THE PHENOMENA OF BRANDING PLACES: WAIKĪKĪ
Peter Laura
May 2012

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Doctorate Project Committee
Kazi Ashraf, Chairperson
William Paluch
Mireille Turin

School of Architecture
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
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We certify that we have read this Doctorate Project and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Architecture in the School of Architecture, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Kazi Ashraf, Chairperson

William Paluch

Mireille Turin
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As one navigates the corridors of thought regarding the ambiguous topic of branding places, it is easy to become disoriented. This study and exploration was a maze of complexity and contradiction around every corner. Fortunately, I had a great committee, who carried a torch of light ahead of me, allowing me to see the path with clarity, insight, and wisdom.

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>I ABSTRACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>II INTRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>CHAPTER 01: THE NATURE OF BRANDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>1.1 BRANDING AS CONCEPT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010</td>
<td>1.2 THE COMMUNICATION FUNCTION OF BRANDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>020</td>
<td>1.3 THE PERSUASION FUNCTION OF BRANDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>024</td>
<td>1.4 THE LIMITS OF BRANDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>030</td>
<td>CHAPTER 02: BRANDING PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>031</td>
<td>2.1 WHAT IS PLACE BRANDING?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040</td>
<td>2.2 ANALYZING THE SHIFT: FROM PRODUCTS TO PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>049</td>
<td>2.3 THE INSTRUMENTS OF BRANDING PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>058</td>
<td>2.4 THE MOTIVES FOR BRANDING PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>062</td>
<td>2.5 BRAND NARRATIVE VERSUS IDENTITY NARRATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>067</td>
<td>CHAPTER 03: THE PARADOXES OF BRANDING PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>068</td>
<td>3.1 THE ENIGMA OF PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>072</td>
<td>3.2 BRANDING PRODUCTS VERSUS BRANDING PLACES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>075</td>
<td>3.3 PLACE BRANDING AS PLACE PACKAGING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>078</td>
<td>CHAPTER 04: BRANDING WAIKIKI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>079</td>
<td>4.1 WAIKIKI AS BRAND PLACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>4.2 THE INSTRUMENTS OF BRANDING WAIKIKI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>4.3 THE MOTIVES FOR BRANDING WAIKIKI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>4.4 BRANDING WAIKIKI VERSUS EXPERIENCING WAIKIKI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>CHAPTER 05: CONCLUSION: PLACES OVERFLOW BRANDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>5.1 PACKAGING, CONSUMING, AND EXPERIENCING SPILLAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>III BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>IV IMAGE CREDITS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. ABSTRACT

FOCUS + GOALS, SCOPE, METHODOLOGY, THEORY
FOCUS + GOALS
This doctoral project focuses on the ambiguous phenomenon of branding places, attempting to clarify its content, form, and nature. The goal of this investigation is to analyze conceptually how the precise mode of branding places differs from branding products. Through critical analysis, the ways in which places are branded as commodities are deconstructed and evaluated. Although, there are positive aspects associated with branding as a mode of place-making and place-thinking, there are also various contradictions and paradoxical aspects that require clarification. Examining this phenomenon through its functions, instruments, and motivations, I aim to reveal the structure and nature of branding places.

SCOPE
This investigation has two scopes. One scope will analyze the general nature of branding with a focus on branding products versus places. The second scope will be a more specific and precise investigation of a brand place, which will result in useful empirical materials and information. Waikiki, located in Honolulu, Hawai’i, will be the brand place for the second scope of this investigation.

METHODOLOGY
Branding places is a complex and layered topic for exploration. Thus, the systems and methods of inquiry for this investigation will take a mixed approach. Case study research is conducted as the primary method of investigation. Observational research is utilized to decipher this phenomenon of branding places in a natural setting. Surveys, conducted on site in Waikiki, allow for a better understanding of specific aspects in relation to this research topic, from multiple perspectives. Comparative analysis is utilized for the articulation of complex relationships between the branding of products versus places. The examination of branding reveals the image as a prominent characteristic. Hence, this investigation will utilize the image as a means of deconstructing and analyzing the branding of places. Visual rhetoric is the prominent framework through which communication and meaning are analyzed.

THEORY
This project anticipates that the prospect of branding places poses several contradictions. Branding has come into the paradigm of place-making and architecture from the realm of product marketing. While places are currently being branded in a similar fashion as products, there are fundamental differences between them. Theoretically, places are not capable of being holistically controlled in the same way that products are. Places cannot really be packaged and sold in the same way as products. Metaphorically speaking, places do not fit into a box or brand package because they are far too dynamic and constantly in flux. Nevertheless, places are being branded. This study will attempt to critically analyze the tension, ambiguity, and validity of branding places.
II. INTRODUCTION
BRANDING AS IMAGING AND PERCEPTION, PURPOSE
OF INVESTIGATION, BRAND PLACE AS PARADOX,
WAIKIKI AS BRAND PLACE DESTINATION
BRANDING AS IMAGING AND PERCEPTION
This investigation will primarily focus on branding as a matter of perception and image making. Branding works as a mechanism of advertising and marketing through the dissemination of images. Currently, this is how it is being approached in terms of place-making and design. Architecture is utilized as instrumentation for the branding of places, functioning semiotically through images, as well as experientially. Branding is utilized as both a mode of place-making as well as architectural design. Architecture is an important component of this study because it is inherent to the topic of inquiry; however, the main focus of this investigation is regarding the brand construction of places. Through close analysis of this particular mode I hope to elucidate this phenomenon.

PURPOSE OF INVESTIGATION
Brand places proliferate in our lives and are now a ubiquitous feature of the contemporary urban experience. Branding is a relatively new mode of place-making and place-thinking, which ultimately has a great impact on people. Thus, branding as a mode for place-making needs to be critically analyzed and investigated. This study attempts to answer three simple questions. How are places branded? What are the motives and intentions of branding places? What are the implications and or consequences of branding places?

BRAND PLACE AS PARADOX
Historically, places have been designed and constructed with intent to establish identity. Today, branding is taken up as a mode to communicate identity in a more methodical and commodified way. Branding is being employed to focus communication and to identify with consumers. Although branding is often associated with identity and communication, it is inherently linked to commodification. As the branding of products has shifted to places, privatization becomes tied into this narrative. Within this narrative lie the paradoxes of branding places.

WAIKIKI AS BRAND PLACE DESTINATION
Waikiki will be the site and primary case for this investigation. I hypothesize, and intend to establish, that Waikiki is constructed as a world-renowned brand place. As an important component of Hawaii's economy, Waikiki functions as an economic engine for the state of Hawaii and more directly the city of Honolulu. Waikiki has been thriving on the tourism industry for over half a century. Similar to a theme park, Waikiki invites and attracts tourists from around the globe to experience its unique tropical atmosphere and environment. Waikiki is a desirable place for its tropical climate, 'natural' beauty, and beaches, while also for its shopping, restaurants, entertainment, resort hotels, and other pleasures. At the same time, Waikiki is an urban place and a neighborhood for many people. Waikiki provides an opportunity to observe and critically analyze the intentions and contradictions of this phenomenon in a natural setting.
CHAPTER 01: THE NATURE OF BRANDING
This investigation begins by asking the question: what is branding? Branding is a somewhat ambiguous concept, which needs clarification. Generally speaking, branding is most often associated with logos and products; however, its methods can be applied to all sorts of design goals. In trying to understand and clarify the nature of branding, I will analyze its definition, origins, history, function, structure, and relevant themes, such as perception.

Alina Wheeler, a proponent of branding and author of *Designing Brand Identity*, defines branding as, “a disciplined process used to build awareness and extend customer loyalty.” Wheeler defines brand identity as “tangible, and appeals to the senses. You can see it, touch it, hold it, hear it, watch it move. Brand identity fuels recognition, amplifies differentiation, and makes big ideas and meaning accessible. Brand Identity takes disparate elements and unifies them into whole systems.” Here Wheeler defines branding and brand identity as a process of design communication. In her book, she reveals specific procedural methods for creating brand identities. Published in 2003, the book discusses branding in association with graphic design, products, stationary, logos, and packaging.

Wheeler gives a sequence for the methods and processes of branding in five phases: “Phase 1 Research and Analysis, Phase 2 Creating Strategy, Phase 3 Designing Brand Identity, Phase 4 Building Brand Identity, Phase 5 Managing Assets.” Wheeler helps to define and clarify branding, from the perspective of the designer.
ORIGINS OF BRANDING

While the concept of branding seems obvious, its origins are vague and undetermined. The pottery of Josiah Wedgewood, from England, is perhaps the earliest example of product branding; taking place over 200 years ago. Wedgewood was founded in England in 1759. During the nineteenth century Wedgewood pottery utilized a style of bold graphic communication depicting various western cultural narratives in colored earthenware, which functioned effectively to brand Wedgewood. Today, the Wedgewood brand is operating and continues to produce pottery, including mass-produced works of the originals.

Branding also dates back to the 1800's, when ranchers burned their livestock with a “hot branding iron” to communicate ownership. It was during this time period that the term was adopted by businesses for the same communicative purposes, to declare ownership of property through the sign. Smith Brothers Cough Drops in Poughkeepsie, New York is the first evidence of product branding. This is documented in the book titled, Packaging Design: Successful Product Branding From Concept To Shelf. In regards to the Smith Brothers cough drops the book states, “First marketed in large glass jars in the mid-1800s, they needed to be differentiated from candies sold the same way. The brothers decided to put their own pictures on small envelopes supplied to shopkeepers to dole out cough drops to customers”. Branding has since been utilized by business as a way to compete and promote their products. Some of the first packaged American brand products were “Carnation Condensed Milk, mid-1800’s”, “Nabisco Animal Crackers, 1902”, “Heinz Fifty-Seven, 1915”, “Ivory Soap, 1915”, and “Birds Eye Foods, 1920.”

Branding is a marking and signification of private property, ownership, and control. Slaves were once also branded, in the same manner as cattle. The historian, author, and activist Markus Rediker writes, “Early in the history of the slave trade, Europeans took control of slave bodies by branding them, burning symbols of European ownership into the flesh, usually on the shoulder, upper chest, or thigh.” Today, branding retains these communication properties, however, its use has changed.

Going back further in history, popular prints and books were produced and circulating Europe as early as the late fifteenth century. It was during this time, the Renaissance, that Johannes Gutenberg, who invented the first printing press, began printing bibles for the masses. One might argue, that the early bibles functioned as branding instruments for their respective religion. Their design, use of typography, and binding communicates to the reader and consumer. Most importantly, their constancy and repetition fortify their legitimacy, thus, branding their message. Therefore, the origins of branding is tied to these mass produced bibles.

6 Ibid., 12.
7 Ibid., 12.
8 Ibid., 14, 16, 17, 18.
BRANDING AS COMMODIFICATION
The origins of branding are inherently tied to commodification. Products are branded to gain control in a market, which benefits the immediate constituency—owner, producer, constructor, designer, communicator, and architect. The agency behind branding attempts to communicate a concise and persuasive message about a product. Advancements in technology, during the twentieth century, spurred the growth of mass media and enabled branding to develop into its current form and understanding. Through mass media, the branding of commodities communicates to large audience of consumers and spectators.

This relationship between branding and the commodity is inherently linked to market mechanism. Branding works as a mechanism of capitalism, functioning to clarify its message through its constituent elements. As global capitalism spreads, so does the reach of branding. Capitalism is predicated on private enterprise and competition—the breeding grounds for brand based initiatives.

PERCEPTION OF BRANDING
Today, branding is mostly associated with advertising, graphic design, and propaganda. Simon Anholt, author of Competitive Identity, writes, “There’s a lot of mistrust about brands and branding these days, and this isn’t helped by the fact that nobody seems to agree on what the words really mean.”

A general “mistrust” of corporate and capitalistic agendas has brought strong criticism on branding and its culture. Writer and critic Naomi Klein, whose book titled No Logo, published in 2002, links branding with corporate globalization. This is an important relationship that sheds new light on the topic of branding and partially explains its mistrust. Branding is often associated with corporate marketing. By connecting branding with corporate globalization, its motives become suspicious. The book No Logo begins the discourse of branding by exposing some of its limitations.

BRANDING AS EXPERIENCE
Overtime, branding has shifted from the design and marketing of products to places. Branding is inherently tied to the image and its construction for an audience of consumers. With this shift the imaging of places is constructed for an audience of tourists—the consumer of places. Branding, in terms of place-making, moves beyond the image into the realm of experience. Branding utilizes images for the communication and promotion of places, however, their architecture, planning, and landscape design are also orchestrated to choreograph experience. In this sense, branding places functions beyond the image, in the realm of consumer experience.

STYLE
n. 1 a manner of doing something.

BRANDING VERSUS STYLE
For the purpose of clarity, this section conceptually differentiates the notion of style from the specific mode of branding. Branding purposes communication, promotion, and persuasion to identify and commodify products and places for a given market. Style is typically applied more broadly than branding. For instance, discussing art and architecture, the modern style is exemplified by an adherence to principles of rational
design communication, clear forms and geometries, a break from tradition. Many architects and artists have worked to create their own brand image and identity, utilizing the modern style. Over time, mass media images directly and indirectly disseminate, branding art and architecture as signs. Eventually, the architect or artist and their style becomes conflated and branded into the consumers mind. In contrast to branding; style evolves over time informally and organically. One might argue that style derives from the personal and distinctive characteristics of the individual. Yet, the application, utilization, and appropriation of style is a matter of making, thinking, and designing communication. Thus, style is constructed, mimicked, remixed, copied, and sampled. In most instances, branding is intended for a consumer market with competitive intentions by some agency. Furthermore, branding utilizes styles for communication and imaging.

Style has long been a motive for the design of architecture. In 1828, the German Architect, Heinrich Hübsch asked the question “In What Style Should We Build?” One of the most radical and provocative aspects of the debate was whether or not a style can be “made” or if it must “develop” over time. Deutsches Kunstblatt was of the mind that style must “develop.” Thus, Kunstblatt supports the concept of style as an organic characteristic of the individual, rather than a construct of communication.

BRAND PLACE AS CONSTRUCT
By asking questions along the lines of Hübsch, in regards to branding places, perhaps we can gain some clarity on the phenomena. Are brand places inherently “made” constructs, which “develop” over time? This brings up some interesting conflicts. For example, a place needs no agency. Places are preexisting, coming before the human. Thus, the brand place is a construct. Places need no motivation or agency for their existence. Places are inhabited by humans, which organize the built environment. A brand place, on the other hand, needs an agency to foster motivation, to appeal to a large audience, to capitalize and communicate. Brand places are inherently “made” or constructed realities, often of a fantastical accord.

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13 Ibid., 9.
1.2 THE COMMUNICATION FUNCTION OF BRANDING

HOW DOES BRANDING WORK?
This section of the investigation looks at branding through its performance aspects, analyzing its communication function. The analysis of logos, packaging, and products reveals fundamental characteristics that lie hidden under the surface of their design, while shedding light on the nature of branding. A better understanding the functionality of this mode of design will come through the analysis of aspects, such as, imaging, identity, signs, symbols, and agency.

MASS DISSEMINATION
Since the advent of mass-production and mass-communication, originating during the twentieth century, branding efforts has become more efficient and successful.\(^\text{14}\) Mass-communication works to ensure visibility by providing a vehicle or instrument of dissemination for advertisers and access for consumers. Advancements in technology and production have allowed brand communication to proliferate a growing market at a rapid pace.\(^\text{15}\)

SEMIOTICS OF BRANDING
Successful branding depends on an acute understanding of communication. Semiotics and its theories are interwoven with communication, culture, and meaning. Graphic design has been an important component for the production of meaning. On the topic of graphic design and semiotic theory, Malcolm Barnard writes, “Communication is the construction and exchange of meanings for semiology and meanings are explained in terms of signs and codes. The message, or meaning, then, is a construction of signs that is exchanged and interpreted according to codes, or cultural rules.”\(^\text{16}\)

Meaning can be arbitrary as Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure has written (Holdcroft 48). Meaning is informed by context and is in constant flux. Individuals bring their own background to the perception of meaning. In contrast to this belief of arbitrariness we find Charles Pierce who writes, “A sign is an object which stands for another to some mind.” He believes that there is always a direct “physical connection between every sign and its object.”\(^\text{17}\)

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15 Ibid.
BRANDING AS PROPRIETARY MARKING

® The Registered Trademark, functions as a symbol of proprietary within the brand image. These symbols are federally controlled.

™ The Trademark, functions as a symbol of ownership within the brand image.

℠ The Servicemark, functions as a symbol of responsibility, and liability for services rendered.
The sign has three categories; icon, index, and symbol, as defined by Charles Pierce. Branding utilizes this sign system for the communication of consumer oriented and product driven messages. These messages are blatant, ambiguous, and embedded within the medium. Photographs and images are constructed as iconic and indexical of the products for which they signify. While, logos are created as symbols of the sign, the product, for which they represent.

Signs and codes of everyday life are not always visual. Much of the information we gather daily comes through our other four senses. In relation to branding, the image is certainly relevant, however, the built environment also communicates and influences us. As we navigate the terrain we encounter sensory stimuli that attracts, repels, and persuades our thoughts, actions, and perceptions. Signs are intertwined with experiences, which are manipulated, altered, received, and filtered through our senses. Cologne and perfume for example, are branding instruments that are constructed as signs. People recognize scents and associate them in their minds to vague or particular ideas, concepts, and memories. Through our sensory channels of smell, taste, sound, touch, and sight branding functions to elicit, persuade, and trigger consumer response.

Brand communication functions, to some extent, as a relay of information and meaning; from a particular source, which is then transferred, absorbed, and interpreted in the minds of individuals through “signs and codes.” Deconstructing branding, I will make a conceptual distinction between branding’s input versus output relationship. Brand information is viewed as a point of reference for both the consumer as well as the constructor. The consumer, is absorbing brand information as input. The designer is projecting brand information as output. Herein lies the potential for ambiguity. As the designer is isolating information, by adding or subtracting information for the purposes of clarifying the communication or message, he or she has the potential to misinterpret and or misrepresent.

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This triangle represents three abstract relationships between brand image, mass media, and the mass market. All three of these variables are necessary for the dissemination and consumption of the brand image. This visualization tool allows for the formal comparison of these notions, while illustrating the triangulation that occurs.
Chapter 01: The Nature of Branding

**Imaging: Input**

Every day, we are constantly looking and receiving information, trying to make sense of what is around us. We cognitively associate images, signs, and symbols with brands and their constructed realities. While brand communication is constructed information, which attempts to persuade us, the main function of branding is persuasion. Whatever forms branding takes, whether it is a logo, a package, or architecture, it aims to communicate and persuade the consumer.

**Imaging: Output**

Graphic designers are trained to communicate and construct meaning with clarity, accuracy, and purpose. They are trained in the arts and ruminate over issues of image-making, semiotics, aesthetics, and typography. Graphic designers play a prominent role as authors of brand communication.

**Branding as Mode for Designers**

The construction and design of images are, to some extent, from the perspective of the designer. The designer's perspective and understanding influence the communication and intent of images. Indeed, brand images are constructed with interpretations and often bias. Some designers attempt to bring forward a personal and expressive style in their work; for example, American graphic designer David Carson, whose expressionistic style is evident throughout his work. (figures 1.2a-b) Other designers appear less present in their work, choosing instead to communicate with minimal expression, representing the idea or content, playing with structure, serving as more of an organizer or architect of information—for example, German modernist graphic designer Wolfgang Weingart. (figure 1.2c)
Branding as a mode of imaging requires both *image-thinking* and *image-making*. Here these terms are used to clarify and distinctly separate two aspects of imaging. Image-thinking and image-making are processes that are engaged in by designers. Image-thinking requires brainstorming and conceptualizing. Image-making involves various artistic processes of creation. The goal with brand imaging is to formulate a brand narrative that the consumer relates to and is persuaded by.

Brand imaging involves the creation and construction of visual rhetoric as a means of persuasion. Speaking in terms of package design, the quality of materials, use of color, typography, signs, and image all combine to convey an abstract message or impression. These items must synergize in a certain way to properly resonate with the consumer. The visual rhetoric of the package design and its success is reliant on a designer’s ability to communicate with clarity and taste. Indeed, the mode of branding functions as a catalyst for the creation of consumer oriented images and narratives.

Designers now persuade and identify with consumers through projected lifestyles; they tailor-brand communication based on consumer desires. For example, Ralph Lauren advertisements communicate and identify with consumer culture through the manufacture and portrayal of an affluence, lifestyle, and class. In the case of Ralph Lauren’s brand communication, the consumer’s perceptions and interpretations are assumed to identify with and aspire to an upper echelon of class and wealth. (figures 1.3a-c) The point to be made here is that a keen understanding of the perception of the consumer is necessary for precise and focused brand communication. At the same time this is always a generalization of sorts because the perception of the individual is assumed as static, while human perception is actually in constant flux. Also, the designer’s own perceptions play some part in the constructing of brand information. Nevertheless, brand information and communication fails to be completely holistic because it is a construct by nature. Thus, brand communication is inherently one-sided. Branding is a matter of framing information, in an effort to persuade and promote consumption. On the other hand, this framing lends to clear and focused communication, which is desirable in a rapidly overflowing market.
CHAPTER 01: THE NATURE OF BRANDING

EXAMINING IDENTITY AND VISIBILITY

Branding is often discussed in the context of identity. In reality, these words carry quite different meanings. Nevertheless, branding as a mode of design and communication has become popular. When it comes to an economic and pragmatic solution of product identity and its communication, within a competitive market, branding is a time-tested and reliable way to focus communication. This is evident and observable in the proliferation of brand products currently available in the commodity market.

IDENTITY
n. 1 the fact of being who or what a person or thing is. 2 a close similarity or affinity.

Identity is associated with what a person or thing is, while branding is a construct. Branding identity aims to communicate a constructed reality that is not necessarily true. It is designed, in most cases, to persuade and entice a monetary exchange. Branding seeks to identify with consumers through a projected and artificial reality, while communicating self imposed identity characteristics.

Visibility is the factor of identity communication that directly relates to market differentiation and competition. The mode of branding aims to visually differentiate its product, identity, image, and narrative for an audience, to compete within an organized market. The visibility of brand information is an important aspect for its owners, constructors, agency, and consumers. As visibility increases, so does the potential for reaching consumer audiences.
COAT OF ARMS
n. the distinctive heraldic bearings or shield of a person, family, corporation, or country.

EMBLEM
n. a heraldic device or symbolic object as a distinctive badge of a nation, organization, or family

INSIGNIA
n. a badge or distinguishing mark of military rank, office, or membership of an organization; an official emblem

LOGO
n. a symbol or other small design adopted by an organization to identify its products, uniform, vehicles, etc.

COAT OF ARMS, EMBLEM, AND INSIGNIA VERSUS LOGO
Logos are one of the most useful devices or instruments of brand communication. The logo can be traced back to the coat of arms, during the 1800’s, when it was utilized for packaging. The book Packaging Design: Successful Product Branding From Concept To Shelf states, “Coats of arms were common graphic elements of early packaging design as they signified the family that manufactured the goods or provided a regional mark of distinction. These symbols are frequently used in packaging designs today, particularly in the beer and spirits categories, to communicate authenticity, heraldry, tradition, and trustworthiness.” Coats of arms utilize a standardized set of symbolic visual components, which often include shield, crest, crown, bird, dragon, horse, lion, unicorn, ribbon, sun, star, moon, plant, and motto with typography. The modern logo breaks away from this traditional use of standardized form and seeks a uniquely differentiating form. Yet, some brands prefer to use the symbolic and traditional coats of arms.

The coat of arms, insignia, and emblem are all related to heraldry, which is associated with the identification of family genealogy, organizations, nations, and military hierarchy, rank, and status. The logo is more closely associated with corporate identity and private enterprise. Although coats of arms, emblems, and insignias are also employed for corporate identity, it is less common than the logo. Nonetheless, all are utilized for the communication of the commodity, whether it is a pair of shoes, a bar of soap, or a country.

Until the consumer market enters the scene the coats of arms, emblem, and insignia are not relevant to branding, per se. Functioning since medieval times, these markings symbolize places, tribes, clans, families, and individuals; however, it is the consumer and tourist markets that give relevance to the discussion of branding. With the introduction of mass media and mass transit the coat of arms, emblem, and insignia begin to function like the logo.

With the modern logo branding is most relevant, having a great psychological impact in contemporary societies. The logo has occupied all spaces and becomes the most succinct visual communication device for branding identity. The logo functions in markets as a representative symbol of a brand identity, image, and narrative for commodities and organizations.
CORPORATE IDENTITY VERSUS BRANDING

 Quite often, branding is discussed in relation to corporate identity and corporate design. This is the realm in which branding thrives, the corporate realm. Corporations and businesses desire to express their identity and to attract consumers. They want to identify with people through product branding. The corporate identity system typically includes stationary, business cards, and packaging, utilizing logos, pantone colors, fonts, themes, and images.

BRANDING AS LOGO

Companies use logos to symbolically differentiate themselves, while communicating brand identity with visual brevity, to a mass audience. Graphic designer and Yale professor, Paul Rand was among the first to begin designing logos and identity systems for companies. Moreover, Rand might as well be regarded as the father of modern logo design and corporate identity systems. It was in 1938 that Paul Rand designed a logo for Esquire Magazine. Later, in 1956, Paul Rand designed a logo for IBM. In 1972, Rand redesigned the IBM logo once again, which is the version that we know today—having eight stripes. Some of Paul Rand’s other well-known logos were for Westinghouse (1960), UPS (1961), ABC (1962), Yale University Press (1985), Next Computers (1986), and Enron (1996). In his 1991 AIGA article titled Logos, Flags, and Escutcheons Rand writes, “The effectiveness of a good logo depends on: a. distinctiveness, b. visibility, c. usability, d. memorability, e. universality, f. durability, g. timelessness.”

Today, these terms become useful for the purposes of designing brand identity, particularly logos,

but also in a more holistic sense. Paul Rand had a style that reflected his modernist approach to design. His design solutions sought clarity, which often resulted in a simplification of form and a refinement of meaning. This can be seen throughout his logo designs. (figures 1.4a-c)

**BRANDING AS PACKAGING**

The products package communicates visually and tactilely through images, signs, symbols, materiality, and form. Branding, in both a literal and metaphorical sense, is the product packaging. Branding is conflated with packaging and designed in an effort to identify with consumers. When discussing the non-traditional product, such as, architecture or places, packaging is still applicable in a metaphorical sense. Thus, branding functions as packaging as the external image or identity on display for all to consume.

**HUMANITARIAN BRANDING**

Some brands function for humanitarian purposes rather than commercial—for example, the American Red Cross, Girl Scouts of America, and the Peace Corps. Each of these utilizes branding through identity systems, images, and web sites. These service-oriented brands are different from the majority of brands in that they function as humanitarian efforts rather than purely commercial agendas. Thus, branding does operate outside the realm of commerce, in some instances. Here branding functions as an identity for communication purposes, non-competitively. On the other hand, one might argue that the branding of these American outfits indirectly serves to brand the nation, which is in a continuous competition, or war for market control and consumers. When bracketed or grouped, the logos of these American brands communicate as national symbols.
1.3 THE PERSUASION FUNCTION OF BRANDING

Analysis of the characteristics of branding reveals an attempt to persuade consumers through products, images, and narratives. This section defines branding as having a persuasion function, through inquiry and analysis of consumer perception and branding agency.

**DEFINITION**

1. **Desire**
   - n. 1 a strong feeling of wanting to have something or wishing for something to happen

2. **Manufacturing Desire**
   - Branding, in a contemporary sense, is directly related to consumer culture, which is oriented around shopping. The experience of shopping has become a sort of psychological therapy for many. Why do we shop and find solace in the act? Perhaps, we are conditioned to do so. If so, what are the mechanisms of this conditioning and how do they work? Mass media is instrumental in the conditioning of societies. Branding functions as an apparatus or mechanism, used to connect with people’s emotions and manufacture desire. Americans are taught from an early age how to be obedient and docile consumers, our desires have been spoon fed to us through mass media. This manipulation takes place at home, work, while shopping, and in our schools and institutions. Commercial brands are now in most elementary schools, high schools, and colleges, penetrating the minds of the youth. Commercial brands, images, and signs infiltrate school campuses through mass media, products, peer-to-peer advertising, as well as brand organized and sponsored events. An article in the New York Times writes of the current condition on the college campus, “ Corporations have been pitching college students for decades on products from cars to credit cards. But what is happening on campuses today is without rival, in terms of commercializing everyday college life.”

   While students are indoctrinated with the prescribed academic rhetoric they are also conditioned to become obedient consumers. Branding has become the most prominent aspect of this new manufactured consumer desire. In the introduction of his book titled *Emotional Branding*, Mark Gobé writes, “Over the past decade, it has become resoundingly clear that the world is moving from an industrially-driven economy where machines are the heroes toward a people-driven economy that puts the consumer in the seat of power.”

   Here, Gobé suggests that our current trend is motivated toward a consumer driven economy. He also suggests that the consumer has or is at least positioned for “power.” On the other hand, one might argue that the consumer does not have power and is subject to the overarching system. People are free to choose within a system of products, which are predetermined by some agency with prior agendas. Marketing is fed to audiences and primes people’s choices. Although the consumer makes choices, they are persuaded; thus, their power is limited.

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Branding functions as an instrument of persuasion in all instances, most often for the purposes of stimulating a monetary exchange for goods and services. Everyday, we are confronted with the constant branding of products as we navigate through space (physical or virtual). The majority of these brand constructions have a purpose and an agenda, which is to persuade people to consume. The art of persuasion is a difficult art to master. So then who are the masters of persuasion, one might ask? The designers (including architects and planners) are the masters of this domain, for they are the communicators and constructors of products, architecture, and places.

AUDIENCE
During the process of focusing brand information, authors and designers typically designate a consumer audience and a market. Through an in-depth understanding of the particularities of the consumer and their desires, in relation to the brand product, the designer can tailor the communication. At the same time, designers also fabricate desirable products and brands using this approach. Branding is not merely about catering to the consumers desire but also a means to create desire; otherwise, branding would only lead to the design of the status quo. Designers are utilizing brand methods of analysis to better understand the consumer, to create and estimate design solutions for a market.

Branding originates from a desire to capitalize, communicate, and commodify. Just as cattle are branded with an iron to signify their ownership, brand logos are put to use as the impressionable psychological signifiers of commodities. Over the last half of a century, the mode of branding has shifted from the “symbolic” mark to a more “experiential” condition. In other words, branding as a particular mode has come to include everything from logos and product design to place making and architecture. Branding now works through various creative modes of communication and form, in a strategic attempt to identify and persuade specific consumer audiences.

PERCEPTION
n. 1 a way of regarding, understanding, or interpreting something.

INTERPRETATION
n. 1 the action of explaining the meaning of something

PERCEPTION VERSUS INTERPRETATION
In analyzing persuasion in relation to branding it is important to address the notion of perception. There is a distinct relationship between perception and interpretation in relation to branding. These terms become relevant in this discussion because the act of branding relies on the understanding of the perceptions of an audience or target market group. Branding is the prescription of information for the masses, which is constructed and conformed to consumer perceptions. At the same time, perceptions are also manipulated and constructed with brand information. Although the interpretations of the consumer are both individual and universal, they are influenced by sociological and contextual conditions. Nevertheless, individual perception is interpreted by branding agencies, as normality and language, for design and communication.

Giep Franzen and Sandra Moriarty, The Science And Art Of Branding (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 73.
THE PERSUASIVE PRODUCT

Branding comes from the realm of marketing products. The definition of the term brand relates it directly to a product or commodity. Guy Debord, a French philosopher, artist, theorist, and founder of the Situationist International movement, in his book *The Society Of The Spectacle* writes, “Each Individual Commodity fights for itself, cannot acknowledge the others and aspires to impose its presence everywhere as though it were alone.”

The condition Debord writes about is reflected in the marketing and branding of products, a constant competitive “fight.” Branding products seems to be the predominant system to attain a market “presence” for products. There is a competition between these brands for market share, recognition, and money.

Presentation plays a large role in the persuasion of brand products. Lighting and various elements of atmospheric value are manipulated to enhance the reception of brand communication. Predetermining and configuring the communication of storefronts becomes an important organization of signs. These signs are mixed, yet, orchestrated for consumer experience. For example, storefront window displays often utilize lighting and various themes to present products in an arranged and manipulated reality of sorts. The space behind the glass, often with mannequins and other items, projects an illusionary reality of a branded nature in an effort to persuade and capture the gaze of the viewer. (figures 1.6a-c)

The storefront window display becomes an alternate reality for the consumer, a place to be experienced in the mind, a branded illusionary

place. Behind the glass of storefront window is a place, which triggers the impulse of the consumer. The storefront window display exists as a valuable point of sign recognition and a powerful device of persuasion for brands.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY BEHIND BRANDING: HOW DOES BRANDING WORK IN THE MIND?**

There is the information that we are told, and then there is the information that is deduced, connoted, implied-tacit, or hiding as subtext. The mind is complex and susceptible to manipulation. Branding might be viewed, in some sense, as a soft form of mind control. As we are exposed to brand messages overtime, we form opinions about the products and commodities we consume. It might be argued that those exposed to branding are being conditioned for capitalist culture. While branding fulfills a consumer demand for desirable products, this desire is manufactured. After all, these items are not necessarily needed to survive; they are products of consumer culture, which is predicated on convenience, afford-ability, visuality, competition, and desire.

**FREE**

n. 1 not under the control or in the power of another; able to act or be done as one wishes.
2 not subject to or constrained by engagements or obligations.

**DOES THE CONSUMER EXERCISE FREE WILL?**

Consumers freely associate images and signs, while messages and meaning are strategically organized to communicate and prime their thoughts, actions, desires, and choices. Advertising and mass media influence consumer choices. Thus, the consumer is a free agent, who is free to choose within a system that is predetermined.

Constantly bouncing from one constructed reality to another, the consumer operates within a universe of manipulation. Brands construct their own realities or worlds within this universe. Consumers have grown accustomed to brand communication and for the most part are complacent about its progression. Consumers look forward to new products and brands; this anticipation is a part of consumer culture, however, this anticipation is manufactured, to some degree, through mass media and branding. Although the consumer is free to choose, their available choices are limited based on contextual political and sociological systems. The question of a consumer's free will is debatable.
1.4 THE LIMITS OF BRANDING

Branding as a mode of communication has become standard for the dissemination of product image and identity, however, there are problems and limits to this mode and its capabilities. A fundamental aspect of branding is to narrow down, reduce, and fine-tune communication for clarity. This narrowing down, filtering, marginalizing, or isolating of information is what gives branding, as a method, its ability to communicate so clearly. At the same time, from its exclusionary nature, branding derives its limitations. Because of this complexity a brand message fails to please everyone all of the time.

THE PARADOX OF CLARITY

Communication should be clear and concise to function optimally. The paradox of clarity, in regard to branding, seems to grow from its exclusionary nature. While in the pursuit of clarity, the designer must exclude information that is deemed extraneous. The framing of the design problem requires exclusionary tactics. A method of reduction and isolation must occur to reach maximum clarity for communicative purposes. Ambiguity is never a goal. The design must be clear and concise for maximum impact and clarity. While excluding information, misrepresentation can occur. Meaning becomes skewed to elicit a certain audience, while excluding another. In other words, the information that is formulated and constructed for a consumer audience is isolated for particular viewing pleasure, tastes, and desires. In doing this, another audience, consumer demographic, or culture is excluded. Looking at films for example, Hollywood westerns have predominantly been narrated from the perspective of the white cowboys, rather than the Native Indian, because the American audience has been predominately white working middle class. The native American Indian is often misrepresented as naive or simple-minded. Ironically, the isolation of branding or its exclusionary nature is both a problematic limitation and its largest asset. While brand information is exclusionary it is also focused and clear. Ultimately, branding is a double-edged sword situation and is often paradoxical.
BRANDING AS POLITICS

Conceptually, branding calls for the exclusion of information in favor of other information with the objective of clear communication. This approach has been successful for brand-based companies and such enterprises. While attempting to focus communication, there is sometimes a neglect to consider the cultural implications of design solutions. For example, Aunt Jemima pancake products, which have been around since the time of slavery, utilize illustrations of a smiling black woman as the key component and logo of the brand identity system.

The original Aunt Jemima was based on a real person. In 1968, the logo was redone and was no longer based on a living person. The original Aunt Jemima was a rather large woman, represented wearing a bandanna. Today, she is represented as a slimed down idealized version with no bandanna. The bandanna might have once symbolized a house worker, maid (mammy), or slave. After all, the bandanna functions, to some extent, to wick and hold moisture (sweat) on the head while holding the hair out of the way for daily duties. Brand products are subject to multiple readings and interpretations.

The case of Aunt Jemima syrups and pancake mixes, which are still on supermarket shelves, reveal a brand solution that utilizes racist idealized notions to sell. They have changed the logo a bit, but its origins are from a place of racial hierarchy, supremacy, and control. This brand communication has fused notions of racial superiority with consumer appeal. Over time, the brand has grown popular with its American audi-

26 Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, And Rastus, Blacks In Advertising, Yesterday, Today, And Tomorrow (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).
ence. At the same time, it is a popular brand product. Today, people purchase this brand of pancake products because it is inexpensive and feels familiar or nostalgic. Although not specifically about branding, M.M. Manring writes of similar relationships in his book titled *Slave In A Box, The Strange Career Of Aunt Jemima*.

**BRANDING AS APPARATUS OF GLOBALIZATION**

Does branding function as an apparatus for corporate globalization? Branding is tied to globalization through the perception of the commodity. The mass distribution of the commodity proliferates in the global market, at every scale. As multi-national brands globalize, they market themselves. Branding is the mode through which they communicate, identify, and attempt to control their image. Thus, branding functions, to some extent, as an apparatus of global capitalism.

Klein critically analyzes branding and its politics. She identifies a key shift in the beginning of her book. She writes, “The astronomical growth in the wealth and cultural influence of multi national corporations over the last fifteen years can arguably be traced back to a single, seemingly innocuous idea developed by management theorists in the mid-1980s: that successful corporations must primarily produce brands, as opposed to products.”27 In this statement, Klein identifies branding in relation to multi national corporate “wealth” and “cultural influence.” Here, Klein suggests that branding is the key component in the proliferation of the global corporate market.

Corporate globalization is a critical aspect of branding to consider for this investigation. As branding is employed to communicate and commodify products, places and cultures are influenced and affected. The global corporate market is money driven and actively participates in the exploitation of indigenous cultures and environments.

Our current ecological and environmental condition seems to be a result of our neglect, increased consumption, and lack of sustainable manufacturing and production. In the book *Cradle to Cradle*, architect William McDonough discusses this modern dilemma. He points out that our current ecological destruction patterns are a matter of design. McDonough says, “Restore. Strive for "good growth", not just economic growth.”28 Could branding be used to better our situation if the agenda were “good growth”? This is a question that needs to be considered given the current trend toward branding. Branding becomes a device in this larger system and helps perpetuate its existence. Perhaps if our methods of production and manufacture were to follow the guidelines set out in this book, which includes increased regulation on chemicals in products, branding might function to support an improved and more sustainable commodity system. While this would undoubtedly be an improvement from our current condition, the focus remains on consumption and commodification. This ultimately always carries contradictions of class and labor divisions because focus is put on attaining individual opulence versus spreading wealth and prosperity to the majority.

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The progression of branding’s evolution has shifted from the branding of cattle, to the branding products, to the proliferation of the larger global market. Its relationship with commerce seems to be fundamental and when applied to a global market it becomes questionable, just as the global market itself is questionable. It seems that anyone who is to take up the criticism of the globalized market economy must now take up the issue of branding.

**BRANDING VIA COMMERCE AND CAPITALISM**

Branding is inherently tied to commerce, but with the current status of commerce as part of a global market, branding has also taken on an increasingly suspect role. Branding is tied to capitalism and its attempt to globalize. Branding is a mechanism and a catalyst for the development of capitalism in non-capitalistic markets. As capitalistic markets are expanded, so does the reach of branding. Capitalism is essentially based on concepts of private enterprise and ‘free’ commodity markets. Branding works to communicate and commodify regardless of contextual social and monetary systems.

**BRANDING AS PROPAGANDA**

Branding is used for the purposes of propaganda. For instance, the swastika is an emblem and logo, which was designed and deployed in Nazi Germany for the purposes of persuading and promoting National Socialism. This emblem or logo references a time of profound tragedy and is quite offensive in meaning. The swastika was a propagandistic branding instrument and should be recognized as such. This emblem was one part of a larger system to communicate Nazi messages and influence masses of people. Branding is an active method or mode for clear design communication. At the same time, it can become an instrumental device for such horrific agendas and be utilized to manipulate people.

This sort of communication tactic is disconcerting and reveals the politics behind branding. Branding is being used as an apparatus of persuasion and consent for political agendas in America. Branding is a part of the American media system of control and propaganda. American philosopher, writer, M.I.T. professor of linguistics, and activist Noam Chomsky, in his book titled *Media Control, The Spectacular Achievements Of Propaganda* writes, “the first modern government propaganda operation. That was under the Woodrow Wilson Administration.” Chomsky then writes, “They established a government propaganda commission, called the Creel Commission, which succeeded, within six months, in turning a pacifist population into a hysterical, war-mongering population.” The media uses branding as a device to communicate to the masses, to persuade or control public opinion. The agenda of media today is in line with progressive corporate capitalistic thought. Branding plays its part in this system of communication and control.

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30 Ibid., 11.
BRANDING AS CONTROL

Corporate brands attempt to control every aspect of their communication and products image. Although, a substantial degree of control can be obtained over the products image and identity, there are times when control is completely lost. The communication arts often sabotage brand messages and meaning. Graphic design studios such as, ViaGrafik out of Wiesbaden, Germany, create critical logos like War, which samples and remixes the Nike logo, sabotaging its original intentions and meaning. This logo is constructed for the purposes of social criticism or as critical art.
CHAPTER 01: EPILOGUE
This chapter covers the fundamental and basic characteristics of branding, in order to clarify its premise. Through conceptual analysis of branding, the necessity of the mass market and mass communication become apparent. These variables are inherent to the functioning of branding, allowing for the dissemination and assimilation of brand information. The communication and persuasion functions of branding rely on this triangulation of information, between the brand constructor and the consumer. Through the various instruments, which were discussed in this chapter, branding infiltrates one’s experiences of the everyday. Its origins are tied to the mass-production and packaging of products, which are related to commerce, capitalism, and globalization. Analysis of these aspects reveals the communication value branding provides.

The semiology of branding becomes most poignant with the logo. These are the literal symbols of branding, which communicate and brand within the consumer’s mind. For the mass consumer audience of brand communication, branding functions as signs of commerce, identity, and sometimes as propaganda. Further, the limits of branding are evident through analysis and visual research of product branding. Through a lens and frame branding prescribes meaning. The paradoxes of branding are associated with the prescribed frames of perception, which are visually evident in products.
CHAPTER 02:
BRANDING PLACES
2.1 WHAT IS PLACE BRANDING?

The conceptual basis for place branding will be analyzed in this section, through its definition, origins, and relationship with people, architecture, and places.

**PLACE**

n. 1 a particular position or point in space.
2 a portion of space occupied by someone.
3 a position in a sequence, in particular.
4 a square or a short street”.

**DEFINING PLACE**

Shall we go to your place or mine? People often refer to their place when referring to their residence or home. But what are they literally or physically referring to? Is this place defined by an edge or boundary? Place is a slippery term and needs some clarification. The definition of ‘place’ describes the concept as a physical “point in space” or location. Conceptually, places are abstract ideas and depend on one’s understanding and perception. Places are constructions in the mind. Therefore, a place is not always physical but can be completely psychological. Thus, the definition of place fails to fully support the terms contemporary use and must be expanded for the purposes of this inquiry. Places are perceptual and psychological notions as well as physical and geographical realities. Places have blurry, obscure, and ambiguous edge conditions, in both physical and metaphysical space. Places
are constantly in flux, changing, morphing, and evolving. In his book titled *Places, A Short Introduction*, Tim Cresswell supports this notion and writes, “Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence.” Therefore, when discussing places or its making it is perfectly reasonable to discuss this in terms of image-making and perception.

**PLACES IN THE MIND**

Places stimulate the mind. Actually, studies show places stimulate the same area in the mind when we see them as when we imagine them. An article in *TIME, Your Brain: A Users Guide* discusses some scientific studies of the mind in relation to place experiences and imaging. Steven Pinker writes of these studies, in his article titled *The Riddle Of Knowing You’re Here*, “The trick is to see what parts of the brain change when a person’s consciousness flips from one experience to another.”

Interestingly, results are similar in the brain scans and reveal insightful information in regards to the perception of places. Seeing places seems to cause a similar amount of activity in the brain as imagining them. (figure 2.1) The scans in figure 2.1, clearly reveal that places have an impact on the mind, as a stimulus. Thus, the power to effect people’s emotions, responses, and ultimately their minds through the stimulus of place is profound. Branding places is an attempt to forge an imprint of the mind, a system for the dispersal of form and content. Yet, the experiences of places are often dramatically different, depending on individual

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interpretation and perception, they are subjective realities. The mode of branding styles similarities and consistent corresponding patterns as imitable messages, signs, and images. Branding-places also facilitate this patterning and communication, while strategically constructing form and content, in an effort to affect the mind through imaging and experience.

**BRANDING AS PERCEPTION**

How has branding affected the human condition? Our perceptions are altered over time, from the marketing and advertising that we are exposed to on a daily basis. Design has a social influence and affects our perceptions. The ways in which we perceive this world are continuously altered by our understanding and existence. Our perception is directly linked to the images we see and our experiences. Mass-perception is influenced by commercialism, at least here in America. It could be argued that branding functions as a mechanism for a mass-scale social conditioning—primarily through mass media, imaging, and the built environment.

**ORIGINS OF BRANDING PLACES**

Since the introduction of mass production, mass transit, and mass communication, during the early to mid-nineteenth century, branding has thrived as a mechanism of communication and design. The origins of place branding are linked with tourism destinations. A paper written by PhD candidate Sonya Hanna and professor Jennifer Rowley of Bangor University titled, *An Analysis Of Terminology Use In Place Branding*, documents the first mentions of place branding in literary text. The discussion of branding places begins with the 1998 writing by J.R. Brent Ritchie and Robin J.B. Ritchie, titled, *The Branding of Tourism Destinations, Past Achievements And Future Challenges*. The paper explains that the discussion of the destination or place 'image' began as far back as 1975, with the journal writing of John D. Hunt, who wrote, *Image As A Factor In Tourism Development*. By 2001, Graham Hankinson wrote a research article, titled, *Location Branding: A Study Of The Branding Practices Of 12 English Cities*. In 2002 Otto Riewoldt released his book, *Brandscaping*, which discusses architecture and places in the context of branding. In 2002, Gernot Brauer released his book *Architecture As Brand Communication*, which explores the architecture of the BMW and MINI “Dynaform + Cube”, which are event pavilions, designed for the International Motor Show in Frankfurt, Germany. (figures 2.7a-b, page 54)

Architects, writers, and educators Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, with their books, *Learning From Las Vegas*, and *Architecture As Signs And Systems*, explain architecture as communication on the landscape, as signs. Venturi and Brown open a conceptual door and present a realm where communication is prominent as iconic form. Branding functions within this sign system, however, brand architecture is focused for the purposes of commerce, market, and consumer. The communication of architecture as Venturi and Brown write are about branding, yet, they never discuss it as such. They approach an iconic architecture by translating the visual quality of commercial signs, as found on the Las Vegas strip, into architectural language and a post-modern style. They lift the conceptual image of commercialism and place it on architecture, as a sign; for instance, Hôtel du Département Haute-Garonne, Toulouse, in France. 

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tecture utilizes existing geometries of the site and integrates them through the iconography of the architecture. The results are not founded in an obvious commercial sign, but of an abstract nature, creating a sign for the city and region. The work of Venturi and Brown is tied to the phenomena of branding places through architecture and its communication. Venturi and Brown brought the concept of commercial signs as architectural integration into the dialogue of architects and academics on a monumental scale. Venturi and Brown’s practice of architecture communicates their conceptual theories as contrasts with old “mannerisms,” focusing instead on the “complexity and contradiction in architecture,” applying “variety inherent in the ambiguity of visual perception.”

Architect, writer, and place branding expert Anna Klingmann writes, in her book titled Brandscapes, “it was the Walt Disney Company that created the prototype for all branded environments: Disneyland. From the moment it opened on July 17, 1955, in an event given twenty-four-camera, live coverage on ABC television, Disneyland has been a key symbol of modern branding.” We can see here that the origins of branding places is linked to the creation of Disneyland, however, place branding actually predates Disneyland. Waikiki, on the island of Oahu, in the state of Hawai’i, was constructed as a brand place prior to Disneyland. In 1951, over 46,000 tourists visited the islands of Hawai’i, this was up from 15,000 in 1946, 20,000 in 1928, 8,000 in 1917, and 3,000 in 1900. In fact, as early as 1900 there were 3,000 tourists that visited Waikiki. Waikiki is one of the early brand places of America, becoming the fiftieth state in 1959. Furthermore, Coney Island, in New York, predates Waikiki as a brand place, dating back to the mid 1800’s.

WHAT IS THE FIRST BRAND PLACE?
Speaking conceptually, perhaps heaven and hell might be discussed as the first branded places, which are described in text and image, going back to the production of the Gutenberg Latin Bible, during the mid 15th century. Although, this discussion of heaven and hell predates the Gutenberg bible, this is considered the first mass produced bible, which disseminated the message and concept of these places to an audience of consumers. Heaven and hell are places that are conceptualized in the mind. They are places, which are constructed and communicated through books, images, art, and architecture (church).

PLACEMAKING VERSUS PLACEBRANDING
The concept of placemaking evolves from the language of the urban planner and designer, as a mode of constructing public places. “The concepts behind Placemaking originated in the 1960s, when visionaries like Jane Jacobs and William “Holly” Whyte offered ground-breaking ideas about designing cities that catered to people, not just to cars and shopping centers.” Thus, placemaking is typically viewed as a mode of urban space construction, as an organized and strategic event for the design of accessible public parks, plazas, streets, squares, and

37 Ibid., 140.
38 Ibid., 143.
waterfronts. On the other hand, placemaking is inherent to human existence. People have long since constructed places to live, inhabit, and coexist. Places are made as surreptitious, implicit, and ambiguous constructs, which grow from a natural, drive inherent in human survival. It is only since the 1960’s that this term has come into the vocabulary of the designer and urban planner.

While placemaking seems to originate from an attempt to focus the design of public spaces for the benefit of community health, social interaction, communication, and happiness, in today's market driven climate, placebranding seems to be the new placemaking. Cities and towns often utilize public spaces as a means to capitalize on consumers. Thus, the act of placemaking versus placebranding becomes a bit of a struggle between the desires to design places for the well being of a community versus designing places as competitive commodities, where people shop. As soon as the place is swayed toward the latter, consumption and commodification, it becomes a branding operation of place construction.

In the post modern sense, one might argue that the well being of a community is tied to the physical and psychological gratification people get from shopping. Hence, the struggle between placemaking and placebranding is of a paradoxical nature, a condition that becomes tied to aspects of psychology, sociology, semiology, and perception. Contemporary understanding of what a healthy, happy, and communicative community actually is, has become vague and indeterminate, hence placemaking bleeds into placebranding and vice versa.

DIGITAL PLACES
The experience of places also happens through virtual realities and online portals. Places also exist in the digital terrain, as web sites. For example Facebook and Myspace, provide a digital place for people to connect and socialize. Wikipedia and Wiki leaks function to inform the masses outside modern control systems of censorship; the brand identity of these digital places function as a primary mode of communication. Often taking a traditional form, which might be seen in printed ephemera, utilizing logos, particular colors, typography, and images. The digital portal separates from traditional print branding on the veins of video and animation, which are tied to the nature of digital places. Digital or virtual places are inherently different from physical places, with the digital portal or web site, no physical place exists to photograph or image. These places are almost completely imaged in the mind of the consumer through the online experience.

BRANDING ARCHITECTURE
The concept of architecture as brand signs gains relevance since the 20th century, with the progress of mass communication, mass transit, and mass markets. Architecture plays within a system of signs, as Venturi and Brown explain. This architecture is tied to places and becomes a chess piece within the game of place branding.

Branding has moved into the realm of architecture and place-making. Although the two design disciplines are inherently related, it is important to make the distinction here that branding architecture and branding places are indeed different modes of thinking and making. For the purposes of this discussion they will be addressed and analyzed separately. Moreover, architecture becomes an instrument for the
branding of places. The focus and direction of this particular investigation is on the topic of branding places. Branding architecture is an important component within the overall theme of the topic of inquiry.

Experiences of places are influenced by its architecture. People are subject to the decisions of the architect and designer. Places have the power to persuade people on a conscious and subconscious level. Architecture and the built environment determine the use, design, and, to some great extent, the experience of places. Branding becomes a means to capitalize on this communication. Architecture is utilized as a conduit for place-branding concepts and experiences.

Architecture is branded in much the same way that products are branded, however, architecture demands increased complexities. The design of architecture and its communication is organized and focused for the purposes of branding, with a high degree of control and clarity. For example, the Citroën C42 Showroom in Paris, designed by the French Architect Manuelle Gautrand, communicates commercial brand information through architectural form. Here the architecture highlights the automotive products while conflating brand information. The logo for the company and its colors have been abstractly integrated into the facade and its interior spaces. (figures 2.2a-b)

Today, brand architecture, or architecture as sign of commodification, is popular and relevant. Bjarke Ingels, founder of BIG or Bjarke Ingels Group in Denmark, works in a fashion, which focuses on conceptual communication, while integrating contemporary issues of sustainability, use, and experience. Ingels architec-
ture fuses the sign and commodity through the language of architecture, utilizing iconographic communication when useful. For instance, his “Mountain Dwellings,” located in Copenhagen, utilize the iconography and image of a mountain landscape on the facade of the building. The image is created from multiple holes which change in diameter, depending on the image, creating the pixels of the image. At the same time the holes function to filter air and light for the integrated parking within the housing structure. Ingels is related to the discussion of branding architecture through his unique and differentiating works which function as communicative symbols of places. Indirectly, these works function as place branding signs. For example, the 2010 Danish pavilion, 8Tallet in Copenhagen, and the PSY psychiatric hospital in Helsingør, DK.

**ORIGINS OF BRANDING ARCHITECTURE**

Otto Riewoldt, references Peter Behrens as one of the first architects of brand architecture. He explains that during the 1920’s Behrens built “an expressionist gateway for the Frankfurt headquarters of chemical company Hoechst and found he had built the brand logo of the day.” Riewoldt then writes, “in Switzerland, well aware of the symbolic impact of corporate identity set in bricks and mortar, in 1876 the Feldschlösschen [“field castle”] brewery built a production facility complete with towers and battlements in a picturesque setting, lending tangible form to the brand.” These examples are viewed as the origins of brand architecture.

**FORM FOLLOWS BRAND**

“Form follows function,” a phrase coined by the late modernist architect Louis Sullivan, has long been utilized as a mode of thinking for designers. It is often used as a guideline for modernist thinking and minimalists design. But perhaps form follows brand more appropriately describes our current condition or problem—depending on how you view it. Our landscape is covered with commercial architecture that neglects to communicate or relate with its community. This pattern of architecture is related to a communicative sign system, which Venturi and Brown write about, yet, it is also inherently connected to the capitalist drive to compete and consume. Through this sign and logo system of architecture, the communication of consumption is relayed. Consumers find their way, navigating through this system of signs and logos, to their destination. Hence, the form of the sign is directly connected and prioritized as brand communication and semiology.

**BRANDING PLACES AS PRIVATIZATION**

Branding as a mark of ownership, when discussed in terms of places, becomes a matter of privatization. While branding is utilized, in a sense, to mark and identify authorship of products with relative ease, it becomes complex and entangles with controversy when applied to places. Land is a precious resource and commodity, which is now utilized for the purposes of branding. Essentially, places are designed as brand constructs, which are consumed for their branded benefits, much like products. At the same time, places are shared, pre-existing, and natural. Herein lies the paradox of branding places as commodities. As places continue to compete for market shares of economic gain, branding functions as a mode of privatization.
PLACE BRANDING AS CONTROL

Perhaps the largest obstacle and its most controversial topic, in regards to place branding, is the ability to control places. Places fail to be controlled in the same way that products allow, in regards to branding and communication. Places are fundamentally dynamic and abstract notions, which will not necessarily conform to the requirements of the brand identity and prescribed image. Places are constantly changing. They are not static. The book, How To Brand Nations, Cities, And Destinations, A Planning Book For Place Branding, by Teemu Moilanen and Seppo Rainisto, discusses “The Difficulties in Controlling”44 The book states, “A notable difference between place marketing and consumer goods’ marketing or service marketing situations is the low-level of control.”45

STATES

The identity of many American states are portrayed in mass media and defined through the built environment. States are in competition for economic prosperity and market stability, as are regions, cities, and nations. While indirectly states are branded through popular mass media and the built environment, government organizations directly endeavor to brand states.

REGIONS

Places and divisions within the state, where boundaries are continually in flux, will be considered as the working definition of regions for this investigation. Regions span from public parks and beaches, to private theme parks and agricultural communities. For example, Miami Beach, Walt Disney World, and Napa Valley are regions within their respective states of Florida, and California. All of which are brand places.

CITIES

The phenomenon of branding places is an increasingly relevant topic, in regards to architecture, urban planning, and the city. Thinking of cities as products is a novel idea, however, the reality of actually packaging and branding the city is a matter of communication and persuasion. Cities are constructed for purposes of persuasion, communication, and control, as well as basic and fundamental reasons of human survival. Modern cites use branding as a mode of communication, which organizes and commodity social, political, and popular agendas for mass consumption.

44 Teemu Moilanen And Seppo Rainisto, How To Brand Nations, Cities, And Destinations, A Planning Book For Place Branding (Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 20.
45 Ibid.
NATIONS
Perhaps the most potential for harmful results in regards to branding places lie in the concept of branding nations. It was Simon Anholt who first “coined the phrase nation brand.”\textsuperscript{46} His book in 2005 titled\textit{ Brand New Justice: How Branding Places and Products Can Help the Developing World}, discusses place branding in terms of its potential. As the title suggests, Anholt takes a fairly optimistic stance on branding places and glorifies it as a solution to economic inequity. He writes on page one, “branding is, in fact, a powerful tool for economic development, and could make a very worthwhile contribution to the growth of places which need it most”. In 2010 Anholt released his book titled,\textit{ Places: Identity, Image and Reputation}. On page one he writes, “Let me be clear: there is no such thing as 'nation branding'. It is a myth, and perhaps a dangerous one”. A few paragraphs later he writes, “I little guessed how potent the combination of those two little words would prove to be, or what a double-edged sword the idea of branding would become when applied to countries, cities, and regions.”\textsuperscript{47} It seems Anholt has changed his position due to the complexities and contradictions involved in branding places. This project will take the position that there is indeed, such a thing as “nation branding.” Nations have agency and agendas, they attempt to brand their identity for communication purposes, to compete in a global market for tourism and capital. They have architecture, concepts, emblems, flags, places, and symbols, all of which help to communicate national brand identity.

\textsuperscript{46} Simon Anholt,\textit{ Places, Identity, Image and Reputation} (Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
2.2 ANALYZING THE SHIFT: FROM PRODUCTS TO PLACES

This section examines the shift from branding products, its more traditional use, to the branding of places, which has developed more recently. This shift has predominantly resulted from the need for physical places, such as, nations, cities, and regions to compete for tourism and economy, and thus, participate in the commodity market. In particular, this mode of design is thought to be a solution to the marketing, design, and development of tourism destinations, particularly resorts. Through analysis and discussion on topics of thematic relevance, as well as particular case studies, perhaps this shift will be clarified and better defined.

ORIGIN: BRANDING PRODUCTS

Analyzing the origins of branding reveals its relationship with the communication of the commodity and product. Branding becomes most relevant to contemporary usage after the late 1800's, with improved mass-media, mass-communication, and mass-transit. Over time, branding has progressively shifted from the branding of products to the branding of architecture and places. As this mode of design and communication has adapted to new arenas, three characteristics have remained constant: 1. the consumer market and audience; 2. communication of image and narrative through mass media; 3. the motivation and endeavor of commodification.

These characteristics of branding are exploratory themes, which are analyzed in this investigation.

SHIFT: BRANDING ARCHITECTURE

Brand products have changed in scale and function over time. Branding is now being employed as a mode for the design of architecture. While branding has come into the practice of architecture from the world of product design and marketing, unfortunately, in most cases the results are poorly executed; the mode of branding most often fails to create architecture that embodies social change, evolution, or intelligence; for example, Walmart, Costco, and Target. These big box designs function as brand communication; yet, they are incredibly banal works of architecture. These are architecture as refrigerator boxes with signs.

The mode of branding for the purposes of architectural design is critically analyzed in the book titled Brandscapes, by architect and author Anna Klingmann. She writes, “More often than not, branding strategies fail to establish sensitive connections to particular contexts by imposing standardized forms and formulas on the urban or suburban landscape.”

Klingmann argues architects should strive to “inspire people with pioneering ideas that are culturally relevant, economically appropriate, and socially sensitive, and that interpret people’s desires in visionary ways.”

49 Ibid., 185.
WHY HAS BRANDING SHIFTED TO PLACES?

In a word: tourism. As people are traveling on holiday they are choosing from places to visit. The competitive advantage of the brand image is crucial to the suggestive and persuasive consumer destination. Nations, cities, towns, and regions, are a part of this competitive branding agenda. As the struggle for capitol grows more evident, places with a positive and sustainable brand image dominate this market.
SHIFT: BRANDING PLACES
Most recently branding has shifted from a mode of product marketing and design to a mode for urban design, architecture, and place-making. The progression and evolution of this momentous shift is multiple, clustering, and fractured. Conceptual analysis of popular brand products allows for an associative interpretation of meaning, form, and content. With an emphasis on design, communication, culture, and mass appeal, the shift from products to places is evaluated.

TIPPING POINT
Mass-communication + mass-transit + mass-markets + mass-production, all of which peaked during the 20th century, are resultant in our current situation of mass-commercialism, mass-tourism, and mass-perception. This has been an event of communication, movement, innovation, modernization, cultural adaptation, social development, and human evolution. These aspects are interwoven and interrelated at all times. If one determining element were to be isolated and considered most vital to the construction of brand places, this would be mass-tourism and their consumption.

ANALYSIS: BRAND PRODUCTS
Certain brands are more prominent, popular, identifiable, and powerful than others. US brands, such as, Coca-Cola, Apple, Nike, McDonald’s, and Disney are globally understood and recognized as American. These brands proliferate mass markets, communicating through mainstream consciousness, and are supported by millions of consumers. These American superbrands are prominent on the horizon of popular culture or mass culture and perpetuate a global ethos. The popularity of these brands warrants further analysis into their nature and construction, serving as points of inquiry for this discussion. Conceptual analysis of these brand entities reveals multiple and differentiating aspects of brand identity and communication in relation to culture and mass-perception.

1. COCA-COLA
Perhaps one of the most prominent and identifiable brand products on the market is Coca-Cola. The logotype for Coca-Cola is extremely popular and highly recognizable because of its market proliferation. This brand identity, image, and product have been globally disseminated for over a century. Coca-Cola differentiates its logotype through customized letterforms, which have subtly changed over time. A bold use of the color red gives the brand communication focus and works to elicit attention.

Coca-Cola and other popular American superbrands, such as, Nike, Apple, and McDonald’s, are associated with Americana. This historical significance for multi-national brands helps to ingrain and imbed, within American culture, an association of National pride, which then perpetuates the existence of said brand products.

2. APPLE
The contemporary world of technology and communication is influenced by one brand, arguably more than any other: Apple computers. With a distinct brand identity and unique approach to personal computing devices, this brand organization has become one of the most recognizable in American history. With products like the revolutionary iphone, which is the first mass-produced touch screen cellular phone, and the ipad, which is the first mass-produced touch screen computer tablet, this company has revolutionized mass communication, technology, design, and production.
3. **NIKE**

The American company Nike is perhaps the most recognizable shoe manufacturer on the planet. The success of Nike is undoubtedly related to their product advertising and branding. The Nike logo as “swoosh” has circulated the globe through mass media and products. Popular athletes, such as, Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods, and Maria Sharapova have joined Nike as brand mascots and function to identify with popular audiences.

In the case of Nike, various controversy has transpired over the years in regards to the context and conditions under which they manufacture products. Nike has grown into a global, multi-national corporation; consumers are now suspicious of the Nike brand; yet, Nike products continue to be consumed by the masses. While Nike provides arguably innovative and distinctive design at relatively competitive prices, the advertising and marketing of Nike’s identity, products, and image drives product consumption. Nike’s famous tag line “Just Do It,” is popular because of its mass imaging and advertising.

4. **MCDONALD’S**

The epitome of the superbrand is McDonald’s. Cultures far and wide, in countries across the globe, recognize McDonald's. An example of micro and macro brand relationships is exemplified with McDonald’s versus Coca-Cola, which are both brand food products. For instance, McDonald’s sells the beverage Coca-Cola in restaurants, along with other fast ‘food’ products, such as, hamburgers or the Big Mac, french fries, and ice cream sundaes. McDonald's brand proliferates in a global consumer market. Places across the globe, which are undergoing capitalistic reform, now have McDonald's.
Thus, McDonald’s becomes a sign for global capitalism. On the other hand, McDonald’s wins its way in to the minds and stomachs of the masses, which consume these inexpensive food products, with their novelty, nostalgia, salt, fat, and sugar. Moreover, McDonald’s blatantly advertises, markets, and brands children, while serving up the unhealthiest assortment of food conceivable. The McDonald’s Brand carries baggage of a negative nature. The book titled, *Fast Food Nation*, by Eric Schlosser, relates McDonald’s to issues of obesity, classism, and American cultural imperialism. Documentary films, such as, *Super Size Me*, by Morgan Spurlock have permanently altered mass perception, and subsequently McDonald’s brand image. This film examines fast food through McDonald’s and reveals hidden truths about fast food production and human health, enlightening consumers and shifting perceptions. Thus, the McDonald’s brand is a paradox, which seems to function well, yet, is seemingly folding in on itself.

**ANALYSIS: BRAND PLACES**

Similar to products, brand places are designed, constructed, and conceptualized as commodities. Cities, regions, parks, and towns are imaged as destinations of desire to attract people, communicate, and gain financial resources. Cities are a fundamental and elemental category for which this investigation will focus. Cites such as Washington, Las Vegas, New York City, Paris, Venice, and Dubai are conceptually analyzed through the lens of communication, commodification, and branding. Places, such as, Miami Beach, Florida and Aspen, Colorado are discussed conceptually as popular and prominent brand destinations. Mass media, advertising, marketing, which are all components of branding, have directly and indirectly popularized these places for mass-consumption. As branding shifts from products to places, there is a multiplicity of complexity that arises. Additionally, parks are conceptually analyzed in correlation with branding. In particular, the amusement parks Disneyland and DisneyWorld will be discussed. These are currently the most popular amusement parks in the world.50

### 1. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**WASHINGTON, DC**

The first place of inquiry for this discussion is a city, which has partially defined the national brand identity and image of America. Washington, DC is designed and constructed with intentions of communicating identity. It was the French architect and engineer Pierre Charles L’Enfant who designed the original urban plan of Washington DC. President George Washington was interested in utilizing the Potomac River as a popular trade route, as a means of economic profit, and wanted L’Enfant to design a city that would communicate and inspire. This is documented in the book by Scott W. Berg, titled, *The Story Of The French Visionary Who Designed Washington, D.C.* L’Enfant designed an extraordinary plan that had strong formal connections to Rome and Versailles.51 L’Enfant was designing the plan for Washington DC during the 1790’s and had been trained formally in Paris, where baroque was the fashion. The plan that was proposed for Washington DC, later implemented, appears hybrid in approach.52 Correlations between L’Enfant’s plan and that of Versailles are discussed in the book titled Grand Avenues, it states, “Versailles was totalitarian, a controlled experience of stopping and starting, while the

52 Ibid., 112.
Vegas image communicates as a brand place destination for the precarious consumer.

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
The branding of New York City is evident through its imaging in mass media. The city is a sign of modernity, consumerism, cosmopolitan culture, art, innovation, and human progress. Over time, mass imaging of Washington DC has branded this place.

LAS VEGAS, NEVADA
Las Vegas is perhaps one of the most noteworthy for its explicit symbolism and branding. The architecture and built environment are designed for the casinos, hotels, gas stations, retail stores, and wedding chapels. Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown site the dominance of communication over space and its almost intrinsic relationship to architecture and the landscape in their 1972 book Learning From Las Vegas. This book gives a detailed analysis of Las Vegas as a complex construction of meaning and symbolism revolving around consumption, way-finding, and gambling.

Las Vegas is a brand place experience extravaganza of fantastic proportions. This city is one of the most commercially exploited destinations in America. The Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority are a form of direct agency for the construction and dissemination of the Las Vegas image and brand identity. The state organized Las Vegas brand identity advertises a web site, logo and an infamous tag line; “What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas.”54 The image of Las Vegas has disseminated through mass media throughout the 20th century as a destination of entertainment, festivity, and gambling. Through mass media and its built environment, the Las Vegas image communicates as a brand place destination for the precarious consumer.

Known as “The Big Apple,” New York City has a brand identity like no other place in the US. In the 1970’s an advertising campaign, run by the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau, formulated this nickname, further embellishing the image of the city. It was also in the 1970’s when Bill Doyle, a man of advertising, came up with the line “I love New York.” It was graphic designer Milton Glaser who designed the iconic representation of this now popular phrase,
giving birth to New York’s first brand identity. Glaser’s, I ♥ New York, brand identity was an immediate success, which followed with an advertising campaign that helped to boost the city’s economy and tourism. On the topic of the campaign, “In one year, it stimulated an 11.8 percent increase in travel receipts in New York City. The $4.3 million tourist promotion effort reaped $14.3 million in tax revenues, which CBI calculated (by rounding upwards) as translating to $4 in tax revenue for every $1 spent on the campaign.” After the September 11 attacks on the twin towers, Milton Glaser updated the design, which was employed as a fund raising device: I ♥ New York More Than Ever.

More specifically New York’s boroughs and parks are brand oriented, just a few examples: Soho, Brooklyn, and High Line Park. Each of which have unique brand identity systems, web sites, way finding systems, and architecture to differentiate their image. Another pattern that is similar among these places is gentrification. For better or worse, as these places have become branded they have also become gentrified. Soho is an obvious example, known for its art culture, galleries and loft style living, much of the area is undergoing a posh transformation and gentrification.

An article in the New York Post titled, B’klyn Plan Gives New Meaning To ‘Corporate Park,’ writes of a proposal to brand a public park in Brooklyn for city revenue. The article reads, “Picture a Brooklyn Bridge Park where you can visit Pampers Playground, then walk along the Target Esplanade past Ikea soccer fields to the Burger King Picnic Area.” As the article states, “The inspiration for the commercial sponsorship comes from Chicago’s Millennium Park, which opened to rave reviews in 2004, and saw the private sector pick up $220 million of its $490 million tab.” Millennium Park in Chicago is an explicit example of the commercial branding of places (parks). While the B’klyn Plan reveals the progression, trend, and potential future of New York City, which is perhaps even more commercially exploitative of public spaces.

ASPEN, COLORADO

The branding of Aspen, Colorado is predominantly organized through commercial ski and snowboard culture. Mass media images Aspen as a Rocky Mountain destination, a ski resort with multiple parties and adrenalin sports. Brand resort destinations in Colorado, such as, Aspen, Vail, Telluride, Breckenridge, Steamboat, Keystone, and Snowmass are in relatively close proximity, yet their brand identity is marketed as distinct, separate, and unique. Aspen has become a fashionable brand resort place, attracting tourists from all over the globe. The maps of the ski resorts function to image this place as a terrain of black diamonds and bunny slopes.

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

The branding of Miami, Florida is organized around beach culture. Miami Beach is a popular destination, which is portrayed in mass media as resort, party, and place of retirement. For instance, popular movies and television shows, such as, Miami Vice and Scarface indirectly function as brand instruments for this place. The vibrant and visual art deco architecture of Miami Beach communicates as signs of this place, while

56 Ibid., 211.
58 Ibid., 3.
the pink flamingo functions as a symbol of its brand identity. The pink flamingo is attached to Miami Beach through the popular 1980's television series, Miami Vice, which utilized a graphic pink flamingo in the identity system for the show.

**DISNEYLAND AND DISNEY WORLD**

The discussion of branding is perhaps most relevant to the design and communication of amusement parks. From the inception of Disneyland, in California, during the 1950's, the Disney phenomena proliferates a global market. Today, Disney World in Florida, Disneyland in Tokyo, Japan, and Disneyland in Paris, France, are the most popular amusement parks in the world, attracting millions of visitors annually. The now global Disney phenomenon originates and grows from the communication of the brand place image, predominantly in cartoons.

The virtual experience of the Disney cartoon manifests as the built environment, once on site. Cartoon characters as mascots and architecture function as signs of experiential illusion and fantasy. Scale and proportion of architecture, space, and time is distorted for perceptual and conceptual reasons of communication. Constructed environments and architecture manipulate perception to evoke emotions, stimulate the senses, and brand experience. The success of Disney as a brand place is reliant on cohesive vision and its communication, which is manifested through mass media and its amusement parks.

**2. EUROPE**

**PARIS, FRANCE**

The image of Paris is well known and circulated. Closely associated with its architecture (examples: Eiffel Tower, Louvre), French culture, history, and art; Paris has a distinct brand identity with mass-appeal as a European tourism destination. Paris is not a heavily branded and commercial place, like Las Vegas for example, yet, it has definition in the market. Paris has gained its notoriety as a tourism destination through its clarity of visual form and its unique cultural, urban, and political characteristics. The architecture of this city is visually cohesive and expresses a clear character of a historical nature, which contrasts with what is new and modern. Virtually all the architectural styles in history are present in Paris: Medieval, Romanesque, Gothic, Classical, French Baroque, Art Nouveau, Rococo, and Neoclassicism, to name a few. This assimilation of styles contrasted with modern architecture gives Paris a unique and desirable brand image.

**VENICE, ITALY**

Uniquely differentiating characteristics for a brand place destination are always visible and sometimes they are functional. This is certainly true in the case of Venice, Italy. Here canals of water, designed for transportation, navigation, and circulation, are the most prominent and desirable feature, which images this city. This characteristic and the architecture of Venice, its culture, and its art, are its most prominent brand image features. This unique brand place destination has disseminated to a large audience through mass media; however, consumers are attracted to Venice for unique cultural and urban experiences. This European destination, like Paris, is imaged in films, as romantic, urban, and visitor friendly. Venice is a tourism

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destination, which gains popularity for its lack of commercialism. The image of Venice reveals an authentic design, construction, and use of urban space, mixing architecture, canal, and thus water and city. Venice becomes a brand place of circulatory water veins, which are often imaged as romantic and nostalgic.

3. UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
DUBAI, UAE
Dubai is evidence of the trend to develop the ocean as symbols or land-logos as places. The star and flower pattern formations, which extrude from the shores of Dubai, extend usable space literally and psychologically. One might argue that along with its architecture, these patterns function to brand Dubai as a destination. While the ocean terrain exists as a global potential for brand place development, this invaluable resource is delicate and prone to environmental disaster. Yet, the communication value of urban design, such as this, is profoundly relevant to the branding of places. Indeed, Dubai is evidence of the desire to construct modern cities as experiential places, which communicate as landscape, architecture, and image.
2.3
THE INSTRUMENTS OF BRANDING PLACES

It is through multiple instruments that branding functions to address communication of identity and image. This section of the investigation aims to sort out the various instruments of branding, in an attempt to clearly delineate and define them in relation to places.

THE CATEGORIES OF INSTRUMENTS
Brand place communication relies on multiple instruments to disseminate its image, identity, and message. The particular instruments function within two categories. The first category is mass media (including popular art). The second category is the built environment. Within mass media, the instrumentation for branding places are frequently advertisements, books, magazines, movies, music, popular art (including ephemeral items such as postcards), television, and web sites. Within the built environment, the instrumentation employed for branding places is architecture (including urban planning and landscape design). These instruments are ultimately utilized (directly and indirectly) to propagate and brand places into the minds of consumers. Interestingly, these instruments function in physical, virtual, and psychological space. They influence each other in profound ways. For example, architecture and the built environment are often a part of the content within the images of places.

EXPERIENCE VERSUS IMAGE
Experience versus image, in relation to branding places, gets to the contrast between mass media and the built environment. The experience of a place is directly and physically associated with the built environment, including its architecture. The image of a place is more closely associated to mass media, as a representation of the place. Places are also experienced through mass media. In a sense, places can be experienced at a movie theater, for only the price of admission. The experience of a place on location is different then its experience through media. In the theater, a viewer takes a psychological trip—not a physical one. In the theater experience, the viewer is fed images and asked to cognitively associate symbols. This happens on location as well, but the full faculty of the viewer is at hand, all senses are on deck, so to speak. At the same time, movies are popular, partly because of the places that they take us to.

An inherent aspect of branding, the image is perhaps the most influential device, tool, and instrument, which often functions as sign within the brand apparatus. The experience of a place often shares similar qualities with its image. The literal images of tourist destinations for example, which are found in brochures and magazines, on web sites, and in other mass media, are constructs of idealized communication, purposed to attract tourism. This is a normal way of advertising places and products for that matter. This is a matter of bracketing information, portraying the benefits of places, which becomes an important aspect, particularly for tourist destinations. Although the image in people's minds of places takes time and repetition to develop as reputation and impression, this imaging is crucial for the
tourism industry. These brand images affect business and economic positioning in a market of competing destinations. As mentioned, time and repetition are important factors in regards to branding. Unless the images of places are proliferated and disseminated, its value as a branding instrument is weakened. A places image communicates a sense of consistency over time to clarify the message.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS INSTRUMENT
Of all the instruments employed to brand places, in regards to mass media, photography is the most prominent and influential. It is with the advent of film and photography that place images has reached the masses. Through movies, television, magazines, post cards, and even stamps, people have come to understand places from abroad. Photography plays a large role in the branding of places and becomes perhaps branding’s most important and useful instrument.

AGENCY: DIRECT VERSUS INDIRECT
Branding places requires agency, in other words, branding does not happen organically or without agency. This agency is directly or indirectly associated with the branding of places. For instance, the popular 1972 film, by Francis Ford Coppola, starring Marlon Brando, Al Pacino, and James Caan, titled, The God Father indirectly functions to brand New York City. Giving new meaning to the words “respect” and “family,” this mafia film is an instrument for the branding of New York City, while it is also a sign within the cities narrative. (figure 2.4) Although the original motives for the film were not necessarily related to branding New York, indirectly, this has happened. Few films have had the impact on popular culture as this one. According to, The Internet Movie Database, in
its opening weekend the film grossed $302,393 in America. In 1972, the Godfather became the “highest grossing film of all time.”

MUSIC AS INSTRUMENT
Utilized as an instrument for the branding of places, music fosters place images in the mind of the listener. Place imaging through music is utilized for branding places, directly and indirectly. For instance, in 1980 Frank Sinatra released the song New York, New York, on his album titled, Trilogy: Past Present Future. This now classic song has essentially become an aural-icon for New York City, functioning to brand this place in America and abroad. (figure 36) New York, New York highlights New York City and conflates it with an early 1940’s American swing appeal. The song originated as a theme song for the 1977 film by Martin Scorsese titled, New York, New York. Which also indirectly brands the city and functions as an instrument.

The narrative of Sinatra’s life and the cities are forever intertwined. Thus, Sinatra is an icon for New York City, lending to its brand identity and image. The mass mediation of his song and image has allowed Sinatra to reach this level of mass recognition. “In 1950, 4.4 million American households owned a television set; by 1960, the figure had reached 60 million. And the great stages of Broadway went dark.”

Music As Instrument: 2.5: New York, New York

Start spreading the news,
I'm leaving today.
I want to be a part of it -
New York, New York.

These vagabond shoes
Are longing to stray
And step around the heart of it
New York, New York.

I want to wake up in a city,
That doesn't sleep,
To find I'm king of the hill - ah-
Top of the heap.

My little town blues
Are melting away
I’m gonna make a brand new start of it
In old New York.
If I can make it there,
I'd make it anywhere
It's up to you,
New York, New York.

New York, New York!

I want to wake up in a city,
That doesn't sleep,
To find I'm king of the hill,
Head of the list,
Cream of the crop
At top of the heap.

My little town blues
Are melting away
I'm gonna make a brand new start of it
In old New York.
If I can make it there,
I'd make it anywhere
Come on, come through,
New York, New York.

...
Empire State Of Mind, performed by Jay-Z and Alicia Keys, is a contemporary song, which functions as a branding instrument for New York City. Released in 2009, on Jay-Z’s The Blueprint 3 album, the song won two Grammy awards. The song highlights New York City and conflates it with American hip-hop appeal. The Chorus is sung by Alicia Keys and emphasizes New York as opportunistic and ideal. She sings: “New York, Concrete jungle where dreams are made, Oh there’s nothing you can’t do, Now you’re in New York, These streets will make you feel brand new, Big lights will inspire you, Let’s hear it for New York, New York, New York.” Empire State Of Mind was quite popular and made it to the top ten list as best song of 2009 by both Rolling Stone Magazine and The New York Times. Thus, it can be deduced that this song has had some impact on the mass-perception and image of New York City.

SONG + VIDEO
“Empire State Of Mind” was also made into a video that displays various scenes from the big city, ending in Times Square on top of the TKTS booth. (figure 2.6) Here the architecture of the TKTS booth plays a significant role in the communication of the video and the brand imaging of New York City. Moreover, the entire video is shot in black and white until the TKTS booth appears with its brilliant red steps. The architecture plays a symbolic role in the video as a sign of prosperity. Songs and videos such as this have been instrumental in sculpting the image of New York and Times Square. The impressions that people have of places are constantly shifting or morphing. Popular songs like this one brand an ephemeral impression into the minds of the masses. As the video comes to a close Alicia Keys say her last line, “Let’s hear it for New York.”
PRODUCT AS INSTRUMENT
Products function as instruments for the branding of places, while the packaging and advertising of products images places. The product itself communicates and references particular places. The car is a product, which functions as a sign of place. Cars for example, are made in a specific place and shipped all over the world to be sold. In the US we have grown accustom to certain brands of cars. Modern cultures are aware of popular brands of automobiles, such as, the American brands Ford and Chevrolet versus the Italian brands Ferrari and Lamborghini. These cars have somewhat unique and distinct characteristics that set them apart. A car enthusiast might easily differentiate between a typical Ford model and a Ferrari, knowing of the place from which they originate, the US and Italy. The form of the car communicates place as does their mediated image.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AS INSTRUMENT
The built environment plays a fundamental and instrumental role in the branding of places. The ways in which we design, manipulate, and manufacture places affects communication and experience for the human. While, the image of our built environment communicates through signs of human construction, architecture is the predominant sign utilized for the imaging of places.

Which comes first, the mass image or the architecture of places? Typically, the architecture and built environment are constructed before the mass image of a place is disseminated, but not necessarily. The vision of the designer is usually first, then the architecture and various place components are constructed in physical space. After which, the mass dissemination of images, predominantly photography, communicates place characteristics and associations. Places are then promoted using these place images, which include architecture and the built environment. An example of an exception to this sequence and phasing is Disneyland, where a completely fantastical environment was projected and sold through cartoons before it was ever constructed in physical space.

ARCHITECTURE AS INSTRUMENT
Architecture functions as instrumentation for the branding of places, through experience and image. Architecture has a profound affect on experience and becomes instrumental in a competitive market for branding places. The architecture of places speaks to us, with signs, familiar and foreign. Branding focuses this communication for the purposes of clarity and consumption. The user of architecture becomes the consumer through the lens of branding, thus, the architecture becomes the product. Brand architecture functions as an oriented sign within a predetermined system of consumptive place products. As Venturi has explained, architecture is a system of signs. Branding places orchestrates architectures and the landscape to communicate as a coherent sign. Brand places such as Las Vegas, New York City, and Waikiki compete within a global sign system for consumers, while architecture functions as a communicative mode of persuasion to elicit an exchange.
1. ARCHITECTURE CASE

The BMW and MINI pavilions are designed as experiential and communicative branding instruments. As discussed by Gernot Brauer, these pavilions exemplify Architecture As Brand Communication. Designed by architect Bernhard Franken, the pavilions are constructed as temporary event architecture for the International Motor Show in Frankfurt, Germany. These pavilions are formal evidence of brand architecture as experiential signs. The innovative design of the BMW pavilion communicates as unique formal geometry, while the MINI pavilion communicates as glass cubes. These pavilion’s represent contemporary brand architecture and the trend to design and brand consumer experience.
2. ARCHITECTURE CASE

The TKTS booth functions as a brand instrument for Times Square and, to some extent, New York City. (figure 2.8) Designed by architect Nick Leahy of Perkins Eastman, the TKTS booth is an elegant, modern, and dramatic work of architecture, communicating with clear and precise gestures of geometry. The glass walls reflect the surrounding billboards at night, visually integrating the architecture with its context. The roof is celebrated as boldly illuminating red steps, on which people gather and converse.

The TKTS booth is a non-profit organization that allows consumers to purchase discount tickets to the plays shown in Times Square. The TKTS booth helps mediate and provide discounts to the theatergoer while functioning as a symbol of social concern within the heart of the most commercially exploited area in the city. The architecture of the TKTS booth successfully communicates as a wedge of social function, creating a place for people to stop, relax, and look out onto the living theater, that is Times Square. Thus, the TKTS booth is as a sign for New York City, just as the Statue of Liberty, but on a smaller scale.
URBAN ELEMENTS AS SIGNS

Urban elements communicate through images and experience. The elements of a city have a direct relationship to its function and its image. Architect Kevin Lynch defines city elements as paths, nodes, edges, districts, and landmarks, in his book *The Image Of The City*. All of these elements help define a city, to some extent, visually and cognitively. Some urban elements are more visible than others. Edges, for example, are typically more understandable if there is a clear visual delineation to be made, and the overall size is comprehensible. For instance, the island of Manhattan is recognizable and functions as a sign for this place. People know its shape because of its imaging and also because of the clear visual delineation between its land and surrounding water.

SIGNS AS URBAN ELEMENTS

Smaller physical elements of the city are also included in this discussion. For example, the road signs on the strip in Las Vegas connote the overall nature of the city. (figure 2.9) Collectively, the signs on the strip are prominent communication elements, which are characteristic of the brand image of Las Vegas. This system of signs is a system of branding that functions independently as well as collectively to communicate agendas of consumption.

SUBWAY AS BRAND ELEMENT
Analyzing New York City’s subway system as brand communication, which has its own graphic identity system including signs, logos, images, web sites, way finding systems, maps and other ephemeral items. The NYC subway is an urban element that is imaged in mass media. Today, the image of the subway signifies this place. The NYC subway is a part of the brand narrative of this place, working to brand the city. Arguably, the subway in New York is a rather unpleasant experience. The subway image is popular in movies; however, the actual experience of the subway communicates the harsh realities of life in an underground setting, with little natural light or clean air. The subway of NYC, in some respects, reveals a class hierarchy. Those with money seem to ride above ground most often, while the rest pile into the subway cars, in uncomfortable anticipation of their destination.

LANDMARK AS INSTRUMENT
As Lynch describes them, “Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external. They are usually a rather simply defined physical object: building, sign, store, or mountain.”63 People mentally map places in their minds. Landmarks are used as “point-references” for associative purposes, typically for navigation, but also as marks of a place identity. Thinking on a larger scale, places across the globe are compared and contrasted based on their built landmarks. For example, the Statue Of Liberty functions as a sign that references New York City and America. Lynch says, “They are frequently-used clues of identity.”64 Thus, the Statue Of Liberty is a placebranding landmark, which identifies New York City.

64 Ibid., 48.
2.4 THE MOTIVES FOR BRANDING PLACES

In this section of the investigation, motives and intentions for the branding of places are conceptually examined, in an attempt to better understand its role in the manufacturing of place image and identity. The motives for branding places are often tied to competition, commodification, privatization, and propaganda. These factors, when focused under the microscope, reveal paradox and contradiction.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR AND AGENCY FOR THE ENDEAVOR OF BRANDING PLACES?

Those who endeavor to brand places are typically those with power and capital. Governments and private organizations endeavor to brand nations, states, cities, and regions. Designers, architects, artists, and communicators are employed as authors to conceptualize and construct brand places. However, this is a discussion of places, which are shared and not necessarily linear realities, they are abstract, formulated, and formalized through mass perception.

WHY WOULD A PLACE, SUCH AS, A NATION, CITY, OR REGION, WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN BRANDING?

COMPETITION AS MOTIVE

Some believe the reasoning for branding lies in the nature of competition. Simon Anholt, sees “the world as one market.” He writes, “brand management is a vital component of a new
bearers of the city’s identity, provided security and a defined area of policy and control.”

In the past it seems, as Synghel writes, a “physical boundary” had communication value. Today, the “physical boundary” is not as relevant in terms of communication value. Rather than a boundary in real space it is more relevant to discuss branding as a boundary in perceptual space. Branding places seems less relevant to a physical boundary versus a perceptual boundary. Places are not only a matter physical control but also intellectual control. With the introduction of mass media and new modes of communication, place identities are more often touted and branded elsewhere—in spaces (physical or virtual) of another location.

**IMAGE AND IDENTITY AS MOTIVE**

The motives for the branding of places are linked to the mass imaging of place identity. It is through this mass imaging that audiences come to understand and internalize places.

The image depends on time + repetition + consistency, for coherance and maximum imprinting. The image also depends on design, and its marketability or audience response. Time, repetition, and consistency are key variables of the brand equation, which assure that messages and signs are associated as strategized.

Motivation for the branding of places often comes from the desire to market identity. On the topic of cities and their legible identity, Koen Van Synghel writes, “in the past city gates indicated a clear physical boundary as an introduction to the protected city, as a point of communication “between” arrival and departure, inside and outside, market place and migration. The old city boundaries, the

66 Ibid., 18.
PROPAGANDA AS MOTIVE

Branding is being used as a part of the larger agenda that Noam Chomsky writes of in his book titled “Manufacturing Consent.” He writes of mass media, “It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfill this role requires systematic propaganda.” Through this propaganda system the elite, government, and commercial enterprises have utilized branding to manipulate the masses with doses of bias and dogmatic communication.

Laurence B. Holland, author of *Who Designs America*, writes, “Those who create our environment today must be aware that their choices are not just aesthetic—they are also political. They imply views about the nature of man, the relation of the individual to society, the nature of the ‘good society.’” It is understood that things communicate and that places are constructed often with political and economic intent. Branding places is a strategic attempt to organize and clarify what is communicated—whether it is political, propagandistic, or commercial.

Nations, cities, and regions are competing for tourism and economic stability through the image, identity, and design of places. Architecture, as an instrument of branding, is utilized to influence the decisions and perspectives of people. Lawrence Vale writes about the political

tussle for control that manipulates architecture and urban design. Vale explains, “In addition to the power evinced by a charismatic leader, an indomitable military presence, an entrenched bureaucracy, or an imposing network of laws and statutes, many political regimes make especially powerful symbolic use of the physical environment.” Vale has analyzed capitol buildings and their relationship to societal and political hierarchies. Pointing out through specific case studies, including Louis Kahn’s National Assembly Building in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the commonality of attempting “to symbolize political power and design national identity.” Vale argues that the built environment, particularly architecture, is being utilized to convey political meaning while functioning instrumentally as a symbolic device in the design of national identity.

69 Ibid., 1.
72 Ibid., 521.
Places are influenced by architecture. Their relationship is intrinsic. Architecture and places have a profound influence over people. Moreover, architecture and places are sometimes utilized as propaganda, designed as branding devices. For example, Nazi architect Albert Speer designed monumental works that communicated the Nazi’s dominance, power, and agenda. Speer’s Zeppelinfeld, of 1936, in Nürnberg, Germany, is a prime example of branding architecture as propaganda. During the design process, Speer developed “A Theory of Ruin Value” after a discussion with Hitler, who later ordered that all-important Nazi architecture obey this “law of ruins.” The theory was derived from Hitler’s beliefs regarding the value of monumentality and permanence in architecture. Hitler referred to the ability of architecture to communicate and glorify national power, even after the power has diminished. Hitler asks the question, “What had remained of the emperors of Rome?” Zeppelinfeld was methodically used as a propagandistic brand place, an instrument, particularly during rallies and events; working to persuade it’s users of national socialism or Nazi politics. Let it be known that this example was necessary to prove an important point regarding motives and responsibility, otherwise such despicable and vile characters would never have been mentioned in this writing.

75 Ibid., 55.
2.5 BRAND NARRATIVE VERSUS IDENTITY NARRATIVE

This section conceptually analyzes and contrasts the *brand place narrative* with the more genuine *identity narrative* of places, defining their characteristics and differences.

**BRAND NARRATIVE VERSUS IDENTITY NARRATIVE**

The brand narrative is a compilation of instruments, which are strung together over time to conceptually and visually represent and image a place. They are the commercial, popular, mass-produced and mediated images of places. These images are idealized and tailored for audiences, to promote and persuade.

Branding is one way of designing and constructing places, however, there are often many agencies and constituents, unlike branding a product, involved in the process of branding places—leading to many contradictions. There are a myriad of ways to approach the design and construction of places. For example, an anthropological investigation of place will try to embrace everything. Branding, as a mode for place making does not embrace everything, quite the contrary. The construction process of branding places is a conceptual filtering process of information for the acceptable. This is an exclusionary process in many ways that leads to an inherent marginalization of information. The information that is excluded can
Identity-narratives fall through the cracks of brand communication. The accidental, the unplanned, these identity narratives are circulated by the people of a place, culture, and community. Identity-narratives are internally generated; organic, and truthful place narratives.

Places have stories that originate in the crevices of their being. These are the narratives that are free from commercial persuasion and control. Place identity is a natural occurrence that comes before man and his intentions to sell or promote. People have, since the beginning of time, inhabited places with intent to live and nothing more. Many of us desire to live—beyond the commercial. We live real lives that have real stories, which are orchestrated based on common needs or just whim. These are the stories that float outside the realm of the brand. The particular mode of branding attempts to capture a place's reality and to package it for sale. But this is a framed understanding of a place. Eventually, or at certain instances, places spill over the brand packaging. The true identity of places eventually shows through the glossy images of brand construction. The commercial projection of a place is often much different than its true, organic, authentic, and genuine experience.

**IDENTITY NARRATIVE ORIGINS**

The Lascaux caves; located in southern France, date as far back as 15,000 BCE.76 This place was popular for reasons that are uncertain. We know people visited the caves over a long period of time. “These caves must have had a

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special meaning, because people returned to them time after time over many generations, in some cases over thousands of years." It is not clear exactly why people returned to this site for such a long period of time. However, what can be deduced is that the story or narrative of this place was disseminated and circulated. This narrative was communicated verbally or through art and images. (figure 2.11) Thus, the Lascaux caves represent perhaps the first identity-narrative of place.

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AS IDENTITY NARRATIVE
American shopping malls have replaced town centers, while corporate brand architecture proliferates our urban areas. Branding has grown into the fabric of corporate American culture and functions symbolically to perpetuate its existence. Place identity-narratives fall between the cracks of commercial media and environments. They are natural, organic, vernacular, and community based narratives. Branding narratives are commercials.

Art and architecture associated with the identity-narrative of places manifests as subversive critical form and function. Vernacular architecture is most relevant to this narrative. Looking at the architecture of the indigenous tribes and subcultures of America we find architecture that expresses identity in a non-commercial way. For example, the American Indian tepee, the Hawaiian thatched hut, and more recently the dwellers of the New York City subway corridors, which have constructed homes from found recycled materials. (figure 2.12)
BRANDING AS NON-ORGANIC
Branding does not happen organically or without agency. Just as products do not happen by themselves, neither does the branding of places. Branding is a particular mode of place identification. Places on the other hand, have internal generators. People live in places. Narratives are naturally formulated and are told about places. Places have an identity from their very nature. People live in places in an unself-conscious way. This unself-conscious living has its own narratives. These narratives speak about a places identity. These are, as I have termed, the identity-narratives of places.

INTENTIONALITY
n. 1 the fact of being deliberate or purposive.

THE INTENTIONALITY OF BRANDING PLACES
The concept of intentionality becomes relevant at this point of the investigation, in relation to branding places. Although, the constructions of brand place narratives result directly or indirectly, they always carry intentionality. Identity narratives do not require intentionality. They are the organically, often metaphysically, constructed narratives of places.

SPIRIT
n. 1 the nonphysical part of a person that is the seat of emotions and character; the soul
2 those qualities regarded as forming the definitive or typical elements in the character of a person, nation, or group or in the thought and attitudes of a particular period

ESSENCE
n. 1 the intrinsic nature or indispensable quality of something, esp. something abstract, that determines its character

PLACE SPIRIT + ESSENCE VERSUS BRANDING
In the book Genius Loci, Christian Norberg-Schulz discusses place identity and communication. Norberg-Schulz explains, “Genius Loci is a Roman concept. According to ancient Roman belief every “independent” being has its genius, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence.” This becomes relevant in terms of place identity and branding. Branding does not necessarily derive meaning, content, or form from a places “essence”. Branding primarily focuses meaning, identity, form, and image. In contrast, a places identity-narrative is closely associated with the genius loci or places “spirit.”

Places exist with identity outside human intervention; products do not. Places are understood on a primordial level, much like fire and wind or atmospheres and moods. Today, humans attempt to commercialize places, to turn them into products, to brand them for consumption and commodification. Places have their identity-narratives and brand-narratives alike. The identity-narrative is the non-commercial or unpopular version. Identity is constructed, affixed, and inherent to places. As places are constructed and branded to identify them in a market, the market shifts with trends. Brand places are expected to be innovative much like products, updating, upgrading, and constantly developing. Brand places are in a competition for the consumer. The brand place identity is revisited and reconstituted for an audience to maintain appeal. Much like the product, the brand place competes for market visibility. Unlike products, places have inherent pre-existing identities that are connected to their environment, spirit, and essence.
CHAPTER 02: EPILLOGUE

Beginning with the conceptual basis for branding places, this chapter analyses the history, characteristics, and image of this mode for design and the built environment. Architecture is perhaps the most fundamental and communicative aspect of our urban places, functioning as Venturi explains, as a system of signs. In terms of branding places, these signs are communicating for the purposes of consumption. The instruments of branding places utilizes mass media, much like products, however, with the shift to branding places, the built environment functions as brand signs. Although branding does function for humanitarian purposes, the majority of this communication is constructed and focused for the purposes of commerce, typically with capitalistic intent. Yet, places are capable of communication, which is outside the realm of branding. In this investigation it was necessary to term the narrative that is understood outside the realm of branding, this is the identity narrative, the narrative that lies within the cracks of organized and competitive communication. The identity narrative is related to the “spirit” and “essence” of places.79

79 Ibid., 18.
CHAPTER 03:
THE PARADOXES OF BRANDING PLACES
3.1 
THE ENIGMA OF PLACES

This section discusses the inherent enigmatic and often paradoxical aspects and characteristics associated with the concept of places. Through a deconstruction of basic principles regarding human perception, such as, memory, imaging, and impressions, place, as a construct shall be elucidated.

Wai`iki is utilized throughout the rest of this investigation as the primary site and context for creative inquiry. In this section, Wai`iki serves as a conceptual basis for deconstructing the nature of branding places, in relation to human perception.

“When we say that a thing is in a given place, all we mean is that it occupies such a position relative to other things.” —René Descartes, *Principles of Philosophy*

**THE NATURE OF PLACES**

In their nature, places are riddles of meaning and content. Places are discussed relative to space and objects; yet, they are different depending on one’s perspective. Places have different interpretations, depending on who is describing them, thus, places are subjective. (figures 3.1a-c) When one speaks of a place, images are conjured and created in the mind.

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and memory of the interpreter. These images are recollections from various resources. Typically, these images are collections from the experience of being in this place, and movies, television, magazines, and other mass media. In some sense, places are metaphoric and representational, ever changing and in constant flux.

**PLACES AS PRE-EXISTING CONDITION**

Places have come under human intervention and are now marketed and sold as commodities and products, however, places are pre-existing conditions, which have unique and variable mythologies, and multiple understandings. In comparison to the mass-produced products, places are more complex and rich, with multiple perceptions and experiences. Places, unlike products, cannot be contained, controlled, and packaged without spillage.

**PLACE AS CONSTRUCT**

Places are ambiguous by nature and hard to describe. They are complex and constantly changing, yet, we “know” places based on our perceptions. People make common associations, which combine to create images, building a sense of familiarity. This sense of familiarity comes through experience and mass media. For example, Waikiki is imaged to a mass audience and has helped to foster a mass sense of familiarity for an artificial reality; the Waikiki portrayed in mass media is not an authentic representation, it is popularized. Waikiki has become a destination for those seeking paradise, in the form of a brand place resort. The popular image of Waikiki is primarily focused and framed for the consumer and tourist; however, there are multiple perspectives to consider when discussing Waikiki. There are multiple constituencies, such as, residents, natives, and locals, who inhabit this place.

As we develop places, we determine use, communication, and experience. For example, Waikiki was once a marsh area with fresh water and rich land for agriculture. This contrasts with today’s Waikiki, an urban area of predominantly commercial use. Places are full of contradictions, particularly urban developments and cities. As populations increase, we sprawl over the land and up into the sky. Suburban sprawl and high-rise buildings have been the predominant pattern throughout the US. With this expansive development come environmental and biological problems. While architects and designers attempt to solve problems, they also create problems by conforming to market demands, which are entangled with economies of time and capitol. As we construct experiences and places, we intervene natural ecological and biological systems. We are constructing cities, towns, and places at a faster pace than ever before in history. Our integration with these systems determines our own well-being; our evolution as a species depends—on how we change or adapt our current trends of developmental destruction.

**PLACES AS MEMORY AND IMPRESSION**

The experience that the traveler encounters when visiting a location is determined on the physical and psychological. The physical being the built environments, which we see, hear, touch, taste, and smell. The psychological involves the realm of thought and memory, where places become subjective and interpretive. As the traveler moves through space, he or she carries these unique memories, using them to interpret places. Memories are a complex issue to nail down; yet, I will attempt to quantify them, in part, as image and experience recollections. The mode of branding works through images and experience. The traveler references
memories to decipher and interpret places along their journey. As their memory changes, so do their interpretations. The evolution of the traveler’s memories affects their perceptions of places. As these are defined, they are interpreted; they become what we make of them and are subsequently influenced by our impressions.

PLACE AS INTERPRETIVE MIND MONTAGE
Places are of a photomontage like nature, in the mind. For example, Waikiki is a brand-place-resort-destination, which is imaged for the masses. The Waikiki image portrayed in mass media defines this place for consumers and tourist. These images, when recollected in the mind, might have a gestalt formation. These ideas and images are moving at some speed and therefore, time is relevant. At any moment, perhaps we could freeze the frame, so to speak, to expose a layered imaging of this place, with pop culture signs, symbols, and other defining characteristics. In figures 3.2a-b, interpretive mappings utilize popular media images to illustrate the mind montage concept.
Places are both external and internal constructs, both of which utilize signs. Humans live and inhabit places as subjective, intuitive, and emotional experiences. Thus, places are a multi-sensory experience, which are determinant to its perception. Places are branded as bracketed or framed realities, which gains an often-disjointed cohesiveness over time through mass-communication. However, places consist of multiple people and constituencies, who have opinions, feelings, and perceptions. The communities of places are diverse and mixed. Branding as a frame for place making marginalizes perspectives to focus another. These characteristics extend beyond the frame of branding.

PLACE AS MULTI SENSORY EXPERIENCE
Clarity of communication is a goal when branding products. From the logo to the packaging, an effort is made to define, image, communicate, and ultimately brand a clear and recognizable identity. The consumer perception of this product and brand identity is manufactured through strategic design. The brand package perfectly conceals, contains, and accommodates the product.

The branding of places, also seeks clarity of communication, however, places are pre-existing and carry multiple readings, experiences, and mythologies. The prospect of visual clarity, in terms of places, is a matter of perception versus vision. Humans attach meaning to places through mass media and the built environment with signs, which are then translated through our senses during our everyday experience. The agencies behind these signs are orchestrating objects in space with vision. Consumers are translating this vision into perception, while bringing in new contextual meaning. Thus, the intended meaning is inherently mixed and never in isolation. Consumers bring meaning to the mix.
3.2 BRANDING PRODUCTS VERSUS BRANDING PLACES

This section conceptually analyzes and contrasts associations between branding products and places. The idea of places being branded is a controversial topic because this requires a frame. A product's brand identity is constructed for market appeal and communication efficiency. Places are inherently tied to people and politics; they are entangled in meaning and social conditions. Places exist without the human. Our intervention also creates places. Places are ideas to be explored with the senses, as stimuli. This section of the study, attempts to unknot some of the paradoxes of branding places.

BRANDING AS EXCLUSIVE PLACE OPERATION

Branding gets caught between a sociological operation and a place. The sociological investigation of place attempts to embrace everything: it is an all-inclusive process. On the other hand, branding as an operation does not embrace everything. Discussing a place automatically entails various dilemmas of order, scale, and nature. Branding limits the perceptions of places, while focusing meaning and content for a particular audience. Popularizing places often entails thematic organization, branding functions to isolate cultural signs for their organization, messaging, and consumption. For example, themes of culture are utilized to brand Waikiki—themes, such as, surfing, hula, and tiki become
sign systems for branding this place. Thus, places become known through a sign system, which is systematically exclusive in selection and dissemination.

THE PARADOX OF BRANDING PLACES AS PRODUCTS

Conceptually products and places are branded using the same approach. Branding calls for a framing of ideas and vision to communicate meaning and messages. Images, signs, and messages are designed, constructed, and disseminated for consumer audiences. However, products are fundamentally different than places.

TIME

n. 1 the indefinite continued progress of existence and events in the past, present, and future regarded as a whole.

FRAME

n. 1 a rigid structure that surrounds or encloses something such as a door or window.

PLACES ARE TEMPORAL

The element of time is inherently connected to places, as they change, evolve, grow, and adapt naturally. While humans age, places transform by nature and though intervention. Architecture is constructed as frozen time on the landscape; yet, they decay while places live on. Place branding attempts to frame and package experience and communication, while places are multiple and shared through time, thus overflowing the prescribed package.

Places are timeless and pre-existing organic bodies. Places, much like the human, are a part of a system, which is dictated by space, time, mass, and energy. Places are geographic with topographies, mountains, rocks, sand, flora and fauna, streams, oceans, and climates. How do we suppose this can be packaged and served up as a commodity of consumption? This leads to a consistent paradox between the branding of places versus products.
Places are bigger than products, in both a physical and metaphoric sense. Places are a part of the cosmos. (compare figures 3.3a-c) Products are limited to human context. Products are cultural and commercial constructions.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES
Places and products share visual markings, themes, typography, design, and signs. Humans for purposes of habitation, exploitation, and urbanization also construct places. Moreover, places are also constructs of the mind, which make them subjective, individual, and intuitive.

The paradoxes associated with branding places are connected to the perception that places are commodities for consumption. Although, places are constructed for consumptive purposes, there is a give and take with places, between the human and his environment, a symbiotic relationship. Furthermore, mass produced products have none of these sorts of associations; they are of a completely different nature.

PLACES ARE LIVING
As people live in places the places come alive. The network of human energy throughout the city is what brings it to life. At the same time, places are alive without the human. The natures of places are living, without human intervention. The systems of urban fabric, which we design and place on the land, are integrated with a living and organic organism. As we brand places, with particular frames of experience, we simplify what is dynamic and prolific, for a mass audience in a mass market. Branding is successful as a frame and mode of communication for products, and even for architecture, yet, places do not fit within the frame, they are connected to larger bodies.
3.3 PLACE BRANDING AS PLACE PACKAGING

This section clarifies the anticipation that places spill and overflow branding through the use of a package or frame. In other words, as we brand places we are framing them as unique and separate, yet, they are inherently connected to a continuum of space and time. While this process works well for products, places are experiential conditions, which are inherently linked to life and human existence. This singular approach, with products, gives clarity, differentiation, and identity to design. Places fall outside the realm of production; they are metaphysical and cosmological. Yes, they are also physical, however, the physical is never disjointed, separated, or fractured from its context until branding is proposed. Consequently, the condition is rationalized as continuum versus singularity.

CONTINUUM VERSUS SINGULARITY

Exclusive frames of branding work within the paradigm of the commodity market. This frame excludes unnecessary information, in a reductionary manner, to clarify the brand image. The continuum of places stretches beyond its image. When branding products of industrial design, graphic design, or architecture, the goal is to focus the communication, to make it clear, concise, and with logical intent of usability and communication for a target audience. As previously noted, ambiguity is never the goal. This is branding in a nutshell. When discussing places, which are inherently connected to larger systems, branding negates the continuum of places in favor of the singular identity.

From the designer's perspective, there are similarities between branding products and places. Both require design sensibilities and communication skills. Both use photography, and other mediums of image making for projection upon a mass audience. Both use graphic design to formulate concepts, focus aesthetics, and architect communication. These similarities are apparent; yet, the product and place are much different. Places go beyond space and time, they are ephemeral, yet, permanent. Places are a part of us; they grow and weave within the human. Products do not have the connection with people that places do. This is a fundamentally different relationship, however, the designer focuses brand communication in the same manner. The result is more often than not, an inconsistent and narrow view of place.
PLACE BRANDING AS UNIQUE PACKAGING
The prospect of branding places suggests a filtering of image and a containment of meaning. Places are narrowed down, sifted, and refined for clarity of brand communication. Thus, the metaphor of the package becomes a container for the branding of places, however, places prove to be exceedingly complex and dynamic constructs of which meaning and perceptions often leak.
THEORY:
PLACE BRANDING OVERFLOW
Places are ambiguous, dynamic, knotty, and complex contradictions, which involve people, politics, and nature. The phenomenon of branding places, that is evident and prevalent, functions through an exclusionary frame. Similar to that of a product, places are framed and branded as packages of focused meaning, content, and form. When the brand frame is placed over products or even architecture, it seems to focus communication; however, when this frame is shifted over the concept of places, information, which is excluded, becomes problematic because of its connection to nature, perception, and human existence. The theory of overflow hypothesizes that place dynamics spill out and flows over the prescribed brand package. This theory anticipates and presupposes that overflow is a subsequent reaction to the mode of branding places. After all, places have multiple constituencies and experiences, places are enigmatic and personal, they are natural and man-made, and they are full of perplexing contradictions and paradoxes, including social politics, human memory, intuition, and desire. Thus, place dynamics overflow branding.
Places are physical constructions, relative to objects, signs, space, people, and politics. People, both inside the mind and in a physical sense, construct places. Places are constructed for the interpretation of others, as sign systems. For example, Waikiki, on Oahu in Hawaii, has been constructed, disseminated, and branded for a consumer audience. Through mass media, architecture, and the built environment, Waikiki is visually communicating as signs, which portray and elicit multiple interpretations, readings, and conceptions.

**WHY WAIKIKI?**
Waikiki was chosen for this particular study for its tourism destination characteristics, which are directly related to branding. Since the early 1900’s Waikiki has developed into a world-renowned resort destination, primarily for tourism. The branding of Waikiki through image and mass media has profoundly affected Waikiki’s evolution, transforming it into a place of tourism and consumption. How else do people far away, on the other side of the earth, know of this place, which is on a tropical island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean? In one word: branding. The dissemination of images and signs through mass media has functioned to brand this resort destination. Thus, Waikiki is an opportunity to observe and analyze what has transpired.
BRAND WAIKIKI ORIGINS + HISTORY

The origins of the brand place that has come to be Waikiki is linked with mass communication, mass-transit, and the mass tourism market. This is all organized during the 1920’s and by 1928 tourism is thriving, “More than 20,000 tourists visit Hawaii.”86 The image and narrative of Waikiki by this time had disseminated through popular media as a tropical resort destination. In 1951 there were over 46,500 tourists, in 1960, 296,517, and by 1984 there were over 4.25 million tourists visiting Hawaii.82

Waikiki’s was not always a brand resort destination; Westerners have constructed it as such, predominantly. It was in 1848 that Great Mahele introduced “the concept of private land ownership.”83 Western influence gained a large foothold in Hawaii with this new concept, which went against the traditional “Hawaiian view of land as a communal resource.”84 From this point on, property was divided and sold as a commodity, much like today, with landlords and tenants.85 The image of Waikiki is profoundly influenced by this concept of privatized land use, appearing today as a modernized urban city along the waterfront.

The Star Bulletin in March 1993 writes, “The islands’ harbors were attractive ports of call for whaling, commercial and naval vessels. When U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry ended Japan’s 200 years of self-imposed isolation and opened Japan to Western trade in 1853, that made Hawaii a stop for every American ship headed to Asia.”86 This historical note serves as evidence that the U.S. stood to benefit from the control of the Hawaiian Islands. However, the harbors of Hawa‘i were “attractive” as intermediate points of destination at this time. People were on their way to other places and Hawa‘i; particularly Honolulu was a stop along their way to another destination. It was not until much later that Hawa‘i shifted to become a destination worthy of mass travel. The opening of the Moana Hotel, in 1901, marks this.87

The Hawaiian Islands were once a monarchy, which was operated by elites, kings, queens, and dignitaries, primarily from Honolulu. This changed in 1887, when King Kalakaua, “was stripped of his authority to rule.”88 The elite Hawaiian League essentially took control, arguing Kalakaua was involved in “money mismanagement and the sale of opium.”89 Kalakaua was forced to sign the Bayonet Constitution in 1887, which stripped power from the monarchy and gave it to the Hawaiian League.90 After his death in 1891, Queen Liliuokalani took his place at the throne.91 Things looked promising for the people for a short time, however, the elite of the Hawaiian League did not trust the Queen. She was thought to be “uncontrollable as rumors were widespread that she would undo the constitution.”92

In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani surrendered the Hawaiian Islands and its monarchy to the U.S.
government to rule. The businessmen of the sugar industry, in Hawaii, perpetrated much of the buildup to this event in an effort to restore the profitability of their commodity. They wanted annexation with the U.S. and by 1898 this took place. However, it was not until 1959 that Hawaii officially became a state within the U.S.

Thus, it appears that the U.S. acquired the control of the Hawaiian Islands for reasons of military positioning and commercial trade advantages. However, the people of the islands had little say in the matter, formally. Though there was much written in traditional Hawaiian language, which demonstrates a cultural struggle has transpired and continues today. Noenoe K. Silva writes, “One of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history is that the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation.” Nevertheless, from the 1950’s onward, Waikiki acquired a mass image, identity, and reputation as an US brand place destination.

The Hawaiian name Waikiki originates from the abundance of fresh water that once spouted from the ground, “(wai, water, and kiki, spouting).” Waikiki was once bordered to the north by wetlands of springs, ponds, and marshes. This agriculture rich area received water from the many streams that flowed south toward the ocean, from the northern mountains.

From 1921-1928 these wetlands were drained and replaced with an artificial drainage waterway called the Ala Wai Canal. Today this canal marks the northern boundary of Waikiki. Before the dredging of the Ala Wai Canal, “Waikiki was one of six ahupua’a (land divisions) that comprised a district in O’ahu Kona.” Waikiki once had “freshwater, bountiful agricultural, and ocean harvests.”

In stark contrast with its agricultural past, Waikiki is now urbanized, industrialized, and modernized. Hawai’i has come under western colonialism and capitalism. Hawaii is now a part of the United States of America.
Chapter 04: Branding Waikiki

4.1a Waikiki As Site, Understood Through Maps:

4.1a: Waikiki Map, Honolulu, 1907.
Waikiki As Site: Understood Through Maps.

4.2a-b: Waikiki Destination Map, Honolulu, 2011.

The proposed physical divisions of Waikiki, as found and understood through maps, become useful for navigation once in Waikiki.
WA IKIKI AS SITE, DESTINATION, AND BODY

1. WA IKIKI AS SITE
Waikiki, located in the southern portion of Oahu, is a unique urban condition, which is constructed as a tropical-brand-resort-destination for tourists. Most of what is currently Waikiki beach was artificially constructed for the purposes of pleasure seeking tourists and the military. The image of Hawaii'i and Waikiki attracts a mass audience, thus, Hawaii and Waikiki have mass appeal. The provocative and ‘exotic’ imagery that has disseminated from this isolated place attracts millions of visitors every year. For this study, Waikiki provides a unique look into the development and evolution of one of the earliest brand-places in America.

The state of Hawaii'i consists of eight main islands: Kahoolawe Kauai, Lanai, Maui, Molokai, Niihau, Oahu, and the Big Island of Hawaii. Waikiki is defined as: “a beach resort in Hawaii, a suburb of Honolulu, on the island of Oahu.” Waikiki is located approximately 2,400 miles from California, 3,900 miles from Japan, 5,600 miles from China, 5,100 miles from Taiwan, and 5,950 miles from Peru (these distances were calculated using Google Earth). Hawaii has its own time zone. Waikiki is a neighborhood in Honolulu, Hawaii.’

The geography of Waikiki is segmented with primary divisions that make up its physical body. The primary divisions of Waikiki are Kapiolani Park, Waikiki beach, Honolulu Zoo, Fort DeRussy Military Reservation, Ala Wai Yacht Harbor, Hilton Lagoon, the Ala Wai Canal, and Diamond Head Crater. Although, Diamond Head Crater is physically located outside the Waikiki boundary on maps, the crater is a crucial part of Waikiki’s image. Hence, Diamond Head Crater is a borrowed landscape scene, which is psychologically understood as Waikiki.

The Ala Wai Canal, which was completed during the 1920’s, is a prominent characteristic of Waikiki’s physical brand construction. This gesture on the landscape forms the boundary of Waikiki to the north. The Ala Wai Canal redirects and controls the water, which previously filled surrounding marshes. While this successfully dried the land for development, this also changed the function, use, and experience of Waikiki dramatically. Thus, the Ala Wai Canal becomes a mark on the landscape that focuses and defines Waikiki in its current form. Comparing figures 4.1a-b with 4.2a-b, Waikiki is understood through maps, before and after the construction of the Ala Wai Canal.

Waikiki beach has several parts that make up its total body. The beaches: Diamond Head, Sans Souci, Queens, Kapiolani, Kuhio, Central Waikiki, Grey, Fort Derussy, Duke Kahanamoku are all located east from the Ala Wai Yacht Harbor and make up the body of Waikiki beach.

The proposed physical divisions of Waikiki, as found and understood through maps, become useful for navigation once in Waikiki. (figures 4.2a-b) However, the delineation of these regions, segments, and divisions are obscure in relation to the popular brand image and identity of Waikiki. Common perception of Waikiki as a brand place destination combines these segments as a cohesive whole. Waikiki is popularly conceived of as a congruous body, narrative, and destination. The branding of Waikiki takes place in the realm of perception, where the map is less relevant than the image.
2. WAIKIKI AS DESTINATION

There is evidence that Waikiki is now a brand resort destination. Tourism ephemera is abundant, all of which demonstrates that Waikiki is being branded. Its destination appeal is also evident. People travel from all over the globe to bask in the sun and shop in Waikiki for short periods of time. This is currently a common occurrence in Waikiki. Over time, Waikiki has evolved into a brand place that caters predominantly to tourism.

Mass communication, mass production, mass transit, and mass tourism have all affected Waikiki profoundly. Each has supported its evolution as a successful brand resort destination. As time has passed, Waikiki gains mass acknowledgement for its blatant commercialism and branding. As a destination, Waikiki is currently recognized as both a commercial city and an urban form of oasis. Hence, the current perception of Waikiki contrasts with its earlier perception as a small-scale tropical resort destination. At the same time, the nostalgic image of Waikiki during the 1950’ and 60’s is still in circulation. Many still perceive Waikiki as a nostalgic image of Hawai’i pre modernization and development.

People know Waikiki as a brand of tropical resort destination, which caters to tourism. People come to Hawai’i and Waikiki to get married, relax, experience culture, and enjoy nature. Waikiki as a destination also constitutes shopping and urban culture. Often the perceived brand image of Waikiki contrasts with its consumptive nature.

3. WAIKIKI AS “BODY”

This investigation will survey Waikiki as a body, which manifests external and internal narratives as well as perspectives. The word body is utilized to focus the external versus the internal conception of Waikiki.

WAIKIKI AS BRAND NARRATIVE

The phenomena of branding places is directly linked to the narratives of places. Looking at Waikiki as a body, the brand narrative of this place is constructed from two perspectives, the external and the internal. Both have had an impact on the general perception of this place and its meaning. Waikiki’s external brand narrative is constructed from the perspective of people outside Waikiki. The internal narrative often contrasts with the external narrative, however, both are susceptible to branding, and thus, a fictitious nature. Brand narratives are constructed both internally and externally. By deconstructing these narratives, I will prove that Waikiki has been constructed as a brand place, while revealing conflicts and paradoxes regarding the nature of branding places.

Over time, the narrative of Waikiki has become conflated with the overall narrative of Hawaii. Mass media has functioned to construct a mass-understanding of this place. For example, postcards are used to communicate place-narratives of Hawaii and Waikiki. (figures 4.3a-c) They disseminate an image of this place and help to construct a mass-understanding. When people think of Hawaii they often conjure images of Waikiki beach and Diamond Head. As a matter of perception, these places are one in the same.
EXTERNAL NARRATIVE

For the most part, Waikiki can be understood externally as an exotic place for vacation and pleasure. Analyzing the external and internal brand narratives of Waikiki reveals a striking contrast in comparison to its identity-narrative. By juxtaposing various information that is resultant from these constructed narratives many contradictions arise. Through comparative analysis of these narrative variables we will gain a better understanding of Waikiki as a brand-place phenomenon.

From the external perspective, Hawai‘i appears to equal Waikiki. The external brand narrative of Hawai‘i suggests that its people accept Waikiki for what it has become, with its intentions and motivations. Images reveal no tension between constituents of the overall brand venture and commodification endeavor of Waikiki; however, looks can be deceiving. The history of its development often brings up the seizure of land from local farmers to commercial and government developers. Going further back in time, Kings fought over these lands and shed blood for control and rule. Currently Waikiki is a modernized place of leisure, tourism, hospitality, and residence. Waikiki is a popular destination and now a place of mass consumption.

INTERNAL NARRATIVE

The narrative of Waikiki, internally, has multiple perceptions much like the external; however, the internal addresses the identity-narrative and its characteristics. The cultural stories, political struggles, and vernacular landscape are tied to Waikiki’s identity-narrative and its internal perceptions. As this investigation peels back layers of meaning through the analysis of image, sign, and codes, the internal perspective will gain clarity, hence, revealing this multiplicity of perception, readings, and interpretations.
Perhaps the most relevant aspect of the internal perspective is in relation to the voices of the Hawaiian people, who have largely been portrayed as passive and docile from the external perspective. This imaging of the Hawaiian’s might be argued as a form of cultural oppression. The struggle of the Hawaiian people to retain their culture and identity within a foreign system of laws and rules is ongoing. Noenoe K. Silva analyzes and reveals this cultural distortion through Hawaiian newspapers and language documents in her book titled, *Aloha Betrayed, Native Hawaiian Resistance To American Colonialism*.

The local, resident, and Waikikian are also closely associated with the internal perspective and identity-narrative of Waikiki. These folks live and breathe Waikiki, on a daily basis. Their perception of this place is naturally rooted in the everyday experience of Waikiki.

**SHOPPING DESTINATIONS AS NODES OF EXCHANGE**

The International Market Place, Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center, and Waikiki Shopping Plaza are the primary shopping destinations in Waikiki. There are also shops along Kapahulu Ave., Kuhio Ave., and along the side streets, however, these three primary shopping destinations are organized, as bodies of shopping experiences and are most prominent on the landscape.

These shopping destinations function as nodes of exchange for the consumer. Each shopping node has its own brand identity and image, which is disseminated through web sites, magazines, brochures, and other ephemera. Each shopping node provides a microcosm of brand experiences. This nodal construction houses multiple brand worlds, which are somewhat unique, yet, working within a predetermined structural grid of spaces. Although, these shopping destinations are popular, they are not necessarily a part of the popular perception of Waikiki. In fact, the opposite is true. People generally, think of overall themes of experience in association to Waikiki. Thus, these popular nodes of exchange are conflated with the overall perception of Waikiki, as shopping experiences.

**PRIMARY STREETS AS ARTERIES**

The primary streets of Waikiki are; Kapahulu Ave., Kalakaua Ave., Ala Wai Blvd., Ala Moana Blvd., Kuhio Ave., Lewers St., and Liliuokalani Ave. The streets are arteries within Waikiki, providing for pedestrian and vehicular circulation as urban energy flows. When combined, these arteries form the main circulatory system of Waikiki. Kapahulu Ave., Kuhio Ave, and Ala Wai Blvd. are perhaps the most influential to the experience of city users, as they are the primary arteries for pedestrian movement, shopping, and vehicular movement. Kapahulu Ave. and Ala Wai Blvd. lie horizontal to water bodies (ocean and canal), helping to define the edge condition of Waikiki.
IMAGING WAIKIKI AS BRAND PLACE DESTINATION
As images are constructed, bias perspectives are inherent to their communication. Issues and contradictions of racism, sexism, ideology, and cultural misrepresentation are revealed through the analysis of mass media. Suggestive and provocative imagery grabs the attention of consumers, prompting and promoting the consumption of products as well as places. This postcard, figure 4.1a, images and conflates signs of sex and place. Wearing a head band of flowers and a small cloth wrap, while sitting on the beach, the card reads in bold type and all capital letters: HAWAII. This postcard utilizes or exploits a somewhat classical nude form and contrasts this with contemporary commercial use. With this example, sex appeal is used to promote the place concept of Hawai‘i as a product of consumption. The imaged “native” girl on the postcard communicates as a sign of exotic sex appeal, as well as a sign for Hawai‘i.

IMAGING WAIKIKI AS PARADISE
The concept of branding places assumes a frame for communication. Waikiki as a brand place destination is framed and portrayed as paradise in popular mass media, communication, and the built environment. This mass imaging utilizes signs, which convey the popular understanding of Waikiki as a paradisiacal destination. Hotel architecture, popular television, movies, novels, music, and cultural characteristics function as signs, communicating and commodifying Waikiki, uniting to form a brand narrative, which portrays culture and place in a paradoxical nature, as “paradise.” Five of the twenty-nine people surveyed, associated Waikiki with “paradise.” While Waikiki is for some, an overcrowded and overly commercialized zone of congestion and mayhem, some people think of it as it is portrayed in mass media, as a paradise. While people seem to enjoy Waikiki, many have discontent for what has manifested. Many of those surveyed complained about the excessive commercialization in Waikiki.

PARADISE
n. 1 heaven as the ultimate abode of the just 2. an ideal or idyllic place or state
Waikiki is Hawaii’s most effective economic stimuli. People everywhere know of Waikiki as a popular brand-place-destination. Millions come to visit this place each year, having been attracted through images and signs in mass media. According to *Lonely Planet Oahu*, by Ned Friary and Glenda Bendure, Waikiki has a population of around

“25,000 permanent residents and some 65,000 visitors on any given day, all in an area roughly 1 1/2 miles long and half a mile wide. It boasts 33,000 hotel rooms, 450 restaurants, 350 bars and clubs, and more shops than you’d want to count.”

*Hawaii The All-Island Guide*, by Robert Nilsen writes of Waikiki,

“On any given day, about 110,000 people crowd its beaches and boulevards, making it one of the most densely populated areas on earth.”

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1. HULA

The image of Hawaiian hula is commercialized and popularized in Waikiki. Yet, it originates from an authentic and cultural place. In fact, many Hawaiian cultural rituals and practices are commodified. The Hawaiian Hula is a prominent focus for the branding of Waikiki. Postcards image the Hawaiian Hula through the lens of Western Idealism. (compare figures 4.4a-d) In figure 4.4a, a postcard images a less popular rendition of Hawaiian hula. This postcard reads “Coconut Dance of the South Sea Islanders- Hawaii.” While figures 4.4b-d, display the more popularized version of the Hawaiian Hula, as it is perceived today. Figure 4.4a, appears to be less idealized and perhaps more authentic, in comparison with figures 4.4b-d. Based on this comparison, it seems sex appeal is a predominant factor in the motivation for the popularization of the Hawaiian Hula. This motivation is relevant to branding Waikiki because these images and products are instrumental in branding this place.
2. SURFING

The surf breaks in the water at Waikiki are a popular destination. Surfers come from all over the world to surf these breaks. Surfing originated in Hawaii and will forever be a part of its culture. Surfers have a connection to the ocean and water, much like the Hawaiian people. This authentic Hawaiian activity is conflated with the identity of Waikiki. For example, postcards have imaged the surfers of Waikiki since the early 1900’s. (figures 4.5a-d) Today, surfing is reproduced and imaged for mass consumption. Surfing becomes a theme of Waikiki, which is manipulated and constructed for a mass audience through advertising. The surfing narrative of Waikiki stems from the identity of this place; however, it has been amplified and branded. Surfing is a popular activity in Waikiki, attracting high volumes of surfers. As Waikiki surfing is imaged for a popular market audience, this place is conceptually constructed as a sign of the ideal surfing experience.
IMAGING WAIKIKI FOR THE AMERICAN COLONIALIST

The American colonialists are constructing Waikiki. Since their early arrival, colonialists have had a hand in the design and physical development of Waikiki. In this first figure, we can see some planting a tree in the vicinity of Waikiki (figure 4.6). In the next figure, we see the colonialist marking their territory, so to speak, with the construction of the Ala Wai Canal during the 1920’s, which defines the northern boundary of Waikiki. (figure 4.7)

Western colonial influence in Waikiki is related to the larger whole of Hawai‘i and its prescribed imperialist system. Although these issues are often swept under the rug in mainstream media, a resurgence of native Hawaiian language documents and literary writings have surfaced, revealing the cultural struggle of the native Hawaiians. Silvia asks the question, “How is it that the history of struggle has been omitted to such a great extent from Hawaiian historiography? Part of the answer lies in the nature of colonial takeover itself.”

The colonialists influenced Hawaii’s media sources. A couple of examples are; the popular Hawaii news station KGMB, an affiliate of CBS, is owned by Raycom Media, located in Alabama. Black Press, located in Canada, owns the Honolulu Star-Advertiser. Here is an image of KGMB in its early days, preparing to broadcast live. (figure 4.8) Notice the Westerners attire and influence—this is the news of the Hawaiian Islands. This news station appears to be designed and constructed with a Western audience in mind. Thus revealing, to some extent, the contrived and constructed nature of Hawaii

news media, as well as its reliance on ratings, money, and consumer support. In this image, the perceptions of the local Hawaiian are oddly absent. Hence, this comparison represents an overflow of consumer perception.

**IMAGING WAIKIKI FOR THE AMERICAN MILITARY**

Since World War II, advertisements have been cleverly designed to communicate messages that reinforce the need for military presence and control in the islands. (figure 4.9) Today, Hawai'i has a strong military presence, with over 14 major military installations. Most of which are on the Island of Oahu. In Waikiki, on any given day, there are approximately 90,000 military personnel.

The image of the military in Hawai'i is constructed as protectors or guardians of the islands. Here an ad for Brewster Buffalo fighter planes reads, “fighters guard the Pacific outposts of America's possessions.” (figures 4.9, 4.10) The military has had a role in the physical construction of Waikiki. The island of Oahu is an important hub for the U.S. military and Waikiki serves as their primary playground and stronghold. Since the beginning of World War II, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, the American military presence in Hawai'i and Waikiki has been substantially increased and more present. Images in media and propaganda of this tragic event help to gain consent for military occupation in the islands. The ‘defense’ they provide to the islands is touted as necessary. (figure 4.9)


IMAGING THE NATIVE AS PLACE SIGN

Imaging the natives of the Hawaiian islands is an undertaking done primarily for the eyes and perceptions of the Westerner. Historically, the Hawaiian natives are imaged as docile and complacent people, making the Westerner appear superior. Often there is a constructed contrast between the native and the Westerner, who often appears to be the more civilized. This is demonstrated in advertising, movies, and other mass media. Yet, to some extent, this is a matter of perception. The branding of Waikiki is an undertaking of image production, which entails the framing of information. With this frame often comes bias and contradiction.

As signs, the native Hawaiians are imaged as place references. Waikiki is closely associated with hula dancers and surfers, such as, Duke Kahanamoku. (figure 4.5a) The consumer of these images and signs brings bias and learned meanings to their interpretation, while the image constructed portrays a consumer driven perspective.

IMAGING WAIKIKI AS PLAYGROUND

Waikiki existed before its commodification; therefore, people, politics, and pre-existing conditions are connected with this place. Mass media is widely distributed, which caters to a consumer audience. The perception of this place is dispersed and distributed through mass media, images, and information, which construct the popular brand narrative. With time, repetition, and consistency Waikiki is cognitively associative as that of a playground. Waikiki as a playground, which was once primarily experienced by royalty and the elite, is a predominant theme of branding. (figures 4.11, 4.12a-b)
Analysis reveals that the concept of Waikiki as a playground is constructed primarily for tourism and the military. The image of Waikiki as a playground perpetuates the existence of this concept in association with this place. This imaging manifests as Waikiki in the built form. Hotels, such as the Royal Hawaiian and the Moana, communicate as signs of play through image and form.

The mass-imaging of Waikiki is primarily for the purposes of attracting tourists. (figures 4.13, 4.14) More tourists equal more money and a stimulated economy; or at least this has been the general outlook for Waikiki for the last half century. The exotic imagining of this place and its people has helped to manifest its reality, to some extent. What appears to be nature is often artificial. Waikiki beach appears as nature, however, this beach is designed, engineered, and constructed as a public swimming area. (figure 4.15) The reality of this place, at times, is dramatically different or polar opposite from its image, while other times, physical aspects and experiences are as advertised. Waikiki is branded as an exotic US vacation destination, while at the same time; Waikiki is a neighborhood and a community. The branding of Waikiki attempts to contain the inherently multiple perspectives of this place, which continuously spill and flow over the container.
ARCHITECTURE AS BRAND PLACE SIGN

The architecture of Waikiki is instrumental in its brand narrative, both internally and externally. Hotels like the Moana and Royal Hawaiian have become signs of Waikiki, which signify concepts of luxury, leisure, and travel. The opening of the Moana, in 1901, signified the new Waikiki, as a destination of desire. The imaging of the hotels helped to communicate abroad that Hawaii, particularly Waikiki, was occupied, colonized by Westerners, and open for business. The hotels demonstrated a sense of unprecedented European accommodation for the tourist. Their distinctively foreign architectural styles helped to brand Waikiki as a resort destination. (figure 4.14)
Constructing Waikiki As Playground Destination:

4.15: Kuhio Beach Improvement Plans (a) 1973 (b) 1975

- Completed February 1973
- Completed February 1975
- SWIMMING AREA (DIAMOND HEAD)
- SWIMMING AREA (EWA)
- NEW WAIKIKI BEACH PARK
- KALAKAUA AVENUE
WAIKIKI AS TROPICAL-BRAND-RESORT-DESTINATION
COMMUNICATION AS MESSAGE
Today, Waikiki is known globally as a tropical-brand-resort-destination, which caters to tourism. Mass-communication and the built environment are the instruments, which have disseminated the message and image of this place as such a destination. Television shows and movies, novels, magazines, and images disseminate the brand narrative of this place, attracting a mass audience—this sort of publicizing, promoting, and communication functions as advertising, marketing, and branding. Consumers and tourists travel to this sunny and tropical climate as an escape from their daily routines, for reasons of relaxation and peace of mind. They travel far distances, from all parts of the globe, to experience this place, its beach, and its resort pleasures. The resort, hotel, shop, and beach are primary destinations for these travelers. These travelers, who learn of Waikiki through mass media and advertising, are primed in their anticipation of this place. Ultimately, the communication of Waikiki perpetuates this cycle of tourism and anticipation of this tropical-brand-resort-destination.

IMAGE AS MESSAGE
Through advertising, movies, television shows, magazines, postcards, art, music, and even stamps people interpret the image of Waikiki as a tropical-brand-resort-destination. Images are constructed for someone by someone; therefore the image contains bias, subjective, interpretive information, which in the case of Waikiki is often constructed to elicit tourism.

Waikiki has a successful economic tourism industry. On February 17, 2011, the New York Times printed an article accompanied by a large photograph of Waikiki beach, with the ever so classic Diamond Head crater in the distance. Titled, “As the Mainland Shivers, Hawaii Basks in Tourism’s Glow.” The article begins with quotes from tourists in Waikiki, who are enjoying the warm and sunny weather. Then the article discusses some logical reasons for Hawaii’s successful tourism this year. A quote from Jerome Agrusa, who is a professor of travel industry management at Hawaii Pacific University, reads; “People are tired of feeling bad and have decided to enjoy life.” The vice president of “brand management”, David Uchiyama, at the Hawaii Tourism Authority speaks about the states improved air access. Although, this article discusses Waikiki’s tourism in a conservative manner, as to function as brand advertising for Waikiki, without critical commentary, connections are associative between tourism, branding, and mass transit. The vice president of brand management is questioned in association with the success of Hawaii’s tourism, perhaps revealing the social value placed on this position, like that of a university professor.

SIGN AS MESSAGE
Branding Waikiki has strategically altered the experience of this place, for a target audience. As mass communication and mass transit have evolved, the story of Waikiki is disseminated to a broader audience: worldwide. Thus, Waikiki has evolved into a sign, which messages this tropical-brand-place-resort-destination phenomenon. The urban design of Waikiki has forever changed its geography and use. Architecture in Waikiki, such as, the Moana Hotel and the Royal Hawaiian are constructed and imaged as signs for this place. Ultimately, the decisions behind the design of this place are related to branding through the desire to signify, communicate, promote, and capitalize on its exploitation.

CHAPTER 04: BRANDIMG WAIKIKI

4.2 THE INSTRUMENTS OF BRANDIMG WAIKIKI

This section addresses the question: how has Waikiki been branded? Through analysis of the instruments utilized to brand Waikiki we will gain clarity as to the nature of this phenomenon—as the instrumentation is analyzed, issues of communication, human perception, and semantic meaning become relevant.

MOLDING PERCEPTIONS OF WAIKIKI

Multiple, convoluted, and unquantifiable, aspects influence consumer perceptions of Waikiki. It is through the instruments of branding, mass media, products, and the built environment, that people’s perceptions are molded. This part of the investigation will inquire into the construction of Waikiki as a brand place through analysis of its brand instrumentation. Analysis of popular brand communication, narratives, and instrumentation reveal paradox and contradiction, which helps define and chart overflow as spillage and characteristics of places beyond branding.

MASS MEDIA + PRODUCTS

Mass media is instrumental in the branding of places. The imaging of places is mediated and constructed in a traditional sense, working through visual representation. However, imaging is also a mental construct, initiated by any of the senses. This section analyzes various popular mass media products that are associated with the brand narrative of Waikiki.

1. WRITINGS AS INSTRUMENT

The external narrative of Hawai’i and Waikiki has certainly been influenced by the writings of people. Early visitors to these islands wrote about their journeys and created books that told of interesting and exotic experiences. The early stories of Waikiki are the originating sparks of brand momentum, which have formulated over time. Some authors wrote nonfiction accounts while others wrote fictional tales. For the purposes of this study both are of interest. Both are utilized in the circulation and narration of Hawai’i. These stories are what seem to have developed the early reputation for Hawai’i and more specifically Waikiki. They help to image this place on a mass scale.

Over the years, many books have been published with stories of Hawai’i and its exotic experiences. Written narratives describe Hawai’i as a tropical place, isolated in the Pacific Ocean with sun-filled beaches and warm sultry nights. Popular novels such as Jack London’s South Sea Tales, published in 1911, were captivating to unfamiliar audiences in America and Europe.

Earlier, the Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson published his book titled *In the South Seas*, in 1896. His writings are an extraordinary account of experiences and observations in Hawai’i and other parts of the South Pacific. Illustrating his travels through Hawai’i, this document is one of the first widely distributed narrations of the islands. He writes of an experience when he was horseback riding, “A village was before us; a Catholic church and perhaps a dozen scattered houses, some of grass in the old island fashion, others spick-and-span with
outside stair and balcony and trellis, and white paint and green, in the more modern taste. One arrested my attention; it stood on the immediate verge of a deep precipice: two stories high, with double balconies, painted white, and showing by my count fifteen windows.” With this early depiction, describing this village in Hawai‘i, Stevenson verbally illustrates and images the architecture of this place. Part III: The Eight Islands is the title of the section within the book that illustrates and images Hawai‘i.

Later in 1919, the American writer Jack London published his book titled On The Makaloa Mat. In this fiction style book, London writes about some experiences in Waikiki. The story begins at a house owned by an affluent white woman, revealing the colonialism that occurred in Hawai‘i. London writes of experiences on Waikiki beach in front of the Moana Hotel and Outrigger Club. The book illustrates scenes of servitude and racial tensions. This sort of fiction style writing was new and popular with people in America during this time.

2. TELEVISION AND MOVIE AS INSTRUMENT
Waikiki becomes the set of many television shows and movies. Images of Waikiki have been widely distributed through television and movies. This mediated imaging of Waikiki is constructed with intention and focus. A particular audience prescribes a particular image. The most influential place-branding instruments, television and movies communicate through time and space. In this section, popular American television shows are compared and analyzed in association with Waikiki and its place-narrative.

Hawaii Five-O, the popular television series, filmed on Oahu, in Honolulu, images Waikiki for a mass audience. The original Hawaii Five-O television series, with Jack Lord as detective Steve McGarrett, eventually went off the air in 1980. This series was on air for twelve seasons, from 1968.

Television shows like Hawaii Five-O work to brand Waikiki. Twelve people out of twenty-nine surveyed in Waikiki associate this show with Waikiki. The shows popularity is long running, for generations actually. The original version of Hawaii Five-O, with Jack Lord, first aired in 1968. Although the show is completely fictional, it has helped to mold a mass psychological understanding of Hawaii and Waikiki.

Television As Instrument:
4.16: Photographs From Television Series: Created By Leonard Freeman, Hawaii Five-O. Excerpts From Opening Credits (Los Angeles, Ca: CBS Television Distribution), 1969.
Television As Instrument: Chapter 04: Branding Waikiki

Analyzing the communication of the opening sequence of Hawaii Five-O reveals symbolism with perhaps political, cultural, and social significance. (figures 4.16, 4.17) Here, moving images are utilized for symbolic and brand narrative purposes. The hula and fire dancers signify the concept of Hawaii, its place and culture, for a primarily American audience. This imaging of Hawaii and Waikiki through Hollywood's cultural lens and filter, constructs a narrative of Western idealism. Thus, Hollywood is the predominant culture of television and movies that has imaged Hawaii. Brian Ireland writes of this topic, “Hawai‘i and Hawaiians have been shaped and reshaped by Hollywood to meet the needs and expectations of a mainland American audience, just as the New World and Native Americans were invented then reinvented by European colonizers to meet their needs.”

In both figures 4.16 and 4.17, females are imaged as signs of conservative sex appeal. Both sequence a vaguely exotic woman walking in front of the ocean, in the newer 2010 version, figure 4.17, she appears wet and with less clothing. These images are designed to add moderate sex appeal to the narrative, to keep things exciting. The popularized female hula dancer also appears in both opening sequences. An abstract cropping focuses on the hips of the dancer, lending to the dramatic effect of the sequence. Here, the hula signifies sex, culture, and place in an arguably trite manner, as a cliché. The signs within the opening sequences to Hawaii Five-O image the female form to seduce an audience while alluding to a place. This imaging occurs within a fraction of a second. This sort of imaging is normal for family oriented American television programming and considered rather conservative actually. The creators of Hawaii Five-O conform to the American Broadcasting Standards and Practices, which helps define their market audience.

The face cropping of the Statue Of Justice, from the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, in Honolulu, is perhaps designed into this montage as a political as well as ideological sign. Thereby, making it understandable, familiar, and identifiable to an mass audience. For some, the sculpture of King Kamehameha signifies of a time and politics of the past, while supporting the current political image. While others perhaps perceive the King's statue in context with a more specific time period, one of the Hawaiian monarchy and Hawaiian independence. Thus, these sculptures lend symbolic meaning to the narrative, communicating social order and political governance. Yet, these might be argued as simply architectural and sculptural references to place, in a more naive and unassuming way. Thus, the meanings associated with these signs and images overflow with multiplicity and subjectivity.

Architecture plays a role in the communication of these opening film sequences. Aloha tower, the Ilikai Hotel in Waikiki, Iolani Palace, and the USS Arizona Memorial in Pearl Harbor are all imaged. These choices are perhaps a strategic attempt to target the American audience. One might argue that this particular imaging of the USS Arizona Memorial, functions as a national sign, which builds consent and support for the U.S. military in Hawaii.

Planes are imaged in these opening credits of Hawai’i Five-O as signs. Planes have had a dramatic effect on the islands. Millions of people travel by plane each year to visit Hawai’i and Waikiki. The imaging of the plane as a sign connotes a sense of modernization and mass transit, conflating these notions with Hawai’i and Waikiki. This imaging also disseminates the literal brand of commercial airline, Hawaiian Airlines, to a consumer based television audience. Hence, this is a form of product placement, in which the plane is the literal product.

Magnum PI is a popular television show, which was on air from 1980 until 1988 and utilized Waikiki as a set. Thomas Magnum, a private investigator played by Tom Selleck, is imaged driving around Honolulu in his red Ferrari, swimming in the ocean, and having lunch at the fictional King Kamehameha Club in Waikiki. Five out of the twenty-nine people surveyed in Waikiki answered “Magnum PI,” when asked if there was a television show that they associated with this place. Thus, Magnum PI is a characteristic part within the popular narrative of Waikiki. (figure 4.18) Ireland writes, “Houston Wood argues, ‘most of what Euroamericans today know about Hawai’i they have learned from movies and television.’” People know of Waikiki through this popular television show, which is imaged for a primarily American audience. The conception of Waikiki through Magnum PI, is a bias and idealized portrayal, which is constructed for the fixed perception of a particular audience. As Waikiki is a place that is in constant flux, this fixation of permanence is perplexing and paradoxical—place dynamics overflow.

There are some interesting relationships, between Hawai’i Five-O and Magnum PI. Both of these shows are thematically organized around investigative police work. In both shows, the main characters are imaged as macho white men that work as detectives. The shows are imaged, tailored, and catered through the perspectives, although it be generalized and bias, of a white US audience. However, today these shows are viewed worldwide, by an increasingly diverse audience.
Television As Instrument:

4.18: Photographs From Television Series: Created By Donald P. Bellisario And Glen A. Larson, Magnum, P.I., ThreeMinus Two, Season Two (Los Angeles, Ca: CBS Television Distribution), 1982.
CHAPTER 04: BRANDING WAIKIKI

Movies substantially influence the construction and the perception of Hawaii and Waikiki. Early movies, such as, “Hawaiian Love (1913), It Happened To Honolulu (1916), Happy Hawaii (1928), Waikiki Wedding (1937), Wings Over Honolulu (1937), Hawaii Calls (1938), Hawaii Buckaroo (1938), Charlie Chan in Honolulu (1938), Honolulu (1939), Hawaiian Nights (1939), Moonlight In Hawaii (1941), and Honolulu Lu (1941)” and then later Blue Hawaii (1961), and Hawaii (1966), have helped people abroad to connect this place with particular images and concepts. The mass image, impression, and reputation of this place are indirectly orchestrated through the dissemination of movies.

The 1961, Hollywood produced movie Blue Hawaii, starring Elvis Presley, was a hit with American audiences. (figure 4.19) This musical, has externally imaged Hawaii and Waikiki as a destination place for Americans. The combination of Elvis Presley’s sex appeal and Hawaii’s exotic location prove to be a good combination. Presley later stared in two more Hollywood movie productions. In 1962, he starred in Girls! Girls! Girls!. Soon after, in 1966, Elvis starred in Paradise Hawaiian Style. All three of his movies were filmed on location in Hawaii. Coincidentally in 1966, Waikiki became “a favorite vacation destination for young Americans.” Elvis Presley’s three Hollywood (Paramount Pictures) films of Hawaii are prominent instruments, which brand Waikiki through a Western cultural lens. Thereby, allowing Americans to pre-conceive and formulate the experience of this place in their minds, building consumer anticipation.

112 Ibid., 138.
113 Andrea Feeser, Waikiki, A History Of Forgetting And Remembering (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. 2006) 144.
Music has an incredible effect on the human psyche. The right song can make one feel as if they had been teleported elsewhere. Our opinions, moods, and even actions are persuaded by music. Stories and images of Waikiki and Hawai‘i are narrated through popular music. Over time, popular music contributes to the narrative of this place, while constructing perceptions. People typically listen to the songs they like more than once. The same could be said about movies and books. When we re-listen, re-watch, and re-read, we are typically more acute to the music, movie, and writing, picking up or receiving more information each time. Further, this repetition functions to imprint brand information into the mind of the consumer.

Music is an expression of meaning. Often this expression is wordless. Yet, music of this nature also functions as brand instrumentation. For instance, Waikiki is often thought of in relation to the sound of the ukulele. This stringed instrument creates a particular sound that is closely associated with this place. The ukulele seems to inherently communicate the conceptual notion of the Hawaiian Islands.

The ukulele is a sign of Hawaii and Waikiki, which has been popularized by musicians, through images over the years. For example, the cover of Elvis Presley’s Blue Hawaii record features the now legendary American musician with a ukulele, a lei, and an aloha shirt. (figure 4.20) Each of these items us utilized as signs within the brand image and narrative of Hawaii and Waikiki.

As recently as 2011, Eddie Vedder, of the popular American band Pearl Jam, released a CD titled Ukulele Songs. The video for the
music As Instrument:  


song Can't Keep off the album featured Eddie Vedder in Hawaii, on a small island off the coast, playing a ukulele. The frames and scenes throughout the video are from the perspective of a pilot or hang-glider, with green mountain cliffs in the background and brilliant blue ocean water in the foreground. The water crashes up on the tiny island where Vedder sings and plays his ukulele. The ukulele is imaged as a sign in conflation with Hawaii and Eddie Vedder (figure 4.21). The sounds of the ukulele, ocean, and wind are isolated with Vedder's voice. The ukulele, both visually and aurally, works in a historical and contemporary sense to brand this place.

Going back to the music of the 1960's, the lyrics of the popular song Blue Hawaii, originally written by Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger, poetically expresses ideas of love, seduction, and magic in association with Hawaii. (figure 4.22) The line “dreams come true, in blue Hawaii” brands an image of an idyllic and romantic place. The song Blue Hawaii constructs an image of a paradisiacal place in the minds of the masses. Becoming a place where dreams come true, a place where lovers seize the night. During the beginning and end of the song, a slide guitar is played. The sounds of the slide guitar have also come to connote the Hawaiian Islands and Waikiki.

Hawaiian Wedding Song, originally written by Al Hoffman and Dick Manning, was recorded by Elvis Presley and appeared on his Blue Hawaii record. (figure 4.23) The song remains popular with wedding couples, romantics, and Elvis fanatics. This song helps to image and brand this place in association with weddings and concepts of romance, love, and aloha—a utopia for lovers.
The song titled *Waikiki* was performed and written by popular Hawaiian musician Don Ho. The song *Waikiki* was released as track eleven in 2005 on his album; *The Don Ho Show, Live From Hawaii*. (figure 4.24) *Waikiki* is a poetic song about a place of “magic beside the sea.” *Waikiki* is used in this song as a metaphor for love. The words “as I recall as I held you in my arms an angel sweet and heavenly Waikiki,” give human characteristics to this place. *Waikiki* becomes the character and subject in this love song. This song has worked, to some extent, to construct an image of *Waikiki* as a romantic place of desire.

Music that brands this place is often abstract in its reference. Sometimes it is the singer’s Hawaiian heritage and style that is the attraction. The song, *Over The Rainbow* was originally written by E.Y. Harburg and released in 1939. The original vocal recording was by Judy Garland. The song was best known for its use in the film, *The Wizard of Oz*. In 1993, the song was re-recorded and re-popularized by another artist. He went by the name of Israel Ka‘ano‘i Kamakawiwo‘ole, better known as brother “Iz.” Released as track fourteen on his Facing Future album, it rose to #25 on the billboard chart. This became Hawaii’s first certified platinum album. His musical rendition of *Over The Rainbow* has become a sign of this place. Before Iz’s rendition, in which he introduces the ukulele, the song was associated with Judy Garland. Today, this song remains popular as an instrument for the branding of this place.
Advertisements influence our actions, movement, thinking, and perceptions. Over time, we have come to understand places through advertising. Ideas of places have been filtered and presented to us through advertising and mass media. Those who construct these ads, target a particular demographic and audience. It appears that Western ideology has most influenced advertising and branding in association with Waikiki. Historically, the Westerners have been the predominant target audience of Hawai‘i and Waikiki advertising. As a result of this advertising, Westerners have become familiar with Waikiki as a brand of tropical resort destination. Advertising associated with the Hawaiian Islands has traditionally sought the attention of the white middle to upper class American consumer. Ads often portray an idealized Western perspective of Hawai‘i and Waikiki.

In figures 4.25a-b, two Matson Lines cruise ship advertisements portray young white Western female models, promoting travel to Hawaii. Each represents a Westener who is posed as ecstatic. In figure 4.25a, we see the symbolic use of the lei being placed delicately by a native woman over the young Westener, who looks up toward the sky, smiling and gazing, holding her tennis racquet. The headline reads, “You'll play with a new and eager spirit in Hawaii.” Interestingly, the native woman looks fondly toward the Westener, with a gracious and naïve smile. The ad’s meaning is ambiguous and multiple. If we read into this ad, the spirit mentioned seems to be in the sky and at the attention and admiration of the Westener, while the portrayed native looks to the Westener with similar admiration. It is almost as if the native is admiring the Westener in the same way the Westener admires the spirit. In any case, we might postulate...
that there exists a portrayed hierarchy between the native and visitor. Thus, multiple interpretive readings are possible. One could argue a number of different messages are present. Nevertheless, in this particular circumstance meaning overflows the branded frame.

In figure 4.25b, a young Western woman poses in fashionable leisurewear. As the headline reads, “The voyage the whole world hopes to make.” This ad displays the name or title, Hawai‘i, in a script style typeface that adds a signature like quality, similar to the signature of a brand name designer. Thus, it functions as a sign. One might argue that this Matson Lines ad portrays Western superiority to promote Hawai‘i and the cruise ship service. Another might argue, that both of these posters portray the female as an object of desire. While another might argue, this is an ad for a cruise line, which utilizes commercial art photography to communicate brand meaning, and nothing more. Thus, the posters are ambiguous in meaning and might be interpreted multiple ways. The meanings overflow these posters and their frame. As an instrument for the branding of places, these posters elicit multiple perceptions, which overflow the prescribed brand packaging.
5. ART AS SIGN

The painter Richard Wyland has grown popular in Hawaii for his art, which typically depicts underwater sea life and landscapes, including, fish, whales, and turtles. Wyland’s work is seen throughout Waikiki in the form of calendars, posters, paintings, and large wall murals. Interestingly, Wyland’s large mural paintings become large signs on the landscape, which signify Waikiki. As one arrives at the airport and begins the journey to Waikiki, the work of Wyland is presented as brand communication. Along H1 highway, the road which most travel to Waikiki, Wyland’s wall or architecture murals stand out as unique signs, which function as physical and cognitive gateways into Waikiki. The murals in figures 4.26a-b, are seen as one travels to and from Waikiki’s airport, along H1 highway. The mural in figure 4.26c, is located in Waikiki, functioning as a physical gateway sign. In Honolulu, there are stringent laws restricting large signs and advertising, which allows Wyland’s large murals to gain communication prominence on the landscape. These large wall murals function as brand place signs for Waikiki, while advertising the now national brand image of Wyland.
EXOTICA AS INSTRUMENT

Exotica is a genera of music and art that attempts to communicate and conceptualize the atmosphere of a tropical place in the South Pacific, through signs. The Hawaiian Islands are associated with this style of music, art, and image making. Focused for popular consumption, exotica as art is most often bracketed and imaged for the idealized Western perspective. Indigenous culture, Hawaiians, and Pacific island natives are most often portrayed as docile and complacent, particularly female hula dancers. Exotica art images the foreign and tropical place, utilizing tiki gods and native women as signs. Exotica currently exist as a part of the popular brand narrative of Hawaii and Waikiki.
The origin of Exotica music is linked to Quiet Village, a track on Martin Denny’s record, Exotica from 1957. The song was popular in America. The New York Times writes that the track “was released as a single in 1958 and reached the Top 5 of the Billboard pop charts at No. 1 for five weeks in 1959.”

The cover of the album images a sultry model of indeterminate ethnicity peeking through a bamboo screen. One might argue that this imaging portrays the female as an object and sign of desire. While, this portrayal is considered ‘normal’ in advertising and the branding of products, one could easily argue that this objectifies the woman, in this case the pacific islander. Meanings are attached through perception and interpretation. As individuals consume, translate, and de-code images and messages, they connect meaning. Thus, meaning is multiple and in this case, overflows the frame for which this song and album cover is intentionally branded. Today, exotica, its art, music, and products, remains popular in Waikiki.
Exotica As Instrument:
4.27b: Multiple Album Covers of Hawaiian Theme,
Portraying Native Females As Signs
TOURISM AS PARADOX

Discussing cultural aspects of tourism, Ian Gregory Strachan, in his book *Paradise And Plantation, Tourism And Culture In The Anglophone Caribbean*, quotes “Lasch has noted the tendency of modern capitalism to sell virtually any commodity by using the female body or the exotic image.” Strachen writes, “Frank Taylor tells us that in Jamaica, “Apart from the stereotyped docility of the people, their manners, superstitions, idiosyncrasies, and modes of thought were invaluable to instituting and developing tourism” and “The lives of the people indigenous to the island become material for tourist consumption.” Similar relationships are apparent in Waikiki. Looking at the Hawaiian Hula, we can make similar comparisons between its cultural reality and its brand imaging. The Hawaiian Hula is a commodity for sale and is readily available in Waikiki. Strachen later quotes MacCannell, “the Bahamian worker is still a souvenir.” The Hawaiian Hula or perhaps the culture, in some respects, is a souvenir for the tourist of Waikiki. Compare figures 4.28 and 4.29.

116 Ibid., 90.
117 Ibid., 128.
PRODUCT AS INSTRUMENT

Products are sold through association with Waikiki, the Hawaiian Islands, and its people. Often this is done quite literally, by attaching images of the product with signs and symbols of the place and its culture, in an attempt to conflate them. (figure 4.50, page 148) Hawaiian Pineapples are a popular commodity in America. Advertisements for pineapples have imaged Waikiki for the eye of the American or Westerner. Here two pineapple juice ads image this place as a prize for the American. (figures 4.30a-b) With this ad, the experience of Waikiki is promoted as a prize to be won through a contest associated with Libby's Pineapple Juice. The idealism of the Western perspective becomes apparent through analysis of popular media and advertising. The audience is focused, while at the same time, others are marginalized: evidence of overflow theory. “Go Free to glorious Hawaii!” the ad exclaims. (figure 4.30a) The two Western tourist, presumably the winners, lie on the beach, soaking up some sun, with Diamond Head off in the distance. Adjacent to the title Hawaii, a symbolic hula dancer is imaged. The lower portion of the ad, frames two Westerners, who are having a separate dialogue about the “marvelous breakfast drink.” This product advertisement reveals the idealized and targeted consumer as the American or Westerner.

Analyzing figure 4.30b, the painting of a native Hawaiian woman functions to entice, seduce, and persuade, in an advertisement for Dole pineapple juice. The painting serves as the primary image and frame of reference. Here, the lei functions as a sign of Hawaii. The woman's positioning in the scene and the amount of open space on the left, are somewhat suggestive or enticing. It is as if, she has her eyes on another, who will soon enter the scene. Mysteriously,
she is posed as if she is about to grab some flowers? What ever the intended situation might be, the viewer is engaged through seduction associated with her provocative dress, the mystery of the scene, and the exotic imaging of the native Hawaiian. The word “exotic” is large and bold, signifying the importance of this term as a theme. This advertisement attempts to conflate the sex appeal of the scantily dressed and “exotic” native Hawaiian girl with the product: Dole pineapple juice. Here, we have a problem of exploitation that derives from the exclusionary process that recurrently accompanies brand communication. The ways in which one perceives this ad are multiple, thus, spilling over the ‘intended’ message.

**INSTRUMENT: ALOHA AS PRODUCT**

While the spirit of aloha extends beyond products into Hawaiian culture, signs of aloha are formalized as commodities. Since the 20th century aloha has become a conceptualized and commodified product, sold on key chains, and T-shirts.

Hawaii is called “The Aloha State.” The word aloha is communicated as a term of endearment in Hawaii when one is arriving and departing, as a greeting. The word originates in Hawaii; yet, Aloha has become a popular word, which is understood worldwide. The word references the Hawaiian Islands and works as an instrument in a linguistic sense to brand this place. The word conjures the image of Hawaii, which is constructed through mass media. At the same time, the word comes from the Hawaiian culture and is a part of their perspective and way of life. Aloha is a spirit in a sense, to be felt by those that experience this place. To some extent, this concept is commodified to promote Waikiki as a brand destination.
The aloha shirt is a popular sign of the Hawaiian islands and Waikiki. The leisurely style and floral patterns of the aloha shirt communicates a unique fashion statement that connotes this place and its relaxed atmosphere. Originating in Hawaii during the 1930’s, the aloha shirt is imaged as a symbol of this place through popular media. For example, on the cover of Elvis Presley’s record *Blue Hawaii*, he is seen wearing an aloha shirt and lei. (figure 4.20, page 109)

**INSTRUMENT: LEI AS SIGN**

The lei and its image symbolize the Hawaiian Islands and Waikiki. When one is arriving or departing the islands, the lei is a customary Hawaiian cultural gesture, utilized as a sign of affection and aloha between people. Through mass media, images, and products, the Hawaiian lei are popular and recognizable signs. (figures 4.31a-b) The mass-production and dissemination of the lei as a plastic product, functions as a sign of post-modern culture, which influences and embeds in Waikiki’s brand narrative a sense of superficiality.

STAMP AS INSTRUMENT

Stamps are branding instruments of an ephemeral nature, which image the Hawaiian Islands, its culture, architecture, and its nature. These little images are impressionable, regardless of their size. They disseminate images on a mass scale, making them relevant to the phenomenon of branding Waikiki. Compare figures 4.32a-f.

Stamps communicate as images and signs for places; the stamp is a sign, which is meticulously planned with associative place images, signs, and symbols. (figures 4.32a-f) In figure 4.32a, architecture is utilized as a sign, which functions within the stamp image, while the text promotes “Historic Preservation.” The rainbow is imaged as a Hawaii place sign and symbol, in the upper right corner of the stamp. Iolani Palace symbolizes rule and royalty, as this is a municipal building and the only Royal Palace in the U.S.119

RAINBOW AS BRAND PLACE SIGN

Over time, the image of the rainbow has been conflated with the Hawaiian Islands as a sign of this place. The rainbow is found as image and sign in popular mass media, on the state license plate, and is utilized by the University of Hawaii for their athletic team titles, such as, The Rainbow Warriors.

STAMP ANALYSIS

Waikiki Beach, Diamond Head, palm trees, and a commercial plane are imaged in this stamp as signs. (figure 4.32f) In this 1949 stamp, a plane flies overhead, while two swaying palms appear in the periphery. The plane is an important component of tourism here in the islands and often shows up in images of this place. The vantage point of this particular stamp appears to be from Waikiki Beach. Images of Waikiki often use Diamond Head as a focal point. There were 18,876,800 of these Diamond Head, Hawaii stamps printed in the U.S. Today; this stamp is worth $2.50, in excellent condition. This is a relatively high price in the world of stamp collection, especially considering the stamp was 80¢ new. Thus, it is deduced that the value of this stamp is partly associated to its image and isolated signs. Diamond Head and Waikiki beach as signs of desire, determine the popularity of this stamp. Stamps image Waikiki as a sign composed of multiple signs, functioning as place branding instrumentation.

120 Reinfeld, Fred, and Burton Hobson, Stamp Collectors’ Handbook. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1952) 140.
KITSCH MEMORABILIA AS INSTRUMENT

Kitsch memorabilia works as an instrument for the branding of Waikiki. Products, such as, lamps, ashtrays, comics, dashboard art, and the hula-hoop communicate through mass dispersal, branding this place. (figures 4.33a-d) The Hawaiian Hula, palm trees, grass huts, the ukulele, and Diamond Head are utilized as signs of Waikiki. As this communication attempts to portray the Hawaiians, for a primarily Western audience, there is a tendency to inject bias, thereby misrepresenting the genuine and authentic culture. The Hawaiian hula is exploited for its exoticism and sex appeal. Here the hula is represented on an ashtray, which arguably trivializes the Hawaiian culture, the art of hula, and the islands. Thus, these multiple readings overflow the brand image and packaging of Waikiki. (figures 4.33a-d) Popular mass produced products circulate the brand narrative of Waikiki, as a native culture is exploited.
KITSCH MEMORABILIA AS INSTRUMENT

4.33c: Hawaiian Symbols On Cup, "Aloha from Hawaii"

4.33d: Hula Dancer Lamp, With Hut As Clock

EVIDENCE: KITSCH MEMORABILIA AS INSTRUMENT
6. THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AS INSTRUMENT
Waikiki is constructed and imaged primarily for the purposes of tourism. This place is an economic stimulus for the city and state. At the same time, there are problems that have yet to be resolved, regarding the environmental and cultural impacts of this capitalistic oriented agenda. Nevertheless, this place is pushing on, full steam ahead. Construction is underway. Thus far, Waikiki seems modeled off a European/American concept of urban design meets theme park. This place is popularized and idealized through mass media and its built environment. Components or elements of the city communicate as signs and symbols of this place. In Waikiki, elements, such as landmarks, form points of reference, guiding the users way. From abroad, these elements are imaged signs, as iconic psycho-geographical landmarks, occurring in the mind, which the consumer associates with Waikiki.

1. ARCHITECTURE AS INSTRUMENT
The mass perception of Waikiki is constructed through mass media and the built environment. The architecture of Waikiki, particularly the hotels, plays an instrumental role in brand communication, internally and externally. The hotels of Waikiki are imaged to attract tourists from abroad. In a sense, hotels become the tourist's home away from home, while in Waikiki. The hotel's image pulls the viewer in, comforting them with luxurious and spacious colonial accommodation.
Advertisements and mass media images of the Moana hotel at Waikiki, which was built in 1901, communicate with familiarity to American audiences. (figures 4.34a-b) The hotel design and neocolonial style, which was especially popular in America during the time of its construction, communicates to the bourgeois tourist and consumer. Within the image, the Moana Hotel, now called the Moana Surfrider, a Westin Resort and Spa, communicates as a sign of Waikiki for the tourist, consumer, and spectator. Today, the hotel's neocolonial style architecture contrasts and differentiates itself from its modernized context, indeed functioning as place branding instrumentation.

Imaging the Moana hotel through mass media and advertising constructs a brand narrative of Waikiki. In this advertisement, the Moana Hotel entices, promotes, and persuades the consumer and tourist to visit Waikiki. (figure 4.35) The magical “banyan tree” is said to “whisper the names of many a world-known personage who has sat beneath its boughs.” Advertisements and mass media images, such as this, have branded Waikiki as a place of magic, romance, and desire. Over time, the hotel image and the place image become associatively intertwined; their distinct and portrayed characteristics integrate and conflate.

In a contemporary sense, the neocolonial style of the Moana hotel is a sign of tradition and nostalgia, carrying baggage within the image; baggage, which revolves around themes, such as, colonialism, imperialism, Western order, and the concept of the American dream. These
associations accompany this architectural style, infused within its communication, image, and experience. Thus, as Waikiki and the Moana hotel are synthetically mixed as signs, the inhabitation of residing contextual politics fuse, meld, and synthesize.

The Moana Surfrider hotel functions as an instrument for the branding of Waikiki through its image, design, and experience. The hotels portico, veranda, ionic columns, arched windows and doors, communicate a sense of familiarity, home, luxury, and social class, attracting the Western bourgeois and American tourist. (figures 4.36a-f) Once primarily focused for the Westerner, today, the Moana attracts a larger (global) and more diverse consumer audience (multicultural).

The experience of the Moana Surfrider hotel is one of Waikiki Beach. The guests delight in the ocean views and breezes, which accompany their rooms and hotel beach verandas. Thus, the beach experience overlaps the hotel experience at points. Moreover, the Moana Hotel is an important part of the Waikiki beach experience for the guest and the worker, determining to some great extent, their psychological impression of Waikiki as a brand place.

The experience of the Moana Surfrider hotel is one of Kalakaua Avenue and shopping. Those who visit Waikiki to shop on Kalakaua Avenue will experience the grandeur of the hotel entrance with its portico and veranda. (figure 4.36a) As one passes the hotel, a sense of prominence and social class is imparted through architectural form and urban design. Further, the Moana Surfrider hotel functions as sign and brand instrumentation for the shopper, consumer, and tourist, who experience Waikiki beach and Kalakaua Avenue.
The Moana Surfrider hotel functions as an instrument for the branding of Waikiki through its image, design, and experience:

THE ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL AS INSTRUMENT

The Royal Hawaiian Hotel impacts the tourism and branding of Waikiki in a profound way. “In 1927, Royal Hawaiian Hotel opens, virtually doubling tourist occupancy in Waikiki.”

Labeled the “Pink Palace Of The Pacific,” the hotel is imaged for a mass audience. Postcards and advertisements image the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in association with Waikiki, branding this relationship for popular culture. (figures 4.37, 4.38, 4.14, page 97) Over time, this hotel has become a sign, which is woven into the brand narrative, image, and experience of Waikiki. Indeed, The Royal Hawaiian Hotel functions as instrumentation for the branding of Waikiki as a destination.

The Spanish colonial style of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel is foreign to Waikiki, differentiating itself on the landscape through architectural form and design communication. Painted a pronounced pink color, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel communicates a loud and bold brand identity. These design-oriented characteristics have helped to brand this hotel as a blatant sign in association with Waikiki. Over time, the hotel sign is conflated, mixed, and related with Waikiki through mass media. Today, the hotel continues as a popular brand resort destination, which affords its guests a unique, historical, and yet post-modern experience of Waikiki.

Located on the hotel's facade, a coat of arms communicates as an element of the hotel's architectural brand identity. (figure 4.39b-c) In this case, the coat of arms is utilized as brand identity communication. Although the coats of

122 Andrea Feeser, Waikiki, A History Of Forgetting And Remembering (Hono-
arms is traditionally applied graphically, as two dimensional application, the coat of arms that adorns the Royal Hawaiian Hotel is of a three dimensional nature, functioning as a sign, which is physically constructed on the facade of the hotel. While this coat of arms is literally made in three dimensions, it originates from a two-dimensional image and communicates as such.

Guests and tourists often photograph themselves in front of the hotels brand signage, located at the main entrance of the hotel. (figure 4.39a) This condition perhaps reveals a degree of brand related importance, which manifests in the mind of the consumer, tourist, and guest of the hotel. Pink walls and elements also represent the brand identity of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Guests often photograph themselves in front of the pink walls of the hotel and its pink umbrellas on the beach, all of which help to relate the brand oriented color choice with the consumers reality, actuality, experience, and memory. (figure 4.39d)

The experience of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel is that of an urban beach experience. The beach side of the hotel utilizes boundaries of an odd sort; garbage cans buried in the sand as well as chains, poles, gates, and pink walls, all of which are organized around the guests beach chairs and pink umbrellas. (figures 4.39e-g) Thus, the brand communication of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel space is obscure and vague, yet, defined, separated, and partitioned on the beach.

The Royal Hawaiian hotel was once a large-scale building in contrast to neighboring architecture. (figure 4.34c, page 126) Today, the historic hotel sets low on the horizon in comparison to neighboring modern towers. (figure 4.38) The Royal Hawaiian is one of the first large-scale hotels constructed in Waikiki, and foregrounds the consumer driven, mass culture, tourist-oriented place that Waikiki is today.
Located on the hotel’s facade, the coat of arms communicates as an element of the hotel’s architectural brand identity.

Since the introduction of the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian hotels, there has been an influx of hotels and development. In some sense, these early hotels are a catalyst for Waikiki’s physical growth and evolution. The Hilton Hawaiian hotel also communicates as a sign of Waikiki. (figure 4.40) This modern hotel displays a large mural of a rainbow on its facade. Symbolic of the Hawaiian Islands and Waikiki, the rainbow functions as a large sign on the facade of the hotel. Unlike the Moana and Royal Hawaiian, which communicate as signs via architectural style, the Hilton Hawaiian expresses a modern architectural language, with a large rainbow sign on its facade. Indeed, the Hilton Hawaiian Hotel visually differentiates, identifies, and brands itself with this large mural.

The Waikiki Shell functions as an instrument for the branding of Waikiki. This architectural venue provides a place for people to experience gatherings and events, while communicating through the metaphor of the shell. The shell is indexical for the ocean and beach, giving the architectural form symbolic meaning which references this place. Although the Waikiki Shell is imaged in popular media, it is not as evident as the hotels, such as, the Moana and Royal Hawaiian. Thus, the Waikiki shell functions to brand this place through the unique experience of its venue, which includes a tropical climate, Diamond Head crater as borrowed landscape, and a cultural atmosphere of aloha.
Although, the natatorium war memorial of Waikiki is closed and non-operational today, sitting discarded in isolation as an architectural relic on the landscape, it is a sign for Waikiki, which communicates through mass media and the beach experience. The natatorium of Waikiki was once a prominent and popular node for tourists and residents alike. It was a public swimming pool and gathering spot, fashioned in the “beaux-arts design.” When it was functional, during the mid twentieth century, the natatorium communicated through a unique pool and ocean experience. Today, the natatorium communicates as a sign for Waikiki through its image and its exterior experience. (figures 4.41a-d)

Imaged as a sign for Waikiki, the Hawaiian hut is a cultural production, which is utilized in brand communication. As Waikiki has become privatized and modernized, the use of Hawaiian huts as dwelling units has been eradicated. The Hawaiian hut is no longer utilized as a dwelling unit in Waikiki, modern building codes and zoning disallow such construction. The land is parceled and commodified. The nostalgic concept of the Hawaiian hut is sold through mass media, while images of the Hawaiian hut and native peoples are consumed as symbols of a nostalgic Hawaiian Islands and Waikiki. The portrayal of the hut is filtered by Western colonialist eyes and typically communicates as quaint abodes. (figures 4.42a-c) Moreover, the Hawaiian hut is vernacular architecture that originates from the true identity and culture of this place. Today, the image of the hut is commodified and absorbed into the brand narrative of this place. (figure 4.42d)
LUXURY LINER AS INSTRUMENT

The luxury liners of Matson Navigation Company were instrumental in the branding of Waikiki. (figure 4.43) These ships are imaged as signs within the brand narrative of this place. Analysis of their advertisements reveals a multiplicity of cultural meaning. Primarily imaged for a Western consumer audience, these advertisements helped the Matson Luxury Liners to bring mass tourism to Hawaii and Waikiki. However, the communication of Matson advertisements seem to undermine the Hawaiian culture though portrayed Western idealism, thus, overflowing the brand packaged narrative of this place. Matson Navigation Company facilitates the major importing and exporting of goods to and from the Hawaiian Islands since 1882. Further, this company plays a fundamental role in the commodification of this place. The increase in tourism led to the construction of both the Moana Hotel and the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, which were originally built by Matson. Matson Navigation with its fleet of ships and hotels greatly impacts the brand communication of Waikiki through image, signs, and experience.

126 Ibid.
2. WAIKIKI BEACH AS SIGN

The physical edges of Waikiki are defined by water. To the southwest of Waikiki sets the Pacific Ocean and to the northeast the Ala Wai Canal. Waikiki Beach is a dominant communicative edge condition, which functions as a sign in mass media. Postcards utilize the image of Waikiki beach as a sign, which communicates in conjunction with other signs to denote Waikiki as brand place. Stylized typography and logo style graphics often accompany images as brand identity characteristics.

Waikiki communicates to audiences through its parts or elements. The image of Waikiki’s edge, the sandy beach, functions as a sign for Waikiki and Hawaii. (figure 4.44) The beach is an isolated element of the landscape, physically and visually, which communicates through image, mass media, and multi sensory experience.
3. DIAMOND HEAD AS SIGN
Diamond Head is a landmark sign, which is utilized in images of Waikiki, as a distinct feature of the landscape. However, Diamond Head, as previously mentioned, is a borrowed landscape scene, which is located outside the physical boundary of Waikiki's district. Nevertheless, Diamond Head is a part of Waikiki and is imaged as such. (figure 4.44, 4.42d, page135) Diamond Head has come to symbolize Waikiki, which is associative through perception. In terms of branding, Waikiki's urban elements are more a matter of imaging and perception, than actual physical conditions or locations.

PALM TREE AS THEMATIC ELEMENT
Trees are not traditionally thought of as urban or city elements, however, palm trees function as thematic elements within the brand image of Waikiki. The mass imaging of Waikiki and its conceptualization as a tropical resort paradise utilizes palm trees as signs.

DISTRICTS AS SIGNS
Multiple districts within Waikiki, such as, Ala Wai Yacht Harbor, Fort Derussy, Waikiki Beach, Kapiolani Park, and the residential/commercial section that sets adjacent to the Ala Wai Canal are not necessarily understood through the external brand narrative of this place. The districts are conflated into one image and their boundaries blur on the landscape. The mountains to the north of Waikiki and Diamond Head Crater become a district of Waikiki through perception. How does the tourist, consumer, or user of Waikiki come to understand districts? This relationship is understood through maps. Thus, the map becomes the image and the districts become signs, which are relevant in physical space.
This section of the investigation probes to find logic behind the brand construction of Waikiki through its motivations. The image of Waikiki, that is portrayed, is done so for a reason. Those that portray the image also have an agenda. In the case of Waikiki, its brand imaging is done in an attempt to compete, promote, persuade, and capitalize. This section aims to clarify the paradoxical nature of branding Waikiki through its motives.

**DIRECT AGENCY BRANDING WAIKIKI**

Those who are branding Waikiki are most interested in communication for the purposes of eliciting economic gains. The image if this place is primarily constructed for the tourist or consumer. Motivation for the branding of Waikiki comes from an inherent drive to compete and to seek profits, a characteristic of capitalism.

**WAIKIKI BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT**

An excerpt from the Wbid mission statement: “The Waikiki Business Improvement District shall work in partnership with government to develop and implement programs that promote the overall vitality of Waikiki and the State of Hawaii, by strengthening their roles as world-class
The development of Waikiki as a resort destination is constructed directly by governmental and commercial agencies, such as, the Waikiki Business Improvement District Association. This organization is comprised of primarily private business directors and governmental city ex-officio members. They write their “long term goal” for Waikiki as: “A clean, safe, vibrant resort destination ... and contributes to the economic prosperity of Oahu, and the State of Hawai‘i.” With this statement a clear agenda is formalized, which focuses and frames Waikiki as a place for commodification and exploitation as economic stimulus for the state. With this statement WBIID proposes goals for a place, which is shared by multiple constituents, some of which might disagree with such an approach. In some sense, the WBIID aims to construct the brand package of Waikiki, while the dynamics of this place overflow.

STATE OF HAWAII, DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM
The state of Hawaii directly affects the image of Waikiki through, policy, laws, and governance. The state profits from Waikiki as a brand place destination through taxation. The relationship between the state government and Waikiki is essentially of an exploitative nature. Waikiki is utilized for the procurement of capital gains, while its form manifests through a contrived filtration of conservatism and commercialism.

HAWAII TELEVISION AND FILM DEVELOPMENT BOARD
This outfit, also titled Hawaii Film Office, is a part of the Department Of Business, Economic Development And Tourism. Their web site states, “We’ve got competitive tax incentives,
the only state-owned and operated film studio in the country." This state funded organization directly images Hawaii and Waikiki through film, movies, and television.

HAWAII TOURISM AUTHORITY

The Hawaii Tourism Authority, also a part of the Department Of Business, Economic Development And Tourism, is now focused on the branding of Waikiki. Speaking with Melissa Ortega of the Hawaii Tourism Authority, I was able to gather some interesting information. As of 2011, the HTA have created a new department called the brand management division, within their state run organization. She explains, “they branched off of the marketing department.”

Ortega further explained that the HTA is broken up into four main divisions; the marketing department, the Hawaiian cultural center, natural resources, and now brand management. The brand management department is primarily organized and run by its vice president, David Uchiyama. Ortega explained that the brand management department primarily works with “marketing, money management, and holding contracts.”

On the HTA web site within the “brand experience” section, they write, “The HTA’s primary responsibility is to ensure that Hawaii delivers on its brand promise.” They also write, “the HTA manages the promotion of Hawaii’s brand.” They list several aspects that they associate with the brand experience, such as Hawaiian culture, arts and culture, community, natural resources, workforce, and sports.

The HTA’s focus on the brand management of Waikiki is evidence of the direct branding which is taking place. While the proposition put forth by the HTA as overseeing a “brand promise” for the state of Hawaii is perhaps an attempt to fortify the popular brand image of this place, it does set up a contradicting situation in which those minority who are making the promises are doing such from a position of power. Those who are made to fulfill these promises are the workers, the majority. While, the HTA assumes the right to brand Waikiki, one might ask if they assume responsibility for it’s branding as well.

INDIRECT AGENCY BRANDING WAIKIKI

For this study, the indirect agency and organization involved in the branding of Waikiki is understood through mass media, which is constructed externally and internally. For example, Hollywood, which is known for movie production and studios, externally images Waikiki, while indirectly branding this place. The indirect agency, which constructs the brand image, and therefore the narrative of Waikiki, also comes from internal sources. Local artists, writers, musicians, and poets all influence the image of Waikiki through their framed perceptions. Popularity and appeal determine the internalization of this information by the masses; brand instrumentation and analysis, presented in the last section, serves as evidence of the indirect internal and external branding of Waikiki.
COMPETITION AS MOTIVE
Within the tourism industry there is a constant tussle for market share. This is a constant double-edged sword situation. While some will argue that competition stimulates innovation, adaptation, and evolution, others might argue that competition drains resources of energy and diverts attention from community and humanity toward selfish agendas. Although competition is inherently related to evolution and adaptation in biology, it is also related to the ego and selfish nature of the human.

COMPETITION AS EGOISM
The book titled, Marx And Justice, The Radical Critique Of Liberalism, relates competition to capitalism and egoism through Marxist thought, “the capitalist system fosters competition and egoism in all its members and thoroughly undermines all genuine forms of community.”134 Thus, competition is a capitalist agenda from the Marxist perspective.

EGOISM
n. 1 An ethical theory that treats self-interest as the foundation of morality.

Analyzing competition as egoism, branding places appears at a loss and the theory of overflow becomes clearer. While places are in competition for market share, tourism, and capitol, “genuine” issues of community are marginalized. In the case of Waikiki, this is evident through analysis of its branding instrumentation, and imaging. That which is genuine and authentic, that of culture, nature, and process, is marginalized outside the current frame, which focuses on competitive advantage for a particular consumer audience. Waikiki overflows with egoism, which is connected to its commercial and capitalist interests.

IMAGE AS MOTIVE
Place images develop over time, via multiple sources of agency. Thus, time is an inherent and important aspect with regard to places and branding. The image of a place is not made with one swift move or action of marketing, architecture, urban design, policy or any other design-related organizing construct. The image takes time to evolve, thus, altering perceptions; some events are monumental or more prominent than others within the time line and narrative of places, yet, the image is a composite. Multiple events, constructions, and happenings compile over time, disseminating through mass media, which all affect the image of places. Unlike the identity of a place, which is often understood as the construction and organization of conceptual meaning through graphics, such as, logos, flags, emblems, icons, and indexical signs, the image is a not fixed in time. Brand image is in constant flux and remains a motive for the branding of places. Branding is constantly constructing and framing perceptions of places through images of mass media; as these instruments are continuously and repeatedly disseminated, interpreted, and absorbed by mass audiences—an image is formulated overtime.

IDENTITY AS MOTIVE

Is identity a motive for the branding of Waikiki? Identity is often touted as an important aspect of branding places, however, the identity that is touted is constructed, and therefore often disconnected or irrelevant to a place’s actual physical or sociological condition. Branding, in terms of place identity, is most often of a completely conceptual nature, represented as signs, graphics, and images. The identity of Waikiki is an increasingly relevant motive for branding. As Waikiki is continually branding for consumption, identity is a primary motive.

Waikiki’s brand identity has changed over time; mass media currently portrays Waikiki as a place for the tourist and consumer, organized around the beach and shopping. On the other hand, Waikiki was once identified as a place of agriculture, marshes, and abundant water. Fresh water, which once freely spouted from the ground in Waikiki, is today controlled, organized, and diverted. Ironically, it is precisely this organization of water and land, which creates Waikiki as it is today. The implementation of the Ala Wai Canal during the 1920’s dried the marshes, allowing for the urbanization, construction, and formation of Waikiki as a destination.

The identity of Waikiki becomes a motivating factor for place branding; however, identity changes depending on the constructor, the message, and other extraneous factors. Ultimately, the framing of place identity never fully includes all participants or constituents; thus, a limited perspective is achieved in the end. The nature of Waikiki is currently tied to commodification and endless competition in a market for tourism and capital. This results in a constant paradoxical situation, which overflows with dynamic cultural and environmental contradiction.
COMMODIFICATION + PRIVATIZATION AS MOTIVE
Waikiki is parceled, organized, commodified, and privatized. Waikiki beach is constructed along a series of parceled lots of land, which are divided horizontally by Kalakaua Avenue. (figure 4.47) Over time, as tourism increases and the population grows, Waikiki’s land increases in value. Although Waikiki is a shared place, the land is privately owned.

SHOPPING CULTURE AS AUDIENCE
The image of Waikiki as a beach atmosphere with plenty of shopping is branded through mass media. The built environment of Waikiki is a construction of beaches, parks, malls, and hotels for tourists. Shopping in Waikiki has been constructed, overtime, as a predominant theme for Waikiki imaging. People travel great distances to experience Waikiki as a shopping destination. A woman writes on a survey, when asked what attracted her to Waikiki, “I came here for the shopping. So I choose the shops.” (figure 4.48)

TOURISM ECONOMY + ECOLOGY
The brand image and built environment of Waikiki seems directly correspondent to its culture, which is mixed with tourism. In this context, the tourist, shopper, and consumer become the culture of Waikiki, mixed with the resident, local, and Hawaiian. It is apparent that this place is designed and constructed for the benefit of the tourist more so than the existing community. Commercial agendas are aimed for the benefit of the tourist, consumer, or shopper. Architecture and space is manipulated and formed for the benefit, convenience, and comfort of this culture. The high number and volume of hotels and commercial shops are evidence of this condition.
GENTRIFICATION AS MOTIVE

Branding and commercialism are linked to the gentrification of Waikiki. This place has incrementally become more and more commercialized and at the same rate also more gentrified. As prices rise for land, the tussle for space becomes more apparent. Waikiki, once home to a series of mom and pop’s size businesses, now caters to predominantly multi-national brand based organizations. Waikiki’s current progression, or digression depending one’s point of view, is focused on updating, renovating, and constantly constructing for the benefit of middle to upper-class tastes, desires, and perception. Thus, this becomes an aspect of overflow, in which the poor and non-capitalistic are subjected by force.

TOURISM AS MOTIVE

Tourism and economy becomes motivation and priority for the branding of Waikiki. Analysis of tourism ephemera and products reveals that predominantly Westerners have been targeted as the Waikiki tourist. For instance, Matson has targeted the Westerner through advertising. Matson images the Hawaiian women as exotic and docile. (figure 4.49a) While images of the Western woman reveal a contemplative and critical character. (figure 4.49b) Here an illustration of wealthy Westerners, who are enjoying themselves abroad Matson’s luxury liners, conveys a time of cultural discrimination and segregation. (figure 4.49c) As Waikiki is branded for the consumption of the Westerner, priority is given to their tastes and values. In comparison, these ads reveal tactics of classism, racism, and sexism. In an attempt to communicate to an audience through a perceived idealism these advertisements convey a message of Western superiority. Thus, brand meaning is out of control, multiple, and overflowing.
Mass culture is prevalent in Waikiki. Yet, this culture is not a culture at all and fails to exist in reality. After all, mass culture is a projected culture of commercialism and has no real connection to community or place. However, the branding of Waikiki has perpetuated mass culture here. Both the external and internal brand narratives build mass culture appeal for Waikiki.

Popular culture will be looked at differently than mass culture. Mass culture is purely based on commercial projection, while popular culture suggests a relay of information between the producer and the consumer culture for which the information is designed. Indeed, there is a voice behind popular culture. In Waikiki, popular culture becomes a large motivation factor for the branding of this place. Hence, they are producers of brand information and determine communication through monetary support for the brand. The consumer's choice and ultimately their money keep the system going. Over time, this evolves into a situation where the product is continually catering to the consumer's desires. In a sense, the consumer gains limited control within the larger pre-determined system.
**BENEFITS VERSUS PARADOXES OF BRANDING WAIKIKI**

The benefits of branding Waikiki are paradoxical. The book *How To Brand Nations Cities And Destinations* discusses, “importance of a place brand and benefits of a brand.”\(^{135}\) One of the eleven benefits listed quotes, “A brand enables the connection of responsibility to the producer (Keller 1998).”\(^{136}\) Although this benefit is perhaps true in regards to the branding of a product, places are multiple, dynamic, and constantly in flux; the producers, designers, and constructors of places are varied and dispersed, assigning responsibility is limited. The people and organizations associated with the direct imaging, design, and communication of Waikiki are partly responsible for Waikiki’s outcome. The underlying semantic meaning behind the image is indeterminate. Therefore, placing responsibility for the branding of places, such as Waikiki, becomes ambiguous at best.

Another paradoxical benefit states, “A brand can support innovations and be the ‘main thread’ (de Chernatony and Dall’Olmo Riley 1999).”\(^{137}\) While this is a good point and benefit for the branding of products, the branding of places might be argued to limit innovation through systems of control and privatization; functioning as a system of rules, which people are expected to abide. As a brand is made less ambiguous, places loose meaning through a process of oversimplification. Brand places, such as Waikiki, are focused and polished as ideal image representations for mass culture. This process inherently misrepresents culture and places because it assumes an audience

\(^{136}\) Ibid., 8.
\(^{137}\) Ibid., 8.
for which to prescribe meaning and content through frames of perception.

“Brands facilitate the customer’s decision-making (Jacoby and Kyner 1973; Kapferer 1992),” is another listed benefit in the book, How To Brand Nations Cities And Destinations. The ability to manipulate or “facilitate the customer’s decision,” is a powerful position that is afforded the designer and constructor of brand places. In Waikiki, this sort of “facilitation” is occurring through its mass imaging and built environment.

**EXPLOITATION AS EFFECT OF BRANDING WAIKIKI**

The sugarcoated exploitation of Waikiki comes with a sales pitch. The female is used as a proposition in most cases. Products are designed to portray women of the Hawaiian Islands, for both adults and children. (figures 4.50, 4.51) Western idealism emanates from these products and perpetuates its existence in Hawaii. The Miko Barbi Doll, for instance, utilizes signs of place and culture to communicate. Dressed in an imitation Hawaiian style Aloha print wrap and wearing a lei, this doll portrays an idealistic view of the female form and image, while signifying Hawaii. This brand product focuses and frames a view of the Polynesian and Hawaiian culture, which is idealized and Westernized. Over time, products such as this have perhaps influenced social perspectives and beliefs in a negative way. The Miko Barbi functions as a sign that images Western idealized female form for children. These motivations for branding Waikiki come with a social and cultural price tag. The multiple readings and interpretations of this product in association with Hawai‘i, Waikiki, and indigenous culture, overflow with controversy and dynamic meaning.

138 Ibid., 7.
WILL BRANDING CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE WAIKIKI, SOCIALLY, CULTURALLY, AND PHYSICALLY?

It is difficult to speculate because the connection of responsibility and direct cause makes the prediction vague. Generally speaking, yes, it will. If we can consider there to have already been a deterioration of Waikiki, then why should this condition change? It will not change, unless the motives and intentions change. Arguably, Waikiki is continually misrepresented and misinterpreted through mass media and the built environment. The agency of this communication is primarily concerned with the branding of commercial images, messages, and places for profits. Magazines portray Waikiki as an industrial playground, thriving on growth, progress, urbanity, and tourism. (figures 4.52a-d)
The differences between a place’s image and its actual experience are immense, however, there are correlations to be made. The experiences of places are largely determined by our senses, intuition, and memory. As people learn of places they image certain information in the mind, which then influences actions, thoughts, and feelings. When people experience places this imaging continues to occur, becoming more defined over time. In this section of the investigation, I will analyze the brand narrative in contrast with its experiential condition. I, your humble narrator, will be the filter through which this experience shall occur. Through critical analysis of Waikiki’s experience, in comparison and contrast with its portrayed brand narrative, the theory of overflow is exemplified.
TOURISM AS REVENUE
The tourism industry is currently the main source of revenue for the people of Waikiki. Waikiki is designed to accommodate tourists from all over the globe—constructed as a place for the masses. With specials and discounts on activities and commodities, the budget-conscious tourist has many options. (figures 4.53)

There is a constant exchange of goods and services in Waikiki. People, in the tens of thousands, come and go throughout the day and night. Items that were once cultural, traditional, and ritualistic artifacts are now mass-produced and sold as souvenirs to the Waikiki tourist. Today, plastic leis sell for an inexpensive cost to tourists as a symbol of Waikiki. In this context, the meaning behind the lei have changed; in some respects, the plastic lei communicate as a trite and empty sign of Hawaiian culture. (figures 4.31a-b, page 121)

WAIKIKI AS SIGN SYSTEM
The experience of Waikiki is understood through signs, which are constructed for consumption. The architecture, urban design, landscape, shops, and beach are engineered as signs of consumption. As one navigates this place, signs are translated, decoded, and interpreted. Natural signs of atmosphere, temperature, climate, flora and fauna, biology, and culture are present, yet, seemingly hidden, manipulated, and artificial. These aspects are relevant to branding through design communication. In Waikiki, these signs are constructed for commercial, civic, and cultural purposes of communication, messaging, and experience.

From the macro scale, Waikiki is competing for tourism, as a packaged brand destination. On the micro scale, Waikiki becomes a brand universe that houses multiple brand worlds.
of experience. The motivation behind this sign oriented brand universe or matrix is exchange, consumption, and competition. Of course, the interior brands within Waikiki also function on the macro scale, in a vast, world wide, matrix of brand competition.

**HOTELS AS DESTINATION**

Hotels are signs, which are imaged as Waikiki. (figures 4.54, 4.55) In some respects, they are the resort destination. Hotels are signs and a dominant communication variable in Waikiki. When one walks the beach or the streets they are constantly confronted with the view or image of hotels. Today, Waikiki is tightly organized with mostly high-rise development. With a global increase in population and demand for tourism, Waikiki is constructed to compete in a global market. The large number of hotels visually signifies this attempt to compete. Their development over the past fifty years has increased substantially. Today, there are over eighty hotels in Waikiki, such as, Aston Waikiki, Halekulani, Hawaii Prince Waikiki, Holiday Inn Waikiki, Outrigger Waikiki, Sheraton Waikiki, and Waikiki Prince, with over “33,000 hotel rooms.”

**PRIMARY STREETS AS SIGNS**

Boutique shops and storefronts dominate the experience of Waikiki on the street. The primary streets of Waikiki, which are Kapahulu Avenue, Kalakaua Avenue, Ala Wai Boulevard, Ala Moana Boulevard, Kuilio Avenue, Lewers Street, and Liliuokalani Avenue, are the main pedestrian circulation arteries. As one navigates this space, storefronts appear as portals of experience to be entered. Storefront signage and window dis-
plays are brand signs and messages of identity, which invite the wanderer, consumer, and tourist inside for a multi sensory brand experience.

KALAKAUA AVENUE AS EXPERIENCE
Kalakaua Avenue is the most prominent artery of energy in Waikiki. Located horizontally along Waikiki Beach, Kalakaua Avenue is most convenient for beach goers. Waikiki's primary beach hotels are also located along Kalakaua Avenue. In some sense, Waikiki is orchestrated around Kalakaua Avenue. Walking along this street is a popular experience in Waikiki. While walking the shopper is constantly processing brand-oriented information, which stimulates their senses and persuades their movement, thoughts, and actions. The predominant communication aspect along this street is commercial messaging and branding. Kalakaua Avenue is a plethora of branding, on a micro scale. The commercial stores attempt to create micro brand worlds of experience within their stores. These commercial characteristics influence the experience of Waikiki and communicate its overall intentions as a capitalistic and competitive brand place endeavor.

WAIKIKI BEACH AS EXPERIENCE
The experience of Waikiki, for most visitors, is primarily organized around the beach. Waikiki Beach is the most popular public nodal condition in Honolulu, attracting tens of thousands of visitors daily. The experience of Waikiki, for a majority of visitors, will entail use of the beach and some leisurely shopping.

Shops and commercial vendors are located close to the beach, for the convenience of the consumer. Hotels are also close to the beach and in most cases on the beach, which makes it convenient for the hotel user to experience the beach from their balcony and room. Royal Hawaiian Shopping center, DFS Galleria, and the International Market Place are a few of the popular shopping destinations in Waikiki. These are located along Kalakaua Avenue, where the shopping is plentiful and convenient for beach goers. The high number of hotels and shops along the beach differentiates Waikiki from other beaches in Hawai'i, while the scale of the city gives the beach a sense of modernity and urbanity.

Waikiki Beach is attractive, like many other beaches, for its sun, sand, ocean, nature, warmth, and relaxation; yet, the experience of this beach is unique in many ways. Waikiki's surf breaks are extraordinary and exclusive to those who make the journey. Waikiki is considered to be a great place to learn how to surf. Offering waves that are warm, gentle, and forgiving most of the year. This is appealing to the inexperienced surfer and tourist, however, in the water there seems to be tension between the local and the haole, new comers, and tourist. On occasion, especially at the more advanced waves, words are exchanged and sometimes-physical blows are thrown. This is a common theme in surf culture around the globe, the tourist, barney, or haole versus the local surfers, who guard and sometimes gangsterize their territory (waves).

Perhaps the most uniquely identifying characteristic experienced while on Waikiki is the culture. A diverse mix of culture is found on Waikiki Beach, seemingly enjoying themselves, relaxing in the sun, and participating in organized popular shows and events. The Hawaiian culture is a prominent focal point of communication, here in Waikiki. Organized hula shows and rituals, which are choreographed as
spectacles for visitors, communicate Hawaiian culture. While hula is a cultural ritual, authentic to the Hawaiian's, these organized daily events have become a sought-after spectacle for tourists; they have been commodified, to some extent. These cultural, yet popular, aspects are embedded within the unique identity, image, narrative, and experience of Waikiki.

**WAIKIKI AS NODE OF EXCHANGE**
Waikiki communicates as a brand node within a global network and structure of brand destinations. While Waikiki communicates as a nodal condition within this larger system, it is functions as sign of exchange. People travel from all parts of the globe to partake in the various exchanges that occur in Waikiki.

**ANALYSIS: CONSUMER + WORKER:**
**WAIKIKI AS NODE OF TRANSIENT EXCHANGE**
Waikiki proves to be a popular node of exchanges. The natures of these exchanges are diverse and mixed, such as, monetary, verbal, visual, sexual, and transient. The transient exchange in Waikiki often requires face-to-face communication between the consumer and the worker. (figures 4.56a-c, 4.48, page 144) Here people come together for reasons of consumption, and often-trivial communication regarding commodities. During the exchange of services, goods, and capital, there is a moment when the worker and the consumer are engaged in a dialogue. People come together from multiple regions of the world, from different cultures, to experience this unique place. Nevertheless, during this encounter between the worker and consumer, the worker becomes a complacent actor, who is trained to interact with dialogue and content. The exchange of information between the worker and consumer is manipulated through systems of brand-based control. For instance, the worker typically has a manual,
uniform, and code of conduct that determines their attitudes, emotions, and actions. This is considered a limitation in terms of genuine communication between peoples and cultures. The information is filtered and censored through commercial brand frameworks. Thus, the perception of the worker overflows the brand package of Waikiki.

**HOTEL WORKER AS SIGN**

The majority of workers in Waikiki are in the ‘service’ industry. In figure 4.57, workers of the Moana Surfrider Hotel, dressed in matching uniforms, cater to the tourist, carrying luggage, parking cars, answering phones, and other service-oriented duties. The service industry, which is related to the tourism industry in Waikiki, is the predominant economic industry for this region. The concept of Waikiki as being service oriented is branded through mass media and the experience of hotels such as this. Thus, the hotel worker becomes a sign of tourism in Waikiki and helps to perpetuate its existence; both through images and the hotel experience. While the hotel workers are a sign of Waikiki, they are unique individuals, who’s differentiating perceptions and experiences overflow the portrayed brand image of Waikiki.
There are homeless people in Waikiki, and their numbers are growing. (figures 4.58a-d) Their presence creates a contrast that affects the experience of this place. While homelessness is a growing problem throughout the world, Waikiki is of particular interest because of the places contrasting brand image characteristics of communication. Waikiki is imaged as an ideal Westernized utopia, and a paradise in which homeless people are absent. The homeless in Waikiki are often disabled and elderly, making their encounter by the tourist all the more shocking and unsettling. The reality behind the glossy and illusionary brand image of Waikiki is revealed at moments during ones journey on the beach. Thus, the homeless of Waikiki overflow the brand package, as dynamic cultural constituents, which are marginalized.

In 2006, the Waikiki Business Improvement District Association published a report in conjunction with the University of Hawaii at Manoa’s department of urban and regional planning, which contains detailed analysis and written evaluation on the *Homeless In Waikiki*. This document analyzes the situation, while serving as evidence that there is indeed a significant community of homeless in Waikiki.
When asked if anything unexpected about Waikiki was found, the most common survey response was regarding the rising number of homeless people on Waikiki beach. A forty-seven year old professor, visiting from Tokyo, who attended the University of Hawaii for his PhD writes, “More homeless people on the main drag, there used to be less.” A sixty-four year old woman from British Columbia, Canada writes, “The homeless and all the commercialism.” Here an elderly disabled homeless man uses a bench as a home in Waikiki. (figure 4.58e-g)
WAIKIKI AS ADULT PLAYGROUND

How is prostitution relevant to Waikiki and branding, as many cities have this dilemma? Historically, the women of the islands have been exploited since as far back as the time Captain James Cook arrived in the islands, in 1778. His crew brought venereal disease to the native women, who were made available by the native men. Silva quotes Kamakau, “some of the seeds that Captain Cook planted included venereal disease, prostitution, epidemics, and the weakening of the bodies of the native people.” Today, an illegal sex trade of prostitution is functioning in Waikiki. The situation seems inherently tied to the influx of transient military personnel and tourists, which flow through this particular area. The prostitution is focused in Waikiki for a reason; transient exchanges.

140 Andrea Feeser, Waikiki, A History Of Forgetting And Remembering (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. 2006) 139.
141 Ibid., 139.
Those that come to Waikiki are visiting for a short time and have come as pleasure seekers. They stay up late, they drink, and they party. Waikiki provides a playground for the military and tourist alike. Waikiki is advertised as a sexual place, of sensual pleasures. The image of Hawai‘i and Waikiki portrays women of this place, as naive and overtly available. Similar to Las Vegas, Waikiki is touted as a destination, which entails transient exchanges of intercourse. Moreover, the brand imaging of this place has, to some extent, both deliberately and inadvertently, manifested this pattern of prostitution in Waikiki. In figure 4.59, a prostitute stands on Kalakaua Avenue, awaiting her next trick.

Prostitution is marginalized information, which is edited from the popular brand image of Waikiki. The majority of brand information frames Waikiki as a place of family orientation. Sensual and seductive messages and signs of sex and desire are often subliminal or passive in nature, lying hidden under layers of meaning. The images of Waikiki portray native women as overtly available and complacent, thus, a connection is presupposed. Moreover, prostitution is a hidden feature of Waikiki’s narrative. As one experiences Kalakaua Avenue at night, this aspect becomes apparent, thus, this characteristic spills out and over the brand packaging of Waikiki.
_SPACE AS PRODUCT_

Space feels commodified in Waikiki, from the shops and hotels, to the beach. Over the last fifty years the beach has been partitioned and divided. Waikiki beach has several parts that make up its total body. The beaches and parks: Diamond Head, Sans Souci, Queens, Kuhio, Grey, Fort Derussy, and Duke Kahanamoku are all located east from the Ala Wai Yacht Harbor and make up the body of Waikiki beach. These divisions are imaged on maps, which become useful for navigation, once in Waikiki. Although, they are not a part of the external brand narrative of this place, they are learned divisions of space for visitors, internally. These divisions become relevant to branding through their image in maps and the experience of Waikiki beach.

_WALL AS SIGN_

Waikiki beach is sectioned and partitioned with concrete walls, piers, and landscaping. These elements communicate to the people on the beach. So then, what is being communicated? By the looks of things, these elements do not appear to be saying much in terms of positive brand reinforcement. Concrete walls form a large pool for controlled swimming. (figures 4.60a-d) The pier, walls, and beach feel visually contained and contrived. The design and execution of these elements are a bit insensitive, crude, and without subtlety or nuance. Walking along Waikiki beach, one’s path is constantly blocked with concrete walls, while providing little opportunity to cross conveniently or with any sense of pleasure. The walls force the beach user to navigate with unease and tension, communicating as signs of control.

Why partition Waikiki beach with concrete walls? This is done, to control the land, circulation, and use. In some areas on the beach, the space
is being commodified for its use of parasol space. The shade of the parasol and comfort of a chair becomes a valuable commodity on the beach. Those who have a parasol and chair have the ability to sit in or out of the sun in comfort. The parasol or umbrella is perhaps one of the simplest forms of transformable and adaptable architecture, protecting people from the elements with a modern minimalist formal expression. Today, there are booths on the beach that rent parasols and chairs. They leave the parasol and chairs set up on the beach and claim space for their business, which creates a visual hierarchy between the rental parasol space and free parasol space. (figure 4.60a) While some people bring their own parasol and chairs, the parasol stands take a considerable amount of beach space and claim it for commodification. Public space and private space are sometimes ambiguous; yet, there are walls and divisions everywhere on Waikiki Beach.

THE WAIKIKI COMMODITY

Commercial characteristics seem to bubble to the surface in Waikiki. The unexpected experience of Waikiki reveals an urban place of commercial construction with busy streets, automobiles in traffic, and bustling shopping malls. Waikiki appears to be designed, organized, and constructed as a commodity for the benefit of consumers.

While Waikiki is portrayed as a commodity, it is also filled with commodities as products. Moreover, the products that are sold in Waikiki, in many cases, are sold as ephemeral, yet designed as toxic waste. The ocean floats shown in figure 4.61, are constructed for a short use period. The nozzles on these air filled floats are designed as non-inflatable; however, they are full of toxic materials, which are non-biodegradable. These floats are connected to much larger
environmental issues and problems. While the act of shopping has become popular in Waikiki, the transportation and manufacturing of these goods is inherently tied to the eroding effects of globalization. Tourists in Waikiki for a limited time and often throw away excess amounts of product waste, which is found floating in the water and on the beach. In particular, small plastic particles are mixed within the sand on Waikiki beach. This waste, because it is not biodegradable or controlled within a closed system, eventually causes serious ecological and biological problems. Analyzing microscaled waste reveals the connection a place has with the larger whole of existence. This waste overflows Waikiki's brand image and packaging. After all, waste is not apart of the brand image of Waikiki. There are no ads exclaiming to come enjoy an artificial beach with product remnants and small plastic bits in the sand.

**SPAM AS SIGN**

Americanization is apparent in Waikiki, from its architecture to the food. On the topic of food, the American food product “Spam” is a popular food product in Waikiki. Spam is sold in restaurants and convenience markets, such as, ABC stores and McDonald’s. (figures 4.62a-b) This mass-produced and processed pork meat product has become a brand name that is associated with this place. Interestingly, Spam seems to be a part of the internal brand narrative, more so than, the external brand narrative. Spam is not necessarily understood as a popular Hawaiian food in the mainland US, however, once in Waikiki, Spam becomes an apparent and imaged food product. Spam is often prepared as musubi, which is Spam and rice wrapped with nori seaweed paper. With the Spam musubi, a hybridity between Asian foods and mass-produced American food are evident.
If a more Westernized style of preparation of the Spam is desired, McDonald’s, located on both Kalakaua Ave. and Kuhio Ave., serves up Spam on a muffin, biscuit, or a sweet bun pancake, from 3:30am until 10:30am, seven days a week.

SHOPS AS DESTINATION
Commercial, retail, boutique, and food shops are destinations for the consumer in Waikiki. Their entrance becomes the threshold into a brand portal of experience. Each shop has a relatively unique twist on interior design and architecture. This is in an effort to differentiate themselves from their competitors, while customizing the experience for users. The perception of these shops is directly linked to the perception of the brand. All individual parts of the boutique shops brand identity are designed to communicate as a congruous whole. From the perspective of the consumer, the storefront entrance becomes the face of the brand, in an abstract sense, and communicates with defining expression. (figures 4.63a-d)
BOUTIQUE SHOPS AS BRAND MATRIX OF EXPERIENCE

Multiple shops of Waikiki construct brand realities for communication, user experience, and consumption. (figures 4.64a-h) In a metaphoric sense, this is a world to be entered and experienced by the consumer. Inside the full enclosure of the shop, exists a world of brand focus and control. The experience of the consumer, while inside the shops, is affected through their five senses. For the purposes of this discussion, these are the channels through which we interpret places. Branding focuses these channels to persuade the consumer. The retail shops in Waikiki use various techniques to persuade our attention and consumption. The shops utilize these communication channels to brand the consumer through experience. Even our sense of taste is applicable to this claim. For instance, many of the food-oriented brand shops, such as, Cold Stone Creamery, Godiva Chocolatier, Jamba Juice, The Cookie Corner, and Yogurtland often give away free samples of their food products inside or in front of their shops.

LIGHT AND SPACE AS SIGN

Lighting and space are utilized for the purposes of communication and branding in Waikiki. When one enters a discount shop, the lighting is often bright, fluorescent, unfocused, and excessive. The high-end shops, on the other hand, utilize light to accentuate the commodity while revealing design sensibility. (compare figures 4.64a-h) Lighting communicates as sign, affecting the mood of the space and thus, the perception of the navigating consumer and browser.
Experience within multiple and different shops are orchestrated, choreographed, and designed to communicate through their use of space. Space is articulated in the high-end shop, often with more space for fewer commodities. While, the mid-range to discount shop more often divides, partitions, fills, and maximizes usable space. One's sense of space is somewhat affected by the shop they enter: high-end versus mid-range to discount. Here, space communicates as a sign of brand identity, organized for the movement and cognition of the consumer.

**SOUND AND RHYTHM AS SIGN**

Sounds and rhythms in the shops are a strong channel for branding. Music has the ability to stimulate and motivate people’s actions and emotions. The style of music, quality, clarity, and volume are characteristic factors of communication within these brand worlds. In Waikiki the exterior sounds vary, depending on one’s location. Sounds of Waikiki are multiple and mixed, for instance, the ocean breeze, waves breaking, palm trees, automobiles, bicycles, skateboards, radios and music, the smack of the volleyball, grunts of the players, sodas opening, food packaging crackling, chairs folding, parasols opening, and people talking.

The sounds, which emanate from the shops, are often popular music. For example, Footlocker on Kalakaua Avenue plays loud popular music. Visiting the store one hot afternoon, the music was loud, explosive, and provocative. Lyrics exclaimed, “feel like letting go,” “don’t stop, keep it moving, put your drinks up,” “dance the night away.” As the employees talk, in their striped uniforms, they begin to dance a little. The music creates a party-like atmosphere within this Footlocker shop and brand world. The music is a bit abrasive and loud, however, this perhaps
works to lower inhibitions, while attracting athletic and energetic consumers, seemingly fitting for the Footlocker brand.

**TEMPERATURE AS SIGN**

Cool temperatures are maintained inside the shops to entice the hot and weary consumer in Waikiki. Walking along the hot and often humid street, one is persuaded by cooler temperatures inside the shops. Often the air from the shops pours out the front doors, mixing into the atmosphere of the pedestrian's path. Upon entering a shop the first realization sensed is often a change in temperature. Thus, temperature functions as a sign of brand communication. The overall experience of Waikiki shopping becomes one of air-conditioned spaces mixed with warm and humid tropical breezes.

**SCENT AS SIGN**

Our sense of smell is a channel for the branding of places. In Waikiki, high-end fashion and leather goods shops, such as, Hermes, Christian Dior, Louis Vuitton, Gucci, and Chanel, often sell colognes and perfumes. These scents are custom designed and powerful branding instruments. Upon entering the space of these shops the scent of a custom designed perfume seduces one's attention, pulling perception deeper into the world of the brand. With time and repetition, the custom scent as cologne and perfume seduces the consumer, while promoting the brand, reinforcing its image.
In Waikiki, the Hawaiian hut, home, and dwelling, known as *hale* in Hawaiian language, is utilized as an architectural sign for mass culture. The architectural design of covered entryways for the shops of Waikiki speak of this appropriation and adaptation. In figure 4.65a, the entrance to Jimmy Buffett’s restaurant and bar, attaches an inauthentic facade of the Hawaiian hale as a communication device. The brand identity for the restaurant is of a tropical nature, with a blue parrot, palms, beach, ocean, and sunset in the signage. Moreover, this covered entrance functions as a sign, which conflates the architectural language of the historical Hawaiian culture with brand identity and its communication. Waikiki has an authentic cultural history of hut building and making. The correlation between Waikiki’s history and the brand communication of this covered entrance are ambiguous. The authenticity of this entrance becomes an issue of design communication.

The Hawaiian Hut, as a theme, is popular in Waikiki and gets appropriated, adapted, applied, and translated in various ways with the existing modern architecture. Some are more abstract representations than others. (figure 4.65b)
The brand portrayal of Waikiki versus its experience is multiple and contrasting, while often equivalent and expected. The branding of Waikiki is a continuous paradox of contradicting perceptions. For example, people have alternative views on land development in Waikiki. Before its urbanization, privatization, and modernization, Waikiki was that of an agricultural and community based ahuapua’a land use system, as previously discussed. Today, Waikiki is a brand place resort destination, which utilizes a modern land use system of controlled water. While some people enjoy what Waikiki has become, there are those who would rather see Waikiki as it was before it became a popular urban and commercial, resort destination. Thus, Waikiki affords multiple perceptions, which overflow the brand packaging of this place.
CHAPTER 04: EPILOGUE
This investigation analyzes Waikiki for observable evidence of its banding and dynamic overflow. Through close analysis of the narrative and experience of this place as a site, destination, and body the condition and paradox of its branding is clarified and evaluated. Waikiki as a destination, like many other brand places, struggles to compete for market share and tourism. Although Waikiki is an inherently unique place by nature, with distinct characteristics of topography, ocean, and climate, branding is utilized as a mode of framing and packaging to commodify and communicate such. This ultimately leads to paradoxical situations. Unlike a product, places are pre-existing and connected to people, nature, space, and time. Therefore the isolation of Waikiki’s communication as a brand place overflows and leaks. For instance, there are cultures of people who are marginalized outside the frame of branding, such as, the Hawaiian natives, homeless, poor, and prostitutes of Waikiki. These people’s perspectives are filtered from the communication of Waikiki. Having said this, it is perfectly reasonable for the communication, which attempts to elicit tourism to exclude these communities through brand communication. However, these peoples do reveal the overflow of perceptions and isolating ideological framework through which branding operates. Thus, these communities are relevant to this investigation.

Further, the analysis of Waikiki provides evidence of its construction as a universe of brand experiences. Analysis reveals Waikiki as a place of shopping culture and plentiful commercial brand experiences. Waikiki functions as a brand universe, which houses multiple brand portals (shops) of experience for the shopper, consumer, and tourist. The facades and entrances of shops communicate brand information as signs, which assimilate and appropriate cultural meaning. Analysis of these individual portals reveals patterns and similarities of design communication. The instrumentation and experience of Waikiki is manufactured and channeled for the tastes, desires, and perception of the consumer. While this destination is orchestrated primarily for the consumer and tourist, through mass media and the built environment, contradicting perceptions overflow Waikiki as a brand place construct.
CHAPTER 05:
CONCLUSION: PLACES OVERFLOW BRANDING
This investigation analyzes the phenomena surrounding the mode of branding places, while charting the evident and paradoxical overflow of meaning and perception that exists as spillage. Analysis of overflow characteristics help to define this mode of place making and imaging as an act of commodification; thus, linking it to globalization. These characteristics also define this phenomenon in correlation with critical aspects involving the communication and representation of culture.

Places are multiple in their perceptions, mythology, meaning, and culture. This multiplicity of places ensures a dynamic composition of differentiated and mixed communication. This multiplicity of perception is visible through mass media and the built environment. For instance, advertising often utilizes messages that are “multiple” in meaning. As Roland Barthes writes, “In a word, the more duplicity an advertising sentence contains, or, to avoid a contradiction in terms, the more multiple it is, the better it fulfills its function as a connoted message; let an ice cream make us “melt with pleasure” and we have united, in an economical utterance, the literal representation of a substance which melts.” With the branding of products the message is framed, packaged, and disseminated with relative ease. However, when it comes to the branding of places, this multiplicity is far more complex. Places are pre-existing and connected to the human through dynamic associations, which include, nature, space, and time. Thus, places are theoretically incapable of holistic branding or framing; yet, places are currently branded. This paradox reveals the nature of branding places. Although we brand places as we brand products, the dynamic nature of places will continually overflow their prescribed brand packages.

PACKAGING
Places, such as, Waikiki are branded through mass media and the built environment to communicate with visual rhetoric, which elicits the consumer and tourist. In some sense, Waikiki’s brand packaging is composed of a combination of its brand instrumentation. Analyzing these instruments as brand communication reveals an image of an inauthentic and fictional nature. This is perhaps true for all brand places, which portray an image for the purposes of persuasion. Indeed, this is a normal mode of communication for tourism, where the place desires consumption.

The brand package of Waikiki has been designed, imaged, and constructed since the 20th century, to foster attention and elicit tourism. Waikiki as a brand place construct communicates in a world market with economic agendas. As this evolves and grows in proportion and scale, extraneous factors overflow and spill out. While Waikiki is pack-

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aged for the consumption of consumers, alternative perspectives are marginalized. In an effort to clarify and simplify communication, a fragmentation has occurred. As the package is designated, orchestrated, and formalized by some agency, its parameters are defined. This boundary is constructed as impermeable; yet, dynamic overflow persistently spills out, revealing the opposition of control, which derives from the often restrictive and constrictive nature of branding places.

**Mutual Love versus Competition**

As Waikiki is branded for a consumer audience to elicit tourism, it is constantly misrepresented. This seems to stem, in part, from the overflow of multiplicity, which is inherent to brand place communication. Examples and illustrations throughout this investigation reveal spillover as the misrepresentation of culture. Hence, overflow is an inherent condition of brand place communication, which is fixated on the message as isolated and formulated for a particular audience, consumer, and tourist. In response, perhaps through a means of communication that is based on mutual love and community versus the current competitive commercial agenda, places might then focus on genuine improvements to the ways in which people live in these places.

**Consuming**

Brand places are constructed as commodities, in image and form. The image circulates as mass media, while form is constructed as products and architecture. This communication is multiple and frames ideological perspectives for consumers. Places become signs in the image, connoting concepts, such as, travel, leisure, relaxation, and sex. Moreover, while places are being consumed as products they are multiple and overflow with characteristics of culture, environment, and politics.

**Local Community as Center**

The motives for the branding of places seems predominantly driven by agendas of competition, which utilize mass media and the built environment to communicate messages of rhetoric and persuasion. This inevitably calls for the isolating, framing, and packaging of information as commodity. Waikiki is an example of this phenomenon. The characteristic trait of this approach, in regards to place making, is its fixation on market-driven commercial competition as center and pivotal. Yet, when discussing places, community is an inherently critical and important variable. The discussion of place is connected to multiple perceptions and multiple constituencies. Thus, places are inherently about community. In response, perhaps local community as a primary and pivotal focus for place making is appropriate before and beyond control agendas, which compete for capitol in world markets.

**Experiencing**

As one traverses the landscape of Waikiki from one point to another, brand communication surrounds them and infiltrates their minds, thus, affecting their experiences. The consumer brings with them memories, learned information, bias, prejudice, intuition, and constantly evolving perceptions. Each individual's unique perception affords the design of this communication multiple readings or ways in which to interpret and internalize meaning. The design, construction, and presentation of Waikiki cater to the perception of the tourist. Waikiki is approached as a brand construct, as a place-product, however, unlike a product, places are shared experiential conditions. Thus, aspects of experience exceed the anticipated image; they overflow the package.
Place Identity as Nature versus Fantasy
The experience of Waikiki proves to be that of a commercial experience, of a branded nature. The brand identity of this place comes through multiple instruments. All of which portray Waikiki in a popularized, glamorized, and fantastical way. Waikiki is branded to attract, identify, and persuade specific consumer audiences of the mass market. In response, perhaps an approach, which focuses on place identity as nature, would elicit design, which is more universal, less contrived, and uniquely authentic. Focusing on nature as the driving force behind the thinking, designing, and making of places helps to ensure environmental consciousness and the protection of natural resources. Branding places often disregards nature in favor of fantasy, which often leads to environmental degradation and an overly exploitative use of natural resources. Places have preexisting identities, which derive from their nature. Perhaps place identity is better discovered, defined, and expressed through its nature, sans human intervention.

Place Parameters Overflow
The branding of places is primarily orchestrated around commodification. The constraints and conditions of modern land use, politics, and commerce are manifested and formalized in our built environment. The communication of places is connected to dynamic flows of people and their perceptions, politics, and agendas. These constraints and conditions are frayed in the periphery. As place dynamism grows, it causes the conceptual container or brand package to bulge. Further, branding places is a messy operation; hence, the complexities of places continually overflow and spill out. While branding appears to offer modes and methodology for place conception as mental, experiential, and physical construct, paradoxical overflow is proven evident. Therefore, the constructed parameters of places overflow with multiplicity, soaking the context with contradiction and inconsistency.


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