent, steered by transnational economic actors. The private, corporate domain has relative superiority in shaping this type of globally embedded city. In their regional endowment, they display large numbers of influential financial and accounting institutions. Given the speed of capital and informational flows as well as the non-stop connectedness and awakeness of those cities makes them "24/7-Cities", and, in the words of Manuel Castells, "spaces of flows" (Castells, 2010). Examples of this type of globally embedded city comprise those that belong to the Alpha-tier as classified by the "Globalization and World Cities Research Network" (GaWC), including London, New York, Singapore, Tokyo, and Paris (*GaWC - The World According to GaWC 2020*, n.d.).

The second type of globally embedded city is the "Creative City". The obsession with making cities "creative" was ignited by Richard Florida´s seminal work "The rise of the creative class". Florida sees creativity as something inherently human and, in resonation with Schumpeter's

theory of "creative destruction" as well as the Solow-Model and Romer-Model of economic growth, a prerequisite for economic flourishing. According to Florida, despite the inherent creativity of human beings, only minor parts of societies make a living from their ideas. Those that do, belong to the "Creative Class". The creative class consists of "the creative core" and "creative professionals". People who are directly affiliated with industries of creative output belong to the former category. Examples comprise all kinds of artists including actors, musicians, painters, and filmmakers, but also entrepreneurs and researchers. The latter category is formed by individuals who engage in creative problem-solving as part of their daily tasks. Creative professionals can be found in knowledge-intensive industries, including high-tech, business management, and accounting and finance services. Since the creative class is associated with high economic output, they are referred to as human capital (Osiobe, 2019). Consequently, cities and regions hold strong interest in attracting creative individuals. The high mobility of todays´ society raises questions about what factors are key determinants of success in the competition for human capital. Florida's studies have shown that the creative class is drawn to places in which they feel tolerated and free to live out their identity as creative people. Low social entry barriers and weak ties, including a relative degree of anonymity, give the preferred sense of freedom. Tolerance, defined as respect for and open-mindedness towards various lifestyles, as well as race, ethnicity, and cultural background, is an often mentioned pull factor. Hence, lifestyle choices seem to outperform economic motives, as the creative class flocks to places that score high in terms of diversity and inclusiveness (Florida, 2019). The theory developed from those findings foresees cities that possess the "three Ts", namely tolerance, talent, and technology" to be capable of attracting the creative class. In return, entrepreneurship, and innovative firms will follow and provide the necessary context to leverage the creative buzz by turning it into economic output (Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2001). Since inspiration is found in the nearby environment, the clustering of creatives is conducive

for stimulating spillovers and achieving an exponential growth of innovation and ground-breaking inventions (Scott, 2014). Consequently, city planners are committed to turning urban areas into creative hubs. Respective policies comprise the entire agency realm of place-based interventions, including the regeneration of certain districts, investments in and subsidies for favoured industries, and overall city marketing and place-branding strategies (Evans, 2009).

I see Creative Cities as globally embedded in that they compete internationally for creative industries and professionals of the creative class. In contrast to World Cities, Creative Cities do not constitute spaces of flows but magnets that make people choose to settle long-term and contribute to a positive urban development. Creative Cities feature high liveability in terms of infrastructural endowment, especially broadband, and a vast offer of recreational activities and entertainment such as sports facilities, parks, trendy cafes and restaurants, shopping streets, theatres and more. Amsterdam, Lisbon, Milan, Florenz, and Copenhagen are just some examples of Creative Cities, while many World Cities, such as New York or London, are equally in possession of flourishing cultural and creative scenes.

The third type of globally embedded city is what I call the Tourist City. Tourism has long been deemed a panacea for spurring economic growth and modernization. Taking off with early modernization theories in the 1950s, the political economy of tourism has undergone significant changes, ranging from neo-liberalisation to regulation and developmental theories, and ultimately entering the sustainability paradigm (Bianchi, 2018). Tourist-led growth strategies have been proven successful regardless of geographic location (del P. Pablo-Romero & Molina, 2013). Thus, policymakers worldwide have employed place-branding strategies to successfully market destinations (Almeyda-Ibáñez & George, 2017). In many regions, tourism constitutes the main source of income (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2022). After a sudden break in international tourism due to the Covid-19 pandemic, numbers are expected to have fully

recovered by 2024, indicating that this sector will once again make a considerable contribution to global and domestic GDP (UNWTO, 2024). Increasing international mobility, both a result of improvements in transport infrastructure and a growing middle-class in many countries in Eastern Europe and the Global South makes globetrotting more accessible for a wider number of people. Changing lifestyle choices can be equally accounted for the surge in tourist arrivals across the world. In that way, what has once been a panacea for economic development, is now often perceived as a burden in regions that suffer from so-called "overtourism" (Atzori, 2020).

A mixture of global preferences and successful marketing strategies have brought cities to the fore of tourist destinations. The motives for city tourism are intertwined with motives for cultural tourism. Being a flourishing sector in the travel industry, cultural visitors´ interest in a destination is sparked by its endowment with remarkable architecture, symbolic and meaningful monuments as well as a specific way of life (Richards, 2018). Visitors are generally drawn to the historic city centres of urban areas. In some cities the great influx of travellers has led to observable and often undesired changes in inner districts. The displacement of former residents away from the city centre has been studied multiple times (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2021; Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2022; Lestegás, 2019). The rising rental prices, concomitant with gentrification processes and apartments turned into Airbnb, has ignited anti-tourism campaigns, induced by a growing "tourismphobia" (Milano et al., 2019). Linking back to the sustainability paradigm that is currently prevailing in tourism management, the global attention that is enjoyed by some cities due to their cultural endowment poses a formidable challenge to achieve reconciliation between residents and tourists.

Tourist Cities derive their global embeddedness from the aggregated interest of dwelling in the city centre, usually for reasons of cultural consumption and experience. Since tourist flows

are seasonal and vary over the day with many visitors being mere day-trippers, they are short-term in nature. Therefore, this type of globally embedded city is characterised by a high turnover and is inherently time fluctuant. Even though World Cities and Creative Cities are attractive tourist destinations, typical Tourist Cities would be Barcelona, Sevilla, and Venice.

2.3 Values and the process of landscaping

In what follows, I outline how and why the relationships humans form with their environment by becoming actors of governance practices can be scrutinised under the inextricably intertwined concepts of values and landscaping. Even though tightly linked to norms, attitudes, behaviour, and most importantly, identity, values are the backbone when it comes to place-making processes. Attitudes and norms can be equally accounted for human-environment interactions, but values dominate in landscaping practices.

2.3.1 Values and Identity in a globalising world

Values can be described as a personal, internal guideline that serves individuals as an orientation to make judgements about what is good and bad, right and wrong, or desirable (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004). As such, values are an ethical benchmark for measuring the integrity and "rightness" of what is encountered in the world, whether it is dealing with situations, circumstances, people, or places. Norms can also provide guidance for making judgements. However, norms are less personal and not tied to identity. In sociology, values are approached as being internal, whereas norms are perceived as an exogenously constructed belief about how something should be. Most importantly, values give rise to action. They motivate behaviour in a sense that the effort undertaken is meaningful and leads to the accomplishment

of a goal. Therefore, value-based behaviours arise from conscious decisions, whereas trait-based behaviours arise out of the subconscious and are less controlled by the actor. Attitudes in contrast, are merely the expression of values. They do not motivate behaviour, nor do they provide guidance for making judgments (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004).

Scrutinising the nexus between identities and values, research suggests a triangular interrelation between values, identity, and behaviour. A change in either of these causes shifts in the other components of personality. Simultaneously, an alignment of values and behaviour instils a sense of authenticity, which in return reaffirms one´s identity (Hitlin, 2003).

Acknowledging the importance of the identity concept in the wake of accelerating globalisation processes and increased interconnectedness between societies, many scholars have immersed themselves into the study of identity construction. I argue that a thorough understanding of this process is crucial since identities develop concomitantly with values. Combined, they build the root cause of intentional actions. They are the origin of governance mechanisms and therefore the source to which landscaping practices can be traced back.

There is common consent that the surging significance of identity formation is a repercussion of the most remarkable changes in the last decades, namely the globalisation of economies and societies, the transformation of capitalism from Fordist to Post-Fordist systems, the onset of neoliberalism, the implementation and use of new information technologies, especially social media, as well as general urbanisation and secularisation processes. The constant upheaval of the familiar and the implied lack of steadiness pose a challenge to individuals on how to situate themselves in society (Castells, 2009; Giddens & Sutton, 2017; Tilley, 2006). The identity formation is an ongoing process that takes place in an intricate relationship between individuals. Identities are contingent, only temporarily fixed, and always evolving. They are constructed based on a myriad of categories, whose meanings are contingent themselves. In

that sense, identities are shaped by cultural attributes, through the outline of similarities and differences (Giddens & Sutton, 2017). Sociology draws a distinction between primary and secondary identities. Primary identities, such as class, gender, or ethnicity, are usually internalised early on in life and remain unquestioned. Secondary identities however, are constructed through the adherence to particular discourses while rejecting other discourses, as well as through engaging in actions that the individual perceives as meaningful (Castells, 2009; Giddens & Sutton, 2017). The intentional alignment of actions with self-perception, that is who one thinks to be, and "self-conception", that is who one wants to become, are guided by values. The demise of previously reliable sources of identification, such as religious institutions, the nation-state, or the family, together with perceived losses of belonging, alienation, uprootedness, and placelessness brought by societal changes, give room for more importance of secondary identities. Since secondary identities are actively constructed, the identity formation becomes a "life task" of finding new sources of meaning and identification, something Giddens refers to as the "reflexive project" (Giddens, 1991). This delegates responsibility to the individual who has to engage in the identity formation of the self by considering different lifestyle choices from a growing number of options (Giddens, 1991; Tilley, 2006).

Based on studies which found a relative coherence of values within communities that are related by class, ethnicity, religion or kinship (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004), I conclude that the decreasing significance of primary identities implies an increasing importance of values. This is because values unravel from norms and become the primary guidance of behaviour. From then on, the adherence to a norm is a conscious decision and therefore the result of personal values. Through the proliferation of identity markers and lifestyle choices, values become more pluralistic and less stable.

Identities evolve along the exploration of various identity markers and sources of meaning. This voyage is manifesting in multiple ways. While Veblen, Bourdieu, Simmel, and adherents of Marxist thoughts focus on the phenomenon of "conspicuous consumption" that allows individuals to situate, express, and communicate themselves in society, Castells and Bartolini draw attention to the comeback of identification through religion alongside other forms of spirituality (Bartolini et al., 2017; Castells, 2009). Most importantly, space as a source of identification experiences a resurgence and casts a shadow to all forms of identity construction in globalising, interconnected societies. This plays out in the contradicting and yet interrelated ways of promoting the local while pushing for the global, underpinned by a new fetishism of culture in which meaning is found (Castells, 2009).

Following Stuart Hall´s conceptualization of culture as "shared meaning", I use the notion of culture to refer to the signifier system through which individuals make sense of the world. This includes the production, reproduction, and representation of ideas, imaginations, and perceptions of humans and their surroundings. Aggregated and shared through language, symbols and meaningful actions, individuals make sense of themselves and the world they encounter. In this process, culture and space merge, as space becomes a source of meaning.

Space enters the signifier system in multiple ways. In its abstract and most basic form, space is used for positioning subjects and objects, both physically and relational. In terms of identity construction, the social positioning hinges on the binary oppositions of "us" vs "them", or in an increasingly individualising society, "me" vs "the others". This common practice of othering which marks similarities and differences, is usually associated with the oppositions of "here" vs "there". In a more concrete manner, space, in its intangible form, gets filled with meaning and purpose, both physically and cognitive. It is the transition from "space" to "place". In this research, I approach space through the concept of landscape. This framing allows an all-

encompassing access to the study of values from multiple perspectives, including identity and culture, and their implications on place-making processes.

2.3.2 Values and identities in geographical concepts of place, space, and landscape

Throughout the academic history of geography, the concept of landscape has been taken up by various schools of thought, ranging from early cultural studies to humanistic geographers, as well as structuralist and poststructuralist thinkers (Wylie, 2007). Having said this, the intention here is not to ascribe to a particular perspective but to raise awareness of the existence of pluralistic approaches and implementations when it comes to the study of "landscapes".

In this analysis, I use the concept of landscape to make sense of the intricacy of power relations in place-making processes, including the governance mechanisms that underpin place contestedness in globally embedded cities. The concept of landscape is conducive in that it allows to cover various aspects of place-making. I approach landscapes as being part of culture and therefore part of the signifying system. Hence, in this research, the difference between landscape and place lies in the delineation of the individual sphere and the social sphere. Places are conceptualised as space that is of significance to the individual. Landscapes are spaces of shared meaning. Their morphology, significance, representation, and symbolism are marked by contingency and implicit negotiations in which power relations temporarily fix all the listed constitutions of landscapes. Culture is the nexus between human-environment interactions and the link between landscapes and identity.

As noted by other scholars (Mitchell, 2005; Tilley, 2006; Wylie, 2007), landscapes are a product of dominant norms and values, and a prevailing worldview. At the same time, the perception

and imagination of landscapes in terms of seeing, reading, and understanding them also depends on worldviews and discursive practices in which individuals communicate with each other. This gives rise to the eternal cycle of production, representation, perception, and reproduction of landscapes. The constitution of landscapes is a result of the ways in which they are lived (Mitchell, 2005; Tilley, 2006; Wylie, 2007).

I conclude that the seemingly stable composition of landscapes implied in the cycle of landscaping becomes elusive in the wake of globalisation. First, landscapes are not merely the outcome of the shared meaning of their inhabitants. The surge of global nomads, ignited by increasing labour mobility and lifestyle migration alongside a booming tourism industry, leads to a cosmopolitan society. Hence, it would be foolish to assume that all people encounter the same landscape despite their different backgrounds. Furthermore, as already pointed out, societies become more pluralistic and identities less stable. This implies within-group differences and higher contingencies of landscapes. Lastly, the inclination to world federalism, in which territories are governed from different scales, the same space of governance can be assumed to give rise to different landscapes, depending on the actors and their affiliation to the territory.

This theorization can be brought in line with Stobbelaar´s conceptualization of landscape identities (Stobbelaar & Pedroli, 2011). Forging a connection between the personal and the social as well as the relation between place and landscape, he provides a distinction between different types of landscape identities. The personal-existential landscape identity is highly individual. It is formed through the personal relationship to locations within that landscape. This relationship arises when memories and emotions get attached to specific sites. Those memories and emotions emerge from actions and experiences in the location. Hence, personal existential landscapes come into existence once they are part of the biography and the

narrative of a person (Stobbelaar & Pedroli, 2011). For this type of landscape, the concept of place is highly important. It has different functions which are crucial for individuals to self-identify. First, humans make use of physicality. The physical aspect of the self and the environment is integral for human consciousness (Easthope, 2009). Second, the emotional aspect that is forged by memories and experiences creates a sense of familiarity and belonging through which individuals can situate themselves in the world (Easthope, 2009; Paasi, 2003). Cultural-existential landscape identities refer to a compilation of places that are of significance to the community and are related to a collective identity. People connect to sites as a group, usually by shared practices, such as recreational activities, locations for festivities and events, or sacred places of worship. Cultural-spatial identities and personal-spatial identities belong to the realm of detached observation. Features of the landscape that mark this space can be perceived by everyone, nevertheless are understood differently, either on a cultural or on a personal level (Stobbelaar & Pedroli, 2011).

According to this configuration, I use the concept of existential landscapes as it involves agency in terms of place-making processes, which in return is linked to identities and values. Place-making processes cover the entire realm of the circuit of culture, including the production, representation, and perception of place. Reiterating that places are approached as space that is meaningful to the individual while landscapes are seen as spaces of shared meaning, investigations of place-making processes are essential since they indicate the underlying power relations of contested landscapes. Landscape is the space that is perceived by all actors. Same locations within that landscape however are perceived differently. Thus, same sites are different places for different actors, depending on how they are perceived and what meaning is ascribed to them. Depending on that and combined with the individual values these actors hold, the landscape gives rise to manifold imaginations, conceptions, and aspirations.

Consequently, they are lived differently. Habits and routines as well as purposeful interventions of living shape the landscape. On a side note, it is important to point to the fact that intervening in and living a landscape in a globalised world does not require the permanent physical presence of actors. Stakeholders engaging in landscaping practices can be institutions and therefore only become tangible through having representatives carry out value-motivated actions. Nevertheless, the constitution of the landscape changes and so do places. Unless these changes resonate with the values of other actors, they create tensions between stakeholders. This might lead to attempts of impeding the change and sparking conflict, it might lead to unopposed surrender. If it is not possible to avert the change, the landscape deprives in value and becomes impoverished in its meaning for one actor, while gaining in value and significance for another.

Since perceptions play an important role in the concept of landscape, I build bridges to the literature of humanistic geographers who have advanced our understanding of how places are experienced.

Having a "sense of place" is a prerequisite for any kind of human-environment bond. In its most basic terms, sense of place refers to how places are perceived. While visuality is the most important sense of human beings, sound, smell, and touch are also involved in place perceptions. They are the modes through which humans experience their surroundings (Tuan, 1975) and enable the creation of stronger ties between people and places, also known as the feeling of place attachment. Place attachment occurs when humans connect to places on an emotional level. The feeling of attachment arises out of experiences and memories individuals associate with a place. It is influenced by personal and cultural factors and grows stronger over time. The intensity of place attachment is directly correlated to the intensity of interactions in and with that place. Activities of all kinds, including mundane tasks such as work, daily

routines, or special occasions like celebrations, foster place attachment (Hashemnezhad et al., 2013). Consequently, people who use and therefore need a place, derive greater meaning from it. They have higher levels of place attachment and develop feelings of place dependency (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Ujang draws an important connection between place attachment, the feeling of place dependency, and the significance of a place. With an emphasis on public space, it is argued that a place derives its significance from its ability to cater for human needs. Therefore, place satisfaction can be used as an index for city planners to increase the overall liveability of urban public spaces. Broken down to various categories of human needs, satisfaction levels shed light on areas that require improvements (Ujang et al., 2018). Since this implies an evaluation of the encountered place in terms of its qualities, sense of place and place attachment links back to the concept of values and demonstrates its usefulness for normative approaches to city development.

Existing literature suggests that place values can be analysed by scrutinising degrees of place attachment and satisfaction levels. For eliciting place values in globally embedded cities, I deem it crucial to stick to the multifaceted concept of landscape. With a reduction to the concept of place, the research would lose sight of agency, power relations, stakeholder-capabilities, and policy space. Therefore, it is important to frame the connections between values and landscape.

Just like place values are relationship values (Brown et al., 2020), I argue that landscape values are equally relational. It is the logical sequel of the juxtaposition of held and assigned values. Held values are what the individual would refer to as "moral uprightness", just, good, important, and desirable. They catalyse behaviour and influence decision-making. Assigned values describe the importance of objects and occurrences as they appear to the observant (Brown et al., 2020). It is an evaluation of worth, assessed by comparing between different

alternatives (Seymour et al., 2010). Personal values, i.e., held values, and place values, i.e. assigned values, are interrelated in that the values a person holds influence the perception and designation of values to a place. Thus, they are coined relationship values (Brown et al., 2020). The nexus between held and assigned values cannot be assumed to lead to similar evaluations among people who share similar values. Indeed, some studies found a discrepancy between the values that were held and the values that got assigned (Seymour et al., 2010). In Seymour´s research, participants who shared the same values ascribed different values to the same location.

I conclude that other identity markers and the compilation of values people hold matters. Perceptions and experiences have a direct impact on assigned values. Since assigning values is a comparative analysis and people with the same values do not necessarily share the same experiences, those who know places with higher qualities might rate the location in question lower than those who are not familiar with other cases, despite sharing similar values. As places would not be places if they were not perceived, lived, and filled with meaning and emotions, the difference between held and assigned values arises from the perspective and the light and circumstances under which an individual gets to know a location. Since people construct their identity in relation to place, the identity they assert by engaging with that place can impact value designation. Regarding the individual value set, people might possess the same value, but they might not be equally strong developed. Most importantly however, as place-making is a process which is shaped by values, the way in which individuals interact with their environment is decisive. People are not passive observants. They actively shape the place they encounter according to what they deem important and what they wish to get out of a place. Therefore, I argue that landscape values are relationship values, not in terms of held and assigned values like place values, but in terms of held and projected values. In this frame,

it is possible to grasp how people create the world in which they want to live and make their lives meaningful by pursuing what they consider worthy. How the pursuits of different actors enable and constrain each other depends on the degree of resonations in held and projected values among stakeholders. The extent to which actors can project their values and leave an imprint on the landscape depends on their power and capabilities in relation to other stakeholders.

2.4 Synopsis of multilevel governance practices in globally embedded cities and the importance of values in the process of landscaping

Taken together, for eliciting how globally embedded cities capture, create, and maintain values, I use a two-fold approach. First, I apply the concept of multilevel governance to identify important stakeholders and make sense of their power and influence. Then, I turn to the concept of landscape values to investigate each stakeholder´s perceptions and aspirations for the place as they encounter it. As previously outlined, I distinguish between three different types of globally embedded cities. Reiterating that not every Tourist City is a Creative City or World City, while acknowledging that World Cities and Creative Cities usually feature tourist places, I devote this study to Tourist Cities. Before delving into the analysis, I will introduce the case study.

3   Venice city portrait

The city of Venice is located in the Northeast of Italy. It is the capital of the Veneto region. At first glance, Venice is a rather peculiar urban system. The city itself consists of 118 small islands. Bridges spanning over the canals connect the individual islands. The six city districts, called sestieri, are San Marco, San Polo, Dorsoduro, Santa Croce, Castello, and Cannaregio (Map 1). The historic city centre is surrounded by lagoons, which comprise additional islands. Not all of them are inhabited.

Map 1: Venice and its lagoons (Veneto Inside, n.d.)

The history of the city dates back to the 5th century, when first settlers of the Venetian population began to inhabit the islands of what is now the historic city centre. Starting off with agriculture and fishing, the society eventually became a strong maritime power and a flourishing republic. The splendid architecture and significant monuments from the time of

the Venetian Republic are well maintained. People move around the city by foot or by boat. The historic city of Venice conveys the impression that time stands still.

Despite its peculiarities in terms of architecture and transport system, Venice is today a modern city and well connected to the outside world. Trains depart and arrive at the central station every few minutes and allow commuters a convenient entry. The closest city to Venice is Mestre, with Padova not being much farther. Since most people in Venice live in Mestre, Mestre is often seen as being part of Venice. Expanding the focus to Venice's lagoons and the greater Veneto region (Map 2), while having a closer look at some spots in the historic city centre, Venice is not the vintage city that it pretends to be at first glance.

Map 2: Veneto region

Venice has an international airport and a seaport. Agriculture and industry can be found on the islands of the lagoons. Retailers of global brands have established in the historic city centre.

Hence, it is in the eye of the beholder, whether to refer to Venice as a vintage city or as a modern city with an extraordinary city centre.

Venice and its lagoons are faced with two formidable challenges. One is frequent flooding, the other is overtourism. Flooding, also known as "acqua alta", is a recurrent phenomenon in the historic centre of Venice. Caused by natural cycles of high and low tides as well as meteorological conditions of strong storms, the water enters some of the most remarkable places in Venice, including the iconic Piazza San Marco. Every year, the flooding interrupts normal life in the city and leaves devastating effects on the venerable buildings. In the last decades, climate change has exacerbated the occurrence of extreme weather conditions and consequently increased the damage caused by flooding. To protect Venice from the threat of "acqua alta" the Italian government has launched the MoSe system. The MoSe system consists of several barriers that shield the city from excess water (Faranda et al., 2023; Lionello et al., 2021).

Venice not only struggles with excess water but also with an excess in tourist arrivals. From the onset of the Golden Age of the Venetian Republic in the 15th century, the city has always been open and welcoming to foreigners. Indeed, the doge, ruler of the Venetian Republic, intentionally designed Piazza San Marco to be a meeting place for merchants who could directly arrive by boat. Since then, the city of Venice has never ceased to attract and astound visitors from all over the world (Zannini et al., 2008). In recent decades however, the surge of mass tourism has led to negative repercussions. Despite being an important driver for economic development, so-called "overtourism" has turned tourism into a burden for cities that find it difficult to cope with high numbers of foreign visitors. Overtourism occurs when residents or tourists think that the amount of visitors present has passed the threshold of what is desirable or sustainable and that the liveability of the place suffers from overcrowding

(Goodwin, 2021). The deterioration of living standards in urban areas that experience overtourism affects both public and private space. In many inner districts of tourist cities, rents have skyrocketed and subsequently led to displacements of residents. The perceived injustice has not only spread social movements and anti-tourism campaigns (Bertocchi & Visentin, 2019) but also ignited urban scholars (Boer & de Vries, 2009; Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2021; Salerno, 2022) to adopt a critical standpoint towards gentrification processes.

Public spaces in tourist cities are at risk of suffering from "the tragedy of the commons". Many of the places "consumed" by tourists, such as monuments, city squares, parks, or museums, are publicly managed. They are maintained by the municipality through tax revenues. In countries that do not have a tourist tax, tourists "free-ride" on public goods. The money they spend goes into private corporations such as hotels or restaurants. Consequently, public expenditure exceeds income, public places cannot be sufficiently sustained and therefore fall into deterioration (Hospers, 2019). In Italy, however, a tourist tax needs to be paid. Costs vary from city to city.

Drawing on the peculiarities of the city, I reason that the enigma of why Venice has become one of the most popular tourist cities, can be solved by connecting the dots between culture, identity, and landscaping.

Arguably, tourism is about the exploration of remote places which are distinct from what the person undertaking the journey would call home. The perceived "loss of place" due to globalisation and a general exhaustion of the fast-paced and stressful modern life, induce the desire to experience landscapes that feature "traditional", "exotic", and "authentic" places (Chen & Chen, 2017; Tilley, 2006). Venice, as bearing little resemblance with other cities while inducing imaginations about the splendour of the times of the Venetian Republic, fulfils the demand for an extraordinary travel experience. With the melancholy implied in the demise of

the republic of the doges and the overall fragility of the city, Venice becomes fetishized as a place of deeper meaning. The fact that many destinations nowadays are designed to meet the expectations of the "tourist gaze" has been acknowledged several times (Chen & Chen, 2017; Hospers, 2019). In the case of Venice however, the longings of the tourist gaze are not limited to some specific sites. The entire city is soaked with history, mystery, and splendour. The picturesqueness of the city favours its promotion through social media which heavily relies on images in the marketing process. Since visitors equally share pictures from their journey, the spread of the narrative of Venice as a "must see" is self-sustaining. In that way tourists attract more tourists (Hospers, 2019). Once arrived, Venice offers its visitors several opportunities to immerse themselves into the intriguing culture they have seen in advertisements or on social media.

The quest for cultural experiences can be traced back to the "identity project" in a globalising world, in which individuals find it increasingly difficult, yet increasingly important to make sense of themselves, situate themselves in the world, construct a self-narrative, and give meaning and purpose to their lives. I agree with Hibbert (Hibbert et al., 2013), who argues that travelling supports the development of a self-narrative and strengthens one´s identity through the process of othering. In Venice, however, not only is it possible to gaze at the extraordinary but also to take part in it and experience oneself a little differently. Visitors can move on the canals just like back in the days when opting for one of the prestigious gondolas instead of a boat. The Venetian Carnival that happens every year, starting at the end of January or early February, and lasting until Shrove Tuesday, offers a special cultural experience. It is the most famous festival in Venice and attracts visitors from all over the world. The Carnival is a reinauguration of an ancient tradition, dating back to the 13th century. Back then, the doge dedicated the period from the 26th of December until the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday

to a time of exuberant celebrations. Spectacles and performances were an important part of the festivities. Most importantly, the doge allowed people to wear masks and camouflage their identity. This obliterated social stratification allowed unrestrained social interaction (Feil, 1998). After the carnival was banned under Napoleon, it was reinaugurated in 1979. Since it is a revival of an ancient tradition, participants of the carnival dress up like people used to dress during the time of the Venetian Republic. With the reinauguration of the carnival, the craft of mask making has mushroomed. Venetian masks have become so popular that they are now a symbol of Venice and can be bought all around the city throughout the entire year. Images, narratives, symbols and most importantly, cultural experiences of high levels are reasons for why Venice makes it on the bucket list of many lifestyle travellers.

In Venice, the exceptional natural constitution is intertwined with an exceptional culture because of centuries-long human-environment interactions. While Venetians have experienced the rise and demise of their power, the fascination with the landscape of Venice and its lagoons has remained, and so have its basic characteristics. This is the reason why UNESCO designated the World Heritage Status to the city, including its lagoons. Cultural and natural heritage is deemed to be a legacy that serves as "a source of life and inspiration" (UNESCO, n.d.-e). To be considered a world heritage, a site must be of "outstanding universal value" (UNESCO, n.d.-b). The implications of world heritage designations, including their effects on tourist arrivals, have been studied various times, also in the Italian context (Cuccia et al., 2016; Ribaudo & Figini, 2017). The politics behind the discourse of "outstanding value" to entire humanity have been equally addressed (Lai & Ooi, 2015; Schmitt, 2009). The intentions and implications can be assumed to vary with context. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of world heritage designations when dealing with multilevel governance mechanisms in globally embedded cities.

4   Methodology

4.1 A critical realist´s approach to geography

The research project arises from a critical realist´s perspective on social reality. Critical realists have a realist ontology and a relativistic epistemology. They believe in the existence of a real world, while acknowledging that reality is not directly accessible, elusive, and therefore difficult to grasp (Stutchbury, 2022). Theories can help to better understand how the social world works. These theories, however, need to be frequently tested, adjusted, put into context, and approached with a grain of salt, always aware of limitations and the possibility to be wrong. Hence, critical realists reject the positivists´ approach of looking for universal laws. But they would also disagree with constructionists who believe that reality is socially produced (Fletcher, 2017). Scholars of critical realism are generally open for discussion, knowing that everyone operates from a different standpoint and therefore produces different knowledge. The objective is to communicate about different concepts, practices, and findings, and to eventually arrive at a broad consent of what is most valid given the specific context (Stutchbury, 2022).

The ontology of critical realism sees reality divided into three levels. The empirical level is the level of observation, the actual level is independent from observation, and the real level bears the roots of what is observed on the first one, i.e., structures, causes, and mechanisms that produce the observed, lie on the real level (Fletcher, 2017). An understanding of the intangible structures and agencies that give rise to what is materializing on the empirical level can be used to improve the world we live in (Stutchbury, 2022). Structures can both enable and constrain action, but they do not determine action. Since actions give rise to structures, changing actions imply changing structures. Consequently, an understanding of the mechanisms that give rise to the reality we perceive is crucial to enhance the lives we live.

Since people experience the world differently and have different opinions on what is good, just, or desirable, in order to improve social reality, research needs a clearer picture of how people perceive the world they encounter and how what they encounter differs from what they would wish to have. This is the starting point of my research project.

I embark on the state of the art that intentional action is guided by values. Considering that social structures enable and constrain actions, I conclude that the current world is the outcome of dominant values or the values of dominating actors. Consequently, to change current conditions, it is necessary to scrutinize structures and agencies. In my theoretical framework, structures are approached through the concept of multilevel governance. Agency is approached through the concept of values. Under the framework of landscape, it is possible to incorporate different perceptions of the same real world, as well as differing visions and distinct standpoints.

My theoretical and conceptual framework might bear some resemblance to critical theorists´ perspective on the production of space. Influenced by Lefebvre, according to critical theory, space is socially produced in three branches. In the "spatial practice", space is perceived in its physicality. "Representations of space" is conceived space, which is created, for example, by urban and regional planning institutions. "Representational space" refers to lived space, that means how it is experienced and used in society (Gottdiener, 1993). Building on Lefebvre, Edward Soja (Soja, 1996) distinguishes between First-, Second-, and Thirdspace. In Thirdspace, which is lived space, Firstspace, i.e. the materiality of space, and Secondspace, i.e. the conceptions and imaginations of space, are said to merge. As a critical realist however, I am not concerned with how space is produced, but how places are produced. I see space as something pre-existing, separately from society. Places, in contrast, are intertwined with the social realm. Places are the outcome of human-environment interactions. They are shaped by

perceptions, imaginations, and agency. Constraints to changes can be found in social structures that affect the policy space available to each actor. With an awareness of structures, agency can be changed. Hence, knowledge of the underlying mechanisms that lead to the social reality we experience, and a frequent reflection on whether we as society are content with what we see, enables us to renegotiate structures and agency. If successful, we should perceive the changes on an empirical level and be able to move into the right direction.

4.2 Research design

I chose the globally embedded tourist city Venice as a study location because of its longstanding ability to fascinate visitors. Given its cultural endowment that seems to perfectly meet the requirements of today´s lifestyle travellers, the global fascination for Venice is likely to continue. Since Venice and its lagoons are in possession of the UNESCO world heritage status, the city features stakeholders at all scales. For the analysis of Venice´s way of capturing, creating, and maintaining values, empirical data was collected during a field trip in February 2024. The time marked the end of the carnival. In that way, it was possible to leverage the high season, with many festivities and foreigners visiting the city, and the low season, in which life in the city was more laid back. With the multilevel governance framework in mind, six stakeholders across all scales were included in the analysis: residents and tourists on the local level, the city planning department and the city marketing company of Venice at the city level, the European Union at the supra-regional level, and UNESCO at the global level. From a critical realist´s perspective, these actors constitute the source of agency. Representatives of each party were approached with slight differences to cater for everyone's needs. The standpoints of residents and tourists were primarily gathered through standardised questionnaires. This allowed for a higher number of participants and better suited the tight schedules of visitors

and workers. In total, 34 people were selected randomly around the city and asked to fill in the questionnaire. Randomisation is important to avoid selection bias. It gives more validity to the research, despite the lack of big data. The questionnaire was the same for residents and visitors because both are local actors. Everyone living in the municipality of Venice classified as resident, the citizenship status does not imply residing in the historical city centre. In the questionnaire, participants were asked to state whether they are tourists, residents with revenues from the tourism industry, or residents without revenues from the tourism industry. The differentiation between residents who make a living from the tourism industry and residents who do not can affect their relationship with the city and their attitude towards foreign visitors. The main point of the questionnaire was to elicit the value of Venice. Since place values are relationship values and the values ascribed are interrelated with the values hold, I used motives for coming to the city centre and satisfaction levels as indicators. Participants were asked to indicate their motives for coming to the city centre by choosing multiple reasons from a list (Figure 1).

Please indicate your main motives for coming to the city centre. It is possible to give more than one answer.

☐ Economic reasons (consumption or earning money)
☐ To socialize (spend time with friends or family)
☐ To learn about the history of the city
☐ To experience a world heritage site
☐ To enjoy venetian culture
☐ To enjoy the hustle and bustle of the place
☐ Recreational reasons
☐ For the aesthetics
☐ Spiritual reasons
☐ To get inspiration
☐ For the popularity and reputation of the city

Figure 1: indication of motives

Then they were asked to rate the city according to how satisfied they are within six predefined categories (Figure 2).

How satisfied are you with what the city centre has to offer in terms of .....?
1 ★ = not satisfied at all;   5★   = highly satisfied

○   Economic services (consumption or earning money)
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

○   Aesthetics of the city
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

○   Opportunities to socialize
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

○   Recreational offers
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

○   Opportunities to get inspiration, meet spiritual needs, recharge from everyday life
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

○   Overall liveability
| □ ★ | □ ★★ | □ ★★★ | □ ★★★★ | □ ★★★★★ |

Figure 2: levels of satisfaction with urban characteristics

Participants could give stars from one, i.e., not being satisfied at all, to five, i.e., being highly satisfied. Six additional questions examined levels of place attachment (Figure 3) as an indicator for intrinsic, non-articulatable values of places. The questionnaire concluded with an open question in which participants were asked to describe Venice in one or two words.

How much do you agree with the following statements?

o   I feel/felt connected to other people

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

o   I feel/felt attached to the city

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

o   I have great memories of the place

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

o   I will/would come back

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

o   I would choose or recommend Venice over other Italian or European cities

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

o   I left the place inspired and energized

☐ Fully agree	☐ Partly agree	☐ disagree

Figure 3: indicators for place attachment

To obtain a more nuanced picture of the standpoint of citizens, I conducted three semi-structured interviews with artisans. All of them are in the craft of mask-making. I approached people in this profession because they are directly affiliated with the famous traditional Venetian culture.

The perspectives of the city planning department of Venice and Vela, the official marketing company of the city, were captured through semi-structured interviews. Interviews with these stakeholders equally served for gathering expert knowledge and capturing perspectives on the city level. For the supra-regional level, the chairperson of the city department that deals with European funds was able to represent the European Union. All interviews revolved around their contribution to city development, their relations to other stakeholders, the values they ascribe to the city, and the goals they have for the future of Venice. Even though Venice has a UNESCO department, it was not possible to get an interview appointment. The global level is included through the analysis of documents on UNESCO´s official website since the spokesperson asked to refer to those. The reason for not directly including the national level

is two-fold. First, there was no representative in Venice that could be approached. Second, Italy is a decentralised state, and municipalities have considerable degrees of autonomy. The impacts of national decisions could be obtained in conversations with the representative of the European Union and the city marketing company.

4.3 Analysis

I analysed the questionnaires quantitatively with the use of SPSS. Since the questionnaire was designed to be filled in by visitors and residents alike, I conducted a grouping to distinguish between tourists, residents with revenues from the tourism industry, and residents who are not affiliated with tourism. Out of the 34 participants, 18 were tourists, 9 were residents without revenues from the tourism industry, and the remaining 7 indicated to work in the tourism industry. For each group, I investigated motives for coming to the city centre, satisfaction levels, and degrees of place attachment. Every interviewee allowed me to record the conversation. All interviews got transcribed. In my findings, I name the interviewees on the local level according to their profession: Shop owner, artisan, and mask maker. To elicit the relationship values of each stakeholder and their perceptions of and visions for the city, I coded the interviews. I made use of expert knowledge regarding the workings of the city to get a clearer picture of the governance structure that I am dealing with. A comparison across stakeholders provided me with insights about resonations and divergences in values as well as everyone´s influence, capability, and policy space to shape the city. The relationships between agents along the ladder of scale and their connection to Venice constitute the structures a critical realist is looking for.

5   Findings

5.1 The local level

Most visitors who come to Venice are interested in its culture. 77,8% of the tourists stated this interest. Secondary motives were to learn about the history of the city (55,6%) and to socialise (38,9%). Only 27,8% indicated that the UNESCO world heritage designation or the aesthetics of the city played a role. The popularity of the city seems to be more important, given that 44,4% reported that reputation was decisive. With 55,6%, culture was also the main motive for coming to the city centre under residents without revenues from the tourism industry. History, the aesthetics, and social reasons were secondary motives. Residents who are affiliated with the tourism industry choose to come to the city centre mainly to socialise and for recreational reasons, with culture and aesthetics as secondary motives. Overall, residents who worked in the tourism industry and tourists had more motives to come to the city centre (Figure 4).
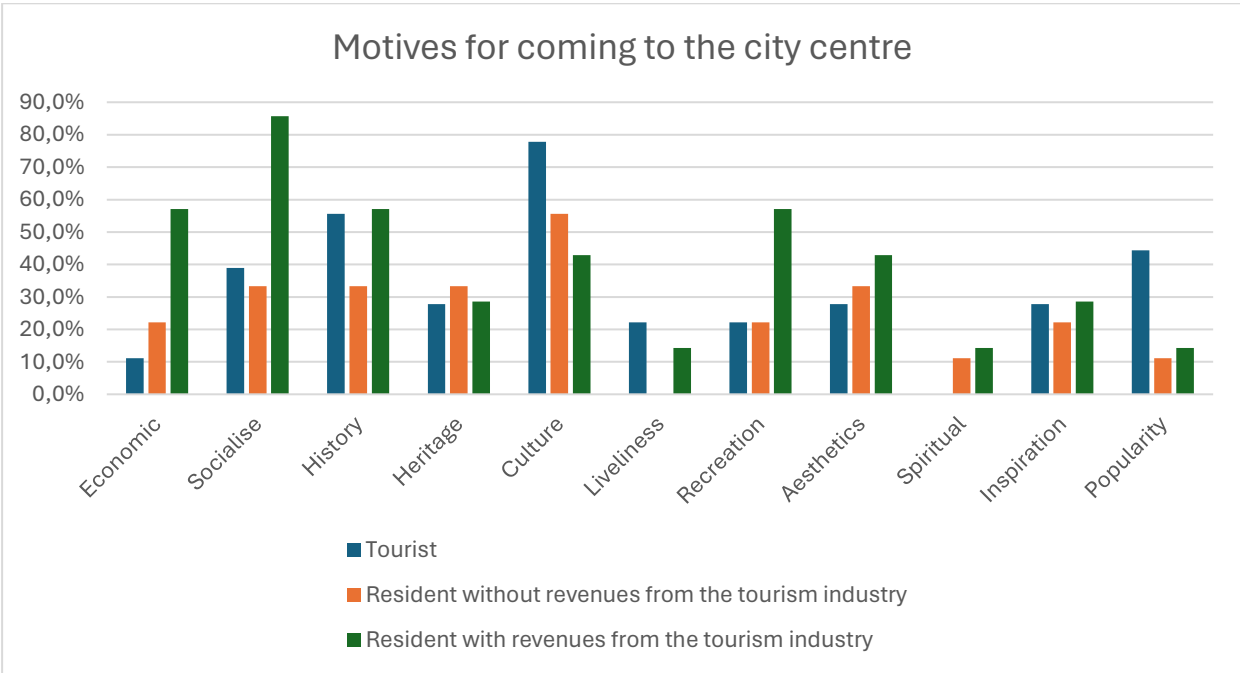

Figure 4: Motives for coming to Venice historic city centre among residents and tourists (based on 34 responses collected in February 2024)

In terms of satisfaction levels there were no remarkable differences between groups. The aesthetics scored higher under residents than under tourists whereas the liveability of the city was rated slightly higher under visitors (Figure 5).
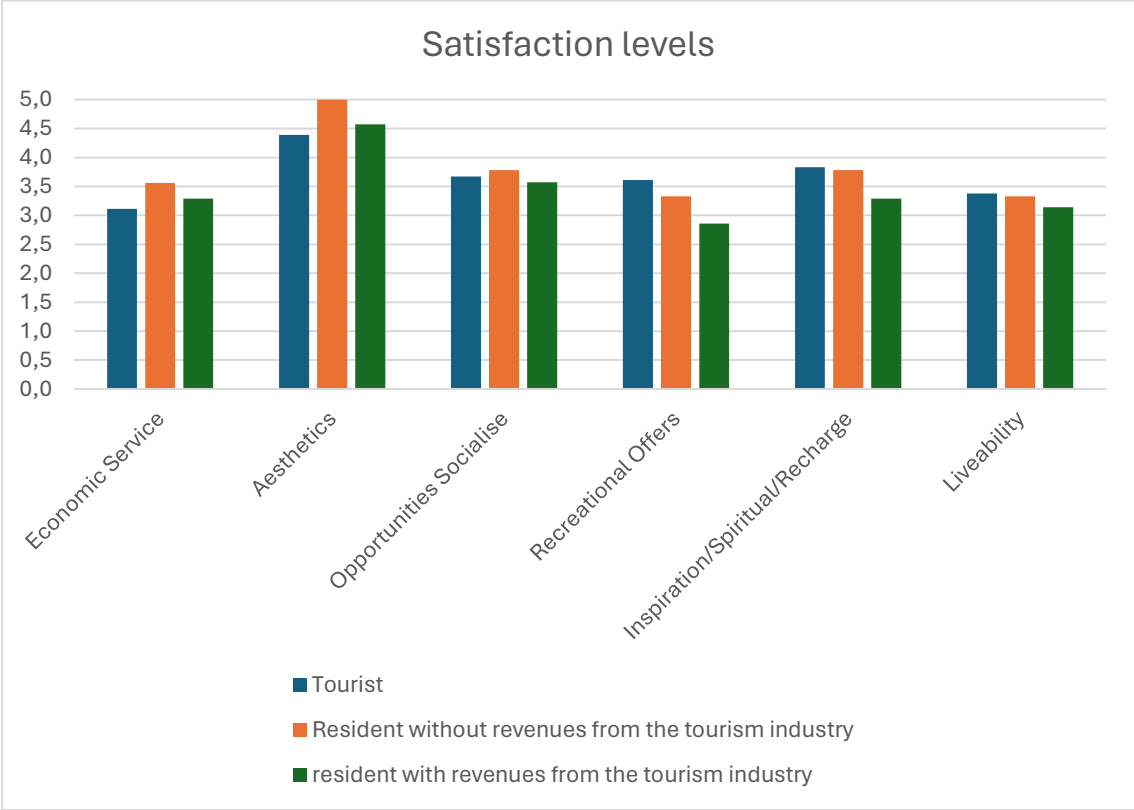
Figure 5: Satisfaction levels for various types of city endowments in Venice among residents and tourists (based on 34 responses collected in February 2024)

Regarding place attachment, most tourists fully agreed that they have great memories to the city, left the place inspired, would come back, and choose or recommend Venice over other cities. Residents without revenues from the tourism industry had considerably lower levels of place attachment. They felt less connected to other people, less attached to the city, and would not necessarily choose Venice over other cities. Residents with revenues from the tourism industry displayed the highest levels of place attachment. They felt connected to other people, attached to the city, and fully agreed on having great memories on the place. The majority

would prefer Venice over other cities. In all three groups, the word most frequently jotted down to describe Venice was "unique".

The results of the survey provide important insights into how local actors relate to the city. The data backs general theories about the importance of culture. It is the strongest relationship value local actors have with the city. Venice is valued for its ability to make people have a good time by enjoying the cultural buzz. My findings suggest that the values hold and assigned by local actors do not differ greatly among groups. However, those values mean different things to different people and arise from different contexts. From my results of motivation for coming to the city centre (Figure 4) it can be inferred that tourists are in the discursive bubble of social media because their interest in Venice´s culture is connected to its popularity. Residents' engagement with culture is connected to the opportunity to socialise. This interpretation is underpinned by satisfaction levels. The fact that aesthetics was ranked higher under residents suggests that the illusions conjured on social media cannot quite beat reality, even though Venice scored high (Figure 5). Tourists and residents in the tourism industry seem to enjoy Venice more. They had higher levels of place attachment and more motives to come to the city centre than residents who are not affiliated with tourism.

When I asked Venetians whether the city has undergone any significant changes in recent years, they immediately pointed towards two main issues: Climate change has become a problem, and the influx of foreign visitors has drastically increased. Two interviewees directly related mass tourism to the decrease of the value of Venice. The shop owner complained that a couple of years ago only the famous tourist sites, Piazza San Marco and Rialto bridge, were overcrowded but that "nowadays tourists are everywhere" and they "make people stressed" (Interview 1). She showed me a picture of Piazza San Marco back in 1980 from one of the first

carnivals after reinauguration, telling me that back then only Venetians attended. Nowadays there are only tourists.

The artisan told me about life in the city 30 years ago, when he first arrived and that he was mesmerized by the kind of life one can live in the city. No cars, no noise, no rush, and strong social bonds without stratification. To him, Venice could still be the same, if mass tourism had not entered the city, brought stress, and destroyed social ties. Since the kind of life that was possible in Venice 30 years ago was what he valued the most in the city, to him, tourism implies a loss in value (Interview 2). The shop owner and the artisan were not against foreign visitors, they were just upset with mass tourism. They feared the city would "become Disneyland".

The mask maker took "great pride" in the rich traditions of Venice and especially the Venetian carnival, which is so famous that people from all over the world come to the city just to take part in the festivities. He stated that 99% of his clients are foreigners, with some of them preparing lavish costumes at home and then buying the masks in his shop before going to the carnival. Despite his friendly attitude towards foreigners and his income mainly made from customers abroad, he acknowledged that there are too many tourists, especially in summer. He also reported the stress among residents when it becomes crowded. Furthermore, he differentiated between tourists who come intentionally because of their interest in the Venetian culture, and ignorant tourists who bluntly ask why masks are on sell everywhere. When I asked the mask maker to describe the city, it became clear that to residents, Venice can be a place of "mystery" and magic. He illustrated the slightly eerie atmosphere during dawn and dusk, when it is still dark and foggy and mostly valued the "quiet places" that are "hidden from tourists". The mask maker recorded moments of astonishment and awe, especially during the carnival when people put a lot of effort into dressing up and celebrating with music, dim lights, and a gondola ride. It is noteworthy that the Venetian carnival is

different from other carnivals. It is a feast of silent elegance, splendour, and mystery, not an exuberant celebration with funny costumes. According to the mask maker, Venice has different faces. Even for someone who knows the place well, "the atmosphere is always different, changing with the weather, the light, and the season". "There is always something to see in the city centre, even the small and particular. Only few people know Venice really well, because Venice is more than Rialto and San Marco". Living in Mestre, the mask maker must commute to Venice every day. When he arrives to Venice he feels like "he is in another city. Unique in the world". The mask maker tries to share the beauty of Venice with people abroad. He posts pictures of the city on his social media channel throughout the year to let people see Venice in different lights. When he ships his craft to customers abroad, he includes a gift card with a quote that he uses to describe the city: "Venice – far from the world; far from time". To the question of what his wishes for future city development are, he stated his concern about the fragility of the city. He wishes Venice to be protected from the threat of climate change and overtourism. His hope is that "if tourists respect the city, the city will survive in the future" (Interview 3).

The interviews show that residents have high levels of place attachment because they know the city in every shade, have more time to pay attention to details, and let the impressions of the city sink into their consciousness. To Venetians, the value of culture is directly connected to the way of life, which is rich in traditions and social interactions (Interview 1 and 3). But it is also a calmer way of life. Therefore, overtourism is the root cause of why the liveability of the city deteriorates, and Venice is losing in value (Interview 2 and 3). The rising rents are just part of the explanation of why residents leave the city. Some leave because they want to live a "normal, convenient life" (Interview 3). To others, the stress that entered the city due to mass tourism is a primary cause (Interview 1). Whether the city and its cultural events are

primarily for tourists or not "does not matter" as long as "you can still have fun" (Interview 2).

Hence, my findings break with common assumptions about tensions between tourists and

residents as they are often reported by critical urban geographers or portrayed in the press.

All people I interviewed had a friendly attitude towards foreigners and are open to share

Venice with them and celebrate cultural festivities together; under the caveat that it does not

erupt into mass tourism, overcrowding, and disrespectful behaviour on the part of the visitors.

Whether the municipality is catering for the needs of the city is a topic of dispute. Some think

they have a "good mayor" (Interview 3); others complain that the mayor "does not know the

needs of the city" (Interview 1). The shop owner for instance, explained that "because Venice

is so unique, we need to be independent". UNESCO was generally deemed important to

preserve the city "because Venice is very fragile" (Interview 3).

5.2 The city level

The city planning department has a broader but detailed image of Venice. The department not

only works on issues in the historical city centre but in the wider region, including the lagoons.

They think about Venice jointly with the surrounding islands. Their interventions are point

specific and small-scale. Therefore, they have a nuanced picture of the territory. They too, see

the great value of Venice in its culture. They told me that "the arts sector, festivals, and cultural

events work really well in the city", directly linked to that "they attract a lot of people". The

representatives put greater emphasis on modern culture and referred to Biennale as an

important event. Biennale is an international cultural institution that hosts artists from around

the world. Exhibitions and events encompass the entire artistic realm including architecture,

theatre, cinema, music, and dance. An area of the city district Castello was turned into a venue

for the event. To the planning department, the declining population is most concerning. They refer to the skyrocketing rents as the root cause, combined with insufficient interior restoration in the apartments. Living standards below the European average might cause people to seek an accommodation elsewhere. The city is closely watching other urban tourist hotspots that started to restrict the amount of Airbnb to keep their residents. So far, for Venice such interventions are not planned.

From the standpoint of the planning department, Venice might be "a particular city" but they did not describe it as unique. Due to the unusual environmental composition of the territory, infrastructure in both transport and sanitation needs to be arranged differently. To them, the real uniqueness emerges only when considering Venice including its lagoons. They told me that "every island has something specific", whether it be agriculture, fishing, industry, or energy production.

Venice was perceived to display "contradictions" that need to be faced "when the city wants to survive in the future". UNESCO yielded support by checking with their guidelines, but no other relations existed.

Vela is the destination marketing organization (DMO) of the city of Venice. It is a public company that is owned by the municipality of Venice. Everything they do, they do on behalf of the municipality. This public-private partnership started off when organizing urban festivals was delegated to Vela. The company is responsible for the entire realm of destination marketing and tourism management. They organize all the city´s main traditional and prestigious events such as the Venetian Carnival, the Regata Storica, and the Boat Show. When they market the city, their target group comprises both travel agencies and individual tourists. On request, they prepare documents for international press outreach. Over time, the duties of Vela have expanded. Now, the company is also in charge of the management of the

transportation system in the city and oversees hotel bookings, number of tourist arrivals, museum visits, and more. On their website, they provide important information on travel issues and an event calendar.

Since DMOs massively influence how a city appears internationally, the way in which Vela portrays the city is very powerful. The director of Vela aspires to promote Venice in a way that convinces visitors to stay more days. They "prefer tourists that stay three to four days in the city because they are able to see more things. If they can only go for one day, they will only go in San Marco". Vela is well aware of the problem of mass tourism and overcrowding. With the intention to promote a less harmful tourism and get rid of daily tourists, they experiment with an entrance fee of 5 €, only to be paid by day-trippers. The fee is not meant to substitute the tourist tax paid by those who stay overnight, nor to create additional income. In fact, the bureaucracy needed for controlling the payment incurs costs. Having people register their visit is an additional measure. This should encourage visitors to choose a date on which less people are in the city. Additionally, Vela attempts to make Venice more versatile and consequently attractive to different interest groups. For the time being, Venice mainly attracts cultural tourists who come to see the famous sites Rialto and San Marco. With the promotion of other cultural events such as the arts festival Biennale or the Boat show, Venice diversifies its cultural endowment by complementing the traditional strand with a modern one. Taken together, the DMO is tackling the problem of overtourism by encouraging longer stays, make visitors plan their journey according to the number of tourist arrivals, direct people away from the main attractions, and promote other interest groups by expanding and diversifying the cultural offer. The goal is to better distribute visitors over space and time.

Furthermore, Vela has launched a sustainable tourism campaign. Under the hashtag "EnjoyRespectVenezia" the DMO tries to "raise awareness of tourist impact, with the belief

that responsible travelling can contribute to sustainable development" (Vela, 2014). The campaign includes twelve rules for how to respectfully behave in Venice. By teaching visitors a code of conduct, tourism is hoped to be perceived less negatively by inhabitants. The director pointed out that he frequently witnesses ignorance among tourists who are not informed about the particularities of Venice, including the mode of transport or the narrow alleys. Consequently, they display inappropriate behaviour when moving around the city. A new campaign that is about to launch advocates visitors to really experience the city. Slogans saying, "come and enjoy Venice" or "come and explore Venice", instead of "come and see Venice", incentivises people to discover places beyond San Marco.

The soft, persuasive instruments of promoting a sustainable type of tourism while discouraging harmful forms, are complemented by financial instruments. Since the management of the public transport is among Vela's duties, they can and do discriminate against tourists by providing cheaper access to residents. It is an attempt to counterbalance the adverse impacts of overtourism on the housing market.

For Venice, Vela is a powerful actor, not only in form of interventional capacity but also in portraying the city by leveraging and contributing to the "uniqueness" of the destination. The uniqueness is seen in that "there is no other city with such cultural heritage built on the water". Since "everyone knows that", the name of the city itself has become a "brand". To Vela, Venice is unique, without doubt. Through its work, the company fills the name with meaning. All marketing strategies run under the slogan "Venezia Unica" and yield towards maintaining and fostering a "unique Venice". The Venetian Carnival is exemplary for the impact DMOs can have with their projects. The Venetian carnival was reinaugurated with the intention "to have something during the off-season". It was "initially for tourist purposes". Nowadays it is "the

most famous event of the city. If you know nothing about Venice, you know that there is the Carnival of Venice".

When I asked about the values the director ascribes to the city and where he sees his contribution, he emphasized the great effort he puts into growing the value of respect. Without doubt, culture is the most important endowment of Venice, supported and nurtured by Vela. This value, he aspires to sustain by cultivating the value of respect.

Most striking throughout the interview was the director´s awareness of the urgent needs of Venice, accompanied by a strong aspiration to steer a positive city development. He perceived tourism to be a "global problem" and a challenge of our times. Vela takes leadership by implementing different policies, such as the entrance fee or the promotion of "quality tourists". The director emphasized the importance "to do something, because if we don´t do something the tourists will eat the city. We don´t know if we are doing the right thing but we always do something we can." He also stated to observe the interventions by other cities that face the same problem and tries to learn from their experiences. Vela´s approach to governance displays great entrepreneurship in that the company experiments with different policy tools, observes their effectiveness, learns from mistakes, and changes the approach accordingly.

To the work of the DMO, the European Union is of little relevance. The state was said to be more important since it has passed a special law for Venice. This law addresses the vulnerability of the city and grants money for the protection from environmental hazards.

Vela refers to UNESCO as an important actor, whose presence raises awareness of the fragility of the city and its outstanding cultural and environmental value. For marketing purposes, the

UNESCO status is losing significance because "the brand of UNESCO is used a lot", especially in Italy.

5.3 The European Union

Being part of the European Union is an opportunity to access funds and share knowledge and best practices on general topics included in the European Cohesion policy and the Urban Agenda. The transition to sustainable energy, reduction of the carbon footprint, social inclusion, or the expansion of the digital infrastructure are some issues for which European funds are used. Like the city planning department, the chairperson of the EU had the entire municipality in mind while talking about Venice. When asked about the values she sees in the historical city centre, she told that "most of Venice´s value comes from history". Therefore, her contribution to the value of Venice is "to make the city come back a city for residents, not only for tourists". European funds can help to make living in the city more accessible and affordable by promoting the digital infrastructure, providing apartments, and diversifying the economy. Her vision for the future of Venice is to further develop the creative industry. She saw culture as a "treasure" of the city, "something that works really well". Now she would like to see the promotion of creativity in terms of research activity. She envisions Venice as a location "where people from all over the world can meet and exchange knowledge about the most pressing topics of our time, such as sustainability and urban resilience. All kinds of topic that are of international concern". To her, Venice is the best place for hosting international conferences of that kind, since "Venice has the positive things of an international city without having the negative like crime or segregation". This idea about Venice reflects its international outlook and orientation towards the supra-national.

5.4 UNESCO

Venice and its lagoons received the UNESCO world heritage status in 1987. UNESCO identified Venice to be "a unique artistic achievement". The city "possesses an incomparable series of architectural ensembles illustrating the hight of the Republic's splendour". The Venetian architectural style was found to have been a source of inspiration for many artistic achievements abroad. The lagoon area displays centuries of human-environment interactions, in which people have adapted to an extraordinary ecosystem and built an exceptional settlement (UNESCO, n.d.-d). Due to its "outstanding universal value", the management of Venice and its lagoons is deemed to be "a great responsibility". This task was delegated to a steering committee to which the City of Venice is the referent body. In their latest assessment reports, UNESCO identified climate change and irresponsible tourism to pose a threat to the conservation of the heritage property (UNESCO, n.d.-c). Consequently, the special law that was passed to protect Venice and the funding for the construction of the MoSe system yielded support. The institution highly approves the efforts of "managing tourist flows, based on an entrance fee and a compulsory booking method" (UNESCO, n.d.-a). With this, UNESCO hopes to "preserve and transmit this heritage of Outstanding Universal Value to future generations".

6   Discussion

In Venice, my research yielded the following results: In terms of seeing, reading, and understanding the landscape in question, stakeholders revealed similar views. Described as "unique" by residents, tourists, and the DMO Vela, "particular" by the city planning department and the European Union, and "outstanding" by UNESCO, all actors agreed on the exceptionality of Venice. Venice derives its uniqueness from the physicality of the landscape and the history of the Venetian Republic, which have paved the way for an extraordinary city development and an incomparable cultural life. Culture was the value that was ascribed in unanimity by all actors. However, closer investigations let assume that the notion of culture is understood differently among actors. Residents certainly referred to culture as the way of life in the city. They associated the value of culture with social interactions, tight bonds, and inclusion. Citizens, as well as the European Union, perceived Venice to possess the positive aspects of an international city, i.e., the opportunity to be part of the global world, without having the negative aspects, such as pollution, heavy traffic, severe crime, or segregation. Actors on the city level framed the notion of culture by pointing to traditional and contemporary events that are unique to Venice. To them, festivities such as the Venetian Carnival, the Regatta, or the arts exhibition Biennale illustrate the richness of Venice´s cultural offers. The European Union indicated a different approach to culture. For them, culture implies the exchange of ideas which enhances human creativity and encourages problem solving. To UNESCO, culture is a source of life and inspiration, and therefore invaluable. No matter how culture is conceptualised, discursive practices indicate that the value of globally embedded cities is intrinsic, not to be captured but to be created through joint actions. The only question is how to maintain it.

All stakeholders were concerned with the fragility of the city. Venice is in peril of getting extinguished by flooding. If it is not the water that is running through the streets and jeopardises architectural achievements, it is the flood of tourists who make the city uninhabitable. The value of being able to live in the city came with diverging priorities. The city planning department and the European Union identified surging rents and a simultaneous deterioration of living standards in city apartments to be the root cause of why Venice loses its residents. Conversations with citizens, however, suggest that the rental market is of secondary concern. They primarily connect living in the city with dwelling in the city, not with residing in the city. Residents, as well as Vela and UNESCO, see the lack of respect reflected in mass tourism as the root cause of devaluation.

Despite similar perceptions of Venice, conversations made it clear that actors had different mental territorializations when referring to Venice. When residents talked about Venice, most of them delineated the historical city centre from the rest of the region. Tourists, the DMO, and UNESCO include the islands of the lagoons in their mental map. The city planning department and the European Union have the "comune di Venezia" or the "Veneto region" in mind, which encompasses a wider area. The network graph below illustrates the degree to which perceptions among stakeholders resonate with each other (Figure 6). The stronger the connection between stakeholders, the stronger is their rapport.
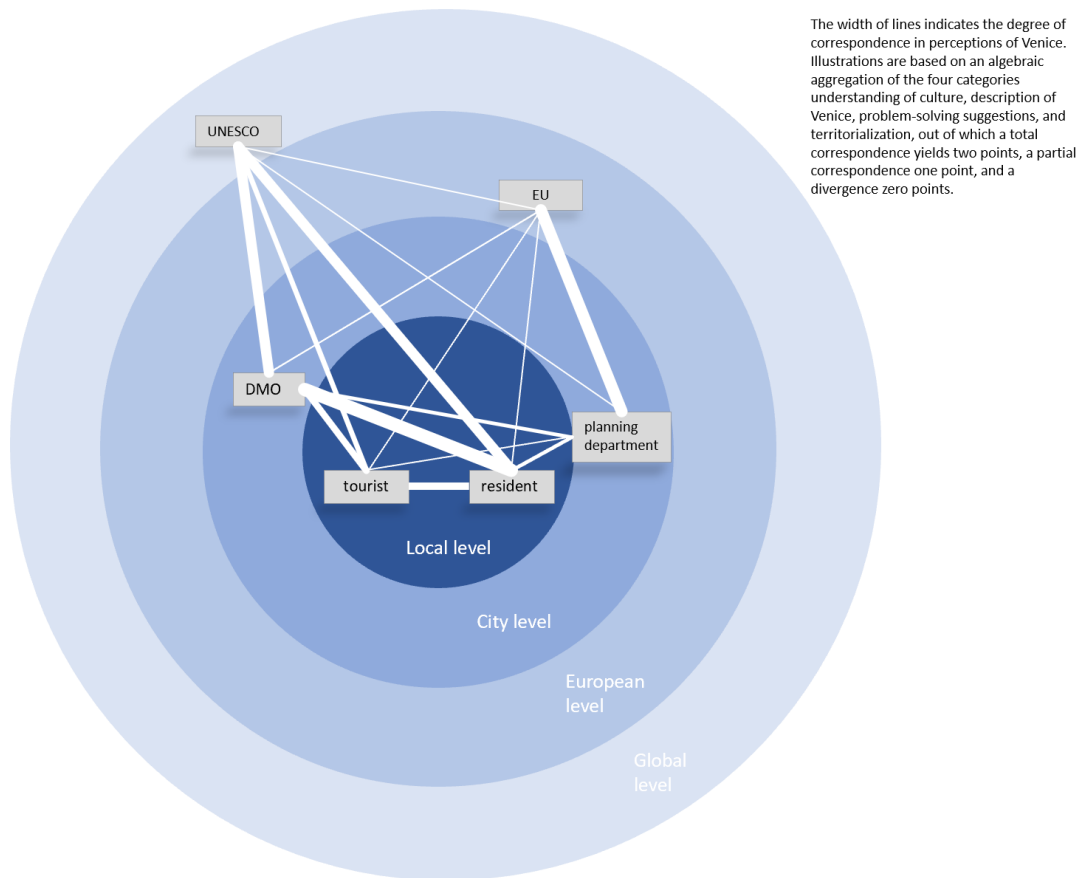
The width of lines indicates the degree of correspondence in perceptions of Venice. Illustrations are based on an algebraic aggregation of the four categories understanding of culture, description of Venice, problem-solving suggestions, and territorialization, out of which a total correspondence yields two points, a partial correspondence one point, and a divergence zero points.

Figure 6: Network illustration based on resonations and divergences in perceptions of Venice

Every actor engages in place-making processes and shapes the city according to personal values. On the local level, the capacity for place-making processes correlates with the time spent in the city centre. My findings have shown that residents working in the tourism industry had the highest levels of place attachment. The awe and deep emotional connectedness to a place can only arise with time. Citizens in the tourism industry can be assumed to spend more time in the city centre since it is their workplace. The comparison group might only come downtown occasionally or leave as soon as they have finished work. After all, living is a matter of lifestyle preferences. People in the tourism industry might be more outgoing while others prefer their quiet time. The mass tourism that has erupted globally is not only decreasing the values of a city for its citizens but also inhibits visitors to fully grasp the value of a place. Tourists

do not allocate enough time to their destinations. Consequently, their experience remains shallow. They pay less attention to detail and cannot sense the beauty or atmosphere of a place. Furthermore, since many visitors´ travel decisions are motivated by the reputation of a place, they remain uninformed. Average tourists seem to value social status gained in the identity construction of an experienced traveller more than the experience itself. The ignorance plays out in behaviour that is perceived disrespectful by inhabitants.

City planning departments and the European Union have important functions in making a city liveable. Their tasks are generic and less targeted towards the particularities of a city. In Venice, the DMO Vela emerges as the most important actor. Founded as a company for destination marketing, Vela is now the primary and most important agent in city management. Not only is the director highly informed about circumstances in the city, but he is also emotionally connected to actors on the local level and uses his policy space to steer Venice into the right direction. In terms of governance, the entrepreneurial approach to leadership is something that is usually heralded and criticized of lacking in the public sector (Heilmann, 2008; Mukand & Rodrik, 2002). With different measures such as entrance fees, visitor restrictions, and Keynesian redistribution policies, Vela tries to keep Venice valuable for residents. In incentivizing tourists to stay longer and experience the city beyond its main attractions, the DMO increases the value of Venice for its visitors. Most importantly is their effort to grow the value of respect to sustain the cultural endowment of Venice. The tables below provide an overview over each actor´s held and projected values (Table 1) and their place-making capability, landscaping capability, and policy space to influence other´s place-making and landscaping capacities (Table 2).

	Held and projected values
Resident	respect, social inclusion
Tourist	social status
City planning department	social inclusion
DMO	respect
EU	social inclusion
UNESCO	respect

Table 1: held and projected values among actors

	Place-making capability	Landscaping capability	Policy space
	Ability to connect to places on a personal level	Ability to shape places and change the landscape	Ability to influence others capacity of place-making and landscaping
residents	**high**	**high**	low
tourists	low	**high**	low
City planning department	**high**	**high**	low
DMO	**high**	**high**	**high**
EU	low	**high**	low
UNESCO	**high**	low	low

Table 2: place-making and landscaping capability and influential capacity among stakeholders

The interviews made it clear that cultural respect is a value deeply engrained in Venetians. The city has always taken great pride in being an international meeting place. Nowadays, the question is where to meet, not only in terms of crowdedness, but in terms of international cooperation between interest groups who all aspire to get the most out of their experience in Venice. Vela has turned into the institution that coordinates among local stakeholders. In

promoting quality tourism and nurturing respect, they change the value of people. Since

landscape values are relational in that they combine held and projected values, changing the

values of people, changes the values of places. If tourists start to prioritise quality of

experience over quantity of destinations visited, the value of quality and respect will be

reflected in the landscape and globally embedded cities are able to maintain their intrinsic

worth.

7   Conclusion

The aim of the research was to understand and explain how globally embedded cities that are multi-level and multi-actor governed capture, create, and maintain values. I find that Venice obtains its values from combining rich traditions with an international outlook. Therefore, for the city it is crucial to keep the global-local nexus in balance and in a friendly relationship. I revealed that in Venice, the responsibility of maintaining a healthy and value-sustaining global-local relation is taken on by the destination marketing organisation of the city. This marks a turning point in multi-level governance, in which boundaries between the public and the private sector become blurry and DMOs transform from destination marketing companies to "dwelling management" institutions as they must build rapport between residents and tourists. Their performance greatly affects the values other stakeholders, including residents, tourists, the European Union, or UNESCO, perceive and project onto tourist cities.

Taking the concept of landscape and combining it with the multilevel governance framework has proven useful to examine the underlying power structures and sources of agency that give rise to the contestedness of places in globally embedded cities. Knowledge of each actor´s perceptions and aspirations for the city as well as everyone´s capability to shape the landscape is crucial to renegotiate social reality and enhance the world we live in. Hence, I propose my framework as an analytical tool for assessments of the current state which can serve as a base for policymaking according to desired development trajectories and renegotiations of power and policy space in multi-scalar cooperation.

Declaration of competing interest

The author declares that she has no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work in this thesis.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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Interview references

(all interviews conducted in February 2024)

Interview 1: Shop owner; a woman owning a shop with masks and other Venetian craftwork, grew up in Venice and lived in the city her entire life

Interview 2: Artisan; makes all the masks and other Venetian craftwork he sells in his shop himself, has lived in Venice for 30 years

Interview 3: Mask maker; works in the historic city centre but lives in Mestre

Interview with the city planning department: two representatives of the city planning department of Venice (Area Sviluppo del Territorio e Cittá Sostenibile; Comune di Venezia)

Interview with Vela: Vela, destination marketing organisation of Venice, Interview with the director and one of his staff

Interview with the European Union: chairperson of the department that manages European funds

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