

MAS 5100: Master thesis

Oslo School of Management

*“The making
of a valuable place
brand:
A continuous collective
effort”*



Spring/Summer 2014

The thesis is written as a part of the Masters program at Oslo School of Management. Oslo School of Management is not responsible for the research methods used, results, conclusions or recommendations in the thesis.

Preface

What intrigued me and was my main motivation for writing about places was how some places seemed able to retain and attract people to their rural area, while others failed at it. The writing of this dissertation has been like a rollercoaster ride and I made it to the finish line with the help of many people.

First of all, I am very humble and grateful towards the people of Røros who let me see the world through their eyes. It has been inspiring, thought provoking and a pleasure to experience the town, events and people. Without you, this dissertation would never have made it through.

Friends and classmates have been invaluable in the process; all the way up from idea to the completion of this dissertation. It has been a rocky, scary and humours journey and I am grateful for the time you have dedicated to read, comment and discuss drafts in all the different stages. I am especially grateful towards Mim Gaukestad, Marita Natvik, Helene Fredheim and Brit Eli Dystebakken.

Further, I would like to thank my advisor, Nicholas Ind, for inputs along the way. A special thank you goes to Arvid Flagestad, who gave me constructive feedback and encouragement regardless of his whereabouts in the world. I truly appreciate your time and feedbacks.

And last but not the least; I would like to thank my family. The three of them have helped me through it all. I especially appreciate that both my parents read the final draft. I would never have been able to finish if it was not for Martin. Your support and dedication will never be forgotten. I deeply appreciate all the things you have done for me.

Thank you to all of you for your time and efforts!

I hope you enjoy the fruits of our labour.

August 2014, Oslo

Abstract

The interest in keeping rural settlements has remained constant with the Norwegian authorities since the start of the industrialization. Despite the fact that cities have grown and continue to grow while the rural areas are depopulated. However, some rural areas have not experienced depopulation and blossomed instead. These notions are the background for this thesis. The thesis aims at establishing a “continuous collective effort” as a concept and a success factor for rural areas which have enjoyed a stabile population. Moreover, the thesis explores how the “continuous collective effort” started and what sustains it over time.

The thesis uses brand and place branding theory to explore the proposed concept of “continuous collective effort”. Having an attractive place brand is suggested as a reason for success. The thesis uses a case study approach with a focus on interviews, observations and archival records. The case studied is the municipality of Røros that had its cornerstone factory closed down in 1977 and several more close downs during the 1980s and 1990s.

Overall, the data from Røros support the concept proposed as the data suggests that Røros works collectively towards a socially agreed brand. Further, the data suggest that the collective effort is rooted in a shared history and identity. Furthermore, the data suggests that the collective effort has been sustained through the collective awareness of the place brand and the emphasis on shared history and identity. The data also suggests that the municipality authorities’ recent involvement of the inhabitants in a long term plan connects people together and strengthens their attachment to the place. The identity and history is reinforced by outsiders’ view of the place and internal and external institutions function as conservational forces. The study’s limitations as well as future research is discussed.

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1. Introduction

Since the industrialization of Norway, keeping and developing sustainable rural areas has been, and still is, a major topic in Norway. The discussions are centred on what is most effective in terms of structure, responsibilities, stakeholders, strategies and finance. While the discussion continues, rural areas struggle due to increased competition in the world market for investments, products, services and labour. Some areas and towns seem to flourish despite the challenges met. This thesis aims at uncover which factors are crucial for a local community to survive despite the close-down of, amongst others, the community founding company. A collective effort from the municipal authorities, managers, business owners and local residents seems to be important as all parties contribute towards the image a place gains. Previous research show that companies that have a positive brand attracts more costumers and potential employees, than companies with a poorer brand (Aaker 1991). Thus, it is thought that a positive place brand attracts and retains more people, businesses and investments (Anholt 2010), than those with a poorer place brand. However, places are more complex than companies (Anholt 2010) and people locate themselves in different places for a wider range of reasons than for working in a company. This makes places harder to manage towards a goal. Following this, my research investigated what prompts the rise of a collective effort and how is it sustained so that a positive place brand can be achieved?

I have chosen to do an exploratory case study of Røros. The choice was influenced by my background in social anthropology, psychology and management. My background influences all choices made related to methodology. The main reasons for choosing Røros is their ability to change from a copper mining society to a thriving “culture heavy” local community, which attracts thousands of visitors every year, and that they have won awards for their sustainable development. Despite the close- down of the mines in 1977, the town is still an industrial area with four cornerstone factories. The inspiration to use Røros as a case comes from several visits and prior knowledge of the area due to its status as an UNESCO World Heritage Site. Upon research, I found that Røros have had a remarkable low unemployment rate, both compared to other rural areas and to the rest of the country, before during and after the close-down of the mines. In addition, despite several close downs since the copper mining company closed down, the number of inhabitants has been, and still is, stabile. I had no personal connections to Røros and I see the distance to the field of study as a strength as it allows me to have a mental distance both to the field and its informants. However, I have relatives who

live in a similar town and who is facing similar challenges today as Røros have a long history of dealing with, starting with the close-down of the mines.

In this introductory chapter the context of the thesis is described in subchapter 1.1 by giving a broad picture of the macro environment for smaller places situated in Norway. Subchapter 1.2 outlines the theoretical background and framework which the dissertation rests upon. Subchapter 1.3 contains the research question and main concepts of the dissertation and subchapter 1.4 gives outlines the contributions of the conducted study to the field. Subchapter 1.5 contains the limitations of the study and subchapter 1.6 outlines how this dissertation is structured. Subchapter 1.7 includes closing remarks.

1.1 Dissertation in context

The Norwegian context was the inspiration to my dissertation and it is accounted for in this subchapter.

Around the 1800s 80% of the Norwegian population worked on a farm in rural areas while only 4% do the same in the 2000s (Engesæter 2014, Store Norske Leksikon). That means that the need for creating workplaces in rural areas, other than farming, is a vital concern if the local rural communities are to survive. The Norwegian authorities have been interested in keeping rural settlements around the country for a long time (Navarsete 2011). This has meant an emphasis on delivering public services to people where they live such as hospitals, mail and transportation (Navarsete 2011). It also means that the government has encouraged businesses and companies to locate themselves in rural areas through less taxes, support for transport and less expenses connected to being an employer (Navarsete 2011). In addition, the Norwegian authorities have from the 1800`s and until now consciously built government owned factories and service centres in rural regions, such as Norsk Jernverk in Mo i Rana, Kongsberg weapon factory (today called Kongsberg Defence Systems), the factories of Hydro at Sunndalsøra and Karmøy (Lie 2012), the local offices of NAV and the official auditor general of Norway (Navarsete 2011). In recent years, there have been many debates concerning the decline in the services offered to rural settlements and the decline is explained with it being too expensive to keep all the local offices open. This for instance means that local hospitals are shut down and the ones located closer to larger towns and cities have to serve a larger area (e.g. “Sykehusreformen” from 2001/2002). The police force has been organized in to larger districts by being reduced from 54 to 27 districts (St.mld 42 2004/2005). Sweden, which in many ways is similar to Norway, gave up on keeping rural

settlements when the industrialization came and they took the path of centralization. As a consequence, only 10% of the population now lives north of Stockholm (Navarsete 2011). As government jobs are getting fewer, the pressure on private companies to sustain the local communities rises.

Traditionally, the employment in rural Norway have been labour intensive with mines, ship yards and factories refining and fabricating products of wood and metals (Engesæter 2014). The rural areas are now facing challenges with factories closing due to profit issues, as Norwegian labour has become expensive, or government companies are sold to private companies which in turn change production, way of working and/or downsize the workforce in order to increase the profit. New types of production, or different production, require a skilful, and perhaps different labour force than before and the companies in rural areas are struggling with finding qualified personnel. Their struggles are not unique as reports from different parts of Norway document the same struggles (Janssen 2010 Virkepluss, Jansson 2014, Sandvik 2014). Being situated far from a city leaves the company at a disadvantage when recruiting. However, if there are more employment opportunities in one place, the likelihood for people moving away goes down (Sørлие, Aure and Langset 2012).

Due to the globalization, people are actively choosing their place of residence in a higher degree than before. People choose places where they believe they can develop their knowledge, skills, expand their interests and be proud of themselves (Anholt 2004). This includes having more employment opportunities and a wider range of activities in their spare time (Sørлие, Aure and Langset 2012). In 2012, 13.3% of the population moved within the Norwegian borders and this is the highest number since 1975 (SSB). The age group which moves most frequently is between 20 and 29 years of age and this is explained with studies, work and the establishment of family (SSB). Results of the NHOs sustainable municipality report from 2011 show that there is a strong correlation between the weakest municipalities on the work market indicator and the number of people leaving the municipality. The trend of centralization of people started during the early industrialization and has continued to this day, as more and more people move from rural areas to larger towns and cities (Engesæter 2014).

For the rural areas the challenges can be summarized as follows;

- 1) attracting and retaining people to live and work in the region,
- 2) attract and build sustainable businesses, and

- 3) attract investments to the area which can contribute to building a positive reputation.

The consequence of not addressing these issues can be the loss of the local community, as seen already in some places.

1.2 Literature review

In many ways a community has the same challenges as a company; it has to attract and retain a work force, investors and shareholders. At the same time they have to comply with rules and regulations with regards to health, safety and environment, though different terms might be used. As highlighted above, they are both in the competitive marketplace for the world's commercial, political, social and cultural transactions (Anholt 2010a).

The marketplace is defined by the interaction between strangers (Polanyi 1968). The interaction is characterized by little trust and the assumption that the other person is only thinking of him-/herself and wants to maximize his/her own profits (Polanyi 1968, Malinowski 1922). The uncertainty and ambiguity in the market place causes anxiety and stress and people seek to reduce the uncertainties (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). To reduce the uncertainties people engage in trusting reciprocating relationships (Mauss 1995) Trust is a primary driver in relationships both personal (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, Passer and Smith 2003) and between long term business partners (Morgan and Hunt 1994, Mysen and Høgvold 2010). Thus, the primary aim for the offering side has to be increasing the trust the demanding part feels towards the party offering.

The only thing people cannot handle is chaos and we seek to categorize the information received (Douglas 1966). In a world with an overwhelming amount of messages cues function as shorthand for decisions (Braun 2004, Tversky and Kahneman 1974, Hoyer and McInnes 2010). The cues represent underlying ideas (Bastos and Levy 2012) and the power of these ideas is culturally defined (Douglas 1966). Because of the insecurities in the marketplace, people seek out exchange partners whom they believe they can trust (Malinowski 1922) and try to include them in a relationship based on reciprocity (Mauss 1995, Malinowski 1922). Cues related to trustworthiness become essential (Tversky and Kahneman 1974, Hoyer and McInnes 2010) and people seek out information about possible partners from whom they already trust; friends and family (Granovetter 1985, Brown and Reingen 1987).

As people seek out information which makes partners trustworthy the literature on marketing has become vast (Kotler 2011, Fennis and Strobe 2010). Marketing's primary aim is to

explain the superiority in performance and quality over competitors (Fennis and Strobe 2010). The literature tries to define the most successful strategies to market, conduct market analysis and positioning products, services and destinations (Kotler 2011, Percy and Rosenbaum-Elliott 2012). Upon marketing and using cues, expectations rise in the potential customers (Shiv et al.2005). However, the reputation held is defined by the customers and potential customers experience with the place (Kotler and Gertner 2010). The reputation arises from media coverage or non-coverage, family and friends experiences or impressions which might or might not be representational for the place as a whole (Anholt 2010b, Kotler and Gertner 2010). Within that line of thoughts, the marketer is not solely in charge of the reputation gained, though by marketing more than can be delivered impacts the reputation held negatively as the promised value to the costumer is not delivered upon (Bjerke and Ind 2007, Kotler and Gertner 2004).

The ability to deliver on the promised value is a key point for obtaining trust (Bjerke and Ind 2007). The most valuable companies today are the ones are that are living up to the promise they deliver (Ind 2007). This ability to deliver is not a part of marketing theory as it deals with spreading of knowledge in a monologue fashion. That is why the branding theory arose (Bastos and levy 2012); it incorporates the reputational literature since it put the reputation as is co-created idea between two parties, which is a dialogue (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). Within brand theory it is the perceived effort of a group is the reputation they have and the more trust the potential customers have towards the group's ability to deliver; the more influence the brand gains (Aaker 1991, Braun 2004, Kotler and Gertner 2010). Brand differs products in that "A product is something that is made in a factory; a brand is something that is bought, by a costumer. A product can be copied by a competitor; a brand is unique" (Stephan King in Ind 2007, 20)

The term brand has been used in many different ways and in many disciplines (Bastos and Levy 2012). A key difference between a corporate brand and a product brand is that a corporate brand tries to project a certain idea of way of working and values which are important to the people inside the company on to the other parties, or stakeholders as they are often referred to (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). The corporate brand is an overarching line of thought, like Patagoinas environmentalism (Ind 2007). Anholt (2010) identifies a key difference between the product and the corporate brand, in that a can of beans will never talk back to the producers about all the labels they put on the can of beans. So in essences the producers can say whatever they want about the can of beans. While a company is filled with

employees – people who will resist, love or talk back if they feel the labels are wrong and they can ruin what the leaders want to project through marketing (Anholt 2010).

The latest addition in the brand family is places. However, places have always had images attached to them and it has and still is affecting their prosperity and development, according to Anholt (2010) and Kotler and Gertner (2002). However, place brands are different from both corporate and product brands “because countries and cities aren’t for sale” (Anholt 2010, 5). Additionally, they already have a brand unlike companies which can use marketing techniques to build the brand image they want and their products deserve (Anholt 2010, Kotler and Gertner 2004). None the less people are people and leaders in of nations, cities and companies have the same challenges:

aligning and motivating people in the ongoing quest for higher performance; dealing with fierce rivals; balky allies and partners; year after year of constant conflict; shrinking of distances through new modes of transportation; breakdown of traditional social patterns and norms amid major commercial and trade revolutions; massive demographic changes; fundamental challenges to traditional forms of authority; hanging conceptions of the individual’s place in the universe (Manville and Ober 2003).

Furthermore, Flagestad (2001) argues that a destination and a firm are similar, though the strategic management and goals may differ, and that strategic management in general can be applicable to destinations as business units. While destinations might have difficulties defining their borders, the unit of analysis in this thesis is a municipality, which has clearly defined borders, and as such it incorporates Foss (1997 in Flagestad 2001) who emphasizes that a destination has issues of boundaries, while a municipality, which is the case here, has clearly defined borders. A place differs from a destination in that destinations are embedded in places (Campelo et al 2014). Destinations are experienced by visitors, while a “sense of place” is the locals’ understanding of their place (Campelo et al. 2014). The management of a place though bears similarities to both destinations and companies. As a result the literature on corporate branding and management has been adopted and adapted to places (Dinnie 2004). Even though scholars recognized that the people are an important resource to tap into (Campelo et al. 2014) and that a place brand comes from inside the place or company (Anholt 2010, Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010), it is little written about how and why people join in and put in effort over time so that an enduring place brand prevails; attracting people, businesses and investments, or factors that make a community able to handle community threats.

1.3 Research question

How to create a collective effort towards a shared endpoint and ensure a cohesive message from a community seems to be key questions when wanting to create a good reputation, which in turn will make customers willing to buy an offer (Bjerke and Ind 2007), or in this case attract people to live and work in rural areas. Hence, the strategic success of a regional area is a function of a continuous collective effort to build an attractive place brand which attracts people and businesses, and it can be expressed like this:

$$\text{Strategic sustainable success} = f(\text{continuous collective effort})$$

From this my research question becomes:

What prompts the rise of and sustains the collective effort?

1.4 Contribution

The study aims to establish a concept and understanding of what a collective effort entails. Furthermore, based on propositions, which are theoretically anchored, the study aims at understanding what prompted such collective effort and sustains it over time. By exploring the propositions the study uses time as a dimension and by doing so gives the concept of collective effort a time dimension. Overall, the study expands existing theory and knowledge within the field of place brand.

The results can be used by other places as a reference when working on their place brand. The methods used can be applied to other places and this case study can be used for comparison. The criteria set for strategic sustainable success and a continuous collective effort can be used as a benchmark.

The study is of interest for local government officials, local companies, entrepreneurs and inhabitants who wish to enhance their place brand to attract people, investments and companies. Additionally the study is interesting for companies who work as consultants in the area.

Even though the study is conducted in Norway, it can be used other places as well.

Centralization is not only a Norwegian challenge as the centralization of people is happening all over the world. However, the interest in keeping the rural settlements varies from country to country. Norway and Sweden are in these terms the opposite of each other. However, if a country's politicians are not interested in keeping the rural settlements, the competition

between places for people, investments and businesses becomes even fiercer and the relevance of this study is enhanced.

1.5 Limitations

This study explores a community which handles the challenges well. In doing a case study of such a place, the limitations of the study are like the ones of a case study and qualitative research in general. A case study can yield a large amount of information of a few or single units and provide a thick description of a phenomena (Askheim and Grenness 2008).

However, the direct application to other places can be limited as they provide little basis for scientific generalization (Askheim and Grenness 2008, Yin 2009). Recognizing that this is current and unexplored issue makes it is appropriate to look at a place which is successful, in terms of keeping the unemployment rate low and number of inhabitants' stabile even though close downs of several companies has happened. It may inspire others. Overall, the intention is not to create a general framework but to describe what has been working in Røros. As Yin (2009) points out "... case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (Yin 2009, 15).

The research design in itself gives some limitations to the study as I did not do a fulltime field study over a prolonged period of time. I came and left the field several times and while in-depth interviews do have advantages, I did not observe the people I interviewed in action. The background for my choice has been to complete my dissertation within the timeframe given and other obligations which have existed simultaneously with the writing of this dissertation. Despite these challenges, as many of the informants gave the same examples, pointed to each other's actions and talked about the same things. Consequently it is suggested that the conclusions made here are relevant.

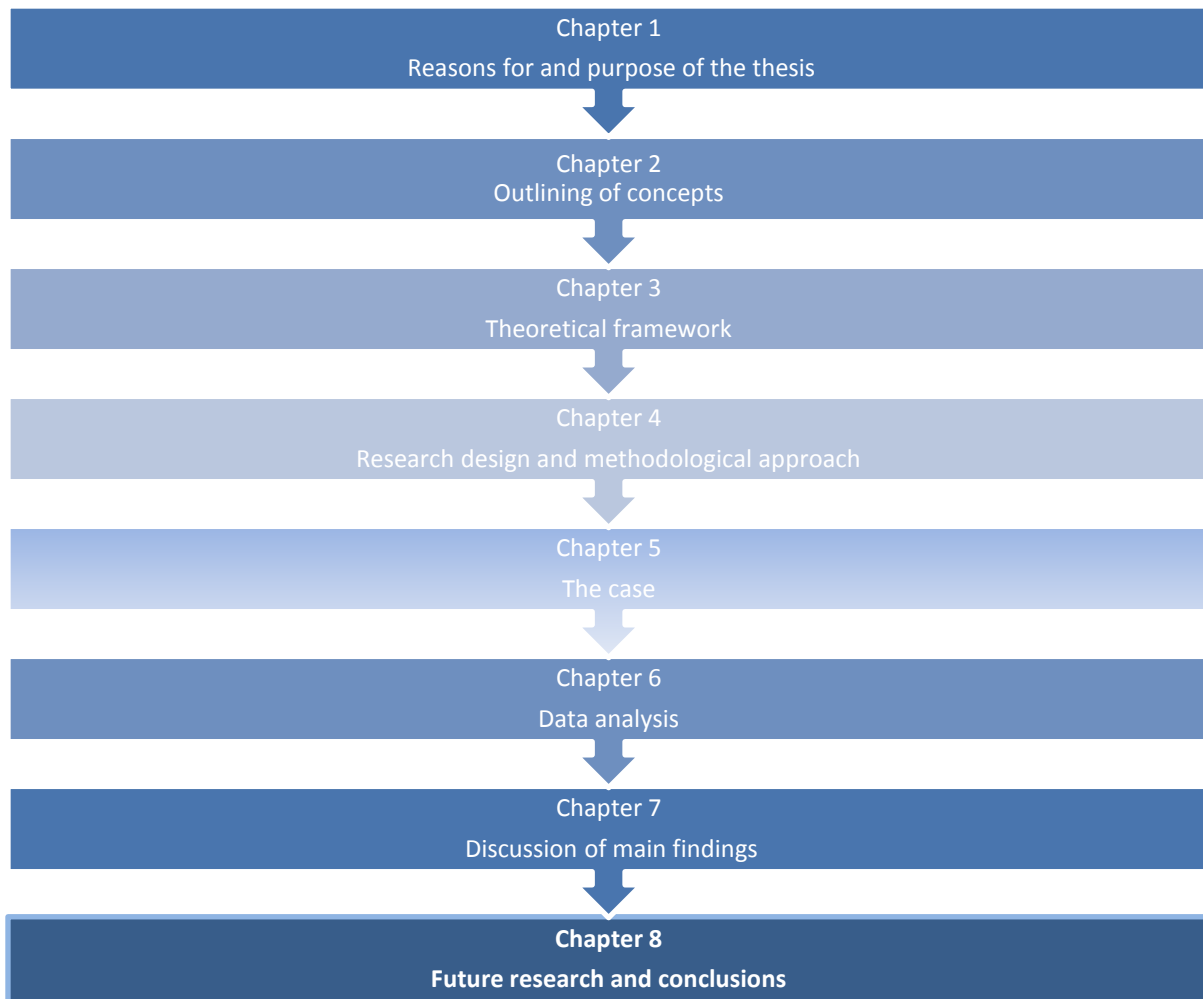


Figure 1 Structure of the thesis

1.6 The road ahead

The dissertation is structured in the following way. Chapter 2 elaborates on the main concepts in the thesis, which were presented in the introduction. Chapter 3 elaborates on previous research on the use of the term brand and in particular place branding. The propositions which will be explored in order to answer the overall research question will also be presented in this chapter. In chapter 4, the research design chosen is presented. In chapter 5, the context of the case is presented. Chapter 6 contains the analyses of the data collected according to the concept of continuous collective effort and the propositions made in chapter 2. Chapter 7 discusses the key findings from the study against the theoretical backdrop. Chapter 8 presents areas which need further investigation and the conclusions drawn in this thesis. Figure 1 illustrates the flow of the thesis. The last chapter is followed by end notes related to chapter 6, and a complete overview of literature and attachments. Attachments are structured by numbers and by appearance in the dissertation.

1.7 Closing remarks

This chapter explained the foundation research by demonstrating the relevance of the topic and the logic behind the research question. The next chapter outlines the main concepts of this thesis.

2. Main concepts

As this dissertation can be expressed as a function, it is useful to look what each of the concepts in that function entails separately. Each concept will be presented after a clarification of the term “sense of place” which is the terminology used for the inhabitants feelings around their place. Brand terminology is used for a recipient of information, such as a potential visitor or customer of a company in the place.

2.1 A sense of place as the base for place brand

A sense of place underpins a brand concept as brand is the experiences of the uniqueness of the place. A sense of place creates the uniqueness of the place (Campelo et al 2014). Campelo et al (2014) outline the concept like this

From strategic perspective, sense of place provides the basis of how places are defined and how destination brand are articulated. Beyond merely representing the atmosphere of a place, sense of place deals with the local habitues and communal practices that colour the tourism experience (Campelo et al 2014, 155).

A place is a space with boundaries (Tuan 1975). Boundaries that is man-made to create order and predictability in relationships between people and in the establishment of social identities (Tuan 1975). Place is a combination of social construction interacting with the physical settings (Campelo et al. 2014). The way houses and spaces are used and their building style influence the visual statement the place makes (Tuan 1975) and is an expression of cultural values and history, which is closely linked to the inhabitants sense of identity (Campelo et al. 2014). The boundaries set related to visual expressions can also function as a conservational factor in the society as it limits the expressions allowed creating a clear visual statement to outsiders and dictating the how history and time should be interpreted.

Campelo et al. (2014) identifies four building blocks in the sense of place: 1. Time, 2. Ancestry, 3. Landscape and 4. Community.

These constructs represent knowledge of weather, location and landscape, family history and sense of community influence the way people behave and connect to one another (Campelo et al. 2014). Sense of place is a permanent state of co-creation through social construction and social reproduction of life in a physical setting (Campelo et al. 2014). The sense of place is peculiar and unique in each place and it is this that often is marketed (Campelo et al.2014) as the identity rises from these constructs. The competitive identity to Anholt (2010) rests upon

this uniqueness. Campelo et al. (2014) also concludes that it is from these constructs a brand should be built.

All sets of visual signs should to convey a story and the more unison they are to the story told, the louder the message gets. Control over the visual statement can therefore contribute to a sense of place, as well as what people eat, wear and do in their spare time and how and where they work. All parts of the society contribute to the overall “sense of place”.

2.2 Strategic sustainable success

In order to arrive at a plausible definition of strategic sustainable success, the concept is divided into three separate parts; strategy, sustainability and success.

Strategy

There does not exist consensus on a definition of strategy (Mintzberg 2009, Løwendahl, Fjeldstad and Wenstøp 2011). However, Mintzberg (2009) review of ten different schools of strategy, shows that strategies are thought of as pattern and plans, position, perspective and a ploy.

Løwendahl, Fjeldstad and Wenstøp (2009) suggest that one can at least agree that strategies are:

- 1) Decisions and actions which have an overall meaning for the organization
- 2) Decisions and actions which have a long-term effect
- 3) Decisions and actions which carries a high degree of risk for the organization
- 4) Decisions and actions which is not only important to one department, but also across departments in the organization.
- 5) Decisions and actions which ties up scarce resources over time
- 6) Decisions and actions which creates precedence

On that note, strategy in this thesis is understood as decisions and actions to achieve the mission or goals set by the organization both short-term and long-term, and the concrete approach and view of strategy can be different during an organizations life (Mintzberg 2009).

Sustainability

The concept of sustainability have been written about and debated under many different concepts since the 1950s (Wells 2013); for example corporate philanthropy; corporate social responsibility; business ethics and stakeholder theory (Wells 2013), when Howard R. Bowen published his book “Social Responsibilities of the Businessman”. The main notion is that

“businessmen have always been expected to act according to sanctioned rules of conduct [...] Morality is one of the foundations of economic life” (Bowen 2013, 13). All later concepts have a commonality in analyzing the wider responsibilities of the firm (Carrol 2008, Lee 2008). After several decades of debates and research, the United Nations formulated a well-known and accepted definition in the report “Our common future” from 1987. The definition has since then had an affected on the field of research (Wells 2013). The definition was broadened in 1999 and reconfirmed in the Rio 20+ deliberations. As such the UN definition forms the base of how sustainability is understood in this thesis; “Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future” (WCED 1987 in Wells 2013).

Later concepts and strands of theory include these considerations a company must take; stakeholders (shareholders, employees, clients, pressure groups, communities, future stakeholders) (Dyllick and Hockerts 2002, Putham 2001), natural resources and ecosystem services (Heal 2005) and national legislation (Dalsrud 2008). As such, sustainability has a multi-stakeholder approach, which focuses on not depleting individual and organizational health or well-being or natural resources for this generation or the ones to come. Practically that means that short and long-term goals should be compatible and profit is not the only objective.

Success

Success is “the achievement of something desired, planned or attempted” (The free dictionary). In this context it is understood as having an attractive place brand, which attracts and retain people, businesses and investments because they want to associate themselves with the history, geography, architecture and the people of the place. The “sense of place” is tied to all of these elements. The success is therefore understood in terms of the ability to create “a sense of place”. Measuring a “sense of place” can be difficult as it has to do with feelings, identity and culture. These things often need to be explored qualitatively, as for inhabitants this is deeply ingrained with who they are. Equally difficult is it for outsiders to break down their feelings about a place into the separate elements. People usually assimilate information into one category (Passer and Smith 2003) which makes up the general feeling about the place. As a result, brand management of places is equally difficult, or more, than companies. The fact that one is not in control over all the elements makes the task of managing the brand ambiguous (Bastos and Levy 2012).

However, there are some things which can be measured quantitatively and seen as indicators that a place has a “sense of place”, or positive place brand. The ones used here are:

- 1) an increase in amount of people, who stay in their hometown and migration,
- 2) number of companies in the area, both founded in the area and located there by externals,
- 3) Number of businesses started or attracted which gives employment.
- 4) In addition, a low unemployment rate in the area is considered a success.
- 5) Number of visitors

To sum it up, strategic sustainable success is understood as paths taken in order to achieve a positive place brand, a “sense of place”. The “sense of place” will in turn attract people, companies and investments without depleting the human or natural resources for this generation or for those who will come. The overall goals to achieve are a net increase of people to the municipality, a rising number of sustainable companies attracted or founded, having a low unemployment rate and a high number of visitors.

2.3 Continuous collective effort

A multitude of people need to contribute to the goals outlined above – workers, business leaders, owners, founders, local authorities, schools and so on. All these people are the core contributors in creating a “sense of place” (Campelo et al.2014). One person does not make up the whole place, even though one person can have a tremendous impact (Hakala and Ozturk 2012). Leaders need followers and together they form a group. Through teamwork they work towards the goal of having a positive brand (Bjerke and Ind 2007). The foundation for positive place brand then is the internal ability to cooperate and cohesiveness of the image they project. The amount and extent of this ability determine the collective efforts. Inside a company each departments contributes to the overall brand building ability (Bjerke and Ind 2007). The same line of thought is transferred to a place; each unit in the local society contributes to the overall brand. Therefore, the collective efforts in this dissertation will be tied to the following indicators:

- Freed labour is absorbed in to other businesses
- Local businesses work together in order to grow
- Local people are investing in current businesses
- Local forces invest and support new businesses

- Local history, traditions and resources are given importance
- Local authorities work on the infrastructure to support their businesses
- Local authorities invest in projects which aim at creating a meaningful spare time and good life, such as schools, cultural events, sports arenas, historical preservation, daycare, hospital and retirement home, to attract and retain people.

These indicators imply that people are buying services from each other, collaborate and are willing to put in an extra effort, meaning working without pay or with personal risk, to achieve both for themselves and the society. Creating a “sense of place” and thereby a positive place brand implies an alignment between personal goals and society needs. The place brand can therefore be compared to the Parthenon as it is “a product of tens of thousands of people working together to create something of lasting value and excellence” (Manville and Ober 2003, 5).

The teamwork forms the collective efforts and the time indicates if it is continuous or a one-time effort. A specific image has to be managed and maintained (Leonard and Small 2003), if not the image will fatigue and decay (Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010). So in order to have success, the collective effort has to work continuously on maintaining and renew itself to sustain the value the place offers to its customers and inhabitants.

Arguments supporting the concept are pointed out throughout chapter, chapter 3: Theoretical Framework.

3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical framework is presented. As place branding is a subfield within the larger branding literature, the term brand and brand equity are reviewed in subchapter 3.1. In subchapter 3.2, the concept of place brand and the contemporary discussion related to if it exists is presented. The topic of how to work with a place brand is handled in subchapter 3.3. The propositions, which are explored in this study, derive from the theoretical framework and are presented in subchapter 3.4. Summary and final remarks can be found in subchapter 3.5, and closing remarks in subchapter 3.6.

3.1 Brand and brand equity

The term brand is suggested by Stern (2006 in Bastos and Levy 2012) to have entered the marketing literature in 1922. After a slow start, the concept of brand gained the interest among researchers in the second half of the 20th century (de Chernatony and Riley 1998) and has intertwined with several disciplines, including marketing management (Kotler et al 1996, Balmer 1995), strategy (Hamel and Prahalad 1994) and consumer behaviour (Assael 1995). Aaker (1991) keenly observed the growing number of conferences, articles and press attention on branding, while Bastos and Levy (2012) note that the 1990s witnessed the birth of the brand managers in many companies and schools which started to teach brand management strategies (Bastos and Levy 2012). Today, Bastos and Levy (2012) note that “in the applied arena, brands are now attached to commodities,[...], political parties,[...] people,[...] and spheres such as the military, schools, museums, churches and religion itself” (Bastos and Levy 2012, 358). According to Aaker (1991, 2012) the interest in the brand lies in the relevance of brands and this relevance prevails in

- 1) “[...] firms have shown a willingness to pay substantial premiums for brand names because the alternative development of new brand names either is not feasible or is too costly” (Aaker 1991, x).
- 2) Marketing professionals now believe “[...] that more resources should be diverted into brand building activities, to develop points of differentiation” (Aaker 1991, x) despite the fact that such efforts will not be visible in the short run and short run performance has so far been the preferable.
- 3) Managers want to maximize the performance and exploit the brand name.

Bastos and Levy (2012) support Aakers (1991) claim that there is a rising interest in the topic of brand and branding, as brand entails more than mere marketing and not all of it is under the

control of the brand manager. de Chernatony and Riley's review of the brand literature in 1998 supports Aaker (1991) claims that brands add values beyond the functional need. The reason being that the customers add "new layers of meaning over and beyond utilitarian attributes" (de Chernatony and Riley 1998), which gives the company a competitive edge, and therefore it can demand a higher price. These added values are bundled together in the concept of brand equity.

The term brand has been used loosely and definitions have appeared in abundance over the years (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). It therefore makes sense to go back to its original roots and explore the concept in 3.1.1. The concept of brand equity is handled in subchapter 3.1.2. Upon clarification of these concepts, it is appropriate to look at where the brand comes from and how it is worked upon. This is done in subchapter 3.1.3.

3.1.1 Defining brand

According to Bastos and Levy (2012) the word brand is closely associated with fire and burning, which carries an "intensity of meaning" (Bastos and Levy 2012, 352), and it has "... strong roots in human motives for power, conquest, and domination as well as many other forms of self-expression" (Bastos and Levy 2012, 350).

Historically brand,

[...] starts as a sign, a way of denoting that an object is what it is and then becomes a form of naming something (e.g a steer, a slave, a prisoner, a detergent). But immediately, denotation is not enough and connotations arise. Being named an animal, a slave, a prisoner, or a product are not merely denotative terms; they also imply other ideas. The brand on animal or a person promptly becomes a symbol of ownership and reputation (Bastos and Levy 2012, 349).

A brand is usually a mark directly or indirectly on the object, person or animal and “... because it announces identity and has the potential for beauty, devotion, and distinction, it draws conformity or arouses criticism and resistance against its domination” (Bastos and Levy 2013, 352). It is the ideas and connotations attached to the sign which makes it positive or negative



Figure 2 Greek Architecture, Parthenon at Dusk. Photo Credit: Steve Allen/Brand X/Corbis

as they incite beliefs, evoke emotions and prompts behaviours (Kotler and Gertner 2010). Signs are therefore only the tangible on which the brand, the intangible, rests upon (Bastos and Levy 2012, Braun 2004). Manville and Ober’s (2003) description of the Parthenon can serve as an example. For Manville and Ober (2003), the Parthenon, in Figure 2, functions as a physical sign of ancient Greeks power, organizational speed and strength which encompass ideas leadership, democracy, organization and people.

de Chernatony and Riley (1998) note that there seems to be an evolution in the use of the term brand in the company management literature– from an actual mark, like trade or propriety name, to brand as values or way of working. In an attempt to unite the vast brand literature de Chernatony and Riley (1998) proposed a common understanding of the concept:

[...] the “brand” is a multidimensional construct whereby managers augment products or services with values and this facilitates the process by which consumers confidently recognize and appreciate these values. The likelihood of repeated use is enhanced when consumers` feedback is monitored and used to better tune the value constellations to consumers` needs (de Chernatony and Riley 1998, 427).

de Charnatony and Riley’s (1998) review supports Bastos and Levy’s (2012) definition and refines it by identifying the key stakeholders in brand building; the staff of the company and the consumers (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). All of the 12 themes found in the brand literature by de Chernatony and Riley (1998) recognize one or both of these (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). The actual brand, or ideas implied, rests between what the company signals it does and the costumer’s perception of what they actually do – meaning the experience or knowledge with the company (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). The model in Figure 3 shows

how de Chernatony and Riley (1998) conceptualize how brand gains meaning to both consumers and staff.

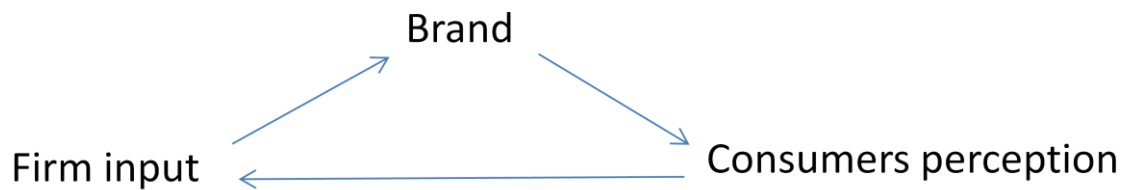


Figure 3 Illustration from de Charnatony and Riley (1998).

Thus, meaning is constructed in the intersections between companies and customers and customers should therefore not be treated as passive recipients (Ind and Dokk Holm 2012, Bjerke and Ind 2007). Goffman (1992) also lends support to this as he draws a distinction between what a people, or in this case a company, expresses and the impression the other party gets. When taking such an approach to brands, they are co-created with other parties and can be understood differently by different groups. However, meaning is constructed in the interaction between these groups (Goffman 1992), making them multi-dimensional (de Chernatony and Riley 1998). This dissertation recognizes that customer's views are important and even though it is not the focus for this dissertation, it will be touched upon.

Following this, a brand is created multi-dimensional by at least two parties; where one party tries to express what they stand for and the other party interprets their actions. The goal for the first party is to create a consistent and coherent message which creates a positive impression, or reputation, on others. Thereby, the brand perception is located outside the company, though it rests upon the perception of what goes on inside the company. It is the processes, policies, the handling of the people internally and the ability to live up to the reputation the company as a whole wants to have and project, usually by marketing (de Chernatony and Riley 1988, Anholt 2010a, Ind 2007 Bjerke and Ind 2007, Kotler and Gertner 2010, Zakarevicius and Lionikaite 2013). Therefore, the brand is deeply ingrained with the people behind the company name (Ind 2007).

3.1.2 Brand equity

Aaker (1991) defines brand equity to be

[...] a set of brand assets and liabilities linked to a brand, its name and symbol, that add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or service to a firm and/or that firm's customer. [...] If a brand's name or symbol should change, some or all of the assets or liabilities could be affected and even lost,

although some might be shifted to a new name and symbol. The assets and liabilities on which the brand equity is based differ from context to context (Aaker 1991, 5).

Brand equity is the power and strength of the associations which are made when the signs are present, as Bastos and Levy (2012) presented above. Aaker (1991) categorizes the assets and liabilities into the five groups;

- 1) Brand loyalty.
- 2) Name awareness.
- 3) Perceived quality.
- 4) Brand associations in addition to perceived quality.
- 5) Other proprietary brand assets – patents, trademarks, channel relationships, etc.

These groups can “[...] add or subtract value for customers. They can help the customers interpret a process and store huge amount of quantities of information [...]” (Aaker 1991, 16). Brands can also increase the confidence in the purchase decision and “[...] enhance customers` satisfaction with the use experience” (Aaker 1991, 16). For a company these values mean that their campaigns can be more effective as less people are sceptical and less money can be used for promotions. Brands give a reason to buy and therefore enhance brand loyalty, the company can charge premium prices, extensions of the brand are possible, and brands can be used as leverage in the distribution channel and present a competitive advantage against competitors (Aaker 1991).

In other words, brands are valuable assets and essentially they are comprised of what the company is known for – the experiences of others, as discussed above with Goffman (1992). In a marketplace, which is characterized by strangers interacting (Polanyi 1968), a brand functions as a bridge, as noted by Aaker (1991). Essentially it is a way to build trust between strangers – trust which is part of the gift relations which stipulate rules of conduct and the mutuality of the partners in the relationship (Mauss (1995). Customers trust that the brand delivers on perceived quality and the values that the company or product promotes, regardless of what the company actually can deliver (Bjerke and Ind 2007). If the company is not able to deliver, the brand equity will suffer (Bjerke and Ind 2007, Kotler and Gertner 2010). As such the brand equity is reliant on the company’s brand building ability and ability to deliver (Bjerke and Ind 2007, Kotler and Gertner 2010)

3.1.3 Working with a brand

According to Bastos and Levy (2012), there is a differentiation between a brand and the active term branding. The act of branding means literally the act performed in order to place the sign and instilling of ideas (Bastos and Levy 2012). The act can be naming, creating visual signs, like crests, slogans and logos, which are part of the marketing mix. However, the branding implies that these signs are merely a signal of what goes on underneath (Bastos and Levy 2012). It can be changes in policies, organizational structure, way of doing business, etc. which is more than mere marketing. It has to do with the organization as a whole. Purely changing the visual signs does not change what people think about a company or a place if the change is not accompanied by deeper changes (Hatch and Schultz 2008). However, changing the visual dress without any deeper connections may damage the reputation as there may be a mismatch between the marketed experience and the real experience (Bjerke and Ind 2007).

Hatch and Schultz (2008) give an example with British Airlines which tried to appeal more to the international market by embracing diversity and peel away the ultra-British. Amongst others, BA replaced the Union Jack with ribbons, still though with the British flags colours, and decorated their tail fins with “patterns taken from contemporary, original folk art [...] commissioned from artists around the world” (Hatch and Schultz 2008, 4). The trouble with the new visual dress was that the signs were not signs signalling change in deep rooted organizational ideas (Hatch and Schultz 2008). The BA’s staff continued to work in the same manner as they had always done – in a very British manner – and they resisted the change as people were laid off at the same time as the company was spending millions on the new visual dress (Hatch and Schultz 2008). After all, the airline staff was delivering the experience of BA to its travellers and they were not onboard or committed to the new vision (Hatch and Schultz 2008). In essence, BA failed to rebrand as the change was not rooted inside the organization, which made the promise they were making not the same as the experience people were having with the airline (Hatch and Schultz 2008). Hatch and Schultz (2008) conclude that the “[...] missteps led to a failure of such proportions that the BA brand has yet to fully recover its lost ground” because old customers left BA in anger over what they had tried to become and new costumers experienced discrepancies between marketing and experience (Hatch and Schultz 2008, 10). Branding is a much broader term than marketing as it requires an alignment between culture, vision and strategies (Hatch and Schultz 2008, 10). It also requires time as it deals with people who are to deliver what is marketed.

All in all, images of companies and organizations are powerful as they are deeply ingrained with ones identity, as seen above. Changing the dress does not change the human being essentially, nor does it change organizations (Hatch and Schutz 2008). However, the discrepancies between the image one expresses and the overall impressions employees and customers have of the company can result in a substantial loss of income for the company as image and experience are not the same (Hatch and Shultz 2008, Bjerke and Ind 2007). It comes back to who the organization is, what they want to do, what they in reality do and how customers perceive their actions, like Goffman (1992) divides between expression and impression. The visual dress is only one part of the experience, while the customer's experiences with the whole organization make up the brand, which makes the job of the brand managers broad and less clear cut (Bastos and Levy 2012). In so, the culture and people inside the organization becomes important. While this might be true to organizations, how does it apply to places?

3.2 Place brand

At the same time as corporate branding became more mainstream in the 90s, the thought of place branding emerged (Papadopoulos and Heslop 2002, Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2010, Anholt 1998). Since then the academic literature on place brand and place branding has grown considerably (Papadopolous 2004, Dinnie 2004, Anholt 1998 and 2004). Anholt (2010) - who is by many considered the founder of place brand theory - regards place branding as all the strategies used to create a coherent positive image about the place in potential customers mind. In this understanding it lies that a brand is not under the total control of the company or place, which is consistent with de Chernatony and Rileys (1998) proposed common understanding of the term brand. However, there is no consensus with regard to what the term place brand entails and what places can do to increase their place brand (Hanna and Rowley 2012). As a result, the term place brand, their equity and how they can be worked upon are handled separately in the next subchapters as was done for the overall term brand, brand equity and working with brands above. Subchapter 3.2.1 looks at places as brands as defined by Bastos and Levy (2012) and de Chernatony and Riley (1998) and then place brand equity. Subchapter 3.2.2 looks at the challenges places have in managing, changing and/or refining the brand they have, which are different than company brands. What researchers believe are key to developing a place brand is handled in subchapter 3.3. Propositions are handled in subchapter 3.4, summary in subchapter 3.5 and final remarks are in subchapter 3.6. Arguments in subchapter 3.2.3 are used to back the proposed concept of a continuous

collective effort. At the same time some remarks are transformed into propositions about the rise of the collective effort and what sustains it.

3.2.1 Places as brands and equity

Places have reputations as many settlements, towns and cities have been around for years. It has been shaped by wars, religion, sporting triumphs, diplomacy, famous and infamous sons and daughters (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2010), export products if place is mentioned in advertisements (Anholt 2010 I Morgan 2010) and art and music (Kotler and Gertner I Morgan 2010). The visual signs, such as slogans, names and architecture are a distillation of an abundance of meaning and they are signals of ideas about ownership, hierarchy, its people and what they can do (Anholt 2005, Anholt 2010). Hence, according to Bastos and Levys (2012) definition places are brands. All of the aforementioned pieces make up the puzzle that creates a “sense of place”.

Other authors have questioned whether places are brands in the traditional sense (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2010, Anholt 2010b). Buhalis (2000) and Anholt (2010b) reject the idea of treating places as products and their advertisements as such. Places are not for sale in the traditional sense that the customer can take the product home (Anholt 2005). The sale is about an experience (Anholt 2005) which promise value to the customer, in the same manner a company brand does. The value is reflected in a places` reputation and this makes some authors argue that places are not brands, but they need to do reputation management as a positive reputation is valuable for the place (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2010). However, before the term brand became mainstream, reputation was widely thought of as important in the marketing literature and later this thought has been incorporated in to the brand (Bastos and Levy 2012). This makes the differentiation between reputation and brand none existing. The management of a reputation deals with the same foundation of one expresser and one interpreter.

3.2.2 Place brand equity

Kotler and Gertner (2010) propose to view the place reputation as an overarching structure for companies and its people – like a corporate brand (Anholt 1998) – as the reputation influences the competition amongst places for people, investments and work. As argued above, places have images attached to them (Anholt 2010, Papadopolous and Heslop 2002) and the place images effect the products coming from these places (Papadopoulos and Heslop 1993). The origin-effect lends support to this thought as places reputation seems to affect the how

products from the places are perceived (Anholt 2010, Olins 2002). Products and services from places with a powerful positive image seem to have a head start on any competitors due to the powerful connotations and attributes attached to place (Anholt 2010, Olins 2002, Morgan, Pritchard and Pride 2010). The origin-effect suggest that people are more willing to buy products from a place with positive connotations (Olins 2002, Wang and Lamb 1983) and they are willing to pay more for them (Kotler and Gertner 2010). The knowledge of the origin-effect has led companies to use the symbolism of certain places on their products, even though their products have nothing to do with it (e.g. Napapirji and the Norwegian flag). It can be the name itself which sounds foreign and that interests people as a name says something about place and origin (Anholt 2010). Companies can also downplay the origin if they know the origin-effect can subtract value from the product (Olins 2002). As a result, “a sense of place” is a part of the products or services made in a place and can be considered hard equity (Anholt 2010) as it add or subtract value, like a company brand (Kotler and Gertner 2010). As such the place equity functions as Aaker (1991) argue that brand equity functions for a company.

Unlike companies, places do not need to build their brand from scratch as it already exists in the consumers mind, and has a definite shape and form (Anholt I Morgan 2010: 38) which according to Anholt reduces places to “ [...] weak, simplistic, outdated, unfair stereotypes [...]” (Anholt 2010b, 3) as people`s perception is not likely to change. The images of places is surprisingly resistant as people resist re-evaluating their opinions because it is exhausting to re-evaluate their opinion often (Anholt 2010b) and most people are only really engaged in their lives, neighbours and friends, and not in what everyone else does across the globe in every place (Anholt 2012). In today`s busy marketplace environment the image of a place becomes a critical factor – a “[...] necessary short cut to an informed buying decision” (Anholt 2010b, 4). This means that:

places must engage with the outside world in a clear, coordinated and communicative way if they are to influence the public opinion. A robust and productive coalition between government, business and civil society, as well as the creation of new institutions and structures to achieve and maintain this behaviour, is necessary for achieving this harmonization and goals, communications and behaviours in the long term (Anholt 2010d)

In that spirit, Anholt (2010b) recognizes that places need to find an edge which builds on what is inherently true and advertise it; a competitive identity. In general, a brand promises value to the customer (Kotler and Gertner 2010). That means taking a step back and take an objective

look at what it offers to potential customers, if this ability is lacking it can be fatal (Anholt I Morgan 2010). Furthermore: “Few people will fall in love with a stranger who kicks off the conversation with a long list of his natural advantages, impressive family tree and key historical achievements” (Anholt in Morgan 2010, 36). Places are far more likely to achieve success if they build a “place brand strategy around the skills, aspirations and culture of its population [...] than something cooked up by a team of ministers or PR consultants in closed meeting rooms” (Anholt I Morgan 2010, 37). The old, quirky and local needs to be fostered and own arts and cultural scene encouraged (Gilmore in Morgan 2010). In doing so, they are creating something unique for the customer which is inherently true. The arguments in this subchapter underpin the definition of the concept “continuous collective effort” especially the point on “Local history, traditions and resources are given importance”, and the municipality’s investments in creating a meaningful spare time.

3.2.3 Challenges for place brands

The reason for the proposed strategy by Anholt (I Morgan 2010) is that the ability to live up to the promise advertised determines the image held (Bjerke and Ind 2007). To gain a specific brand image requires commitment, planning, time, consistent positioning and marketing – a long-term plan and follow through (Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010, Anholt 2010, Olins 2002). A plan where all the contributors are onboard and forms a cohesive brand outwards (Anholt I Morgan 2010). In general this is the policy makers, tourist board, transport companies, major food producers, restaurants etc. (Anholt 2010). That makes place branding “[...] extremely complex and [a] highly political activity” (Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010; xxxv), and is what makes it different from companies, as there is a wealth of internal stakeholders present, all whom individually have little control over the final product and there has been challenges in getting everyone to agree on a common path to follow (Olins 2002, Anholt 2010b, Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010, Horlings 2012). Even “the tiniest village is infinitely more complex, more diverse and less unified than a large corporation, because of the different reasons why people are there” (Anholt 2010b). At the same time, the leadership body, thought of as the government in this case, does not necessarily own all of the land or resources needed in order to build, which again is dependent on co-operation from the individuals who own them (Horlings 2012). These notions are considered when constructing the concept of a “continuous collective effort” as it is a collective effort, not just the authorities who are central for the development. All of the points, presented in subchapter 3.2

reflect the collectiveness. Additionally, the arguments are used in the construction of all of the propositions presented in subchapter 3.4.

3.3 What has been suggested that places can do?

Country rulers have for centuries rebranded their country according to their taste by techniques such as; myths, language, environments that reinforce loyalties, visual signs, policies, alliances and created villains and heroes (Olins 2002). These are the same techniques used by companies, as nations and companies deals with the same foundation; people. “people are people whether they work in a company or live in a nation and that means that they can be motivated and inspired and manipulated in the same way, using the same techniques” (Olins 2002; 24). Anholt (2010) oppose the use of such techniques as a simple quick fix in terms of marketing campaigns, though not when the techniques are used inwards.

A “[...] better place brand has to be earned; it cannot be constructed or invented” (Anholt 2010d, 11). Borrowing from the corporate world, Bjerke and Ind (2007) suggest how a brand can be worked upon through the concept of “brand building ability”. The brand strength depends on four driving sources; 1) Leadership, 2) Individuals motivation, 3) Organizational culture and 4) Marketing (Bjerke and Ind 2007). Marketing is not thought of as a separate department, it is the responsibility of the whole organization (Bjerke and Ind 2007). In doing so, the risk of the department disconnection with the rest of the organization and overselling of what it can deliver is taken out of the equation (Bjerke and Ind 2007). All employees are considered marketers and the collective impression they give customers are the brand the company as a whole achieves (Bjerke and Ind 2007). That makes the management of the brand an internal project, as Anholt (2010) emphasizes it has to be. Zakarevicius and Lionikaite (2013) also propose leadership and people as the core when building an internal place brand. Anholt (2010) places the leadership body at the core of his competitive identity theory, while people and culture are seen as channels of influence together with brands, policies, tourism and investments (Anholt 2010). Zakarevicius and Lionikaite (2013) propose that culture/sports, environment, heritage/history, infrastructure, government and businesses are channels of influence, though that influence is bidirectional. Both concepts are supported by Kotler and Gartner’s (2010) claim that in creating a place brand all factors which come in to play when people are deciding on workplace and/or residential or holiday place need to be thought of. Both Anholt (2010) and Zakarevicius and Lionikaite (2013) incorporate the claim that working towards a better place brand involves government, businesses and citizens

(Kotler and Gertner 2010). Gilmores (2010) claims that nurturing of the arts and cultural scene is essential for stimulating the imagination as such nurturing attracts investments and talented individuals because of its image and reputation. As a result this thesis takes the stand that the three building blocks proposed by Bjerke and Ind (2007) need to be accounted for as they mutually influence each other.

History and culture legitimize the way of ruling, stipulates what is expected of a leader and influence the government's actions. Culture also sets the parameters on what is thinkable (Douglas 1966). For making a cohesive brand outwards, the leaders need the people to convey the message and that makes them dependent on the people. The three building blocks are described below and from them the propositions arise and arguments within these blocks are also arguments for the concept of "continuous collective effort". The propositions are summarized in subchapter 3.4.

3.3.1 Leadership

A clear understanding of the brand given and the direction of it is the core of Anholt's (2010a) theory of competitive identity. Anholt (2010a) suggests that this understanding is the core of brand management and what all governments should build on. Leonard and Small (2003) suggest building on the core to achieve an authentic brand. In Goffmans (1992) terms Anholt (2010) takes the view of looking at the impressions others have of the place when deciding where to go next with the brand, while Leonard and Small (2003) suggest starting with what is already there and work on the expressions. People are not a channel of influence to be used when the strategy is ready. The strategy needs to come from the stories told internally (Leonard and Small 2003), like the formulation of the vision and values at Patagonia which came after several decades in business (Ind 2007). These two views exemplify the difficulties leaders often have – the need to change in order to meet new demands and changing circumstances, and working with people which often resist change as it uncomfortable.

Several authors stress that a common vision and values that unites the different contributors, and bring value to customers, are crucial (Morgan Pritchard and Pride 2010, Anholt 2010, Olins 2002, de Chernatony and Riley 1998). In leadership theory, it has been emphasized that having a vision, a clear policy or direction is important (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008, Yukl 2009, Bass 1985). In brand theory, a commonly shared vision is also deemed important (de Chernatony and Riley 1998, Morgan and Pritchard in Morgan 2010). In marketing theory, the focus has been on a need to be very specific on what is marketed to

whom and to understand the customer (Kotler and Gertner in Morgan 2010). In a community sense that implies to plan building sites from the very beginning, review taxes, incentives and all sides of it from a business point of view and make an appeal to a specific group of people (Kotler and Gertner in Morgan 2010). The job of creating a sense of direction is that of the leader, who is usually formally chosen or hired.

Ideally, having a clear vision or policy gives consistency in behaviour and a consistent image outwards. A consistent image is what good branding does, if it is considered solid, the image does not have to be sold in the end (Anholt 2009). Hakala and Ozturks (2013) case study of Eskisehir, Turkey, reveals that one man's vision became the image of the city with a consistent focus and work. However, the authors also stress that image could not be achieved alone, although the mayors focus and consistency in action did play a large role in the development of the city (Hakala and Ozturk 2013). That means that the vision or direction has to engage and involve people because a vision requires people and businesses to live up to the standards set and/or move in the direction pointed out. The external image has to be "consistent with the experience, which requires that the internal dimensions be quite carefully considered and employed" (de Chernatony and Riley 1998, 435). Anholt (2009) points out that working on a particular image is not wrong; in fact it is considered good leadership as long as you are true to your values. By claiming this, Anholt agrees with the theme brand as a value system, which is consistent with Kapferer (1992) and Aakers (1996) views of the essential role of the firm in building and sustaining a brand identity.

In that sense building a place brand seems plausible as it is about working on an image continually, and the way to work is deeply ingrained in ones identity (Anholt 2009). Anholts (2009) perspective makes leadership inseparable from culture. Assessing the culture and its history will therefore also give a glimpse of what an ideal leader is thought to be. The Hakala and Ozturk (2013) study revealed that the mayor's reason for wanting to obtain this vision was about the place itself and good living for its people. The study gives support to Anholts claim that place branding is "about people, purpose and reputation, not about money" (Anholt 2005, 119). It is about a critical want to do something for its people in the long-term perspective (Gilmore in Morgan 2010) and real passion when making decisions (Hutton 2002). Furthermore, Anholt (2010) claims that branding requires making consistent investments in the inhabitants and the place itself. The leaders are not alone in a place. They are dependent on the contributions of other actors on the road to achieving a vision. For example there is good evidence that goal setting in groups where "group norms embody clear

group goals for performance and production, group members work harder and are more satisfied” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). It is the symbiosis between the leader and the group members which is important. That is also why people and leadership are in the core of the model of both Bjerke and Ind (2009) and Zakarevicius and Lionikaites (2013). These arguments support the proposition that visionary work sustains the collective effort and they support the concept of “continuous collective effort”.

3.3.1.1 Who are the local leaders?

A leader is a person who coordinates group efforts towards a goal and often functions as an example to follow (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008). In many cases there is a divide between the formal and informal leaders (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008). In the business context a formal leader is a person who has the authority to make decisions on behalf of a group of people – big or small, while an informal leader can be people who serve as an inspiration to others and which they want to follow (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008). For a company, the most beneficial is to have a leader who is both inspirational and able to take decisions effectively (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008).

For a local society, the elected leaders of the place have a significant influence over the structures which the people need, such as the school system, infrastructure, rehabilitation of public buildings, water and sewage, layout of areas and towns and so on. These people are voted for by the general public in the municipal elections, which means that if the leaders do not deliver, the eligible voters have the power to change them for someone else.

As noted above the place brand is tangled up with the entire “sense of the place” which means policies, infrastructure, layout of town, visual presentation and so on – things that the municipality authorities deal with. For the duration of their time in office, the place brand is in their hands and according to Anholt (2010c). The responsibility of leaders of places with good place brands are to make sure it stays that way and possibly to develop it for the better, so that the next generation can benefit equally from the place brand as current generation is benefitting from it. They have to make sure that they stay true to its essence and never compromise on it (Morgan and Pritchard in Morgan 2010).

Two propositions are made based on the arguments in the previous and current subchapters:

- 1) **The municipal authorities function as guardians of the place brand and imprint the culturally desirable on the people.**

2) **The municipal authorities direct collective effort through inspiration and visionary work.**

The arguments presented in subchapter 3.2.4 also underpin all of the indicators of collective effort as it is both authorities and other forces and people who are responsible for the development of a place. They all need to invest time, energy and money into other businesses so that they can grow as a whole.

3.3.2 People

“Motivation is a process that influences the direction, persistence, and vigour of goal-oriented behaviour” (Passer and Smith 2004, 327). The influences can be biological, psychological and environmental, or a combination, (Passer and Smith 2004) and therefore, psychologist have multiple approaches to the study of motivation. Some of these are instincts (Atkinson 1964, Palmer and Palmer, 2002), homeostasis and drive theory of motivation (Hull 1943, Woods and Seeley, 2002), incentives and expectancies (Brehm and Self 1989), psychodynamic (Freud 1923, Kohut 1997, Westen 1998) and humanistic (Chartrand and Bargh 2002, Maslow 1954). Even though Maslow’s hierarchy largely have been dismissed, psychologists still recognizes hunger, sex, desire to affiliate and desire to achieve as basic powerful human drives (Passer and Smith 2004). In this setting, desire to affiliate and desire to achieve are thought of as why people stay and fight for their place. As a result, these two points are proposed to underpin the collective effort by influencing the way people invest their time and money and what they hold important.

Desire to affiliate

The need to affiliate is powerful and pervasive (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). Deprivation of social contact is generally an unpleasant experience and over long time it can have serious outcomes (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). The need can be both transitory and situation specific as people prefer to be together with people in a similar situation as themselves when anxiety about the near future arises (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

Hogg and Vaughan identify (2005) two aspects related to identity; a social identity and a personal identity. The social identity is “a set of attributes shared with others and contrasted with a specific outgroup or with outgroups in general” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 125), and that relationship wise there is a set of attributes “specifying the relationship between self as an ingroup member and specific others as ingroup or outgroup members” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 125). Personal identity is defined as a “set of attributes unique to self and contrasted

with specific other individuals or with other individuals in general” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 125) and the relationship attributes are defined as a “set of attributes specifying the relationship between self as a unique individual and others as individuals” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 125). At any given time we have as many social identities as the groups a person feels he/she belongs to. The social identity can be very important for a person’s entire self-concept, which governs how a person behaves (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). A social identity relies on the “self-categorization and on people’s motivation to make sense of and reduce uncertainty about themselves and others, and to feel relatively positive about themselves “(Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 129). A categorization of others are based on a limited number of perceptual cues (how people talk, look like and behave like) and is the fit between these cues and the schematic prototypes already stored which decide if the categorization is psychologically salient (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

Further, Hogg and Vaughan note that “people join groups to get things done that they cannot do on their own” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 310). Horlings (2012) seems to have touched on both of the points about the need to affiliate and the social identity when suggesting that a “shared sense of urgency” is necessary in order for people to start cooperating in a place. The “shared sense of urgency” is taken in as propositions. Further it is suggested that a close down in a rural area prompts the “shared sense of urgency” as a number of people lose their place of work at the same time. Losing one’s place of work is considered a major negative stressor (Passer and Smith 2004) and in being in small place the options for a new place of work are less than in a city. Two propositions derive from these thoughts:

- 1) **Close down of the cornerstone company creates a “shared sense of urgency”.**
- 2) **The knowledge of a possible close down creates a “shared sense of urgency”.**

Additionally, the line of thoughts underpins the concept of “continuous collective effort” as local traditions are given importance which might reflect a social identity connected to the place and being a reason for why people cooperate and invest at all.

Desire to achieve

When it comes to work, the earliest psychologists thought that employees’ motivations were entirely about money (Taylor 1911) and based on this assumption taylorism became fordism – symbolized by the mass production lines, specialized workers performing only one operation and emphasis on the optimal ways to move in order to be as efficient as possible. More recent studies show that opportunities to complete a whole product, take part in deciding procedures

and decisions, giving and receiving performance feedback, engaging workers and letting them feel mastery and social recognition gives growth and satisfies interpersonal relationships (Stajkovic and Luthans 2001,). Field studies support this theory as the companies with happy and motivated people outperform other companies on the bottom line and decreased their absenteeism (Wexley, 1984), and workers become more loyal (Niehoff et al. 2001). Manville and Ober (2003) and Gratton (2004) suggest looking at workers as citizens. The concept of citizenship has later been applied to the workplace and has given rise to the democratic ideal (Gratton, 2004). The democratic ideal is suggested by Bjerke and Ind (2007) as the way for companies to improve the brand building ability.

When discussing rural development, it is often thought of as a development country issue (Chambers 1997). However, seeing that industrialized countries now are experiencing rural decay due to the mass-move of people to the cities, it can be suggested that industrialized countries also can learn from the approach developing countries have towards their own development. Most rural development programs have been driven with a top-down approach, meaning that programs are run by national governments, regional authorities, NGOs and so on, and they are forced upon the locals and this has not yielded the expected results (Singh 2001). As a reaction to this, the bottom-up approach has been put forward as a process which brings in the inhabitants as deciders of their future (Singh 2001, Chambers 1997). The approach takes the stand that rural development can only happen if the inhabitants are involved. As pointed out a sense of belonging is important (Hogg and Vaughan 2005)] and having a say about one's own future has been claimed to be a powerful factor in creating belonging (Passer and Smith 2008). Parallels can be drawn to workers which raise their productivity when they are allowed a say in shaping their own work environment (Passer and Smith 2008). The approach can be said to "harness the inner forces of people" which Gilmore (2010) has pointed to as important in place branding. In that line of thought and considering that the municipality is the legitimate leaders, it is proposed that

3) The municipality authorities' involvement of inhabitants sustains the collective effort.

3.3.3 Culture/ norms

"Norms are shared beliefs about what is the appropriate conduct for a group member: they are both descriptive ("is" statements) and prescriptive ("ought" statements)" (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 300). The norms account for the uniformity found in behaviour across group members.

The way people talk, behave, dress, choose to do on their spare time, live, work with and what they eat are symbolic and it has been referred to as consuming identity (Hoyer and MacInnes 2008). All of these markers shape the community as it is a group of people who try to make sense of and express themselves (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). They are deeply ingrained with ones emotions, sense of self, upbringing and family relations (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

Norms can be explicit rules, which are enforced by legislations and sanctions, or implicit, the unobserved which rules govern daily life (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). The rules provide a degree of certainty as it stipulates the correct action to take – they are a frame of reference (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). “It is as if the group is carried in the head of the individual in the form of a norm” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). In that sense, normal and moral codexes are relative and defined by the society one grows up in. It gives sense to the old expression “it takes a village to raise a child”. The expression of such norms can take form as a particular form of dances, songs, writings, events, food and so on; all the elements which often are labelled cultural expressions.

Size

The size of the place in question both in terms of population and geography, affects the amount of people one person know or is acquainted with. Close ties in the form of friendship and family makes people engaged in what Mauss (1995) calls gift relations, which can also be referred to as a social contract or a norm. Gift relationships are, according to Mauss (1995) defined by three principles;

- 1) The obligation to receive gifts.
- 2) The obligation to give gifts.
- 3) The obligation to give back.

The principles engage people in relationships based on reciprocity. The principle of reciprocity dictates good and bad behaviour and moral (Mauss 1995). If one of the principles is not followed, trust decreases. Refusing to receive gifts is to refuse the giver (Mauss 1995). A party which does not give back is devalued by the other party (Mauss 1995). The first party will often reciprocate because of the nature of the gift giving (Mauss 1955). The gift is a gift with strings attached to it and it communicates debt (Mauss 1955). The ambiguity attached to the value of the gift received leads to escalating gifts, a “potlatch” (Mauss 1995). People do not like to be in debt as it signals that one is inferior to the giver (Mauss 1995). A gift does not have to be physical; it can be favours, services provided etc.

Network theory provides a description of how people can use their network and for what purposes (Granovetter 1985). In a relationship where both parties acknowledge the other party as a close friend or family, tacit knowledge can be tapped into as people are ready to spend time and effort on making the other party understand what is going on, such as cultural codes, their expertise and so on. While weaker ties, like acquaintances, do not give the same access to tacit knowledge but are a rich source of information on a general level (Granovetter 1985). The extent of strong relationships can account for why people join in a collective effort, while weaker ties are a source of information about what other people in a place are doing. The total amount of people one person knows impacts the resources available in a start-up phase for example.

Norms influence how people socialize and even when the original group members are gone, powerful norms live on in the remaining group members (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). Over time they become salient features of a group of people if the norms are strong enough and become shared history. If the group is socially relevant for its members, a social identity emerges. In that line of thought a secondary proposition is formed for what prompted the collective effort.

1) The collective effort is rooted in a shared history and identity.

Culture as a concept is slippery and putting labels on the observed can feel foreign for the people who are studied. So in order to raise the reliability, a thorough description of the place and its development can be found in chapter 5, and first part of the analysis, chapter 6, which handles the concept of continuous collective effort.

In the following subchapter the propositions are summarized.

3.4 Propositions

The research questions guide the research designs, though they do not point to what should be studied (Yin 2009). Propositions “... direct attention to something that should be examined within the scope of the study” (Yin 2009, 28). They are initial assumptions about the area of study and they guide the researcher an approach to finding relevant evidence (Yin 2009). After reviewing the literature, there are several propositions related to what prompted the rise of the collective effort, how it was governed and sustained. The propositions are summarized below:

What prompted it:

1. Close down of the cornerstone company creates a “shared sense of urgency”.
2. The knowledge of a possible close down creates a “shared sense of urgency.”
3. A collective effort is rooted in history and identity.

What sustained it:

1. Common effort is directed by visionary authorities.
2. The municipal authorities imprint the culturally desirable in the people.
3. The municipal authority’s involvement of the inhabitants sustains the collective efforts.

The propositions are analyzed in chapter 6 and the findings in chapter 7.

3.5 Summary

Place brand theory is a strand of literature within the wider brand literature. Place brand has been in the past and still is a heavily debated area and there is no agreement on what a place brand entails. In this chapter it is argued that place brands do exist by comparing the definitions of brand and brand equity to how places are defined and how places influence the perception of goods coming from the area. Further, it is argued that place brands comparable to company brands, an overarching structure, which implies ideas about how the place function, its people and whereabouts.

Place brands and company brands are comparable as they both deal with the overall image of a group of people, and leaders in both areas have used branding techniques to influence the outsiders’ perception of them. The difference between the companies and places is the total amount of internal stakeholders which is present in a place and the wealth of reasons they are there. In a company people are paid to work and the management and leadership body governs the processes and the direction of the company, while in a place people live and have no obligations towards the place, except to pay taxes and follow rules and regulations. A company can make you jobless, but municipality authorities cannot make you homeless. The use of engaging visions and involvement of people have yielded results inside companies, as the more engaged people are the higher they perform, which again makes the company perform better. This is also assumed to be true for places. On the other side, cooperation between actors who are not obliged to cooperate can be difficult to achieve and Horlings (2012) emphasizes that a “shared sense of urgency” is needed to get people to pull together in

the same direction. An assumption made is that close downs of companies can create this “shared sense of urgency” and thereby give rise to the collective effort, although a shared history and identity can yield the same results according to several authors.

Following this, the brand needs consistency and as the legitimate leaders of the municipality it is proposed that the leaders are guarding the brand through imprinting of the culturally desirable on its habitants. The last proposition states the relationship between leaders and inhabitants as it is proposed that the involvement in the visionary work creates a deeper sense of attachment and therefore the collective effort is sustained.

3.6 Closing remarks

This chapter has accounted for the theoretical foundation for the propositions presented. The theory also functions as arguments for the concept of “continuous collective effort”.

The next chapter accounts for the research design and methodology used in order to collect the data. Analysis of the data is conducted in chapter 6 and the findings are discussed in chapter 7.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction to the research design

Research is the process a researcher goes through from the identification of a problem or topic that the researcher wants to explore and learn more about, to the presentation of the whole process, usually in a written format (Yin 2009). All decisions made in this process should, according to Yin (2009) and Creswell (2013); be guided by the research question. This chapter describes the relationship between the research question and the decisions made in the process to arrive at the conclusions the thesis ends in. This chapter is organized according to the flow in Figure 4:



Figure 4 Chapter organization.

The first important decision was related to the research strategy. The strategy chosen was a case study approach with the use of mainly qualitative methods, though supplemented by statistics from SSB. The reasons for my choice of research design are found below in subchapter 4.2. Subchapter 4.3 presents how case study is understood in this thesis. In subchapter 4.4 the research methods chosen are presented. In subchapter 4.5 the ethical considerations are presented. Subchapter 4.6 is about how the different findings were analyzed from the field work in this thesis, and concluding remarks will follow in subchapter 4.7. Even though research quality has its own subchapter, the concepts of generalization, validity and reliability are discussed throughout the chapter.

4.2 Research design

Research design is the paths taken in order to arrive at the final conclusions. Yin (2009) identifies three conditions which should be taken into consideration when choosing which path to follow:

- 1) The type of research question posed
- 2) The extent of control an investigator has over actual events, and
- 3) The degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events

(Yin 2009, 8)

As the research questions aim at understanding a real-life phenomenon that involves personal experiences, emotions, thoughts and motivations, so-called “life – worlds”, which require a more in-depth consideration than a quantitative analysis can yield (Berg and Lune 2012, Askheim and Grenness 2008, Yin 2009, Creswell 2013), a qualitative inquiry seems to be the right path to follow. Yin (2009) categorizes the research questions based “who”, “what”, “where”, “how” and “why” questions. The research questions are of the category “how”/”why” and are therefore more exploratory, and Yin (2009) therefore suggest case studies, historical studies and experiments as appropriate approaches.

In this kind of study the researcher has no control over the events that shapes this thesis, as they both happened in the past and are currently happening in decision making processes in the top management of local businesses and local government. According to Yin (2009), this rules out experiment as a method. As the events in question happened in the 1970s and onwards, they are historical events. However, they are recent and people who lived through the events are still alive today, which allows collection of data from interviews and observation. According to Yin (2009), the opportunity to collect information from interviews and observations is the main distinction between a historical study and a case study. However, the methods overlap since historical records are used, old newspaper and annual reports from a wide range of businesses in addition to observation and interviews. Additionally, case study is considered appropriate when the information from the data collection can add to existing theory (Askheim and Grenness 2008).

In sum, Yin (2009) claims that a case study has a distinct advantage when “a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has little or no control” (Yin 2009, 13). As the research questions fall into these categories, the research design chosen is a case study.

4.3 Research strategy- case study

In this thesis, a case study, according to Yin (2009) is understood as an inquiry that

- Investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when
- The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident
- Copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result

- Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as a result
- Benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis

(Yin 2009, 18)

The boundary between the phenomenon and the context is in this case blurred as the context can also be considered a part of the phenomenon. The history of the place is still an influence on local programs, decisions and businesses started. The case is not in a vacuum, it is a part of the modern Norway and the world. As a result, there are many variables of interest, though my focus is on what the inhabitants do and have done in the past to get to where they are today.

Some researchers distinguish between single- and multiple- case studies (Yin 2009).

However, Yin (2009) does not make this distinction because regardless of the number of cases, they are all to be approached in the same manner.

Based on the above definition, Yin (2009) derives five important components for the research design of case studies;

1. A study's questions;
2. Its propositions, if any;
3. Its unit(s) of analysis;
4. The logic linking the data to the propositions; and
5. The criteria for interpreting the findings

(Yin 2009, 27)

The research question has been presented in subchapter 1.3 , propositions in subchapter 3.4 and unit(s) of analysis in chapter 5. In addition, as described earlier, qualitative methods have an advantage over quantitative when it comes to real-life phenomenon as they be used to go in-depth of a subject or case, as Yin (2009) states above.

4.3.1 Research quality

When using qualitative methods, concerns are often raised about the quality of the research.

The quality of research is often thought of in three questions; do my findings apply to elsewhere as well? Did I measure or study what I said I would study? Can other people do the same study and get the same results as me? The first question can be called degree of

generalization or as Yin (2009) calls it, external validity. Second question is what Yin (2009) calls internal validity and the last question is reliability.

Fangen (2004) makes the notion that when doing fieldwork the researcher is never objective and the researcher's behavior and presence do influence the people who are studied. Yin (2009) argues that by making a strict case protocol containing all data and a rigorous account of all steps in the process counteracts the subjectivity of the researcher, other people can trace all steps in the process. However, Fangen (2004) notes that within the social sciences there have been a shift towards replacing validity and reliability with confirmability and trustworthiness, though it is still most common to use validity and reliability.

By following Fangen (2004), the following points are made on research quality.

4.3.1.1 Validity

Internal validity refers to the extent the study measures or explains what has been studied (Fangen 2004). The measures taken to achieve a high degree of internal validity are:

- 1) All the data in this research is collected by the author.
- 2) All interviews were conducted in the native language of the informants.
- 3) A wide range of informants were interviewed.
- 4) Interviews were taped and most of them transcribed by the author.
- 5) Full transcripts were used in the analysis.
- 6) Set interview guides according to categories enabled comparisons.

Throughout the thesis are notions about the validity made.

4.3.1.2 Generalization or external validity

External validity, or generalization, is the extent to which the findings in the case study can be generalized beyond the actual case (Yin 2009). In general, qualitative research is often criticized for the lack of ability to be generalized, like replications in experiments. As noted in the introduction, this thesis does not aim at generalizing the findings to other places, it aims at explaining an exceptional case and from there build theoretical proposition, which again needs to be tested on other cases. As such this thesis does not conform to Yin (2009) who emphasizes that two or more replications are needed to support the same theory.

4.3.1.3 Reliability

Could another researcher carry out the study and find the same data and draw similar conclusions? Reliability is about minimizing the errors and biases (Yin 2009). According to Fangen (2004), reliability is about can the conclusions made be trusted. In that spirit, a section later on in this chapter, subchapter 4.4.4, deals with how I approached the field and how I was received as a young, female researcher. Throughout the research, this point has been in mind of the author, leading to a subchapter on the topic in this thesis. Notes and pictures have been taken throughout the research period accurately describe what has been seen and heard, and through the write up of the thesis these impressions are articulated so that the readers can put themselves in the situation.

Points are also made about how, when and why different places were visited to obtain observational data, so that the readers can follow the footsteps in the research process and decide for themselves if the conclusions are reliable.

4.4 Research methods

In order to examine what prompted the rise of the collective effort and how it was managed from the beginning until today, in-depth interviews of key people involved in the development of Røros was conducted as well as data collection from the local libraries, statistical databases, official documentation and websites. In addition, observations were carried out at two local events, Stas på Sta`a and the information meeting and performance of Elden. These events were observed as I have been told that the volunteer spirit is high in Røros and I wanted to experience it. These elements are included as observations as I observed how the town, its people and history are presented by the inhabitants themselves.

Observational notes were taken throughout my time in Røros and I spent considerable time in cafes trying out local food and observing daily life of the inhabitants. The reasons for this were that informants told me that Røros is an urban town that it is normal and a part of daily life in Røros. In doing so, I followed Stoller (1989) who emphasizes that the only way to connect to the world is through the body and that the researcher shall not be so consumed with defining what is happening but experience it instead. As a result, my information comes from a variety of sources and according to Stewart (1998) this asserts the validity. This is also referred to as triangulation (Yin 1989, Maxwell 1996), and it raises the conformability of the study. Fangen (2004) points out that the triangulation between observations, interviews and written records is the common way to triangulate, which is why I have chosen these methods.

In total I went to Røros five times for three days each time, mostly in May.

The research methods will now be outlined in different subchapters before remarks will be made on who I am as a researcher and on the ethical issues connected to the study. Subchapter 4.4.1 contains how, who, when and why the interviews were conducted and who and why the informants were chosen. Subchapter 4.4.2 outlines how, why and where I conducted observations and had different conversations, while subchapter 4.4.3 deals with the archival records studied. Subchapter 4.4.4 presents how I perceive the field and my presence in it.

4.4.1 Interviews

The interviews have been semi-structured as questions have been prepared before the meetings, but as interesting comments were made, they were followed up. The interview guide served as a checklist for the interviewer, which is in accordance with Askheim and Grenness (2008). The follow-up questions, known as probing, are typical for in-depth interviews (Askheim and Grenness 2008, Bailey 2007). The questions were mostly “what” and “how” questions which gave rich answers, consistent with Bailey`s (2007) claim.

The semi-structuring also ensures that the informants to a certain degree are asked the same questions, which eases the analysis as it makes the answers somewhat comparable (Bailey 2007). The interview guide follows the curve proposed by McCracken in “The Long Interview” (1988), meaning easier questions in the beginning and end, and harder in the middle of the interview. However, as the interviews were semi-structured they changed during the course of the interviews. Although certain questions were spared until the end so that the interview finish would be easy. Some of the interviews turned into conversations as the interviewees asked for my opinions, consistent with what Bailey (2007) says can happen in an interview.

The interviews were conducted in the informants’ home, office or at a local cafe, depending on their preference, which enhances the probability of the informants feeling relaxed (Askheim and Grenness 2008). Furthermore, most of the interviews lasted around one hour. When the informant felt comfortable with being recorded, they were. Later on the interviews were transcribed. Only one informant refused to be recorded. For the informant who was uncomfortable by being taped, I took notes during the interview and directly after wrote a summary of the notes and my own recollection. When possible two interviews were booked per day – not more in order for the researcher to be fully present and concentrated on the informant (Askheim and Grenness 2008) and prevent exhaustion (Yin 2009). However, due to

cancellations, double-bookings and limited amount of time on location on each trip, some days had more than two interviews and some days only one.

The informants were notified about the aim of the study, their role, rights, confidentiality and anonymity and gave their written accept for participation. The information and consent form was written in Norwegian and the format was adapted from Berg (2009). The consent form is attached as attachment 4. During the analysis, it was seen as necessary to make certain statements with names, if not the anonymity could not be ensured. Permission was granted to do so upon emailing the Norwegian and English statement and then a phone call 11.08.2014 confirmed the acceptance. The above mentioned measures were taken to ease the flow of the conversation and to be in accordance with ESOMAR and Datatilsynet (Aksheim and Grenness 2008).

4.4.1.1 Informants

The selection of informants affects the study and only those relevant for the study should be included (Askheim and Grenness 2008). The study can potentially involve all inhabitants above 18. However, since the study deals with how government and businesses in Røros have worked together over the years in a collective effort to build places to work in the town without losing “the sense of place” or its soul and time set for this study, it seems appropriate to look at the leaders of government and companies. Two groups of informants have been chosen;

- 1) The mayors that led the municipality from 1970 until today, and
- 2) a sample of company entrepreneurs started up after 1977 as well as daily managers of significant employers.

The mayors are people voted in to office and therefore considered the legitimate leaders of the area. They have considerable power to shape the economic and social life of the inhabitants. Their acts and thoughts can therefore play a significant role in developing the municipality, as argued by Hakala and Ozturk (2012). From 1970 until 2014 there have been 9 different majors. Of these five are alive and four of them agreed to be interviewed.

My second group of informants is companies that create places to work. As described later, there is a multitude of places to work in Røros municipality, and for convenience I have chosen to focus on Røros Bergstaden, the main town of Røros municipality. The companies in Røros (Bergstaden) range from restaurants, accountants, dentists, technological companies,

industrial companies, hotels and more. I have limited which companies to interview to companies which mainly sell their products to visitors or outsiders, who represent an inflow of cash to the area, as well as companies which employ more people than its founders. Furthermore, in order to provide a historical developmental perspective I have strived to find a wide range of startup times to tap into the continuous effort put into creating a place with sustainable businesses. In order for my study to take into account most areas of business, companies in various industries have been contacted.

In total I have interviewed three daily managers of significant employers and four start-up companies.

In addition, I have interviewed people who can be considered to be essential in economic growth, as well as representatives from the museum and the destination company. These informants were added in the study as my understanding grew and other informants told me that they would be a good source of information. In total this is six people. Of these six two interviews were not recorded due to the fact that they happened on the spot and they were initially not set up as interviews. However, I took notes and immediately afterwards wrote down the key points from my recollection.

In total I interviewed 16 people. Most of my informants were male and this might have influence my research project, though it also says something about the society in Røros in general.

The focus on interviews as research method can limit the study as the context affects the information given and most people want to present themselves in the best possible way (Goffman 1992). I have tried to take this into account by of choosing a wide range of informants who all are assumed to provide rich information about the topic, so-called “purposeful sampling” (Bailey 2007). In addition, I have tried to go beyond the words by supplementing with observational notes. I do not have any key informants, according to Fangen (2004), as everyone was interviewed once and their opinions are valued the same way. The information in the study thus comes from a variety of places and people I have met and talked to.

4.4.2 Observations and conversations

Observation started the minute I got off the train the first time and the observation brought back memories I had forgotten. As Stoller (1989) emphasized the use of all the senses in the

field and I tried to use them all. Having a small notebook and taking field notes as you go along are techniques which are suggested by Fangen (2004), and these techniques were implemented. Fangen (2004) also claims that written notes are better than mental notes as memories can fade and details disappear. Hence a choice was made to take notes and photographs of buildings, streets and events so I could revisit my experiences at a later stage. Together with the observational notes, I wrote small theoretical comments, which is an accordance with Fangen (2004). Theoretical notes also ease the analysis as thoughts are not forgotten but can be revisited and refined.

Previous knowledge of the area and interest in locally produced food made me conscious of the food choices I had while in the field, as I knew the local food in Rørøs is known outside the municipal borders and has grown considerable in size the last 10 years. Therefore I made a conscious choice to eat at as many different providers as possible and sample the local cuisine, also from the supermarkets. While having my meals, shopping for my own consumption and staying at a campsite in the low season, I talked to a variety of people and these conversations are also included in my field notes. While doing this, the boundaries between my own life and the life of the researcher blended together, which Fangen (2004) points to can happen while in the field.

Upon reading Fangen`s (2004) chapter on observation, I let go of the theoretical framework when I entered the field. I used all my senses, although the interview guide and the research questions did color my observations. In doing so, the theory did not constrain me but it did influence how and what was observed. In the data collection period, I attended two local cultural events in order to gain a better perspective of life in Rørøs and these events are described below.

4.4.2.1 Local events

Rørøs arranges a number of local events throughout the year and several of them are completely dependent on voluntary work. I went to two of these events as I wanted to see the magnitude and scale of these events and talk to people about their motivation to volunteer their time and effort.

4.4.2.2 Elden

One of the local events arranged every year is Elden, an out-door theatrical reenactment of a Swedish invasion of Norway in the 18th century. The performance takes place in Slegghaugene, among piles of residue the copper extraction, and is being performed for the 15th time in 2014 (Stiftelsen Elden).

Figure 5 is a picture from the performance. For this play to become reality, a large amount of volunteers are needed both for acting, handling tickets, selling coffee s as well security and car parking personnel. People are to

meet up on a day set in July and are expected to

contribute throughout the time of the rehearsals and performances, which is in

the end of July and the beginning of August. At the information meeting I went to in May, I spoke with several people about

their motivation to

volunteer. The people I

spoke with were informed about my thesis but did not sign a consent form and their answers were not taped, only written down afterwards. I also went to the actual performance in August.



Figure 5 (Foto: Svein Eggen/Elden-roros.no)

4.4.2.3 Stas på Sta`a

The second event I attended, “Stas på Sta`a”, is a local event for the companies that are a part of Røros Handelsstand. It is mainly a fashion show where the clothing stores can present their new merchandise. However, other groups such as the karate club, the ballet club and several singers contributed to the show. As the Eurovision Song contest was soon to take place soon after the event, the theme of the event was Nordic contributions to the Eurovision Song contest. The models were local, in all shapes and sizes, and the performance was humorous. An example, one of the sporting goods shops which had the employees in the kindergarten showcase how small children dress themselves for 20 below zero, in the newest merchandise of course (as shown in Figure 6). Other partners of Røros Handelsstand such as the bank, food stores, the micro brewery, a hairdresser and several cafes were represented in grand hall nearby before and in the break of the fashion show. They offered tastings of new products,

free samples of lotions and crèmes and discounts in their stores. All in all, the event lasted for three hours. The general atmosphere was good and people were visibly enjoying themselves. One informant told that the event had to be expanded to a two night affair as the demand was so high and the night I was there, the room was packed to its maximum capacity.



Figure 6 (Foto: Guril Bergersen/Arbeidets rett)

4.4.3 Archival records

There is one public library in Røros and the staff was very helpful with books and newspapers. I went through several of the historical books written by the copper company as well as newspapers from the 1920s, 1930s and 1976-1980. I concentrated on “Arbeidets Rett” which is one of two local newspapers, though this is the one that comes out most frequently. There is also a library at the museum; it provided yearbooks of local businesses and the museum.

4.4.4 My presence in the field

In qualitative research, reliability is impossible to obtain as a researcher is never objective, (Maxwell 1996). The aim of qualitative studies is thus not to eliminate the researcher but to understand that the researcher is subjective and use the subjectivity productively (Maxwell 1996).

As the researcher is never objective, I take this opportunity to write about how I experienced the data collection period as this can shed some light on how I obtained the data I did and who I am as a research instrument.



Figure 7 (Foto: Guril Bergersen/Arbeidets rett)

By doing so the readers are allowed to judge for themselves if the conclusions drawn are trustworthy or not and if they believe the conclusions can be confirmed (Fangen 2004).

The people I contacted for an interview have been interested in participating and have welcomed me well. Only two people turned me down. Two informants also told me that they would have declined to participate had it not been for the theme of my thesis. One person called me and wanted to talk, so in some cases as this one and the fact that my initial informants suggested other people for information shows that the researcher does not always choose the informants, they somehow choose you. My overall impression is that the people of Røros wanted to take part in my study and that they took the time to meet me even though their time is valuable to them.

Several people expressed that they did not feel entirely competent to answer my questions and pointed to the museum as the best source of information. However, after some reassuring that I wanted to hear their perspective, they did share their thoughts on the subject in question.

All of the people who were interviewed were older than me as they were more than 40 years of age. This is a comfortable situation as I lapse into a student- teacher relationship. I have not sensed any issues with my gender or age.

Most of my informants asked me if I had family in Røros or what my connection to Røros was. I find the fact that I am not from Røros an advantage to my thesis as I could be a neutral confidant. Since I am a Norwegian and a native speaker myself, language was not a barrier, and due to my openness and nature of the study, I sensed that people felt comfortable around me. Apart from one exception, my intentions have not been questioned.

4.5 Ethical issues

That the case is Røros is not hidden and with the mayors as one of my informant groups, special care has been taken in order to point out the intention of the thesis and the rights to withdraw at any time. Actual names are not used, except when permission is granted, but as Røros is a small town some people might recognize opinions or expressions. In order for the informants to know what they have agreed to they have all signed consent forms (Berg 2009), attached as attachment no. 4. The fact that the mayors are a limited numbered group makes anonymity troublesome as researchers of qualitative studies should work hard to conceal the identity and confidentiality of the informants (Berg 2009). One wanted to read the paper before it was handed in, even though this was not an option.

Another measure taken is to translate the quotes into English because this dissertation is written in English. However, the passages are in Norwegian in the end-notes, though this is not the way most people in Røros speak as they talk

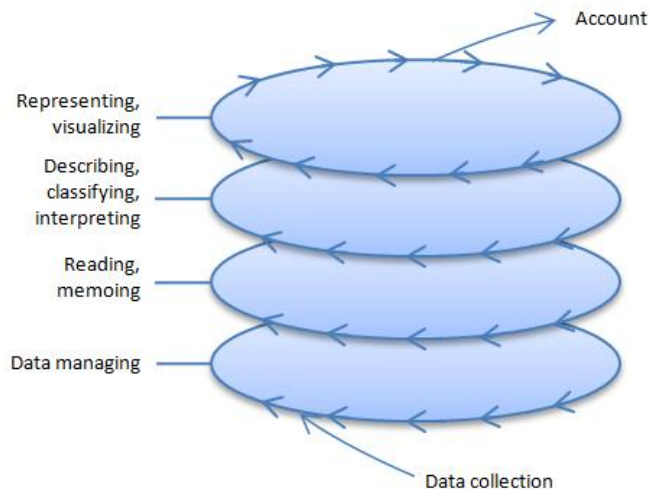


Figure 8 Creswell (2013) illustration of the process of data collection, data analysis and report writing.

dialect. What the informants say is therefore already to a certain degree interpreted and identity is to certain degree concealed.

Several people have asked me who else are part of the study is, but have understood that I could not reveal this. Despite this, as locals in a small town, chances are that some people will recognize each other and as a result full anonymity is not possible. Fangen (2004) sites the ethical guidelines for researchers saying that the self-worth of informants is to be taken seriously and research shall not taunt informants or other people. The goal of the research is to describe situations and as accurately as possible describe what happened and the reasons and motivations of people who acted in that situation. It is important that the researcher keeps the right to analyze the situation, even though the participant may see the situation differently (Fangen 2004).

On confidentiality, the interviews were recorded when permission was granted and were destroyed upon completion of this thesis. The same went for all transcribed interviews. Names of participants have not been disclosed at any time. However, statements, stories and opinions have been shared with colleagues and counselor in order to make sense of the data obtained.

4.6 Analyzing and interpreting data

“The process of data collection, data analysis, and report writing are not distinct steps in the process – they are interrelated and often go on simultaneously in the research project (Creswell 2013, 182). Therefore, the analytical process started the first time I got off the train in Røros, lasted throughout the data collection period, during the transcribing phase, the more focused analysis and write up of the dissertation. Creswell (2013) illustrates this with a spiral

depicted in Figure 8. The spiral represents the circles the analysis goes in, rather than the linear line used in analytical processes traditionally (Creswell 2013). Below an account of the analytical process will be given.

4.6.1 Organizing the data

The first loop in the spiral; it is when the researchers organizes their data and arrange them in appropriate text units (Creswell 2013). As noted above, field notes were kept in a small notebook, and between and after field trips the interviews were transcribed and archived waiting for further processing. With exception of two interviews, I transcribed the interviews by myself. The last two were transcribed by my mother. Before they were transferred names, were altered in order for her not to know the identity of the informants. It was a measure taken to ensure anonymity.

Pictures taken of newspaper passages and text in books were downloaded from my phone to my computer for easy access and retrieval.

4.6.2 Reading and taking memos

The next step was making to make sense of the whole database (Creswell 2013). In doing so, I started reading the material I had over and over again, adding labels and memos to what I read, arranging the data into smaller segments (Bailey 2007). “These memos are short phrases, ideas, or key concepts that occur to the reader” (Creswell 2013, 183). Bailey (2007) describes memoing as “memos to oneself regarding insights one derives from coding and reflecting on the data” (Bailey 2007, 133). My transcribed interviews got splashed with colors as I added labels. However, I have used memoing throughout the field work and the analyzing of data as I have been writing down my thoughts, insights and possible theoretical implications after every interview. These notes have proven to be invaluable in the writing process.

4.6.3 Codes and themes

The next step was describing, classifying and coding the data (Creswell 2013). “Data reduction, simplification, lies at the heart of coding” (Bailey 2007, 127). In this thesis, I have chosen to code my interviews and observations, while the archival records and the other supplements have not been coded in such a strict way. These data have been used when they seem to confirm or disconfirm what has been said or observed.

Upon completion of the memoing, or initial coding (Bailey 2007), themes started to emerge. Through grouping smaller items under a larger label (Bailey 2007, 129), the data were moving from literal meaning to conceptual meaning (Bailey 2007). The themes and the data were structured on A3 papers where the interviewees were put horizontally next to each other and the categories vertically. This phase means that I move from the informants' perspective to a theoretical perspective by using codes which were deduced from my theoretical framework (Fangen 2004, Creswell 2013).

4.6.4 Interpreting the data

While analyzing and interpreting, I make interpretations about what is going on and the discussion moves beyond what the informants say and put it into a larger theoretical framework (Creswell 2013). By looking at the interpretations critically and come with alternative interpretations, I follow what Fangen (2004) considers being the best way to get good interpretations. It adds and goes beyond the informants' information but confirmation from the participants is still possible (Fangen 2004).

4.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have accounted for my research design, research strategy and methods. The research strategy chosen is a case study with the use of mainly qualitative methods, supplemented with statistics. The chosen case gives in-depth knowledge on a single community and the study is meant as inspiration to other places. The study does not pretend that the conclusions arrived at can be directly applied to other places. The use of multiple methods is thought to raise the validity. The choice of letting the people voice their opinions in length in the analysis section also raises the validity as other readers can choose for themselves if the conclusions are credible (Wolcott 1994).

5. The case

This chapter presents the case. The chapter has been divided into two main parts,

- 1) evaluation of Røros against the strategically sustainable success criteria presented in the introduction chapter, and
- 2) a comprehensive description of the history, development and landscape of Røros.

The first part, subchapter 5.1, describes how Røros fits the criteria set for being successful in order to support the claim that Røros provides a good case for the study in this thesis. The second part, subchapter 5.2, has been given special attention to the context which is important in a case study, and because the structural framework influences the interactions and actions of its inhabitants. By doing so their actions are contextualized (Fangen 2004). It is also important because one of the propositions is directed at the culture and identity, and (as noted in subchapter 2.2) defining and labelling culture is difficult and possibly troublesome in a theoretical framework. This leads to the explanation of the history and the landscape which eases the analysis and drawing conclusions on the influence these things have had on the culture and identity of the inhabitants.

The case subject to analysis is Røros municipality with a specific focus on Røros (the town also known as Bergstaden). The reason behind this is that Røros is the municipality's powerhouse as the administrative centre and all major employers are situated here. This is also the transport hub as trains and planes arrive here and the road between Oslo and Trondheim passes through the centre of the town. The original timeframe in the study was from 1977 until today. However, during the study it was discovered that events prior to 1977 impacted the behaviour of the inhabitants in 1977. The line between context and phenomenon is therefore blurred as Yin (2009) suggest, this is a trademark for case studies.

The two main parts end with each of their own summaries, subchapter 5.1.5 and subchapter 5.2.6. The whole chapter is summarized and closing remarks are made in subchapter 5.3.

5.1 Success criteria

As noted in the beginning, the success criteria are thought of as;

- 1) An increase in population.
- 2) A high number of companies in the area, both founded in the area and located there by externals.

- 3) A high number of businesses started or attracted which gives employment.
- 4) In addition, a low unemployment rate in the area is considered a success.
- 5) Number of visitors.

Below, these criteria are handled separately and upon completion some concluding remarks are given. The numbers are taken from SSB and “Rørosregionens Næringshage AS” (The business park of the region of Røros), which has made statistics for themselves with SSB as the source.

5.1.1 Population growth

Table 1 shows the development over the last decade, where the people came from – migration and number of babies born – and the overall development.

Year	Birth surplus	Net migration	Sum population development	Population per 31.12.2013
2008	-21	-36	-57	
2009	-15	27	13	
2010	-27	31	5	
2011	-17	39	23	
2012	-20	11	-15	
2013	-22	16	-6	5583
Development over the last 10 years	-157	141	-16	
Development over the last 5 years	-101	121	20	

Table 1 The table shows the birth surplus, net migration and population development for Røros. Statistics from Rørosregionen Næringshage AS 2013.

The municipality of Røros has published the numbers of the population for each decade since the 1950s in Næringsplan 2012-2022. The numbers are depicted in Figure 9.

It seems fair to say that the overall number of inhabitants has remained stable in the decades after the mines were closed and during the closure of several factories in the 1980s. The population has ever so slightly increased the last 10 years. It seems to be the net inflow of people which keeps the population stable the last 10 years. As employment is considered by all of the informants as the main reason for people being able to live there, it is striking that the loss of several employers has not impacted the number of inhabitants in the municipality as seen other places.

According to Rørosregionen Næringshage AS the SSB statistical forecast for the municipality is that by 2040 around 6250 people should live in the area. That is an average growth of 25 people per year.

In contrast, all of the neighbouring municipalities have been experiencing a net decrease in their population over the last 10 years. The exception is Midtre-Gauldal. This can be explained by its proximity to Trondheim. It has become a popular municipality to live in while working in Trondheim (Rørosregionen Næringshage AS 2013 yearly report).

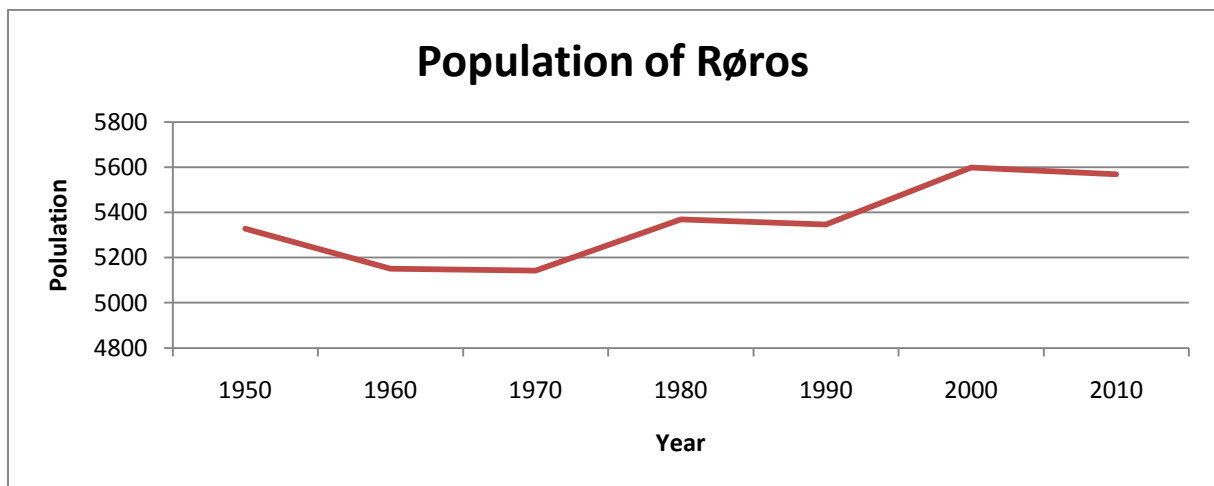


Figure 9 The population of Røros for the decades between 1950 and 2010.

5.1.2 High number of companies in the area

The number of companies in an area is an indicator of the activity in the area and how people are supporting themselves. Table 2 shows the total number of companies present in Røros and Holtålen and the development from 2010-2013.

Municipality	Total number of companies	Development in companies 2010-2013
Røros	737 companies employed 3342 people	+ 36
Holtålen	260 companies employed 678 people	+5

Table 2 The table shows the number of companies present I Røros and Holtålen from 2010-2013. Statistics from Rørosregionen Næringshage AS 30.09.2013.

Compared to Holtålen Røros has more than twice the amount of companies. The sheer number of companies can be deceptive as one person can have several companies registered to them. Table 3 shows how many companies employ a certain amount of people.

Table 3 shows that the largest group of companies only employ one person in both Holtålen and Røros, though Røros has more than double the amount of self-employed people compared to Holtålen. There is only one company with over a 100 employees, which means that most of the businesses present are small or mid size. In Holtålen 94% and in Røros 88.5% of the businesses employ 9 or less people. The statistics does not include the municipal administration or units which are paid by the municipality.

	Røros	Holtålen
Total number of companies	737	260
Companies w/more than 100 employees	1	0
Companies w/between 50-99 employees	12	1
Companies w/between 20-49 employees	21	4
Companies w/between 10-19 employees	51	9
Companies w/between 5-9 employees	72	21
Companies w/less than 5 employees	171	75
Companies w/ no employees (ex. self-employment only)	409	150

Table 3 Company sizes in Røros and Holtålen municipality. Statistics from Rørosregionen Næringshage AS 30.09.2013.

The companies are distributed in the industries mentioned in Table 4. According to “Rørosregionen Næringshagen” (2013), these numbers do not correspond to the population in the municipality due to widespread commuting between the neighbouring municipalities.

Table 4 shows that industry, commodity trading and construction are the main industries in Røros besides health and social services. It also shows the nature of the industrial industry – in order to grow and compete in the market efficiency is highly priced, which means that technological advances can replace and be more efficient than human labour. Despite these challenges, the employment numbers continue to be high. The national average is in May 2014 was 3.2% (SSB).

In sum, the industrial past is still present with several companies dealing with metal and wood, and a high percentage of the population working in manufacturing. Only one company has over 100 employees and 409 companies only employ one person, which means that 327 companies are small or middle size companies. These companies are very important for the

employment in the area (Rørosregionens Næringsshage). In comparison, Holtålen has only 14 companies which are larger than 10 employees.

	2010	2012	Change (2008-2012)
Health- and socialservices	19,1 %	19,6 %	+ 33 positions
Industry	16,5 %	15,6 %	- 90 positions
Commodity trading and repairs	13,2 %	13,5 %	- 14 positions
Building and construction	9,1 %	9,5 %	+ 30 positions
Services (personal, business and technical)	7,5 %	8,4 %	+ 23 positions
Hotels and restaurants	7,4 %	6,9 %	-28 positions
Teaching	6,5 %	6,1 %	-27 positions
Transport and storage	6,1 %	5,7 %	-29 positions
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	6,2 %	5,1 %	- 40 positions
Public administration	3,6 %	4,5 %	+ 21 positions
Information, communication, financing and insurance	3,0 %	2,9 %	-10 positions
Electricity, water and renovation and others	1,6 %	1,5 %	+ 16 positions

Table 4 Røros: Employment by industry. Percentage of people distributed into the different industries. Statistics from Rørosregionen Næringsshage AS 30.09.2013.

5.1.3 High number of businesses started or attracted

The number of companies started in an area can indicate entrepreneurship though they might not all be sustainable. Only time will show if they can survive. The number is therefore used as an indicator for entrepreneurship and motivation to stay in the area and work with the local resources to create your own employment, which is positive for the overall area. Table 5 indicates how many companies have been started or attracted to the region both in Røros and Holtålen, a bordering municipality.

Municipality	2010	2011	2012	2013 (per 30.09.13)
Røros	65	50	53	41
Total number of stock companies	27	15	20	13
Holtålen	10	17	17	12
Total number of stock companies	3	3	7	8

Table 5 Total number of new enterprises in Røros and Holtålen, except municipal administration and primary industry. Statistics from Rørosregionen Næringsshage AS 30.09.2013.

Compared to Holtålen it is much more likely that people either create their own employment or attract companies from outside to the area.

5.1.4 Employment and unemployment

Table 6 shows the amount of people who are unemployed both in percentage of the population and total amount for the last three years. It also compares Røros to Holtålen, a neighbouring municipality, and the national average.

Municipality	2010	2011	2012	2013
Røros : number of totally unemployed	54	45	51	49
Unemployed young people (15-29)	18	13	17	14
Percentage of unemployed of the population	1,8 %	1,5 %	1,7 %	1,7 %
Holtålen : number of totally unemployed	28	22	16	23
Unemployed young people (15-29)	6	4	3	4
Percentage of unemployed of the population	2,7 %	2,1 %	1,5 %	2,3 %
Norway in percentage	2,9 %	2,7 %	2,5 %	2,6 %

Table 6 Unemployment statistics. Statistics from <http://ssb.no>.

Traditionally, Røros have had a very low unemployment rate and this is reflected in the numbers also these three years. The graphs in Figure 10 and Figure 11 show the total unemployed people from 1977-1987 and 1990-2013.

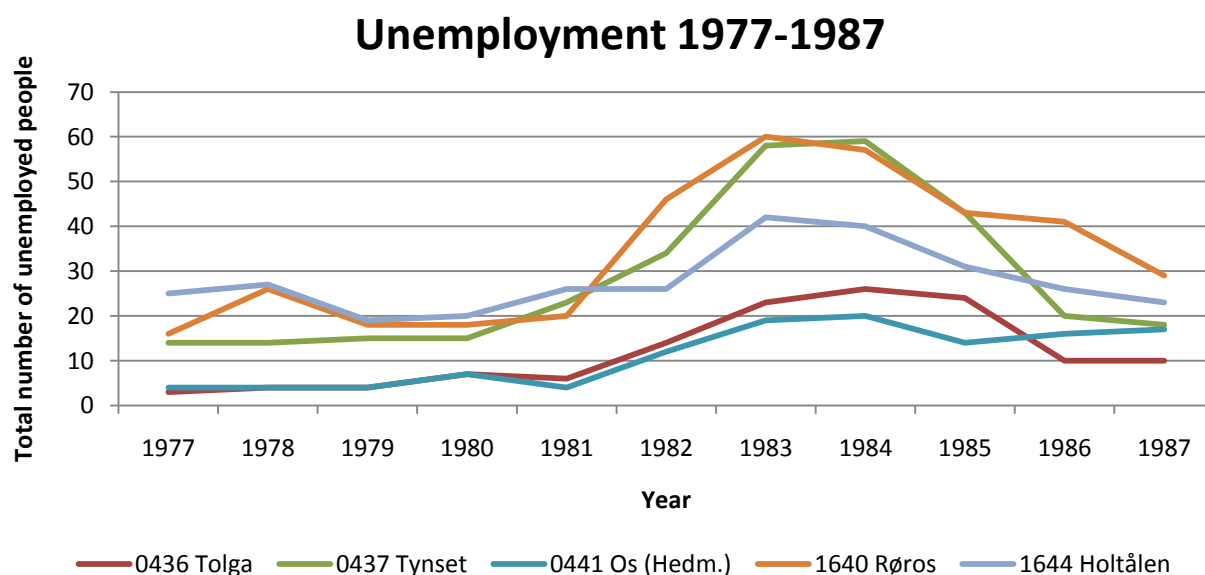


Figure 10 Unemployment statistics for the five neighbouring municipalities between 1977 and 1987. Source <http://ssb.no>.

Næringshagen (2013) points to two different explanations for this; the high number of people employed in industry and the broad spectre of industries.

According to Næringshagen (2013), it is only Røros and Tynset that offer more places of employment compared to the working population of that particular municipality. This means that people from the surrounding municipalities (Holtålen, Os, Tolga, Tydal and Midtre – Gauldal) commute to these municipalities. Besides Midtre –Gauldal, Røros is the only municipality which has had a net increase of places of work between 2010 and 2012 (Næringshagen 2013).

Unemployment 1990-2013

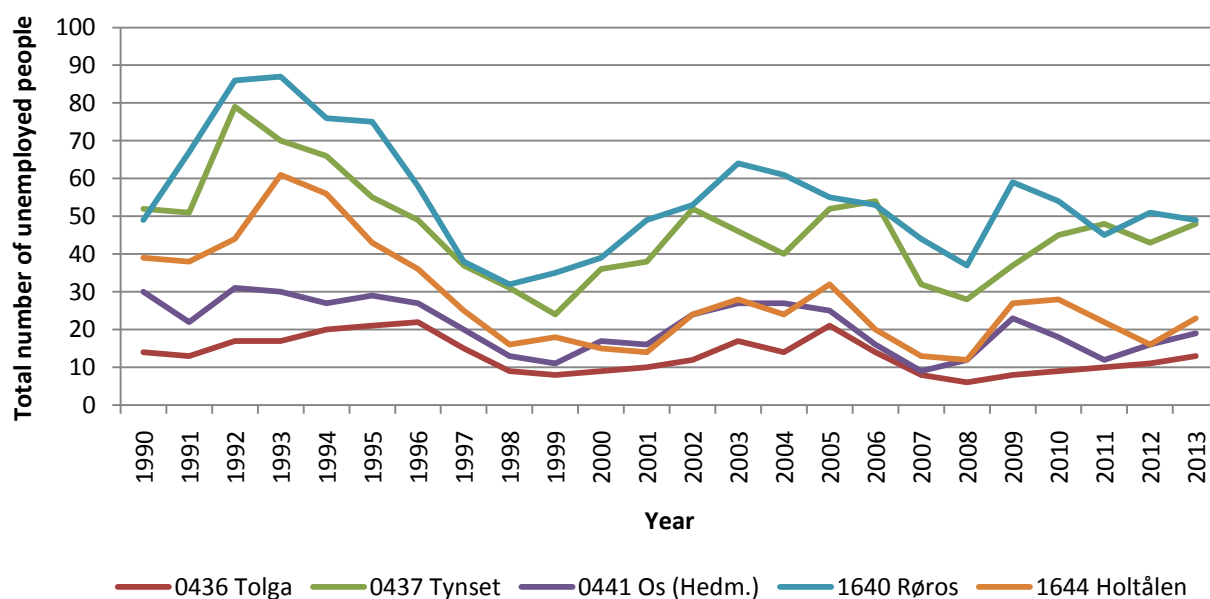


Figure 11 Unemployment statistics for the five neighbouring municipalities between 1990 and 2013. Source <http://ssb.no>.

5.1.5 Summary

As shown above, at the time of writing there is only one employer with over 100 employees, while the highest amount of companies consist of self-employers. In between there is a broad range of small and mid-sized employers. The amount of self-employers can indicate that people want to stay and that they believe that there exists an economic basis for their continued livelihood. This is discussed further in the analysis and discussion chapters.

5.2 Landscape, history and development

The second part of the case description handles the municipality's landscape, history and development from 1644 up until today. As noted in this chapter's introduction, the description will be important for one of the propositions in the analysis and the overall discussion in chapter 7.

This part is structured as following; subchapter 5.2.1 describes the landscape, subchapter 5.2.2 the history and city planning and subchapter 5.2.3 describes mining, technology and town development. Recent history is described in subchapter 5.2.4 and tourism, development and media in subchapter 5.2.5. A short summary is presented in subchapter 5.2.6.

5.2.1 Landscape

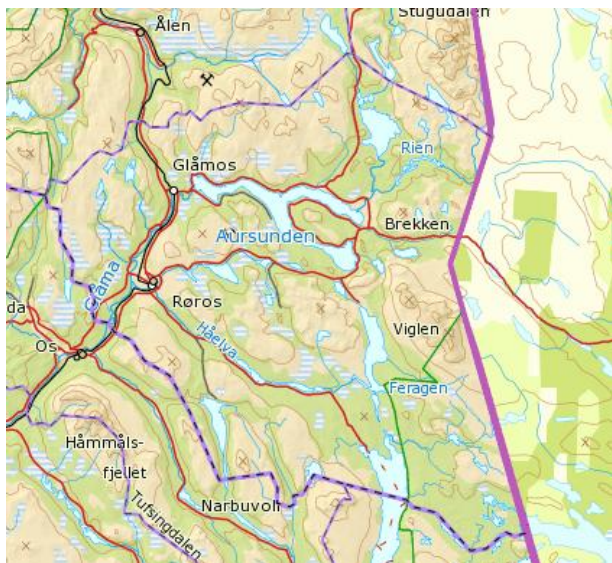


Figure 12 Map covering the municipality of Røros. Provided by www.kartiskolen.no.

The town of Røros is located two hours by train south-east of Trondheim, which is the nearest large city, and a five hours drive from Oslo. Røros town is connected to these places by several daily train connections and by two daily flights to Oslo. The town lies about 600 meters above the sea in a flat mountain terrain. The municipality of Røros has 5623 inhabitants and consists of three small towns; Røros, Brekken and Glåmos (roros.kommune.no). The municipality's regional center is the town of Røros. The

town of Røros is often referred to as Bergstaden (<http://roros.kommune.no>). Figure 12 shows a map covering the municipality of Røros.

As the town is located in the mountains the summers are short and the winters are long. The average temperature during wintertime is -5.6 degrees Celsius, spring +0.6 degrees Celsius, summer is +9.9 degrees Celsius and fall is +2.6 degrees Celsius (<http://yr.no>). Late spring snowfall is not uncommon and the latest and largest snowfall came in May 2010 with 16cm in one night (Gansmo 2010). Røros competes for the title of Norway's coldest place as the lowest temperature registered here is -50.3, only -1.1 degrees behind the coldest temperature ever recorded in Norway (Aune and Imrie 2010). After the extensive mining, almost no trees were left and wind from several directions is normal.



Figure 13 Placement of Røros. Provided by Destinasjon Røros.

5.2.2 History and city planning

The town of Røros was founded upon the findings of copper in the surrounding area in 1644. There was only one farm at the site when the mining started and the area had been used by the surrounding villages as summer grazing places for their farm animals. The new copper mining town was located where it is today because of the river, which flows through the town, as it was essential in the extraction of the copper. The copper mines themselves are located approximately 13km north-east of Røros.

According to the copper mining museum the copper mining, company planned and executed the building of the town in a genius manner. As shown in Figure 14 and Figure 15, the town has two main streets; Kjerkgata and Bergmannsgata. The town has been planned and executed in such a way that the façade, facing the streets, are the main houses of a small working farm. Through a doorway from the street one arrives in the backyard which contains a small barn, a firehouse and a couple of stables. Due the climate and the nature of the company the mining company



Figure 14 The church and the bell constitutes the most photographed picture from Røros. Photo: Private

planned the town so that all of its workers would be self-reliant farmers as well as miners. On the outskirts of the town, the land was turned in to farmland and each household had a piece of land to farm. The mining work was done 11 months of the year five days a week, until 6 days a week became the norm in the 1800s. The last month was spent on harvesting and other farm work. The mining company gave people a piece of land and the building materials they needed in order to build their own little farm – which according to the museum was a stroke of genius minds as people are not likely to walk away from a farm and home which is their own.

Tradesmen and different skilled workers such as a blacksmith, leathersgoods and so on were located in the bottom of Kjerkgata.



Figure 15 Kjerkgata during winter. Photo: Destinasjon Røros

Kjerkgata, in Figure 15 , is the home of Bergstaden Zir, the church in Figure 14, which was built during the glorydays of the mining company. The church has become the iconic

landmark of Røros and pictures like these are typical from the area. The church is also background for many of Arbeidets Retts, local newspaper, illustrating pictures.

All houses have names and the streets are named after directors, famous local people and others which keep the past in the present. Inside the small wooden houses, which used to be a farm, a formal room is located towards the street, through it is the kitchen and then the room for the fireplace. Everything is small and I get told that the owners have extended the house and converted the barn into a part of the house and living space. But for me it looks like this was the way it always has been. Everything fits and the façade does not give anything away.

5.2.3 Mining, technology and town development

Owners of the mining company was until the 19th century by royal decree responsible for having schools, church, a poor house and a doctor in place to look after the inhabitants. These responsibilities were essential for the granting of the privileges they were given by the Danish-Norwegian crown. That meant that the copper mining company was more than a company, it was an institution which handled all the social functions a community needed. Its owners were usually located in Trondheim, Copenhagen or Germany.

Because of the mining industry, technological advances were implemented in several stages. Like the mining methods of Besser, the use of electricity and railroad. These advances meant that Røros founded its own electricity company in 1896 (Nissen 1976), and street lights became common relatively early compared to others. The railroad came during the second half of the 1800th century (Jernbaneverket). When roads and cars became main stream the mining company made sure the roads went around the town centre to get a good flow (Nissen 1976). As such, the mining town was a fully functioning self-reliant town with all critical functions intact and the technological standards were high. As one informant put it, “it was a known thing that if you needed anything; materials, competence or tools – the mining company was the place to find it. Not just for the town of Røros but for the whole area” (Informant no.2) ⁱ. During the 18th century the social responsibilities ceased as municipalities were established (Thorsnæs and Berg 2014). The institutions created by the mining company are still intact in Røros despite several attempts to close and/or relocate the hospital, school and other critical functions.

5.2.4 Recent history industrial history (1900 until today)

During the 2nd world war, the mining company was put under German supervision as copper is a major component in wartime industrial articles (Nissen 1976). The economy of the company seems to follow the wars of the world, as production and sales soared during wartime as the demand for copper dramatically increased. The production of copper over time is illustrated by the museum as shown below shown in Figure 16. During time of low production the workers needed to rely on other sources of income and in many cases accept a payout (Nissen 1976). However, during the second half of the 1800th century workers started to unite and in 1900 the largest worker strike, 9 months, in Norway took place in Røros (Jordtveit 2010).

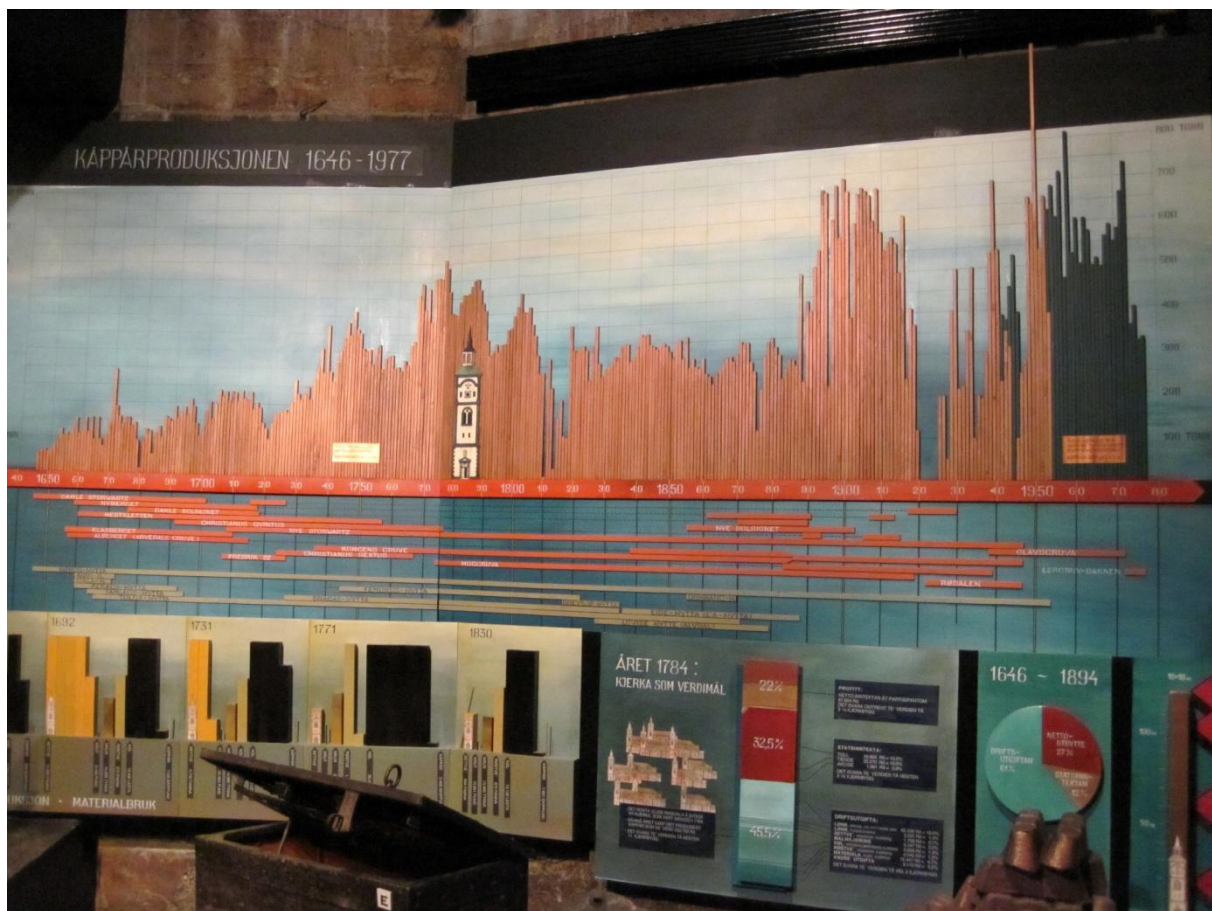


Figure 16 The production of copper in Røros. The collage in the background shows a diagram over the copper production.

During the 1920s production stopped completely for 4 years and in the 1930s, the mining company had so much debt that the national authorities recued it from bankruptcy several times (Nissen 1976). The last 30 years of the copper mining company the production swung and the company accumulated debts again (Nissen 1976). In 1977 it filed for bankruptcy and it was dissolved completely in 1978.

In 1980, Røros (Bergstaden) town was included in the UNESCO World Heritage list and in 2010 the World Heritage site was extended to include the Circumference, which is the surrounding area of the town up to the copper mines (UNESCO) the area is the same area as the copper mining company was given privileges in (Spangen 2014). UNESCO makes the following statements about Røros:

Røros Mining Town and the Circumference is linked to the copper mines, established in the 17th century and exploited for 333 years until 1977. The site comprises the Town and its industrial-rural cultural landscapes; Femundshytta, a smelter with its associated area; and the Winter Transport Route. Completely rebuilt after its destruction by Swedish troops in 1679, Røros contains about 2000 wooden one- and two-storey houses and a smelting house. Many of these buildings have preserved their blackened wooden façades, giving the town a medieval appearance. Surrounded by a buffer zone, coincident with the area of privileges (the Circumference) granted to the mining enterprise by the Danish-Norwegian Crown (1646), the property illustrates the establishment and flourishing of a lasting culture based on copper mining in a remote region with a harsh climate (UNESCO)

In the second half of the 20th century, the leisure and travel industry emerged. Røros established Røros Hotell in the 1950s and several other companies established themselves as solid companies – such as Røros Bruk, Røros Produkter, Røros Metall and HÅG – before the copper mining company closed down. Amongst the businesses that located themselves to Røros in the 1970s and 1980s are Trolla Brug, Norsk Glassindustri, Norske Skog Sponplatefabrikk (Trespo) and Autronica (Norbitech today). Trolla Brug was established in Røros in 1973 and closed down in 1988 (Strinda historielag). Norsk Glassindustri (Riis 2014) was established in 1972 and was declared bankrupt in 2004 (Agerlie, 2004). Trespo was closed down in the end of the 1980s. Autronica (Norbitech) factory came to Røros in 1980 (Norbitech.com) and they are still situated in Røros today. Røros has had several companies coming, going and a few are staying behind together with previously started businesses such as Røros Tweed from 1940, Røros Metall which started in 1946, Kjellmark in 1948, SB seating (HÅG) from 1943, Røros Produkter from 1968 and Røros Bruk from 1875. This is not a complete list but it illustrates that the local community has had places of work throughout the 20th century which could support a large part of the working population. In the beginning of the 20th century, the local food established itself as an industry with Rørosmat as the main sales channel for local producers in the area. Today they count 26 producers (Rørosmat).

Today, the industrial past is still present with four cornerstone factories; SSB, or HÅG as most people remember it by, Røros Bruk, Røros Metall and Rørosprodukter. Their coreproducts are made from timber and/or metal. Other companies include amongst others all

kinds of health personnel and handymen a local community needs. The services provided are no less than the ones found in larger cities. Many of these companies have the inhabitants as their primary customers as they are shops and services that the residents need. However, some sell to customers beyond the municipal borders as well, such as the cornerstone factories like Norbitech, the flightservice company, the bank, the electricity and the building companies.

5.2.5 Tourism, development and media

In 2011 Røros won “the world’s best destination” award of their work on sustainable tourism in a prestigious international competition in London (Løken 2011). The award was a boost to both Røros and Innovation Norway, and will conclude their 5 year project related to sustainable tourism in 2015. Røros is one of the places taking part in the project which aim is to promote the rural areas of Norway. The project itself won 3rd place in Travel Ones award ceremony in 2013 for being well planned and executed (Løken 2011).

The first hotel meant for tourists was built in the 1950s, today called Røros Hotell. Today, Røros municipality has 43 accommodation options for visitors spread out over the municipality – seven hotels, one boutique hotel, two smaller housings, two camping sites and 26 private rooms, cabins, small farm and apartments - and of them 10, excluding private housing, are within walking distance to the town of Røros (Røros) There are 13-14 dining options and 5-6 pubs/bars, depending on season, in the town of Røros (Røros). In addition, there are four event companies which cater and have places for rent and two reindeer slaughterhouses nearby (Røros). Røros is also the host of large events such as Rørosmartnaen in February, Vinterfestspelet in March, Femundsløpet in February and Elden in July/August. More events and theatrical performances are added each year and Røros is growing as an event planner and tourist destination according to several of my informants. Their view can be backed by the fact that Rørosmartnaen alone has between 60 000 to 80 000 visitors every year during the five days in February it is taking place. In total it is estimated that Røros receives over a million visitors each year – day visitors, cabin owner and hotel users (Bergebakken 2012).

In recent years Røros have also had several media appearances which contribute to the marketing of Røros. Røros has been the backdrop for an episode of Pippi Langstrømpe, home of Bør Børson from Norwegian television and inspiring Disney's new film “Frozen”, according to Røros commune. Røros have also participated in the Norwegian program “Gøy

på landet” and a televised series in four parts told the story of a Sami family in Røros which lives of their heritage with a reindeer herd, a slaughterhouse and a catering firm.

On the literary side, Røros and the mining community there was the inspiration for the writings of Johan Falkberget. Some of his writings have been converted to plays which have been broadcasted on Norwegian television, like “Den Fjerde Nattevakt”.

Røros is also home to two local newspapers, Arbeidets Rett and Fjell Ljom, which have readers beyond the municipality borders. At the most there were four active local papers in Røros at the same time and one regional paper, which still cover the municipality. According to two of my informants, Røros gets a lot more exposure in the media than other similar size places and they think it is very amusing. All of these things contribute to raising outsider’s awareness of the place and ads on to knowledge people have of the place.

5.2.6 Summary

The history of the town of Røros is rich and long. The town was founded and located where it is today because of the need for water in the copper extraction. The mining company built a town around the melting house, where everyone owned their own piece of land and small working farm. All miners were farmers as the production in the mines varied according to the demand. The workers could not rely on their income. Due to its connections to Trondheim through the shareholders of the mining company, logistics became advanced and Røros became a place for neighbouring people to flock to for commodities, competence and services. Technological advancements were implemented to compete in the market and people became accustomed to new ways of working. Because of the copper mining the town has received international recognition both in terms of media and a place on the World Heritage list.

Upon closing their doors, new industrial companies had already emerged as the new cornerstone companies in terms of employment. Several companies located themselves to Røros in the 1970s and 1980s and several companies were started in Røros after and during the world war. In the 1950s the first tourist hotel was established and since then the tourist industry has been booming. The booming has been accelerated by the amount of events and happenings in Røros, and the growing local food industry, which is aiming at showcasing the Røros history, heritage and culture.

5.3 Closing remarks

In this chapter, the success criteria have been applied to Røros. The data suggests that the number of inhabitants have remained more or less stable since the 1970s and that the unemployment rate has been lower than the national average since the 1970s. There is only one large employer but there are quite a few companies who are small or middle-sized, and compared to a neighbouring municipality Røros has larger pool of companies and they are larger employers than the neighbouring municipalities.

The history and landscape in which the town of Røros is situated in has also been accounted for to contextualize the case in point. As noted above, the history is long and rich, and the history still lingers on in the small wooden houses which make up the town along with the industrial companies that are present, though in a different form and shape than the copper mining company.

In the following chapter, the analysis of the data collected will reveal if Røros is a collaborative community which pulls in the same direction, and the propositions will be explored.

6. Data analysis

Analysis usually means to add to what you have seen or heard (Fangen 2004). While the descriptions are as close to how my informants experienced it and observations made, to get further the analysis translate experience in to a theoretical language. This might seem distant to the informants (Fangen 2004). By doing so some of the uniqueness disappears and central features of the area emerge (Fangen 2004). An account of how the analysis is structured is given below.

The analysis will be structured according to the criteria set for the concept “continuous collective effort”, as presented in the introduction, and the propositions, as presented in chapter 2: Theoretical framework in subchapter 3.4. The division of the analysis into two parts is based on the need to establish if the case does show evidence of a continuous collective effort before exploring the theoretical propositions related to what prompts a collective effort, and how such a collective effort is sustained over time.

A significant part of this chapter concerns the interviewees, in order to give insight into the world the informants live in (Creswell 2013). This allows the readers to judge the content for themselves (Bailey 2007), and Creswell (2013) who sites this as the norm for qualitative studies. By giving the interviews room, thick descriptions emerge (Geertz 1973 in Fangen 2004). The way people choose to express certain things show how they perceive the world, and in seeing commonalities between informants, it says something about how they as one group construct Røros as a place and what is important about it. As such, the dissertation asserts that the world is socially constructed (Creswell 2013). As the interviews were conducted in Norwegian and the dissertation is written in English, the quotes have been translated, while the direct quotes in Norwegian can be found as notes at the end of the dissertation before the literature list.

The road ahead consists of two main parts; first the concept of “continuous collective effort” in subchapter 6.1 and then the propositions made under the theoretical framework in subchapter 6.2. Each section ends with a summary. Upon completion of the two main parts, concluding remarks about the analysis process and the findings made in subchapter 6.3. The interpretation and discussion towards the main questions this dissertation tries to answer will be located in the next chapter; the discussion chapter.

6.1 Continuous collective effort

As argued in the introduction chapter, a continuous collective effort builds a positive place brand and thereby strategically sustainable success. In this dissertation continuous collective effort is tied to the following indicators:

- Freed labor is absorbed in to other businesses.
- Local businesses work together in order to grow.
- Local people are investing in current businesses.
- Local forces invest and support new businesses.
- Local history, traditions and resources are given importance.
- Local authorities work on the infrastructure to support their businesses.
- Local authorities invest in projects which aim at creating a meaningful spare time and a good life, such as schools, cultural events, sports arenas, historical preservation, daycare, hospital and retirement home, to attract and retain people.

In the following subchapters, these indicators will be explored in relation to Røros in the order they are listed above.

6.1.1 Freed labor is absorbed in to other businesses

The indicator is thoroughly connected to the unemployment rate, presented in subchapter 5.1.4. A low unemployment rate and a stable number of inhabitants suggest that people either receive some kind of welfare or get work elsewhere quickly after one job is terminated.

When the mines where closed down, 67 people were terminated from their jobs (Teigen 1979). 47 of the dismissed employees had work before their notice period was up (Teigen 1979). Some people got an early retirement; some went back to their farms full-time, while most of them got new industrial jobs (Teigen 1979). Most people got a job through family, friends and acquaintances (Teigen 1979). The situation is mirrored in how my informants describe the situation. As informant no.10 put it:

There probably were someone from the Welfare office who helped finding jobs, but my impression is that jobs were mostly found on people`s own initiative, and most often through acquaintances in other companies. Additionally, the companies tried to get as many professionals as possible from the minesⁱⁱ

Later close downs are also spoken of in the same terms, as illustrated by informant no. 1 when speaking of the close downs in the 1980s:

[Norske Skog] that was almost as bad or worse. They employed more people, maybe around 100? However, that went well also. [...] I think they disappeared into the same places as when the copper mining company closed down. To wood mills, HÅG and [...] Electronica [Norbitech today] and some new ones came in. There was a development in the wood mill industry, cabins, doors.. A lot of that . It actually was a lot of activity. The 1980s were actually quite reasonable times. I think a lot of people found their way into new businessesⁱⁱⁱ.

Informant no.10 puts it this way: “There have been several periods up here when large employers have been closed down, without having a dramatic effect on the employment up here”. When asked why, informant no.10 said: “I have never thought of that. There are some new places of work which have come during the years and some have created their own workplace , and maybe more people have moved in to tourism”^{iv} Other informants support this view (Informant no.2, informant no.4, informant no.8). As the statistics show in subchapter 5.1.4, there were in fact peaks in the 80s and in the 90s, when the total number of unemployed almost doubled. However, the data suggests this has been forgotten. The number of people stayed stable and after a couple of years the unemployment rate sank to the low level it still has.

6.1.2 Local businesses work together in order to grow

This indicator is related to the degree of collaboration between businesses and with whom they cooperate. If businesses “share a sense of urgency” or it lies in the culture to cooperate, it should give results in terms of the amount and extent of the collaboration they are involved in. As the data collection proceeded, it gave insight into whom, what and when.

The issue gave conflicting views as one of my informants expressed that the collaboration between the companies only started around 10 years ago (Informant no.11, informant no.13). Three informants saw a lot of collaboration everywhere (informant no.8, informant no. 9 and informant no.15) and one still saw little collaboration (Informant no.5). Yet again others meant that some contributed more than others (informant no.13).

However, there are several collaborations going on today and these are the ones emphasized by my informants.

Collaboration 1

The four cornerstone companies today; Røros Bruk, Røros Metall, SB seating and Røros Produkter, are all joining forces in a SINTEF driven project called ARMS (Informant no.6). ARMS stands for mass-production of tailored items and aims at optimizing the production

line and management systems so that the companies can compete in global markets with unique products despite their location. The project does have an impact on the society, as informant no.6 put it: “the idea is that if someone wants to learn about mass-production of tailored items, they should come here to Røros. Create the place in Norway for this”^v The local driver in the project works at SB seating and in general the company is thought of as the driving force in the society. They have shown others that it is possible to produce items in Norway and not just in Norway, but far away from the city centers as well (Informant no.6, informant no.5, informant no. 4). Several of the informants have also worked at SB seating at some point before assuming the roles they currently have (informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.8). Therefore the data suggests that SB seating is the main cornerstone company today and it is also Røros’ largest employer.

The ARMS project was initiated by SINTEF, according to informant no.6, and it is fully sponsored by funds from Forskningsrådet. The participants in this project only need to devote their own hours, and as this increases their profitability, they want to a part of it (informant no.6). A secondary benefit from the project seems to be that the companies receive the competence which they lack from SINTEF. As informant no.6 puts it

there is not a lot of people up here with a long and substancial education, but we get that competence from SINTEF. They help us [...] with how to work with people, lead, develop the organization, flow in production etc.. Helps us become better^{vi}

The data suggests that collaboration with outsiders is welcome as well. Other informants have also emphasized that collaboration outside Røros has been a key to development (Informant no. 3, informant no.4, informant no. 9)

Collaboration 2

Rørosmat is a distribution channel for 26 local manufacturers which make different kinds of food products on a small scale. All of the manufacturers advertise for other manufacturers and make it easier for the costumer to get a whole package (Rørosmat). The administration of this concept consists of seven employees. All manufacturers sell at least some of their produce through Rørosmat, but many also have other arrangements through other channels. The same manufacturers often have agreements with local stores, restaurants and hotels (informant no.9, informant no.15).

Collaboration 3

The destination company drives the certification of companies and people as hosts of Røros (Bergebakken 2012). The process contains a course in local history developed by the museum, a course on the role as the host, private studies and visits to local businesses (Bergebakken 2012). Upon completion each participant receives a pin in the shape of a horseshoe to have on their sweater/jacket (Bergebakken 2012). When 60% of a company`s employees have completed the course, the company receives a copper horseshoe (as shown in Figure 26) (Bergebakken 2012). All shoes made in the old melting house in Røros. There are over 100 companies which are certified and 400 people have a private horse pin (Destinasjon Røros). The project is aimed at creating a unified and good experience for the visitors, wherever their point of contact with the town is (Bergebakken 2012). Furthermore, the destination develops guides, with the museum, on local food and the town`s history. One informant points out that

If you are going to be a guide and all, then you are going to be taught properly because you cannot just say a rehearsed speech to get your salary. You have to passionately show the visitors the real Røros. [...] You have to mean it^{vii}

In addition, collaborations are an important part of the diverse events happening throughout the year. For example, “Stas på Sta`a” is an event for all the members of “Røros handelstand”, Røros merchants. Local companies are also sponsors to various events, like the local bank who is the main sponsor of the national championship in cross-country skiing in 2015 and Coop which are sponsoring a local handball cup with around 100 participating teams (informant no.12). Collaboration between companies in order for tourists to enjoy more of Røros is common, like the collaboration between Røros Hotel and Koia and the local food safaris, and yet again other companies have formalized agreements with the school for internship accommodation (Informant no.5). In the first decade of the 21st century, the municipality built Storstuggu and Verket in collaboration with other partners.

All in all, the data suggest that there are several collaborations happening today, though the data is conflicting in terms of when this started to occur. The propositions made will shed some more light on this subject.



Figure 17: The horse which indicates that the company is certified as Røros hosts. Photo: Private

6.1.3 Local people are investing in current businesses

The indicator implies that both people and businesses are investing in each other.

Several informants explain that several companies are good at marketing the place, propaganda style (informant no.14), by inviting their customers to Røros, wining and dining and using the events in town for their own benefits (Informant no.8, informant no.14). Two informants confirm that they do this regularly and “We have to use the offers here, or else they will disappear^{viii}” and the other said “we pick them up at the airport with a horse and sledge. People remember that^{ix}”. Other companies buy locally produced food, products and services, not only from Røros but the whole region (informant no.8, informant no.15). Informant no.11 pointed to a chair and said “HÅG” and then pointed at the window said “Røroswindow”. Informant no.4 also pointed to a chair and said “HÅG”. When asked why, informant no.7 explained

It is manufactured here in Røros and I think this becomes more and more important. It is important for us rørosinger that it is made here and that we don't import everything from China^x

In terms of money, Røros Flyservice is currently investing in Røros Food and Beverage Group, which is a collaboration between Røros Hotell and Rørosmat. The hotel have also bought Sølviks Delikatesser, Erscheidergården, Kaffestuggu, Vertshuset and played a major role in the building of the museum, Smelthytta, and Storstuggu.

Historical examples are that the employees of Autronica bought the business when they were faced possible shut down in 2009 (Norbitech.no) and the same happened when Tine closed the doors on the dairy plant (Informant no.4). Further, private individuals invested in Rørosbanken. The people own 67 % of the bank, thus are also shareholders in Røros Invest and other companies. Røros Hotel was also built with private funds before it became a chain hotel and bought back again by private people. Buying a business is a considerable investment and the fact that it has happened more than once in Røros in a short amount of time, suggests that there is willingness to take the risk and invest your own money. As informant no.15 said about workers investments “[...] since we had to pay, it induced the feeling of ownership [...] because we got engaged and interested in keeping it and get back the money we invested.”^{xi}

The way the informants explained it, sitting in different company boards and boards for different cultural and sport activities is also normal. Seven of my informants mention other boards they are involved in (informant no.2, informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.12,

informant no.13 Informant no. 15, informant no.16). Some informants attributes this to Røros being a small society where everyone knows each other (informant no.5, informant no.8) and also mention that they have more energy than other people and want to do it (Informant no.2, informant no.8, informant no.9, informant no.15). Involvement in boards with their time and competence do contribute to the growth of other businesses and events, which brings in more money to the area as a result.

6.1.4 Local forces invest and support new businesses

During several interviews, the local bank was mentioned as a force to be reckoned with in the local community as they help with financing, and offered advice during the start- up process of companies, and counted as a partner in many businesses (Informant no.4, informant no.9, informant no.9, informant no.12). The local bank was funded by people from Røros at the end of the 1800th century and slowly built itself up to the current state (Rørosbanken). It is not a part of any group and its board is filled with people from Røros (Rørosbanken). In their strategy document for 2012-2015 their responsibility towards the local community is clearly stated. The bank has three main objectives;

- 1) being a forceful and visible finance center for Røros and its region,
- 2) a natural partner for the municipality and industry, and
- 3) actively contribute within the development of the industries and the cultural scene.

These statements are there because they want Røros to stay a good place to live in the long run. The bank explained that they had contributed with interest free loans so the building of both Storstuggu, the cultural center, and Verket, a large multi- sports indoor arena, could happen (Informant no.4, informant no.11). As noted above, they also contribute with money to local events and teams and they have their own "Næringsfond", which means that local businesses can apply for funds, projects etc. All start-up businesses receive NOK 30 000 upon completing the entrepreneurial course, which was set in action by the municipal authorities through "Næringshagen". Additionally, the bank started a company along with the municipality called Røros Invest, which deals with buildings and properties which again can be used by businesses. As such, the bank was a driving force behind a major move of several businesses from their localities to new, bigger ones more suited for their growing activities, when Lamit AS, the car glass factory, closed down (informant no. 11, informant no. 12)

The banks “good place to live” statement seems to have colored the municipal authorities as well as all mayors mentioned this phrase. They were the first municipality to set up a

"Næringshage", a business garden so to speak which works towards establishing new businesses and help the current ones, after the new rules set by the national authorities (Informant no.4). For the last two decades, Røros has also had a "næringsssjef", a person who is responsible for the development of new and current businesses. The last two of these have been described as being more out of their office than in their office (Informant no. 11, informant no.13). The municipality's authorities play a major role in the shaping of the society, and all of the mayors have focused on developing the industry within their municipality's border. The data suggests that because of this, the role of "Næringsjef" and "Næringshage" was established to drive the development of the industry further.

Other mentioned forces are Røros hotel whose owners through the history have been heavily involved in the start up of the museum, Smelthytta, and the current local food focus. As they own several restaurants and hotels in the area and are currently investing in Røros food and beverage Group it seems fair to say that they are supporting both new and old businesses. Several actors in the food industry, the museum and authorities mention the hotel as a driving force in the community and a partner (informant no.2, Informant no. 4, informant no.9, informant no.10, Informant no.15)

The above mentioned data suggests that there are local forces present which invest in and support new businesses, as well as old ones, so that they can grow. Initially, all three of these forces are set up and owned by the people of Røros as people vote for the authorities and both the hotel and bank were funded by local people. Additionally, an informant revealed that in setting up a new business, people were lining up to invest and wanted to take part in such a degree that they had to turn people down (Informant no.15). That data suggests that local people also want to invest in both new and old companies when given the opportunity.

6.1.5 Local history, traditions and resources are given importance

The visual impression the center of the town of Røros makes is one of consistency. There are strict rules and regulations to be followed as it is a part of the world heritage list, which stipulate these things. The visual impression is given importance by the mayors and it is mentioned by all of my informants as what people think about when thinking of Røros. The wooden houses and the layout of the town has been this way since the beginning, and when some people want to make it more business friendly, it does not go well with the Directorate for cultural heritage. In general, it seems like people are happy with the expression Røros makes, however the inflexibility to accustom certain things to modern times musters anger

and resentment. As informant no.16 emphasizes “[...] the visual impression of Røros and what it stands for is not to be tampered with”^{xii}, though “it is 2014 here as well^{xiii}” and

it cannot become a museum in the way that we charge people NOK 100 down in the valley so they can drive up and see the old strange things here [...] It worked well when there was industry here and it has to work today. It is a living society^{xiv}

The relationship with the Directorate for cultural heritage has not always been good, according to informant no.4. It has been pointed out that the process of getting Røros in to the world heritage list was the work of a few political actors, the historical society and the Directorate for cultural heritage (Informant no.10). As informant no.10 put it: “I don’t think people knew what it before it was in the newspaper”^{xv} and “I don’t think most people knew what it was or entailed. Many people did feel like this was forced upon them”^{xvi}. Even a major said that



Figure 18: The elementary school 1814 celebration project in the museum. Photo: Private

We got in early and we did not want to. It was the Directorate for cultural heritage who saw this as special. If we had the funds for it in the 70s, we probably would have torn down the old buildings and built new ones. But we have become very proud of the buildings over time. Now we are happy about them.^{xvii}

The interest in local customs and food seems to have flourished since the 1970s. Informant no.7 told me that almost none wore a national costume, the “bunad”, for their confirmation in the 1970s and today almost everyone wears one. The same informant told me that the change came with the revival of local, and national, folk dancing.

The local food tradition started slowly to emerge as important during the 1990s when the national authorities started to cheer for small manufacturers (Informant no.15). National programs such as “Agenda 21” and Hanen kicked off regional projects and the growing interest in local food across the country and set speed to the manufacturers in Røros (Informant no.15). Three of the informants pointed out the significance of eating and serving proper food, and how this aspect can differentiate one place from another (Informant no.7, informant no.9, informant no.15). “De historiske” contributed to a growing interest in restaurants and hotels. The local driving force, Røros hotel, made the connection between

food, experience and accommodation – selling Røros as an experience – during the late 1990s and 2000s (Informant no.15). Today, informant no.15 informs me, restaurants and hotels have to say it is local produce, not all are genuine but everyone brags about the local food. During my time in Røros, this was noticeable as all menus had a least one dish with local attachments, some had a completely local menu, like Kaffestuggu which menu is shown Figure 19 , and all places brag about homemade food.



Figure 19: Menu of Kaffestuggu. Photo: Private

Observations in the library revealed a section of approx. 2x4 meters of local history and the librarian explained that they had to have all of it as people were very interested in the local history and asked about it. During a visit to the museum, the guide explained that the schools, all levels, have a project for each year regarding the local history and upon returning to the museum, the temporary exhibit was in fact elementary school projects on Røros and 1814. Figure 18 illustrates the exhibit The above mentioned hospitality mark, the horseshoe, and these data suggest that local history, tradition and food is important. It is puzzling though that all of these signs became popular again after the close down of the copper mines. This will not be pursued in this paper but philosophically it is an intriguing coincidence. It can be interpreted as an attempt to reconnect with the past, a past which was not so important while people still worked in the mines and were generally poor, and a way to confirm an identity and belonging in a changing world.

6.1.6 Local authorities work on the infrastructure to support their businesses

Historically, it was the copper mining company which dealt with the transport across large distances. When the car became the main means of transportation, they built the roads in a circle around Røros (Nissen 1979). This prevented heavy transport from driving through the narrow streets of the town (Nissen 1979). The copper mining company also saw to the building of the railway (Nissen 1979). For a long time this was not run by the municipal authorities. However, in the 1900th century as the copper mining company went downhill and municipalities were established, the authorities became more involved with transportation. In

the 1950s, the mayor Ole Kverneng saw to it that an airport was built, without permission, and through connections got Braathens to fly by on route to and from Trondheim from Oslo. This fact seems to be amusing for the informants as several mentioned it and laughed (Informant no. 2, informant no.11, informant no.16). The flight connection was tied to Braathens until 1970s. Since then it has been managed through the national Ministry of Transport. The changes in offer and timetable have been an issue in Røros as the industry sees the airport as vital to their existence (informant no.5, informant no.6). In addition, it is mentioned that the roads are insufficient and that the railway is in urgent need of an upgrade (Informant no.5, informant no6). Three informants express that they think that the municipality`s authorities are not actively supporting the businesses in terms of transport (informant no. 5, informant no.6, informant no.10). As informant no.6 puts it: “

I do think that the county and the municipal authorities are not so proactive in terms of helping the industry when it comes to this. In many ways, you get the feeling that they don`t care. They don`t wake up until it is too late and then it is too late. The day HÅG with 180 employees decides to close down, it is too late. The municipal authorities cannot undo that decision, so if they want to prevent it, they need to be proactive, which I don`t feel they`ve been^{xviii}

The authorities on the other hand, believe they are doing their best to negotiate and voice their opinions and concerns on this subject (Informant no.4). The mayors have also seen their role as the ones laying the foundation through facilities, properties and helping with processes. The difference in opinions can stem from differences in how industry and politics work. Informant no.15 notes the difference as a reason to why business is more preferable than politics:

Politics take so much time; it takes so much time to resolve things. In the aftermath one can easily feel that you wasted a lot of time but you don`t do that in the business community, as you are much more goal oriented^{xix}

On other infrastructural matters, such as subjects and directions young people can choose while in school, informant no.5 expresses that the industry and municipal authorities are working together. As seen in the subchapter below, there are more infrastructural matters that have occupied the municipal authorities which also support the businesses indirectly by making Røros an attractive place to live and visit. Though the data suggests that there is a divide in the municipality on the subject of infrastructure what has been done and what is necessary. However, Røros has train connections, an airport and road connection to Oslo, Trondheim and Sweden.

6.1.7 Local authorities invest in projects which aim at creating a meaningful spare time and a good life

In the mayor's point of view a good life consists of good schools, hospital, service functions and a nice retirement home. It also includes having cultural events, cinema, library, church and vibrant town's center.

As a result, the local authorities are currently finishing updating all of the schools in Røros. The iconic church has been restored, the streets are being paved as this is written (and not the regular kind, but a special kind as the town is a world heritage site (informant no.4)), a new retirement home has been built and the local hospital has been updated to have the latest operational equipment (Informant no. 4). Together with Røros hotel they built and own 51% of Storstuggu, which is the cultural center with a stage, cinema and conference facilities (Informant no.4). They have also built and own Verket, the multi-sports indoor arena (informant no.4). All of these projects have had a tremendous effect on the municipal economy as they are now almost on the ROBECK-list (Informant no.3, informant no.4). As one major put it: “[...] we cannot afford to build more now”^{xx}

Additionally, the municipality hands out scholarships to help talented youth achieve their dream. They have their own chief of culture and this person works close with the chief of industry, “Næringsjefen”, to make culture into an industry (Informant no.12). Overall, the data suggests the municipality is in fact investing in projects which aim at creating a meaningful spare time and a good life, as they are defining it. In connection with the previous subchapter, the data suggests that the municipal authorities have focused on other infrastructural matters than what the industry wants.

6.1.8 Summary

The first part of the analysis went in depth on the indicators of a “continuous collective effort”, the concept presented in the introduction chapter. Overall the data suggests that Røros displays all indicators of a continuous collective effort. People, companies and authorities are supporting and investing in current and start-up companies with money, facilities and advisors present. Local forces and authorities are investing in cultural events, buildings and so on in order to create facilities for a meaningful spare time and a good life for its inhabitants.

The data reflects conflicting views concerning when the collaborative environment started. Moreover, there are some different views on the authorities' role in the making of new businesses and supporting new ones. The data suggests that the authorities seem to think they

are involved, while the companies don't see them as doing as much as they should to support them. The data suggests that the municipal authorities have been working on the infrastructure now and in the past. Structures and buildings are important to attract and retain people. My informants suggest that there has been a lack of attention towards transport lately, which frustrates the manufacturing businesses, as transport to and from the area is a matter of life and death for them. Regardless, the data suggests that Røros is a collaborative society and the section turns to the propositions of this paper in order to see if they can shed some light on how this has come in to being so, and what sustains it.

6.2 Propositions and findings

As mentioned chapter 6.0, this chapter is divided into two main sections. In this second section, the data will be organized under the propositions as presented in the theoretical framework, subchapter 3.4. Each proposition have their own subchapter and a summary in subchapter 6.2.7. Figure 20 shows the subchapter flow.

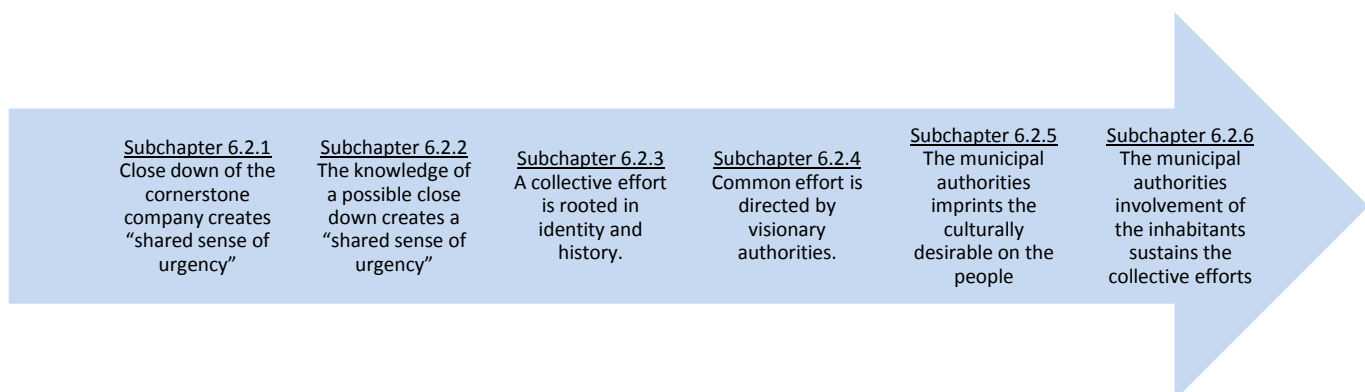


Figure 20 Flow of subchapters in this section

6.2.1 Close down of the cornerstone company creates a "shared sense of urgency"

Even though the mining company no longer was the largest employer in the municipality, as it has been through centuries, the company had turned into an important institution because of its involvement in the society. This was pointed out by several people during my time in Røros. The mining was what made Røros famous outside its borders. It is also what all my informants first mention when asked what they think other people associate with Røros today.

However, when the mining company closed only 67 workers were made redundant (Teigen 1979) – far from the 2000 people who had their work tied to the mines in the peak area around 1750. Two informants expressed their surprise when they were told the number as they assumed it was less (Informant no.1 and informant no.2). One informant was surprised that it

was so many (Informant no.9). All my informants expressed that the close down were not dramatic in terms of unemployment. As two informant pointed out: “It was rather straightforward”^{xxi} (Informant no.10) and “ [...] Oddly enough, it turned out pretty well in terms of employment^{xxii}” because “most people obtained paid employment quickly, and the society went on and forward with other businesses”^{xxiii} (Informant no.2). These statements are supported by Teigen (1979) pointed out that 47 of them had other kinds of work before their notice was finalized in subchapter 6.1.1.

There were several stated reasons for why the close down went well. Half of my informants said that the competence of the workers in the copper mining company was sought after by other companies, as shown by Informant no.2:

[The mining company] had a lot of resources and technology, engineers and competence in many fields, such as chemists, electricians, miners and welders, and their skills were needed elsewhere once the mining era ended^{xxiv} (Informant no.2)

Other informants point to the diversity of businesses which were present also when the copper mining company was the largest employer. The copper mining company was therefore not the only company present, and many people worked with supplying the copper mining company with everything they needed, for instance transport and handicraft. As informant no.5 puts it: “The copper mining company was the corner stone company, [...] and when they were in business, a lot of smaller businesses were suppliers to the copper mining company”^{xxv}. These industries were growing and in need of workers (informant no.2). Additionally, informant no.5 points to that

When the copper mining company started to decline, there were some mayors and others who were a bit proactive and managed to move things from Oslo to Røros. That meant that when the copper mining company declined, new companies were settling and there was not any widespread unemployment^{xxvi}

Ole Kverneng is the mayor who is most frequently referred to by my informants. He used his connections to move companies to Røros by spending an equal amount of time in Røros and Oslo (Informant no.11). He also built the airstrip without permission, as previously pointed out.

A last factor pointed out by the informants, is that the people of Røros are industrial workers (Informant no. 2, informant no.4, informant no.8, informant no.11, informant no. 12, informant no.16). They are used to the work in mines. Subchapter 5.2.3 describes how this came into being.

So the data suggests that both new and already present companies needed skilled workers as they were growing. The workers in the copper mining company were a diverse group of professionals, who could easily work in other industries (Informant no. 1, informant no.2, informant no.10, informant no.12). Additionally, the gradual downsizing in the copper mining company meant that the community had time to adjust and absorb the available labor supply. (Informant no. 10, informant no.12) This has been mentioned as an indicator for collective efforts, subchapter 6.1. As one informant put it “I don’t think the unemployment office noticed any additional unemployment” xxvii. This statement is supported by the unemployment graphs in subchapter 5.1.4 which show the unemployment has been low throughout the ordeal.

6.2.1.1 Other findings

Three informants pointed out that even though it was not dramatic in relation to the actual work situation, it was dramatic in the emotional sense. As informant no.10 put it:

This was a company which had been in Røros for 333 years and it was perceived as the life-line for the place. So of course it was dramatic historically and for the meaning the mining company had in terms of acknowledgement outside its borders.^{xxviii}

Another informant, no.1, said:

There had been several hard years with low prices on copper and deficit as well. So it was a foreseen development. But it was of course a very emotional matter for the local community. The copper mining company had been a part of the local community as they ran the school, church and the hospital, and was part of all the things which happened here – big and small. And those born and raised here would have had a family member or more who had worked in the mines and could tell their own and their relatives’ stories. That makes the history of the copper mining company very much a part of people’s awareness. So when they went bankrupt in 1977, it was more of a mental hit than a practical unemployment issue^{xxix}.

All in all, the data suggests that the close down was more of an emotional matter. The views of my informants are supported by the newspaper articles written in *Arbeidets Rett* in 1977 and 1978. These articles express more sorrow, than practical difficulties as it refers to the company’s history, its place in Norwegian history and anger over the auction of materials and goods belonging to the company. Several people express that they believe these things should stay in Røros because it belongs there (*Arbeidets Rett* articles from 1978) and in general people didn’t give up the hope of having a new copper mining industry. The hope is still alive

in Røros today as an Australian company is currently looking into whether or not a new copper extraction can be profitable, and informant no. 4 said this: “There is hope that a new mining industry will come again [...] but there are stricter demands towards pollution now. It is probably a long way to go but we do not exclude it”^{xxx} The hope is not shared by all, as different industries are using the surrounding mountain terrain for other kinds of business, as informant no.9 puts it:

Considering the businesses I'm in, I'm extraordinarily happy the mining ceased. This has been one of Norway's polluted places and the cultural heritage of Røros is really a big dump. All of the runoff from the industry harms the nature which I'm completely dependent on. [...] It is a tragic way to extract the natural resources and an exploitation which does not take anything else into consideration^{xxxi}

All in all, the data suggests that the close down of the copper mining company was more of a hit on the collective identity and history of the place and its people. An era was over and they now had to redefine who and what they were.

There is a unison agreement between the informants on the reasons for the smooth transition, and the reasons for why it was perceived as dramatic are summarized in Table 7.

Not dramatic	Dramatic
No significant additional unemployment	The history and the identity of the people
Skilled workers were sought after	A local social institution disappeared
A "forest of small and middle-sized companies"	
Some mayors were proactive and foresighted	
Industrial workers who were used to mines and factory work	
Gradual downsizing over time	

Table 7 Reasons for the close down being dramatic and not dramatic.

As there were no widespread unemployment, the data suggests that the close down did not create a “shared sense of urgency” as Horlings (2013) describes.

6.2.2 The knowledge of a possible close down creates a “shared sense of urgency”

Røros has had several companies coming and going as noted in subchapter 5.2.4. This proposition aims at describing if these close downs created a “shared sense of urgency”.

Several informants agree that later close downs also have not been dramatic on a community level (Informant no.1, informant no.2, Informant no.4, informant no.10, informant no. 11, informant no.12). This was also indicated in subchapter 6.2.1. As informant no.12 explains it

As I see it, there have never been any big crises in Røros because the labor force have been in demand. So there has not been any sense of emergency^{xxxii}

Informant no.6 pointed to a company and told me they were struggling, but that did not seem to set the alarm off in the community. No informants or other people indicated that there was any current possible close downs on the way.

This may be attributed to the people that crossed my path during this study, as they might not have any ties to this company, even though the community is small and my informants claim the grapevine is very much present. As illustrated through statements like the community is transparent (informant no.8), “everyone knows everyone” (informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.9, informant no.15) and that “you always know who to ask if you need help” (informant no.9). All of this can be illustrated by informant no.6 experience:

I was going to a meeting in Oslo but it was cancelled at short notice. However, in the morning the people at the airport called me to check that I had not overslept. I had bought a ticket and I was not there, so then they called and checked. That is how it is here^{xxxiii}

The reasons given for the lack of urgency lie in the vast pool of small and middle-sized companies located in Røros, according to my informants (Informant no 12, informant no.5, informant no.6). When the copper mining company went bankrupt, it employed the same amount of people as the middle-sized companies today, as shown in subchapter 5.1.2. As it has been in the past, and currently is, there is what my informants refer to as a “large forest of companies” growing underneath the larger ones and they can absorb people in the future as well (Informant no.4, informant no.10, informant no. 12). The data suggests that this is collective knowledge and a close down doesn’t seem to concern people. However, one informant pointed out that “if HÅG goes bankrupt, it would be a matter of concern^{xxxiv}” (Informant no.8). HÅG is the only employer with over 100 employees, as shown in subchapter 5.1.2. Otherwise, the amount of people without a job would be similar to when the

copper mines closed down, and the same informant points out that the workforce affected will be absorbed, like in the past as pointed out in subchapter 6.1.1.

Two of my informants express that they would welcome a bit of crisis, in terms of employment, so that big ideas can be born and attract more people (informant no.11, informant no.12). As informant no.12 put it: “Something happens to people when they are put under pressure”^{xxxv} What they meant was illustrated by informant no.11 when he pointed to the rehabilitation center built in 2003. The center employs between 70-80 people. One person saw a need in the market and became the driving force in realizing the idea. The data suggests the rule in the local community is an individual noticing a demand in the market, fulfilling this need and keep building upon the initial idea. A frequently discussed company today in this respect, both by informants and in conversations, is Røros Flyservice. The company was founded by two previous Braathens employees, who suddenly had no job because Braathens cancelled the service to Røros and the handling company was defunct. These two people saw an opportunity to start their own handling company as they were certain that there would be flight services to Røros also in the future. With the monetary backing from the bank and their own knowledge of procedures related to all handling matters at the airport, the foundation for the company was laid. After a year Norwegian expanded to Trondheim and Røros Flyservice expanded from then on together with Norwegian. The commonality between the rehabilitation center and Røros Flyservice is that they had an idea and went for it.

A “sense of urgency” is not mentioned by the informants who are entrepreneurs. They emphasize that moving away was a bit too dramatic (Informant no. 16) or it was not an option (Informant no.9) or that this was their home and that is why they are here (Informant no.9, informant no.15). Close downs do have an effect on people as pointed out in statements such as “it left me with the feeling: What now?” (Informant no.9), “we saw an opportunity” “it felt like a more solid road to take” (Informant no.16), “It was maybe a dream” (Informant. no 9), “[...] it gets you thinking. Could we do something more with this? Could we take more control?” (Informant no.9, informant no.15); suggest that close downs are a push-factor in getting entrepreneurs started. It releases the creative potential; just as informant no. 11 and informant no.12 sees as necessary for driving the society forward.

Overall, the data suggests that the close downs do not pose a reason for the rise of a “shared sense of urgency” nor does it seem to be the main reason (“sense of urgency”) why individual people choose to stay or found their own company. My data seems to suggest a greater reason

– their sense of belonging and place. Moreover, the collective focus on developing industries and creating places of work suggests that it is a collective responsibility. People could go to the unemployment office when in need, they don't when they spot an opportunity (Informant no.4, informant no. 16). They do it regardless of that they have to fund and drive it themselves, as described in subchapter 6.1.3. The key findings from this subchapter are summarized in Table 8.

Key findings
Struggling companies are not a collective concern
Røros is a small community where people know each other
Collective knowledge that current companies can absorb freed labor if a close down should happen
Close downs are a push factors for entrepreneurs
Developing industries and creating places of work is a collective responsibility

Table 8: Key findings related to the proposition "The knowledge of a possible close down creates a "shared sense of urgency".

6.2.3 A collective effort is rooted in identity and history

Upon analyzing the material, several groups of information emerged in support of this proposition. The subchapter is organized according to these categories.

6.2.3.1 Inherited knowledge/culture

When discussing how Røros has become the place it is today and the collective efforts shown, all of my informants attribute this to the past. As one informant put it "It is a culture that has been built over decades" (Informant no.5), another informant explains:

[...] it was not an easy life. In the morning they worked in the mines and in the evening they were farmers. I think people had to be tough and solidarity was developed, and that is how it has been since then^{xxxvi} (Informant no.9)

Mining and society

The industrial past and that Røros is a working class community is pointed out by several informants (Informant no.2, informant no.4, informant no.8, informant no.11, informant no.12, informant no.13, informant no.16). That people were used to technological advancements and machines and possible downsizing because of it, have been pointed out as reasons why the close downs have not been dramatic (Informant no.1, informant no.2,

informant no.6, informant no.10, informant no.13), also noted in subchapter 6.2.1 and subchapter 5.2.3. These view points are substantiated by historical facts.

Historically speaking, “[...] the way of working and what was here did not give a lot of room for solo play and egoism” (informant no.10). While working in the mines, people had to deal with explosives, rocks and stone and the possibility that the underground corridors would cave in. Experts came from Germany and the Netherlands to assist with mining. Though they went in as engineers and in the management team (Røros Kobberverk 1644-1947), it was the people of Røros who went into the mines and did the hard labor. A fair amount of trust had to be present and instincts had to be trusted (Røros Kobberverk 1644-1947). The workers, the men, stayed together near the tunnels during workdays and then went home as farmers during the weekend, as noted upon in subchapter 5.2.3. Under such conditions, it seems safe to assume that people got to know each other well and trusted each other because as people became friends, gift relations starts according to Mauss (1995)

While at home the mine workers ran their own subsistence farm, like the copper mining company had intended as shown in subchapter 5.2.2. This made people able to take care of themselves and their family during the winters and when the copper mining company experience decreased demand for copper. As the winters are long, summer short and being on the mountain, the grounds for farming was limited and farmers cooperated until 1923 in late season harvest (Rørosmuseet), as noted in subchapter 5.2.2.

Additionally, the workers did not gain much from the wealth accumulated in the mines, they were quite poor (Rørosmuseet). Despite that fact, it was shameful to be at the poor house (Rørosmuseet). You were supposed to take care of yourself and this has been emphasized by several informants as well (informant no. 10, informant no.13, informant no.15). As noted in subchapter 5.2.2 the mining society gave room for handicrafts and small scale business, and this is also pointed out by my informants (informant no.1, informant 4, informant no.9)



Figure 21: Trådsnella. Photo: Private.

The data suggests that people have been used to the ups and downs of the mining company and living in a harsh environment (informant no.4, informant no.6, informant no.9), and in this environment being self-reliant. Cooperation was socially valued and it still is. (informant

no.13, informant no.15). The means used to become self-reliant was collaboration with others, like in the mines. Foreigners were common and an accepted part of society and Røros became, and still is according to informant no. 6 and no.7, a melting pot. In subchapter 6.1.2, the extent of collaboration is outlined. Informant no.8 pinpoints the relationship between the past and the current, when pointing out that “the attitude is that you say yes if you can. If you can’t that is okay but then you have to say yes the next time” (Informant no.8).

Additionally, frugality is pointed out as a central feature of the mining society (Informant no.8, informant no.10). In considering the condition the miners lived under time, material and money were kept for as long as possible. An examples of this frugality is the “trådsnella”, Figure 21, which were attached to the women`s clothing. Women walked and sew at the same time (Rørosmuseet). Another example is the materials used to build smaller houses on the farm. It was anything people could find from boxes to branches from trees (Rørosmuseet). When asked if there is any connection between the society today and the past, informant no. 10 answer is “yes. It is a bit washed out but you find a lot of it today”^{xxxvii}. This statement is backed by other informants who emphasize that:

- you have to be a bit creative to survive in Røros (Informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.15),
- to take care of the old and develop it further (informant no. 15, informant no.16) and
- You use what you have (Informant no.11, informant no.16).

According to informant no.4 and informant no.7, the frugality is also shown in the food eaten and the clothes wore. The food was local and the clothes were made out of what was available (Informant no.7). The frugality is also marketed today. Figure 22 is taken of a garbage bin in the town`s center. It emphasizes the frugality of the mining society.

Moreover, on the business of mining an informant points out that “You do not get a dime so you have to do it

yourself. You get restrictions, but you do not get any help in moving forward”^{xxxviii} (informant no.8) and as a result “the industrial community in Røros has never been waiting for help from



Figure 22: The garbage bins in Røros. Photo: private.

the state^{xxxix} (Informant no.8). These claims are supported by informant no. 6 and his story of how they handled that the situation when their product became illegal, and how informant no.9 entered the market. Informant no.15 explained the company story in the same terms, as “it was heavy work for many years”^{xl}. Again the data suggests that people need to fix things on their own. As such the current businesses exist in Røros despite of and not due to help from outside (Informant. No.5, informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.9, informant no.15).

Ability to organize

Another point made by informant no.2 is the union work and the tradition to organize work, like the last harvest. As noted in subchapter 5.2.2. the workers united early in Røros and it has pointed out that people did this because

- no one are good alone (Informant no.4, informant no.6, informant no.9, informant no.15, informant no.16)
- Unity (informant no.9, informant no.10)
- No rich uncles (informant no.2, informant no.9)
- People are used to helping (informant no.8, informant no.15)

Informant no.2 points out that people were better at organizing in the past, but it still is a key feature in Røros today. This can be seen in relation to the amount of volunteer work in Røros.

According to informant no.11, the amount of hours people spend on voluntary work is mind-blowing and several others mention that the spirit for volunteering (“dugnadsånden”) is very present in Røros (Informant no.4, informant no.5, informant no.7). All informants mention other organizations or activities they are part of in their spare time and as mentioned before, they all stress that getting involved in something is not a problem. You just have to choose or start your own club (Informant no.12). When asked why they join in on these activities the answer seems to be because it is fun (Informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no. 7, informant no.8).

This was also the answer people gave when asked at the information meeting for Elden. At this particular event, people devote a large amount of their holiday to be a part of it, as explained in subchapter 6.1.4. One informant told me that it was always enjoyable because of changing roles and the company of newcomers (Informant no.7). Some of the main actors are professional and they arrived by plane the night of the information meeting to be introduced

to the rest of actors and volunteers. One volunteer who came from a neighboring municipality explained that he volunteered as it was fun and he felt part of something bigger. His job was to sell coffee, cakes and snacks or show people to their seats. His answer seems fitting for the rest of the volunteers; being part of something bigger. The most striking feature with the information meeting though was the amount of families that signed up. People signed up their entire family or the whole family was present. From the reactions displayed, this seemed completely natural. It became very clear that most of the people in the room knew each other as most people chatted and greeted each other in a familiar manner. Some were signing up for the first time, while others had done this for years.

Throughout the information meeting the word family was used about the volunteers of Elden. The importance of each individual was stressed, and everyone was allowed to be a part of the play if they wanted to. Informant no.7 said

a large part of the kids have been part of it since the beginning. Some have gotten as far as the stage in Trondheim or become musicians. That is fun to be a part of. A boy in my neighborhood got hired in Trondheim and another one went to France to play ^{xli}

So being a part of something bigger, fun, and seeing it as an opportunity for oneself are the core reasons for volunteering at these kinds of events. Additionally, as informant no.7 points out, the development of people and the pride taken in people from Røros making it on larger stages seem to be a reason. The informant no.11 points out that “[...] it is a snowball that rolls away, and people don’t want to miss out on anything”. However, the snowball is vulnerable and if some small thing goes a little bit wrong, then the whole thing falls apart (Informant no. 11). The data suggests that the core of the snowball is the history and motivation through involvement.

6.2.3.2 Family and close ties

People display a strong connection to the place when stating “when I come home and see the church, then I’m home”, (Informant no.7) and a strong sense of pride as they state “I’m very proud of being from Røros. I have been places in the world but I do not want to live anywhere else” (informant no.7) and “Røros is the best place to live” (Informant no.15). Informants that lost their job at some point and said that moving away was a bit dramatic, as pointed out in subchapter 6.2.2, point to their family ties as a reason. Informants, who have moved back to Røros after some years away, stated that family was a reason (Informant no.9, informant no.13). Strong ties to the community, also to the neighboring villages are indicated as a reason

for people staying in Røros (Informant no.9, informant no.10, informant no.13, informant no.16). That Røros only have around 3500 inhabitants is pointed out by informant no.6 and informant no.9. That people know each other is a stated reason for cooperation as discussed in subchapter 6.1.2 and the transparency of the community (informant no.5, informant no.6) is stressed under subchapter 6.2.5.1.

That people don't want to miss out, as suggested above in subchapter 6.2.3, and want to do what other people are doing (informant no.9) are suggested as reasons for why people join in and for example become hosts of Røros, "Vertskapsbeviset", as discussed under subchapter 6.1.2. The data suggests that people conform to social norms and influence each other in regards to the "right thing to do".

6.2.3.3 Their situation, location and local patriotism

When asked why they participate in collaborations, several informants agree with informant no.12: "People see that we are in it together"^{xlii} and the physical distances between things does something to what is thinkable and doable (Informant no. 6, informant no.12). These are also the reasons the informants give for liking Røros, as shown in subchapter 6.2.4. Informant no.2 points out that: "there are no rich uncles here"^{xliii}. These statements are supported by informant no.15 who emphasize that it is common to cooperate because "[...] in rural places people are dependent on cooperating to make things happen [...] from the start everyone is small and that makes it easier to cooperate"^{xliiv}. Informant no.2 explains that "a significant distance to the capital or the administrative center of the county makes mobilizing necessary if development is going to happen"^{xliv}. These data suggests that location and size are factors that influence the extent of collaborations. Moreover, the data points to the history – the people of Røros have never been rich in monetary terms, as noted in subchapter 5.2.2.

Informant no.12 explains that if something needs to be done or people can benefit from the effort, they will rise to the challenge (supported by informant no. 8 and informant no. 16), as noted upon in subchapter 6.2.5.1. Even though, that means losing some of their short term-profit (informant no.1, informant no.12). "[...] the local patriotism, the feeling that you're in the same boat, is stronger here than most other places and the understanding of that [is high]^{xlvi}", explains Informant no.12. The local patriotism is rooted in pride and sense of belonging to Røros, according to informants (informant no.4, informant no.7, informant no.10, informant no.12, informant no.13, informant no.15), also as shown in subchapter 6.2.3.

When asked why they or others wanted to invest in other companies, events or start their own enterprise the reasons stated are:

- 1) that there is a tradition for trying as people are a bit stubborn (Informant no. 1, informant no.2, informant no.4, informant no.9),
- 2) a large amount of skilled and knowledgeable people reside in Røros (Informant no.9) and
- 3) wanting to see results in your home town as it benefits you (informant no. 15, informant no.16) and as informant no.16 puts it

[...] it is more fun to do something up here as you don't get the same closeness to the society in Tromsø or Oslo [...] this is the place your heart beats and this is where you want to be. [...] Blood is a little thicker than water^{xlvii}

Loving Røros

The patriotism can be seen further in the much quoted expression amongst my informants and others from the hotel owner of Røros Hotel “what we do in Røros, we do with love for Røros”. On the same notion informants have pointed to that HÅG (SB seating) could have moved away years ago, but did not because of the founder who insisted to keep the factory in Røros. Now that company is showing others that it is possible to be successful in an inland mountain town in Norway, far away from the market they supply (informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.8). A second person, Knut Strøm, initiated the building of the museum. He benefited from this, being the hotel owner, but the amount of resources put into it seem to be much more than what might be expected, as noted by Informant no.4. An illustrative example of the love in current Røros is the frequently referred to case of Røros Flyservice, both by informants and other people.

After approximately 10 years in business, the founders sold Røros Flyservice to a Scandinavian company called Aviator. However, the founders bought back the business unit in Røros. So while Røros Flyservice units in other airports are currently being rebranded in to Aviator, Røros Flyservice is still the flight handling company in Røros now and in the future. The daily director and one of the founders, Arve Engan, says this about the buy back

We wanted to keep this unit. The travelling agency is not the main industry for Aviator, so we were a bit concerned if they wanted to keep it if they were managing up here. So we took it with us and took it forward. It is the people and symbiotic life with society up here this business is a part of, and we thought that was so valuable that we wanted to keep it. You can say it was a deal without a brain. It was

with the heart. We have been working with these people since before the ice age [...] and we decided not to ruin that as we thought there would be cut backs here when Aviator took over^{xlvi}

Furthermore he said:

If you peeled away all of the emotions and heart with only the financial interest left, then this is not the arena you go into and we would have gone to other markets, which have a shorter to return on investment. That is clear.

Upon this reasoning, the data suggests that the founders have to a certain degree let go of some of their self-interest and put the needs of the community and the employees into the calculation. Furthermore, Røros Flyservice built a hangar for airplanes to stay overnight because

if we were to have a morning and evening flight to Røros, then we need a hangar for the planes to stay overnight in. You cannot dig an airplane out of a snowdrift in the morning in the winter. You need a place with a roof, so we built one to have it in order. That is probably not a smart way to spend money, and maybe you are a bit weird when you are here, but we see that it benefits the community and then we do it (Arve Engan).

Røros flyservice is a fitting example of the local patriotism and a business supporting Røros being built in a collective effort.

Local ownership

Local ownership comes up as the main reason companies can and want to contribute locally and cooperate with others (Informant no. 3, informant no.4, informant no.12, informant no.16, informant no.15, informant no.16). Some informants point out that the hotel would not be able to do what they are doing if they were a chain hotel (Informant no.11, informant no.15) and the bank is still owned by the people and they have their social responsibility clearly stated in their strategy document, as shown in subchapter 6.1.4. Informant no.12 also points to other “semi-state owned institutions which have close ties with the community and sees the benefit of getting things in place and order, and take a much larger responsibility than what can be expected of them”^{xlvi} (Informant no.12).

The data in this section suggest that local patriotism, local ownership, distance, location and size influence the amount of collaboration and investments in the local community. All of these are tied to history and the municipality itself, as it is their home. It results in investments in current businesses, as shown in subchapter 6.1.3, in new businesses, as discussed in subchapter 6.1.4, and an emphasis on local tradition, food and culture, as noted upon in

subchapter 6.1.5. Some informants call it a “love for Røros” (Informant no.4, informant no.16).

Outsiders view

Several informants have pointed out that the fact that Røros is known outside its borders contributes to the sense of pride and belonging (informant no.4, informant no.6, informant no.7, informant no.10, informant no.13). That the queen visited the museum and wanted to come back with more people because she was so impressed (informant no.4) and the amount of media attention Røros receives, as noted upon in subchapter 4.2.5, is pointed out by several informants with a smile (Informant no.1, informant no. 6, informant no.7, informant no. 11, informant no.12). As Røros is a “well known little place^l” (informant no.), it attracts people because of the knowledge they have (Informant no.4, informant no.16) and getting qualified resources is also easier (Informant no.5, informant no.6). Several informants explain that they believe that many people in Norway have a connection to Røros (informant no.4, informant no.5, informant no.7, informant no.8). Informant no.4 explains that “while I was in Oslo I noticed that a lot of people have a relation to Røros”^{li}

The data suggests that the way other people perceive Røros impacts their self-image and the resources they are able to attract.

Direction

As noted in subchapter 5.2.2, foreigners came to Røros as experts and the owners lived in other cities. Foreigners and outsiders were the ones in charge, who had visions and strategies. Two informants (Informant no.11, informant no.6) state that this is still the case. The emphasis on someone needing to take charge, have visions and strategies are pointed out by several informants (Informant no.2, informant no.9, informant no.10, informant no.11, informant no.13, informant no.15).

Another note made is “that everything grows slowly in Røros and it is alright^{lii}” (Informant no.5). Another person explained that “everything grows slowly in Røros; the trees are slow and they even burn slowly”^{liii}. Two informants point out that the soul of the region paves the road ahead (Informant no.10, informant no.16). These data are pointed out also in subchapter 6.2.4. It is a matter of differentiation (informant no.12) and the mining community is used for what it is worth, according to informant no.8 and informant no.16, because culture sells (Informant no.2, informant no.8). As noted upon in the next subchapters and sections, there are forces which give a direction in Røros.

Summary

Overall, the data suggests that the collective effort is rooted in the identity and history. “There is something with the sense of belonging that creates a fighting will to stay” (informant no.1). Moreover, the data suggests that there is as a collective sense of “we need to do it ourselves and we can and want to do it”. The foundations for these thoughts are the inherited knowledge about climate, way of working and the location of Røros. The local patriotism and having a sense of direction are suggested as reasons why the collective effort is sustained. Table 9 summarizes the factors influencing current culture and identity.

Factors influencing current culture and identity
The work in the mine
Farming/layout of town
Level of wealth
The nature of mining
Ability to organize
Family
Size of municipality
Harsh climate
Distance to larger cities
Local ownership
Outsiders view of their place
Directions given by internal and external forces

Table 9 Key factors influencing the current culture and identity.

6.2.4 The collective effort is directed by visionary authorities.

Being the elected leaders of the municipality the authorities have a significant role in shaping the town, its people and culture. As shown in subchapter 6.2.5, people want a direction. They are the ones the informants point to as the ones that should take charge (Informant no. 6, informant no.10, informant no.11, informant no.16). As shown in subchapter 6.1.6. , the

authorities are engaged in several activities to improve the infrastructure, though as mentioned the focus has not been on transport.

6.2.4.1 Vision/mission/goals until 2012

All of the mayors emphasize that Røros should be a good place to live in and has worked according to that notion. That is also how the informants see Røros. Several informants made statements such as “it is a great place to grow up” (informant no.5, informant no.9 and informant no.13) and “it is a good place to live” (Informant no.6, informant no.7). Several also point out that Røros have all the service functions people need intact and that they are located in a town’s center which makes the town center lively, as people are there every day (Informant no.2, Informant no. 9, informant no.16). When describing Røros, several informants call it “a small place, but it has a lot”, as said by informant no.2. The informants argue that Røros is urban and rural at the same time. Table 10 illustrates this argument (Informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.9, informant.no.12, informant no.16).

Urban	Rural
<i>All service functions intact</i>	<i>Short distances to everything you need</i>
<i>a proper towns center, not widely spread out</i>	- kids can walk/bike/sledge to school
<i>Airport</i>	- I have 4 min to work from home
<i>Trains</i>	- can leave the office 2 min before an appointment and be back in 20min
<i>Rich culture life</i>	<i>Close to nature</i>
- I’ve been to more concerts here than in Oslo	<i>Everyone knows each other</i>
-Events year round, not seasonal	- "only" 3500 inhabitants
<i>Rich sports life</i>	- "the country ghost"
-have all the clubs you can image	

Table 10 Statements made about Røros.

As informant no.2 put it “we have everything. We just lack an ice free harbor”^{liv} So the data suggests that the town of Røros is well-liked and the words of the mayors resonate in the population.

In terms of being a shaping force, the mayors emphasize the importance of using the houses in Kjerkgata (one of the main streets) for business and not granting the building of malls. Another way is building the municipality infrastructure, as discussed in subchapter 6.1.6. These activities indicate that they do work on creating a “good place to live”, though this has never been written down as an end-goal or vision/mission statement, been measured or tracked, as it has been explained to me.

None of the mayors expressed that they had a vision of what Røros could and should be in the future from the time they entered into their role as a leader. One had an idea of a specific building they wanted to build and fix the municipality’s finances as they were about to end up on the ROBECK list. The rest did not have any specific plans “just to make things happen^{lv}” and “push in the right direction^{lvi}” which have meant developing industry and creating “a good place to live”. Additionally, the circumstances of them becoming the mayor were really not based on what they wanted to achieve – they were recruited or they describe the circumstances as “someone needed to do it^{lvii}”.

So in terms of long-term visionary work, the data suggests that the mayors are not the driving force. However, informants have pointed to now deceased mayors, like Ole Kverneng and Arne Kokkvoll, saying that these people made a difference (Informant no.2, informant no.11). So the data therefore suggests that some mayors have been more visionary than others and that these ones have driven the community forward. Currently though, the data suggests that the mayors have not pushed the community forward towards a long-term goal. As one informant put it

There have been many rosy words and speeches in the past but there has to be some bigger expansion plans underneath. Thinking a little bigger and get a structural support to frame it^{lviii} (Informant no.8)

6.2.4.2 Vision/mission/goal after 2012

With that said it has been pointed out by some informants that the current “Næringsplan”, the plan for business development in the municipality, is as close to a vision and plan to attain it, as they have ever had (informant no.11). The plan states a goal, which should be reached by 2022, and six focus areas (Reinskou 2011). The main goal is to increase the number of people in the municipality to 6000 people and focus areas are as illustrated below in Figure 23 ;



Figure 23 The "Næringsplan" main goal and six focus areas.

The plan covers living arrangements, places of employment and which industries are to be developed – agriculture and food production, travel and leisure and the cultural and natural heritage (Reinskou 2011). The manufacturing trade is not put as a main focus, but it is a part of focus area number 3 (Reinskou 2011). That seems to be noticed as it is commented upon (Informant no.5, informant no.6). The mayors have little knowledge about the projects the industry is involved in, as shown in the comment that "I was not even aware of how good the industry was" (Informant no.4) when discussing the manufacturing business.

The data seem to suggest that the direction Røros wants to go in is the touristic and "experience the old Røros"- direction and not put that much emphasis on the current situation within the industry. The mayors are, however, not the main actor in that department as the municipality has their own "næringsjef", a chief of industry. The plan was finalized and approved for 2012-2022 and it is the first of this comprehensive kind according to two informants (Informant no.11, informant no.15). The same informants explained that they liked

it because of the concreteness of it and level of detail. Still it is argued that the plan is not enough and calls out for a stronger sense of direction (Informant no.11, informant no.13).

Overall, the data suggest that there are some thoughts about the development of Røros. Moreover, that the thoughts have become more concrete from 2011 and onwards. There is a comprehensive plan which stipulates focus areas, strategies, actions, responsibility and timelines. However, it is not a comprehensive plan which covers all areas for a length of time and it does not say what Røros shall be the best at or its mission, as found in company management literature.

6.2.4.3 Change in government

Despite the data suggestion that visions have been lacking, at least until 2012, several mayors have had more than one period in the office since 1977. When asked why, one informant said “I think that implies that it has been stabile and most people are happy”^{lix} While others said that Røros is not good at running political debates (Informant no.11, informant no.13), that they need to be more proactive and not rest on the old merits (informant no. 12), and that the municipality does little to help its current industries (Informant no.5, informant. 6, informant no.8). However, several informants have pointed out that the people of Røros are stalwart (Informant no.5, informant no.16), stubborn (Informant no.8 informant no.10, informant no.11), cautious and skeptic (Informant no.12) or reactionary (Informant no.13). However, they will adapt when necessary (Informant no. 5, informant no.10, informant no.11, informant no.12, informant no.13). The lack of change though suggests that most people are content or else there would be more rapid changes in the mayor’s office. However, most people in Røros are not in managing roles and the work force constitutes a larger part of the voting population than the managers, who also often are people who have migrated (Informant no.1, informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.11, informant no.16). Except for one period, Arbeiderpartiet, the labor party, has been the ruling party since at least 1970s, history suggests that the path Røros is on will not change, as rules and regulations heavily guard the democratic process.

In a democratic process the majority wins and the mayor does not make decisions singlehandedly. As one put it “the things that were moral and ethics a 100 years ago, are today written rules and regulations^{lx}”. The political processes do in fact require much more time than in the business environment, where a leader can make a decision and start implementing

right away. In the democratic process there are many voices to be heard before a decision can be made. An example of this is the time it has taken to clear an industrial field for new companies. The mayor in charge at that time said he was struggling against the opinion of those who did not see the benefit of clearing the area. There was an assumption that no companies needed it. Another informant said that the fact that there were no larger areas available in the area for companies to build on has been a hindrance for many years (Informant no.15). Havsjøveien is an industrial area outside the heritage site which was made available for construction of buildings for new entrepreneurship in Røros (Informant no.15). The data suggests that the mayors are leading in the intersection of present culture and what needs to happen. The differences in opinions make the decision making process long and because the municipality is a democracy, it does take time.

A large working class with the roots outlined in subchapter 5.2.2 suggests that change can be hard. Moreover, the data suggests that it is not only the municipal authorities who are directing the efforts to make a place; it is as much the people of Røros. The observational data suggest the authorities are deeply ingrained in the fabric of society. Sometimes they take charge and sometimes they let themselves be lead and fight for the good ideas, making things happen (informant nno.2, informant no.4).

6.2.4.4 Other actors

Over time though, the data suggests that there have been several actors who have influenced the overall direction of the municipality. There have been individuals who have contributed with their own persuasion, sheer will and ideas about how things should be. The bank of Røros has had a clear stated vision and goals, which highlight the term “good place to live” (Rørosbanken Strategidokument). The bank has been present since approximately the same time as the municipality was established, in the late 1800th century. The work of individuals such as Knut Strøm and Sverre Ødegaard in terms of lifting Røros as a tourist destination, the continuation of the hotel as a driving force with the current owners and the decision of the founder of HÅG to situate the factory and remain in the mountains (Informant no.4). Further examples are the continuous work local food manufacturers have put into selling their produce in a small scale and take charge of their own production and distribution chain. Also the workers of businesses threatened with close downs who buy their own business, as presented in subchapter 6.1.3, and the artists who write, sing and perform in the arena Røros offers does impact the overall direction of the place.

Key findings from this subchapter are summarized in Table 11.

Key findings
No unified plan or written stated direction for the municipality until 2012
The majors` "Good to live" resonates in the population
The "Næringsplan" is perceived as the most comprehensive plan they have ever had
The "Næringsplan" covers several areas in the municipality, though not all
People are content with the municipality authorities
Lack of direction have given room for other actors to influence the municipality's direction

Table 11: Key findings related to the proposition "The collective efforts are directed by visionary authorities"

6.2.5 The municipal authorities guards the place brand

As shown above in the previous subchapters, the data suggests that the authorities are not the only visionary people in Røros. It is more individually driven; by some mayors, some industry leaders, some founders of companies and some artists. However, the municipal authorities do have a considerable amount of power in terms of shaping the life of inhabitants. Considering that the municipality is governed through a democracy, it is filled with groups of people of various kinds. These groups look in to all aspects of a case and involve the people in the decisions. However, the people are under certain restrictions from outside institutions, such as the national authorities and UNESCO.

6.2.5.1 Contributors to cultural transmission

The school system

In "Næringsplanen", the triple-helix program is designed for better collaboration between the industry, municipality and the school (Reinskou 2011), though they are the ones in charge of making it happen. They are a force in creating and maintain curriculum and courses offered. So far the collaboration has resulted in some Røros specific courses on technique and industry, logistics and service, design and handicrafts and building and construction (roros.vgs.no). The destination company has also flagged their interest in collaboration in their report "Bærekraftige destinasjoner" – Røros 2009-2012. They would like to develop courses in sustainable tourism.

However, the school system is also governed by the national authorities, as seen with the project Eidsvoll 1814 which the school in Røros took part in. The way the project was carried out though and attention it was given are within the people of Røros domain. While in Røros I met a man who played Richard Floer, a gentleman from Røros who took part in the signing of the constitution of Norway in 1814. An informant explained that he had a costume made according to a picture from the period, and then he went to the schools in the area and other places of interest, to talk about his experiences and showcase Røros importance at Eidsvoll in 1814 (Informant no.7). Upon visiting the museum there was an exhibit by the elementary school on Røros and 1814, as shown in Figure 18 . On display were drawings, polls, poems, information written about important people in Røros in connection to 1814 and a filmed reenactment of the life of Richard Floer. The teaching and showcasing of the history fosters the identity making process, as it creates involvement – a key factor for motivation (Passer and Smith 2003). Additionally, one informant explains that the children are taught national and regional folkdances in the school (Informant no.10)

These data suggest that there are several contributors in the cultural transmission and development; the national authorities, private people, the industry, the school and the museum.

Permits, licenses and applications

The municipality has authority concerning licenses, permits and construction applications. The people who are deciding who can do what are obliged to follow rules and regulations made by the municipality, but also external institutions such as UNESCO. Rules and bureaucracy are “To some people’s joy and other people’s dismay”^{lxix} one informant put it (informant no.16).

Observations made in the town suggest that there are boundaries between the new and old; one being the railway. Other

boundaries seem to be the roads around Røros, the houses inside the road circle are much older looking than the ones on the outside. Even though some houses towards the main roads have a more modern architectural style. On the outside there are more modern looking houses, though there are certain exceptions as farms were spread out around Røros. An example is the



Figure 24: The mall Domus. Photo: Private

as

current building of new apartments by Kiwi and the railway. They are distinctly modern. While the building of Domus, a small shopping mall built next to the wooden houses in the town's center (as seen in Figure 24), was built in an older style. An informant explains how this happened:

The biggest disaster here was the building of the Domus center [...]. They could have shown that this was not old by not building it like the other houses. It has nothing to do with the history of Røros. But the people working with the cultural heritage thought that this was nice. The building is nice but it is completely wrong. People can mistake it for being a part of the heritage [...] ^{lxii} (Informant no.13)

The data suggests that there has been a development, but less inside the road circle than the outside. Overall, the data suggests that the municipality is playing the conserving role together with the people working with the cultural heritage. Moreover, the data suggests that the physical boundaries keep the past and the future apart. The data therefore implies that it is not when the building are constructed that is important, rather where it is situated physically.

One informant thought that in the battle between the municipality and the industrial actors, the industrial actors won frequently, even though it might take a long time (Informant no.8). Examples given were Havsjøveien (informant no.8) and the apartments Røros Hotell have been trying to get approval for many years now (Informant no.12, Informant no.4). On the last mentioned topic two informants explains that there is a conflict concerning bureaucratic definitions. The authorities interpret the subject in a manner which makes them hold back on the issue (Informant no.3 and informant no.4). Other informants have expressed frustration over the municipality and its slow nature, as discussed the previous subchapters, the data suggests that the municipality is a conserving factor in the visual impression and areal planning.

6.2.5.2 Other conservational forces

Furthermore, the municipality has rules and regulations but both the state and city Directorate for cultural heritage also have some. Already in the 1920s, the first houses in Røros were marked for future conservation and from 1981 all wooden houses, around 400, are part of the UNESCO world heritage list (Spangen 2014). Their rules are imposed on the residents and as one informant put it:

Neon lights or Las Vegas lights are not allowed up here. That will be stopped [...]. The visual impression of Røros is not to be tampered with. If you do make yourself comfortable the Directorate for cultural heritage will come and sit on you ^{lxiii} (Informant no.16)

Another outside matter seems to be the layout of the town. The stores in Kjerkgata for the most part only have one access road for merchandise and deliveries, which is through the front door (Informant no.8). According to several people, there has been and still is a struggle to get an access road to the left of Kjerkgata which could serve all shops, restaurants and hotels from the bottom up to the church (Informant no.3, informant no.8). But the layout of the town is under strict regulations as the Directorate for cultural heritage and the World Heritage wants to conserve the history of what once was and this do create frustration and anger amongst people. As shown above in subchapter 6.1.5. And in statements such as, “we can’t sit here in a rundown shack with a candle like they did in 1900”^{lxiv}(Informant no.16).

Outside vs. inside

However, observational data suggests that people are more allowed to make changes inside the houses. One of the interviews took place in the informant’s house, a wooden house which used to be a working farm, as described in subchapter 4.4.1. Their bedroom, washing room, library and study used to be the barn but is now a part of the house connected by a small hall. The kitchen had been extended by a couple of meters to make it functional for a family of four and modern amenities were present. However, the new interior fitted nicely with the older ones and the façade which had been added, seemed to have been that way since the house was built.

Another example is Trygstad, one of the bakeries (as shown in Figure 25), and Essence (as shown in Figure 26). Trygstad have white panels on the interior instead of the wooden beams, a glass door have been fitted in the back so people can enter from both sides, tiles have been laid in the sitting room at the back and in doorway from the street to the backyard, and enclosing the passage with a glass door



Figure 25: Trygstad bakery. Photo: Private

in the front, behind the original doors. The sitting area has more than tripled in size. By the end of the day, the original doors are closed against the main street. As shown on the picture it leaves the impression that everything is the same as it always has been. Inside the metal and wooden chairs and tables, the benches and the fabric of the back support give a distinct modern feeling. The counter and shelves behind it are made of wood giving it a rustic feel, but the cakes are glassed in.

Essences have kept the wood beams in the two front rooms where the customers are, giving it a rustic feel. The main room has an open doorway through to the kitchen, which is updated considering the house, but the current kitchen trends are not found. The kitchen is large with wooden doors and frames with all modern amenities present, such as oven, microwave and a state of the art coffee machine.



Figure 26: Essence coffee house. Photo: private

The largest of the front rooms is fitted with a bar with high chairs facing the windows to the street. The two front rooms are also a shop for wedding, baptism and conformational artifacts. The items are laid out on wooden tables, on wooden shelves and old-looking boxes.

These observations suggest that these three places fuse the new and the old. All have kept the façade but inside they have made certain adjustments to accommodate the needs of house/shop/eatery/coffee house in the 21st century. One informant said that the fusion between new and old is an underlying shared thought that this is the way it is supposed to be and “to say something is else would be to swear in the church”^{lxv} (Informant no.16). Thus, the data suggests that there is something in the culture, people and a shared sense of “the right way to go about things” that influence people into acting similar. The culture lives on.

6.2.5.3 *The people and the brand*

The data suggests that people are aware that Røros has a good brand – it is talked about and statements made suggest that they clearly know the difference between marketing and brand (informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.9, informant no.15, informant no.16). Statements such as

We have to be careful about the effects we use and we have to be true to the history. It has to be recognizable, easy to touch, see and feel up here. The effects are only reinforcements of what is already here^{lxvi} (Informant no.16)

When asked about the brand Røros have, all informants, regardless of industry specific brand associations, pointed out one or several of these trademarks of the produce and experiences Røros have; quality, hardwearing/climate resistant, true to its origins, industrial past, people are hard working, and have long traditions for handicrafts. Above all is quality, stressed by all informants in the manufacturing industry and experience industry. Specialized products

customized to fit the exact need both in small and large scale production, and events related to history with a high quality production. The quality feeds in to the value proposition the businesses give potential customers, given that Røros is located where it is, both in Norway and in the mountains, and it shows in statements such as “it has to be different and better. You have to be better than the rest”^{lxvii} (Informant no.6).

When explaining what quality entails informants points to their competence in the field or background of the workers and the ability to deliver (Informant no.5, informant no.6, informant no. 15). The competence stems from the past, according to informants. The people of Røros are described as industrial workers, with an industrial past, that industry is “connected to the soul of Røros” and working in a “factory or mine is in the spine of people” (Informant no. 5, informant no.6, informant no.8, informant no.11, informant. 12, informant no.14, informant no.16). These data points back to subchapter 6.2.3, which dealt with how the collective efforts arose. Having the competence or background is also pointed out as the reason why people start for themselves or buy their business when it is threatened with close down (Informant no.7, informant no. 9, informant no.15, informant no.16). It is also pointed out as the reason for why people are able to transition into making other products or change their line of work (Informant no.5, Informant no.13).

The second most quoted element is honesty or truthfulness to the history. The products are to be trustworthy. As Geir Bergh, Røros Bruk, puts it

We have a proud handicraft tradition and we use real wood. That is connected to the history and wooden houses. Our products are made to withstand a harsh climate. Originally we only delivered to the region so it had to be resistant. It lasts long and the house gets warm with Røros windows^{lxviii}

They are still true to the history in terms of materials and the important qualities in it, according to Geir Bergh. Another informant pointed out that it is supposed to be real and solid (Informant no.8). The same is pointed out when talking about food – “we want real food [...]” [and] we have lots of it”^{lxix}(informant no.7). Another informant said that “over time Røros has changed and today you can’t serve things unless you can say it is local. Not all are as honest but they do brag about it”^{lxx} (Informant no.15).

Summary

Overall the data suggests that the municipality, UNESCO and the state and local Directorate for cultural heritage are conservational forces in keeping the visual impression of Røros

intact. As such, the exterior of the old town of Røros is being heavily guarded by several institutions. Outside the main center and inside the houses people seem to be more governed by social code and an accepted norm rather than a written set of rules. As a result the municipality is not the only guardian of the brand, and cultural transmitter, it is the people themselves. Informant no.16s explanation of who governs the place brand sums up this subchapter:

it is not exactly centralized [...]. There are very many individuals who have a hold of it and want it to live on. People see it as a way to differentiate themselves^{lxxi} (Informant no.16)

Some data indicate that this attitude is absorbed prior to adulthood. Table 12 summarize the cultural transmitters, while Table 13 sums up the key findings.

Cultural transmitters/ conservational forces	
<i>Inside</i>	<i>Outside</i>
the school	National authorities
the museum	UNESCO
the industry	State Antic
private people	City Antic
the municipality	

Table 12 Cultural transmitters.

Key findings
The culturally valuable is decided and transmitted upon by many actors
Municipality authorities play a conservational role in building and areal planning
A social consensus on "what's right" is present
Brand knowledge is shared
Consensus on what the brand Røros entails

Table 13 Key findings from the proposition "The municipality authorities imprint the culturally desirable in people".

6.2.6 The municipal authorities involvement of inhabitants sustains the collective effort

With regard to involvement in the direction the municipality is headed, some informants point out that it is possible to influence it as long as you speak up, (Informant no.2, informant no.7) and if you want to join in you are allowed (Informant no.1). Several informants have been involved in committees deciding on something on behalf of the community (Informant no.2, informant no. 7, informant no.8, informant no.15) and some are still present (Informant no.2, informant no. 3, informant no.4, informant no.13). Despite these acknowledgements, questions about how people can contribute and the channels they can use are questions most informants have to think about before they answer.

The mayors highlight that the different departments invite people to meetings where they can voice their opinions on matters that can affect them. Examples given are housing cooperatives, different kinds of interest groups, residents, businesses, the museum and the historical society. An example given by the municipal authorities is the renewal of Bergmannsgata. All these groups have been invited to voice their opinion on whether they preferred a strip of grass between their house and the asphalt or asphalt to their door. Other places highlighted by mayors are committees and the municipality's plan meeting.

Some informants express that they know about these meetings (Informant no.7, informant no.8, informant no.10, informant no.15), while others seem to focus more on other channels, such as voicing their opinion in the newspapers, social media, the local radio or "Næringshagen"(business park) (Informant no.1, informant no.7, informant no.9, informant no.13). The key finding here seems to be that all of the informants believe that it is not a problem to get involved in as much as you like in Røros, it just depends on your interests and preferences – politically or otherwise. Two informants have also stated that they don't think the people of Røros are particularly political in their nature and that a lot is discussed over a cup of coffee, but never debated in a political arena (Informant no. 11, informant no.13). The data suggests that the contribution of the population is not something which is widely stressed as important. It has been up to the appointed officials to drive the municipality forward.

The data suggests that there has been a small change in the awareness about these things with the new "Næringsplan" – discussed above in subchapter 6.2.5. It might be caused by the current administration's focus on getting more people involved in creating a concrete plan for a longer period of time (Informant no.4, informant no.12). According to the municipality, 285

people showed up at the meeting for the discussion of the final draft of the plan. According to the municipality, the regional counselor said that that had not been possible in other regions. This plan has also been pointed out by several informants (Informant no.11, informant no.13, informant no.15) as a step in the right direction. People have been questioned about what they think and involved in the future direction of the municipality (Informant no. 4, informant no.11, informant no.15). As one informant put it: “To be involved makes you even more attached to the place”^{lxviii}(informant no.15). The municipality also points out that the expectations rise with the plan as people believe in it.

The municipal authorities explained that they used 9 months creating the document. During this time there were open discussions in meetings out in the smaller villages in the municipality and in Røros. People also had the opportunity to make final remarks before the plan was ratified and put into action (Reinskau 2011). The final document contains, as noted in subchapter 6.2.5, a main goal, six focus areas, strategies, actions, accountable and deadlines (Røros kommune). The plan is rotated yearly so that people can come and see what is done and not, what the next steps are and who is or has been responsible, according to the current authorities. It does not seem like all people know of the yearly rotation (Informant no.7, informant no. 10).

My data suggests that this plan has created more enthusiasm and involvement than before and it does sustain the collective efforts as people now can see progress – though all are not acquainted with the plans.

6.2.7 Summary

In the second part of the analysis, the propositions from the theoretical chapter have been explored.

The data suggests that the close down of the mines and the close downs of several more employers in the 1980s did not create any widespread crisis. There was not any widespread unemployment as other businesses were growing and the miners were trained to become industrial workers. The industrial workers were appreciated by other companies when they were cut loose from their employment. The workers accelerated the new businesses making them able to take in more miners over time. The gradual downsizing has also been pointed to as a factor for the smooth transition.

As for the later close downs, it is frequently pointed out that a reason for this not leading to higher unemployment was due to successful businesses being in demand of more workers. As the close downs did not create a widespread unemployment, the data suggests that it did not create a “shared sense of urgency” (Horlings 2013) and the collaborative environment seems to have been present regardless of the close downs.

The data suggests that the authorities have not focused on creating visions and plans for the municipality. The involvement of people in the development of the current Næringsplan, is as close to a vision and goals the municipality has ever had. That a large part of the community is put under this plan says it all - the focus is on creating and developing the local industries. Moreover, the data suggests that before “Næringsplanen” there does not seem to have been a conscious approach to involving people in a grander plan and as a result individuals have colored the society with their own visions. However, my data suggests that there are several conservational forces in the local community and those things that are not directly controlled by any institutions are socially controlled.

6.3 Closing remarks

This chapter has explored how Røros fits the indicators of a continuous collective effort presented in the introduction chapter, and the propositions presented in the theoretical chapter.

In summary, the data suggests that Røros is characterized by a collaborative environment as they display the indicators of a continuous collective effort. The informants argue that this was not prompted by a “shared sense of urgency” induced by the close down of the cornerstone factory or later close downs. The data suggests that the collective effort have a historical fundament.

Moreover, the data suggests that it is the people that are holding and governing the brand. People and institutions guard the place brand and stipulate the correct direction to go in, not just the municipal authorities. Furthermore, the data suggests that it resides in the culture and identity itself. All informants explain that keeping the past in the present is valuable and unique, and a way to differentiate Røros from other places, which points back to the emphasis on local history, food and traditions shown in subchapter 6.1.5. Furthermore, the data suggests that the importance of a good place brand is present in the mind of the people.

In the next chapter the key findings against the theoretical framework are discussed.

7. Discussion of key findings

The purpose of the study was to explore what prompted the rise of a collective effort and how it is sustained so that a positive place can be obtained. As there is little written about what prompts cooperation among inhabitants of a place to enhance the attraction the place have on others, this study expands existing theory. The propositions are based on existing literature and the findings analyzed in chapter 6. In this chapter the key findings from the analysis chapter will be discussed. In keeping the discussion tied to the findings, which is filled with quotes and statements, and discuss them against theory will according to Fangen (2004) often give the best grounds for giving correct interpretations.

The discussion is structured in two main parts;

- 1) “what prompted the rise of the collective effort” in subchapter 7.1 and
- 2) “How is the collective effort sustained” in subchapter 7.2.

Some findings does however cross the division between what prompted the rise of the collective effort and how is it sustained. Subchapter 7.3 summarizes the chapter and subchapter 7.4 gives some closing remarks about the discussion and the process of writing it. The conclusions of the study and their possible significance in relation to other places will be presented in the next chapter, chapter 8.

7.1 What prompted the rise of the collective effort?

This is the first of the two questions which make up this dissertation. Propositions no.1, 2 and 3 were presented in chapter 2, the theoretical framework. They propose either that a “sense of urgency” was the cause to the rise of the collective effort or that the collective effort was rooted in shared history and identity. The findings related to these propositions will now be discussed.

7.1.1 A “sense of urgency” as a driving force

Horlings (2012) suggested that a “shared sense of urgency” was needed in order for people to cooperate in rural areas. Horlings (2012) reasoning was that in a place with many landowners and a multitude of stakeholders they would need a strong incentive to cooperate. A close down of the cornerstone factory was suggested as a possible source of this “shared sense of urgency”, as people losing their place of work is considered a dramatic life event (Passer and Smith 2003). Additionally, rural places traditionally have less companies and opportunities for other employment and it is suggested that this impact the “shared sense of urgency”.

The close down of the cornerstone company has not been perceived as dramatic, as described in subchapter 6.2.1. People got work elsewhere close to home or employed themselves. As shown in the statistics in subchapter 5.1.4, the number of inhabitants stayed stable and the unemployment rate remained low. The informants view is therefore supported by statistical evidence. The data suggests that the close down of a cornerstone company did not create a “shared sense of urgency” as Hørlings (2012) describe.

Later close downs have not been perceived as dramatic either, even though the number of unemployed people does show a peak in the 1980s and 1990s. The informants seem to not remember this as their perception is that there have been no crises in Røros, as pointed out in subchapter 6.2.2. In any case the feeling of urgency was not shared in the population.

That current companies are struggling does not seem to be a shared concern among people as described in subchapter 6.2.2. However, the constant focus on business development by both people and municipal authorities suggest that there is knowledge of their vulnerability present.

The lack of feeling of crises could have been explained if none of the informants had lost their place of work as if the close downs did not have any relevance to them. However, two informants pointed out that they had lost their job at some point (informant no.9, informant no.16). There might be more informants with such experiences but these were the only ones that indicated that it had happened. However, the two informants who did lose their job did not indicate that a “sense of urgency” was felt either, just a sense of “what now?”, as explained in subchapter 6.2.2. These data suggests that there has been no shared or individual “sense of urgency” from the 1970s until now.

When looking at the history of the copper mining company, data still indicates that the struggles of the company have impacted the society. When the copper mining company struggled in the 1920`s, as discussed in subchapter 5.2.4, the Krogh slaughterhouse (today Røros Delikatesser) opened up and the Steinsaas Raindeerslaughter house expanded from starting out in small scale in 1890s. Røros hotel claims that the idea of having a hotel in Røros was born in the 1930`s when the copper mining company had to be rescued by the national authorities on several occasions. According to Røros Hotell, Alf Schanke saw a need in the community for having another source of income during the 1930s, and the hotel was open for business before Easter 1951. The hotel was built with the inhabitants as shareholders and financial backers, according to informants and Røros hotel history book. In the same period, several other companies emerged, as discussed in subchapter 5.2.4, and these companies trace

their roots further back than the year they were started (Røros Tweed, Røros Metall, Kjellmark and Røros Produkter).

The start-up of all of the companies pointed out above may suggest that people had to find new employment because of the copper mining company's struggles. The struggles relieved people from their jobs and put them in the "what now?" position, described above in subchapter 6.2.2. However, the situation stretched out over time as people were let off during the course of 100 years, according to the museum of Røros, and it was not a lot of people every time. The data suggests that it was just enough for the creative energy to flow, and people to get absorbed into current businesses through family, friends and acquaintances, as described in subchapter 6.1.1, and in subchapter 6.2.1.

In essence a "sense of urgency", shared or individual, was not the cause of the collective effort. Instead, the data suggest that the difficulties released energy which tapped into the collective knowledge surrounding the location, climate and industrial identity, as shown in subchapters 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.

7.1.2 Identity and history

As written above, in chapter 5, the town of Røros was founded because of the copper in the mountains, far away from other cities. The climate is harsh and the set up of the town is founded upon principles of subsistence and homeownership. Due to the town's attachments to Trondheim, commodities came in and made Røros a center in the region for all sorts of commodities and competence. The financing and shareholders of the copper mining company were not local and the wealth accumulated was transported away from Røros to build other cities. All these things play into the culture which developed and the identity people affiliated with then and to some extent affiliate with today. That makes the identity and history an influencing factor in the past, current and future.

As described in subchapter 5.2.1 the knowledge of how to survive in a harsh climate, their location, their way of working and the line of work they used to be in, and still is, in influences the norms. Statements such as "this is how it is here" (Informant no.6) and "that is normal here" suggest that this knowledge is still present. The size of the place is also a variable suggested by the data, which influence the norms. In subchapter 6.1.4 this is highlighted with statements "everyone knows everyone" and "I always know who to ask". By being a place with around 3500 inhabitants many people know each other through both strong and weak ties. The weak ties are rich sources of information and the strong ties connect

people through mutual obligations (Granovetter 1985). As pointed out in subchapter 6.1.5 there are no rich uncles in Røros and this facilitates collaboration as people are depending on each other. It also involves people in relationships which are defined by mutuality. An informant exemplifies the mutuality with “you have to say yes. It is okay if you cannot once but then you have to be careful to say yes the next time. We are dependent on that” (Informant no. 8)lxxiii

The statements in subchapter 6.1.5 and above suggest that the social identity as an inhabitant of Røros is significant. Even migrants state that “blood is thicker than water” and that their roots are deep and they intend to stay. There have been 23 protest marches against the close down or relocation of the hospital according to an informant. Another informant highlights that several institutions, and today partly state owned companies were built and in many cases funded by the people. Because of these attachments one informant state that “and then someone from outside and say we cannot have it anymore. There is something in the saying “we will not stand for that”.lxxiv Furthermore, it is also highlighted that finding an identity is easy in Røros. In Hogg and Vaughan (2005) terms, it is understood as it is easy to affiliate and find a deep sense of self, which is important to people. History and norms give a frame of reference and stability that people crave in order to reduce anxiety and ambiguity (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). Statements such “there is a culture for trying” and “it is a collective will to survive” suggest that it is socially valued and deemed collective to do ones best. Two informants pointed out that “You can put a rørosing on a pile of rocks and he will still survive”. Another person who migrated stated that he moved to Røros and started a business because it was hard to survive and he wanted to make it. These statements can be seen as both a part of a personal and social identity. Moving there says something about the individual’s identity and the staying and trying both individual and social identity.

According to the informants Røros is still a working class society with an industrial soul, as described in subchapter 6.2.1. Thus, According to several informants that makes the workforce in Røros is extremely reliable and stabile (informant no. 5, informant no.6, informant no.8), as exemplified by informant no.6

The workforce we have is stabile. That is important. It is more loyalty to the company here than in Oslo [...]. In this company we have people who have worked here for 10, 15, 20 years. They are very loyal employees who give a lot of themselves to this company.

For a company that is a great asset as it results in little turnover and competence is kept within the company. These advantages are also pointed out by informant no.5, informant no.6 and informant no.8.

Considering that the people of Røros were a mining community with a clear goal and a work culture which supported the goal, it is suggested that setting goals will be beneficial and can increase the overall image of the place. The norms “embody clear group goals for performance and production”, which “makes group members work harder and they are more satisfied” (Hogg and Vaughan 2005, 300) than without a clear goal.

7.1.3 Summary

In this part of the discussion, what prompted the collective effort has been discussed. The data suggests that the collective effort is rooted in a collective history and identity and not in a “shared sense of urgency”. The discussion highlights that being an inhabitant of Røros is a significant social identity. The norms connected to the identity enforce collaborations and the willingness to at least try as a person to make things happen as this seems to be. The norms seem to support goal setting and the amount of people turning up at the meeting for “Næringsplanen” suggest that people want goals.

7.2 How is a collective effort sustained?

This is the second of the two questions presented in this dissertation. The subchapter is divided in two parts due to the findings in the analysis chapter; Leadership and people. However, the two parts influence each other, as argued in subchapter 7.2.2, and should therefore not be considered as separate parts.

7.2.1 Leadership

The mayors and the elected body is considered the legitimate leaders of the municipality, as described in subchapter 3.3.1. The municipality’s role is to be a facilitator in creating a structure for planning, setting goals and discussions with the inhabitants according to the informants. Further, the data suggest that the current authorities take this role. So it is not just about involvement, it is also about engaging goals, plans, being responsible and seeing progress. These are the arguments that several informants use as to why they invest in new and current companies and sit on company boards. Results, progress, action and that it is fun to achieve, as described in subchapter 3.3.2.1. The subchapter is divided between leaders and their involvement of inhabitants in goal setting.

7.2.1.1 *Political leaders*

Anholt (2010) notes that good leadership is good branding, and that brand awareness is necessary in the leadership body. As pointed out in subchapter 3.3.1 community leaders are expected to work on behalf of the society and for the well-being of the inhabitants. In Røros, the mayors most frequently pointed out are the mayors who had a clear ambition and made things happen, such as Ole Kverneng. That is in line with what Hakala and Ozturk (2013) found in their case study, the leaders will and ambitions have an impact on society.

Informants know that the time has changed in terms of structure, rules and regulations but they miss and wish for clearer visions, as pointed out in subchapter 3.3.2. The lack of visions is also expressed by the mayors as they did not have a clear idea of what they wanted to do, just that Røros should be a good place to live. That focus is shown in action in subchapter 6.1.5 and subchapter 6.1.6. The actions lack a clear direction in terms of where Røros should head and what they want to be famous for. The data show that there might be two answers to the question why this has been lacking.

The visionary and managing people used to come from the outside, as pointed out in subchapter 5.2.2 and some informants still points to outsiders as driving forces in the community. Some of the reasons mentioned for this are that

- 1) outsiders have a better view of the qualities as they have a background to compare it with and
- 2) by being an outsider, and perhaps not with many social ties, relationships need to be built which results in outsiders joining in on cultural events, sports clubs and other events. In other words the outsiders need to establish a social network and a social identity, which is crucial for their well-being (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

The amount of migrates is not high but it is seemingly enough for progress to happen and outsiders fulfill the role they historically have had. However, this is seems to be changing with more people from Røros taking managing roles. .

The second reason suggested by the data is the way mayors become mayors. A finding is that mayors are often recruited or accidentally end up in the office, as described in subchapter 6.2.5. The mayors have usually been locals. Additionally, the data suggest that political debates are not widespread. The fact that Arbeiderpartiet (Labour party) has been in charge almost exclusively since the 1970s suggest that their politics is the “right politic” and that this fact is socially agreed upon. That the leaders do not have an ambition is not deemed

important. If the norms embody the politics, political debates can be hard to run as norms are powerful and the consequences of breaking them is not pleasant (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). So some of the norms which is considered reasons for their prosperity is also hindering principal debates. Røros is still considered a working class society, described in subchapter 6.2.6, and that means that few people have higher education. This has proven to have an effect on political views, if exposed to other norms over time (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

Direction and brand

The data in subchapter 6.2.5 suggests that the current authorities are more structured and focused, both in terms of how to approach people and in planning and execution of the agreed upon goals and focus areas, than its predecessors. The “Næringsplan” is considered comprehensive and has an end-goal, one of them being an increased number of inhabitants. However, having a lot of people does not make a great place brand. Several informants have pointed to other places with more people which are less known to illustrate this point. Røros’ reputation is based on what they have produced and have been/is good at. As described in the introduction, people are choosing their place of residence based on where they perceive they have the best opportunities to develop their skills and knowledge. Being best or even good at some things draws people to a place. That is the same mechanism which draws people to products and companies; the perception of quality and value to them (Aaker 1991).

The industry wants to make Røros the place for mass-produced tailored products in Norway, the museum wants Røros to be the place for conservation of old buildings in Norway, the local food industry wants to be the best in small scale production and distribution, the destination company wants Røros to be a sustainable destination and the people arranging events wants Røros to be known for its ability to create and manage events in a large scale. As Anholt (2010) points out, a place brand needs to incorporate all of the industries and when working upon the brand, what they want to project has to incorporate all these industries. Even though different target audiences may be approached with different texts and so on, the fundamental elements have to be the same.

Involvement

The municipality authorities emphasize that they involve the people on different issues, as described in subchapter 6.2.5. The data suggest that people want to be involved in the long term planning of Røros. The high participation on the final draft meeting of the “Næringsplan” and amount of comments to the “Næringsplan” suggest this. The data also suggests that what is wanted is a plan which people are able to track. The data further suggest

that there is a desire to achieve and achieving together, as described in subchapter 6.2.5 and subchapter 3.3.2. Moreover, the data suggests that involving people in goal setting and issues that are of relevance to them, the more attached to the place they get. That is consistent with theory on employee motivation and satisfaction (Passer and Smith 2003). Despite being a municipality, the claim seems valid here as well which is consistent with Olins (2010) who points out that people are people whether they work in a company or are gathered for other reasons. This can be due to the desire to affiliate and the desire to achieve which Hogg and Vaughan (2005) sites as some of the most powerful drivers in human motivation (subchapter 3.3.2).

The authorities recognize that the expectations are closely linked to their performance with the current plan. A plan can highlight a large part of the work done by the authorities, which might be unknown to the inhabitants otherwise. As a result it can counteract the informants' negative image of the authorities, as described in subchapter 6.1.4 and subchapter 6.2.4, as what they are working on does get out in the open otherwise.

7.2.1.2 Other leaders

The data suggested that there are more leaders in Røros who have made a mark when it comes to the direction of the place. They are not formal leaders of the municipality but leaders of different businesses. They can be described as informal leaders as they have an authority in the place and are perceived as leaders amongst others (Grønhaug, Hellesøy and Kaufman 2008). The companies also influence the norms through their way of working, their values and focus.

Businesses sell Røros in their marketing and the place plays a role in the relationship the companies have with their customers. They sell a story more than a product. Ind (2007) points out that this is where Patagonia's success lies; the selling of a story. The continuous focus on the industrial past, the hope of some informants of having a new mining business and with four cornerstone businesses producing products of metal and wood, the story is an identification of a way of living and working. It is identification to the soul of the place, as pointed out in subchapter 7.1.2. The story of their place seeps into the products manufactured – quality and resistance, as described in subchapter 6.2.5. An example given is the beer bottles that were launched a year ago. Each one has a small story about the place of Røros and its people on its label. As one informant pointed out: “it is not a push for these bottles, it is a

craving” (Informant no.16). The line of thought coincides with the Patagonia example given by Ind (Ind 2007). There are several actors pointed out as pace setter by the informants.

SB seating (HÅG)

Several informants are former employees at SB seating and they all seem to have adopted the mantra “yes we can”, be better than the rest and be different – which according to them the founder of SB seating, Grimsrud used to say. SB seating is also the largest employer, and the current project manager for the ARMS project is an employee at SB seating. All of these facts point at SB seating as an industrial breeding ground which fosters pride and belief in that it is possible to create great products in Røros. They are reinforcing the norms which were there already and they tap into the desire to achieve and affiliate (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

Rørosmat

Within in food production and distribution, Rørosmat is often referred to. Their mantra of “playing each other good” and “it is allowed to be successful” and in seeing other people being successful is a source of inspiration for new businesses and people thinking about starting for themselves. They are currently investing and helping other companies with their start-up.

Destination Røros

Together with the museum they arrange courses in local history and knowledge to raise the level of experience that visitors get on every contact point with the local community, as described in subchapter 6.1.2. Their emphasis is on that everyone is always looking at “what’s in it for me” and the need to also look at “what’s in it for us” (Bergebakken 2012), makes them an overall contributor to the development of the tourist destination Røros and the people of Røros as hosts.

Several more contributors have been pointed out such as Røros Hotell and Rørosbanken, as described in subchapter 6.2.5. Each one of these companies contributes with their own vision of what Røros is and should be, but they have some commonalities; the focus on quality and that all marketing shall be on the experience when trying the product or when traveling to Røros.

Other forces present that also enhance the place brand are the school, the museum, the Directorate of cultural heritage and the people who are located on company boards and committees for the municipality. The data suggest that the municipality is not the only contributor to the place brand and it shows the diversity of people which needs to be united to

work on a place brand and collectively guard it. It is dependent on collaboration as pointed out by Anholt (2010) and Horlings (2012). It is the labor of the many as Manville and Ober (2003) suggested.

7.2.2 People

Keeping the industry in Røros is an outspoken genuine interest, much like Patagoias environmental principle (Ind 2007). The industry lies in the backbone of Røros, as pointed out in subchapter 5.2.3. As one informant put it “I think it would do something to the soul of Røros if the industrial trade left town” (Informant no.12)^{lxxv}.

Findings suggest that people in general understand what lies within a brand and what a value proposition entails. The data suggests that the way of working and the products Røros is to deliver is agreed upon. They are to deliver quality and stay true to the history. Manville and Obers (2003) claims that the brand is the labor is work of a thousand people seems fitting. The change claimed by informants in the local food production and the appreciation of it, the change in amount of people wearing the traditional dress, “bunad”, the work done on Rørosmartnaen and the rebirth of national and regional dances suggests intense work with the place`s heritage, traditions and resources. The work takes a deep dive into the identity making and the socially accepted norms, which is the source of a place brand according to Anholt (2010b).

The knowledge of the brand Røros has currently is known by the informants and as noted upon in subchapter 6.2.4, it is a source of pride. How other people view Røros seems to seep in to the self-concept again and cement the social identity as inhabitants of Røros. With that view the brand becomes multidimensional and in the terms of de Chernatony and Riley (1998), the potential customer influences the firm, or in this case the inhabitants and the inhabitants influence the brand which again influences the potential costumer. The costumers view are a permanent feature in the social identity and seemingly also in the personal identity (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). The knowledge of the brand and each person`s role in it seems clear when informants claim:

- 1) that is the people`s job to uphold the brand (informant no.10),
- 2) it is not to be tampered with (informant no.16) and
- 3) “It is only sustained by the way we choose to manage it. If we tamper with it, then it fails. We have to be honest with it and not abuse it” (Informant no. 8)^{lxxvi}

Furthermore, Anholt (2010) highlights that the understanding of the brand image and the brand equity is utterly important for the leadership body. In considering that the place is democratically governed, it seems that the brand awareness has to be shared in the population. In the case of Røros that seems to be so. Different people populate the different committees, as shown in subchapter 6.1.3 and in subchapter 6.2.4, and they all influence the direction of Røros with all of the little decisions taken. The people of Røros seem to understand that they are the marketers, as Bjerke and Ind (2007) call all employees. Collectively they are the guardians of the brand and the socializers of the next generation and people who migrate to Røros.

7.2.3 A note on the future brand of Røros

The fact that the copper mining is what made Røros known outside its borders and into a town to be reckoned with can be seen in that there were two men from Røros present at the signing of the constitution of Norway on the 17th of May 1814.

Their technological advancements continued to be their edge in the competition. Even today, copper mining is what most people in Røros believe they are famous for, even though that is in the past now, and it seems to be a continuous source of pride. The emphasis put on the copper mining by the inhabitants, the school projects which are run every year, and the State Antics influence on the visual expression, seems to fuel this interpretation. Also the current major, Hans Vintervold, said

When I open Rørosmartnanen and other things, I talk a lot about the history and too little about the modern Røros. Because of this we can easily be perceived as somewhat outdated. It is important that we also display that there has been development here

What is talked about fuels how other sees people from Røros and how outsiders views them do impact their self-image. In those terms the place brand has become what it is, as highlighted by de Chernatony and Riley (1998). Since the mining stopped in 1977 and though there is hope to have mining started again, this is not what Røros is today. The industrial Røros has moved on and if people of Røros are not careful their place brand will stiffen as it is not able to evolve, which will make it weak, stereotypical and simplistic in Anholts (2010) terms. If Røros chooses to cement their brand on what was, they are possibly endangering their brand, and as the people of Røros are getting older, less people will have the immediate connection to the history. The brand cannot rest, it has to develop.

7.2.4 Summary

The discussion shows that culture is hard to define and identity equally difficult to pinpoint as different people affiliate to different aspects of a place. However, on a general note the term “home” and people’s sense of their own and their family’s history are suggested as strong identity markers. The inherited knowledge it brings can be used when building a place brand. According to Anholt (2009), playing upon the strengths of people is good leadership and good leadership is good branding. Building from the core of people’s history and identity is the method Leonard and Small (2003) suggests as the way to start building a brand, though as this thesis show that the building of a brand needs to have a direction. The copper mining company sought out to deliver the purest copper possible and this work is what made Røros famous. Today, Røros is governed differently than when the copper mining company was in charge and this is recognized by my informants. Though the task of defining what the place collectively should be and in which direction the municipality shall develop is placed upon the municipality authorities.

Overall, the data suggests that the municipality is both a force which influence the brand building and a force which guards and support the current brand. The municipality influences through its facilitating role, ambitions and ability to follow their promises. Other informal leaders also influence the sustainability of the brand and when there has been a lack of vision, these companies have been instrumental as their visions have become important.

7.3 Closing remarks

This chapter have reviewed the key findings from the study and discussed them against the theoretical framework laid out in chapter 2.

The discussion has shown that the collective effort is rooted in and sustained by a shared history and identity which in turn is sustained by reinforcement of norms and values done by a wide range of actors. The people themselves are the anchors of the direction and the development as the municipality is a democracy. The municipality is however expected to assume the facilitating role and have an ambition about the direction Røros should go in.

8. Conclusions

The primary aim of this thesis was to establish the concept of “continuous collective effort”. The case provided rich and diverse data which supported the concept. The secondary aim of the thesis was to explore theoretical propositions related to what prompted the rise of the collective effort and how it is sustained. The conclusions drawn on these two questions are:

1) It is the shared history and identity that prompted the collective effort.

The size of the place is a factor as most people know each other and because of that know who to talk to and where to turn when help is needed. The location of Røros, its climate, line of work, principles of survival which the town was built on, level of wealth; extent of strong and weak ties along with outsiders view plays a role in the collective effort exhibited. The cohesiveness of the people of Røros is suggested as a reason for why Røros have achieved the brand they enjoy today.

The close downs create an individual creativity burst, while the cultural fundament drives the want and the need to take care of themselves. The means people have make do with what they have and each other. History has taught them that collaboration works well and this knowledge has been moulded over centuries of labour in the mines and it has later been transferred into the factories.

2) Culture and brand knowledge among people guard the place brand

Their shared sense of history, identity, way of working, solving issues and what is valuable about the brand Røros creates a consistent image outwards. It also helps the community overcome close downs and inspire entrepreneurs to start their own business. People understand what a brand is, they embody their brand, protect it and know which effects they can use in order to enhance it, and they understand a unique selling proposition.

The municipality, Directorate of cultural heritage and World heritage stipulate rules and regulations for the development and conservation of the town. In addition to these forces which guard the brand and imprint the culturally desirable, there are also other forces which uphold the brand. People that move in to the area have a fresh set of eyes on the culture and the values Røros hold and they contribute to the overall development of the town with their skills and competence, mostly in managing roles in the companies.

3) Visions and plans are sought after by the inhabitants

The creation of the “Næringsplan”, created enthusiasm and involvement. The inhabitants want a direction and a clear goal.

8.1 Contribution and Future Research

The rural areas are struggling in the increased competition for people with the right competencies, investments and start-up of businesses, and it is a serious issue. Despite these issues, the field of research remain largely unexplored and thus this thesis contributes with a concept and a case which can be used by other rural places as benchmark when working on their brand.

The concept is new and it needs more empirical studies to consolidate the concept. The concept also needs to be verified by a larger group of respondents. A larger study can verify if the findings in this study are similar or equal in a larger group of respondents. Furthermore, the indicators need to be refined and benchmarked so that the other places have a definitive yes or no to whether or not they fulfil the indicator.

The role of strong and weak ties and size should be examined in relation to the “continuous collective effort”. The results can yield information about how and why information spreads and how collaborations are formed for business purposes. A study on the role of local ownership on the collective effort should yield results which support the concept.

Furthermore, the background of leaders should be examined as a driver in visionary work.

Endnotes

- ⁱ “det var en kjent sak at hvis du trengte noe; materialer, komptanse eller verktøy, så var det kobberverket man gikk til. Det gjaldt ikke bare de i Røros, men hele området rundt her”(Informant no. 2)
- ⁱⁱ “Det var noen fra Arbeidskontoret som hjalp til med å finne jobber, men mitt inntrykk er at mesteparten gikk på eget initiativ, bekjentskaper med andre bedrifter veldig mye. Pluss at bedrifter sugde til seg de fagfolka som var.”(informant no. 10)
- ⁱⁱⁱ “ja, nei, det var jo nesten like ille eller verre. For der var det jo mange flere mennesker, kanskje rundt en 100? [...] Det gikk jo ganske greit [...] Jeg tror de forsvant til de samme stedene som da kobberverket forsvant. Til trevarefabrikker, HÅG og så var det noen knopskytninger også[...] Så ble det jo en videreutvikling av trevareindustrien, hytter og dører. Mye av det slaget der. Det var en del aktivitet altså. Det var jo for så vidt brukbare tider på 80-tallet. Jeg tror mange fant veien til nye virksomheter (Informant no.1)
- ^{iv} “Det har jeg aldri tenkt på. Det dukker vel opp noen nye, nye arbeidsplasser oppover. Noen har jo skapt seg sine egne pluss at kanskje flere har gått inn i turismen da” (Informant no.10)
- ^v “Tanken er jo at hvis man skal lære noe om masseprodusert skreddersøm så skal du dra til Røros. Skape plassen i Norge hvor man gjør det”(Informant no.6)
- ^{vi} “Det er mange med lang og tung utdanning her, men den kompetansen får vi fra SINTEF. De hjelper oss med [...] hvordan vi skal jobbe med mennesker, lede, utvikling av organisasjonen, flyt i produksjonen osv.. Hjelper oss med å bli bedre (Informant no.6)
- ^{vii} “Det er et krav om at skal du være guide og slike ting at du skal skoles og ikke bare lire av deg en regle for å få lønna di. Du skal gi de besøkende en ordentlig opplevelse med innlevelse i forhold til hva Røros er. [...] Du må liksom mene det litt da. (Informant no.16)
- ^{viii} “vi må bruke de tilbudene som er her ellers forsvinner de” (informant no.5)
- ^{ix} “Vi bruker å plukke de opp med slede og hest ute på flyplassen. Folk husker det” (informant no. 5)
- ^x “Det lages her på Røros og det tror jeg blir mer og mer viktig. Vi rørosinger vil ikke importere alt fra Kina (Informant no.7)
- ^{xi} “[...] det at vi måtte betale gjorde jo at vi fikk eierskap til prosjektet. For da ble vi jo engasjert og interessert i å ta vare på det for å få inn igjen det vi hadde investert” (Informant no.15)
- ^{xii} “[...] Det visuelle uttrykket som Røros har og står for skal man ikke tukle med (Informant no.16)
- ^{xiii} “Det er jo 2014 her også” (Informant no.16)
- ^{xiv} “Kan jo ikke bli slik at det skal være et museum og vi står nedi dalen her og tar 100kr fra dem som vil se det derre gamle rare som står her.[...] Det fungerte den gangen det var industri her og det må fungere i dag” (Informant no.16)
- ^{xv} “Ingen på Røros visste om det før det sto i avisen” (Informant no.10)
- ^{xvi} “Akkurat når det her kom så tror jeg ikke at folk visste hva det var eller innebar. Mange følte nok at her fikk de noe tredd nedover hodet på deg.” (Informant no.10)
- ^{xvii} “vi kom jo inn tidlig på den lista og dit ville vi jo ikke. Det var riksantikvaren som så at dette var spesielt. Så hadde vi hatt råd på 70-tallet s hadde vi nok revet alle de gamle husa og bygget nytt, men etter hvert har vi blitt veldig stolte av det”
- ^{xviii} “Jeg synes nok at fylke og kommune er litt lite proaktive i forhold til å hjelpe industrien på den måten der. På mange måter får man inntrykk av at de ikke bryr seg. De våkner opp før det er for sent og da er det for sent. Den dagn HÅG med 180 ansatte bestemmer seg for å legge ned fabrikken så er det for sent. Kommunen får jo aldri gjort om det. Så hvis de skal hindre det må de hele tiden være aktive og på, og det vil jeg vel ikke påstå at de har” (informant no. 6)
- ^{xix} “I Politikken så tar alt så tid, så lang tid å løse ting. Så i etterkant kan man fort føle at man har kastet bort mye tid der, men det gjør man ikke i bedriftsutviklingen for der er man mer målrettet” (Informant no.15)
- ^{xx} “Nå har vi ikke råd til å pusse opp noe mer” (Informant no.4)
- ^{xxi} “Det gikk i grunn ganske smertefritt” (informant no.10)
- ^{xxii} “[...] Snodig nok så gikk det i grunn ganske bra sånn sysselsettingsmessig” (Informant no.2)
- ^{xxiii} “De fleste var jo ganske fort i annen inntektsbringende arbeid attåt og samfunnet ruset og gikk videre med andre virksomheter” (Informant no.2)
- ^{xxiv} [Kobberverket] “hadde mye ressurser og mye teknologi, ingeniører og kompetanse på mange felt, kjemikere, elektrikere, minere, borrhorer... og alle de der kunne brukes til andre oppgaver når det ble slutt på gruvedriften” (informant no.2)

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- ^{xxv} "Verket var jo en sånn svær hjørnesteinsbedrift [...] Men i tillegg når verket her drev, så var det masse småindustri som var leverandører til verket" (Informant no.5)
- ^{xxvi} "Og når verket begynte å gå ned, så var det noen ordførere og andre som var litt forutseende og klarte å flytte ting fra Oslo. [...] Og mens verket var på vei ned, så kom det nye bedrifter så man fikk ikke masseledighet [...]" (Informant no.5)
- ^{xxvii} "Jeg tror ikke at arbeidskontoret visste om noe arbeidsledighet" (informant no.10)
- ^{xxviii} "Det her var jo en bedrift som hadde vært der i 333år så det er klart at kobberverket var livsnerven på Røros. Så det er klart det ble dramatisk ikke minst historisk og den betydningen verket har hatt på Røros. Kobberverket og kobbergruvene har gjort Røros kjent utover grensene" (informant no.10)
- ^{xxix} "Det hadde vært dårlige år med dårlige priser på kobber, underskudd å. Så det var jo en forventet utvikling. Men det er klart at for lokalsamfunnet her så var det nok en ganske følelsesmessig sak. For kobberverket hadde jo vært en del av lokalsamfunnet her siden de drev skole, kirke og sykehus og liksom hadde styring med alt som skjedde her, både smått og stort. Det er klart at de som er født og oppvokst her [...] ville jo et familiemedlem eller flere som hadde jobbet på verket som kan fortelle sin historie, som igjen hadde en far som hadde sin historie, en bestefar som hadde sin og en oldefar som hadde sin. Sånn at verkets historie ligger nok høyt i mages bevissthet. Så når de gikk konkurs i 1977, så var det vel egentlig et mer mentalt slag enn i praksis som gjorde at folk sto uten arbeid." (informant no.1)
- ^{xxx} "Det er jo et håp om at det skal bli ny gruvevirksomhet her igjen [...] Men det er jo strenge forurensningskrav nå da. Det er sikkert en lang vei å gå, men vi ser ikke bort fra det." (Informant no.4)
- ^{xxxi} "Med tanke på den næringen jeg driver med, så er jeg jo sjelegald for at det ble slutt på gruvedrift. Det har jo vært en av Norges mest forurensede steder, så kulturminnet Røros er jo egentlig en stor søppelplass. Med alt negative avrenningen og alt det der som skader naturen som jeg er avhengig av da [...] Det er jo en tragisk måte å utvinne naturressursene på [...] det er jo en rovdrift som ikke tar hensyn til noe annet (Informant no.9)
- ^{xxxii} "Sånn jeg oppfatter det så har det ikke vært noen store kriser på Røros fordi arbeidskraften har vært etterspurt. Så da har det ikke vært noen krisestemning. Det er bra, men samtidig er det krisestemning som fremmer kreativiteten" (Informant no.12)
- ^{xxxiii} "Jeg skulle en tur til Oslo, men det møtet ble avlyst rett før. Men da ringte de fra flyplassen om morgenen for å sjekke at jeg ikke hadde forsovet meg. [Navn] har jo kjøpt billett ikke sant og [jeg] var ikke der ikke sant. Da ringer vi og sjekker" (Informant no.6)
- ^{xxxiv} "Hvis HÅG skulle forsvinne ville det være en stygg sak. Det vil merkes" (Informant no.8)
- ^{xxxv} "[Kriser] er noen ganger motoren bak ja. Det skjer noe med folk når de blir satt under press" (informant no.12)
- ^{xxxvi} "Det var ikke bare bare å jobbe nedi gruvene. Når man var ferdig for dagen så var det hjem og holde på med jordbruket. Så jeg tror man måtte være litt tøff og samholdet ble nok utvikla da og har vært sånn siden" (Informant no.9)
- ^{xxxvii} "ja, men det er utvaska i dag, men du ser det fortsatt på eldre folk" (Informant no.10)
- ^{xxxviii} "Du må gjøre det selv. Du får ikke en krone. Du får restriksjoner. Det får du, men du får ikke noe drahjelp" (Informant no.8)
- ^{xxxix} "Industrisamfunnet som her har aldri sittet og ventet på hjelp fra staten" (Informant no.8)
- ^{xl} "Det var tung jobbing i mange år"(Informant no.15)
- ^{xli} "En del av ungene som er med har vært med i alle de år. Det er noen som har kommet så langt at de står på scenen i Trondheim eller er musikere. Det er så artig å være med på det der. En nabogutt [...] er ansatt i Trondheim og en annen dro til Frankrike for å spille" (Informant no.7)
- ^{xlii} "Man ser at man er veldig i samme båt" (informant no.12)
- ^{xliii} "Det er ingen rike onkler her" (informant no.2)
- ^{xliv} "[...] I mer marginale strøk er man mer avhengig av å samarbeide for å få til ting enn der alt ligger til rette. Alle er i utgangspunktet små og da blir det litt mer sånn at det ligger til rette for samarbeid da"(Informant no.15)
- ^{xlv} "betydelig avstand til hovedstad eller fylkeshovedstad gjør det nødvendig med mobilisering hvis man skal få til noe" (Informant no.2)
- ^{xlvi} "[...] Lokal patriotisme som gjør at man vil bidra, det at man er i samme båt, er nok sterkere her enn mange andre plasser og forståelsen av den er nok [høy]" (Informant no.12)
- ^{xlvii} "[...] Det er artigere å holde på oppå [...] enn rundt omkring for du får ikke den nærheten til samfunnet oppi Tromsø eller Oslo. [...] Det er der du bor og der hjertet banker litt og det er der du har lyst til å være [...] Blod er tykkere enn vann" (Informant no.16)

^{xlviii} "Vi ville beholde den enheten oppå her. Det der reisebyrådet er ikke hovedindustrien til Aviator så vi var litt usikre på om det kom til å bli videreført om det var Aviator som skulle styre her. Så vi kjørte videre med det for det var det eneste reisebyrådet i konsernet. Så det er folkene her og det symbiotiske samlivet med samfunnet oppå her som denne bedriften lev i. Det synes vi var så verdifullt at den ville vi beholde. Det var en handel uten hjerne kan du si. Det var med hjertet. Vi har jo jobba sammen med den gjengen lenge før istiden [...] og vi bestemte oss for å ikke ødelegge det."

^{xlix} [...] [...] halvoffentlige institusjoner som er veldig knyttet til Røros som sted og som har stor nytte av at ting kommer på plass, tar et mye større ansvar enn det som kan forventes av dem" (Informant no.12)

^l Røros er en kjent liten plass" (Informant no.6)

^{li} "Når jeg var i Oslo så merket jeg at mange hadde et forhold til Røros"

^{lii} Alt vokser sakte på Røros og det er liksom greit" (Informant no.6)

^{liii} "Alt vokser sakte på Røros; trærne vokser sakte og de til og med brenner sakte"

^{liv} "Vi har alt. Vi mangler kun en isfrihavn" (informant no.2)

^{lv} "Få ting til å skje"

^{lvi} "hjelp til i riktig retning"

^{lvii} "Noen måtte gjøre det"

^{lviii} "Det har vært mange fagre tanker og taler underveis, så det må noen større ekspansjonstanker til. Tenke litt større og få på plass en bærestruktur. Det må ligge i bunnen (Informant no.8)

^{lix} "Det tyder vel på at det er stabilt og at folk flest er fornøyd, vil jeg tro" (Informant no.10)

^{lx} "Det som var moral og etikk for 100 år siden er i dag regulert av lover og regler" (informant no.1)

^{lxi} [...] til noens forargelse og noens glede" (informant no.16)

^{lxii} "Den største katastrofen på her var jo byggingen av Domussenteret [...] Med Domus kunne brutt med den bebyggelsen som er og vise at dette ikke er gammelt. Det har ingenting med Røroshistorie å gjøre, men det syntes de som satt med kulturminnet var fint. Bygget er jo fint, men det er helt feil. Folk kan jo tro det er en del av arven" (informant no.11)

^{lxiii} "Det er ikke lov med neonlys eller lage Las Vegas belysning oppi her. Det får du ikke lov til så slikt vil jo bli stoppet da [...] Det visuelle inntrykket Røros har og står for tukler man ikke med. Det er ikke lov. Da kommer riksantikvaren og setter seg på deg om du tar deg til rette" (Informant no.16)

^{lxiv} "Man kan jo ikke sitte i en gammel rømme oppå her med et talglys som man gjorde her i 1900 og slikt" (Informant no.16)

^{lxv} "Noe annet ville være å banne i kirka tror jeg. Oppå her ja - jaja" (Informant no.16)

^{lxvi} "Man skal være forsiktig med hvilke effekter man tar i bruk og skal være ganske ærlig i forhold til historien. Det skal være gjenkjenbart og det skal være lett å ta på, se det og kjenne det igjen her oppe. Det er forsterkninger av det som allerede finnes her oppe" (Informant no.16)

^{lxvii} "Det må være annerledes og bedre. Du må være bedre enn andre" (Informant no.6)

^{lxviii} "Vi har stolte håndverkstradisjoner. Det er ekte tre. Det er koblet opp mot historien og trehusbebyggelsen. Våre produkter er laget for å tåle et barskt klima. Opprinnelig så er det laget for å levere i regionen så det er god bestandighet. Det varer lenge og huset blir varmt med Rørosvindueene".

^{lxix} "Vi skal ha ordentlig mat vi [...] [og] vi har så mye god mat" (Informant no.7)

^{lxx} " [...] Nå er det blitt sånn på Røros at man ikke kan servere uten at man i alle fall kan si at det er lokalt. Det er ikke alle som er like ærlige og følger fullt ut, men alle skryter av det i alle fall" (Informant no.15)

^{lxxi} "Det er ikke akkurat sentralisert [...]. Det er veldig mange enkelt individer som holder tak i det og vil at det skal leve videre. Man ser at det er en måte å skille seg litt ut på" (Informant no.16)

^{lxxii} Det å være involvert gjør jo at man blir enda mer knytta til Røros" (Informant no.15)

^{lxxiii} Du må si ja hvis du kan, det er ok hvis du ikke kan en gang. Men da må du være forsiktig og si ja neste gang. Vi er avhengig av det. (Informant no. 8)

^{lxxiv} Og så kommer det noen fra utsiden som sier at vi ikke kan ha det sånn lenger. Da er det noe som heter, det finner vi oss fanden ikke i. (informant no. 15)

^{lxxv} Det ville gjort noe med Rørossjela hvis industrien ikke hadde vært her. (Informant no. 12)

^{lxxvi} Det vedlikeholdes kun med hvordan vi velger å forvalte det. Hvis vi tukler med det, går det galt. Vi må være ærlige og ikke missbruke det. (Informant no. 8)

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Attachment 1: Interview guide for the historical society

There are three interview guides. This one was used when the museum was interviewed which was the first interview. It was the first as I wanted to gain more knowledge about Røros and its history. The interview guide follows (McCracken 1988) guidelines for interviews.

Although the interview was semi-structured and questions were answered in the order the informants gave answers to them. The interviews were created in an English version and then translated to Norwegian as the interviews were conducted in Norwegian.

Background

- 1) Can you tell me about the society here in Røros prior to 1977?
- 2) Besides the mining, which businesses were started after the industrialization of the mines (after the glory days)?
- 3) When did the work for creating a world heritage site begin? Who started that process and who finished the work? Did it mean anything to the place and/or its people upon receiving it?

People

- 4) When did most people realize that the mining company was going to shut down?
- 5) What happened in 1977 when the doors were permanently shut and immediately afterwards? Was it dramatic? How did it affect people?
- 6) The number of inhabitants has remained constant over the years since 1977, what are the main reasons for that?
- 7) How have people managed to create a livelihood?

Authorities

- 8) What did the authorities do prior to the shut down and afterwards, if anything?
- 9) Has the authorities consciously worked towards a vision of how Røros should be? If yes, how have they done this?
- 10) Is there a unified plan for the development of Røros as a place?
- 11) Which principles do the municipality authorities rule by? How does it enforce its principles?

Interaction

- 12) Are people able to contribute with ideas and be involved in the development of Røros?
If yes, how can people contribute and do they contribute?
- 13) In which ways do the authorities facilitate interaction?

14) Have there been initiatives formed and governed by the inhabitants?

Collective effort to build a place

15) What is a rørosing? How do you expect people to behave?

16) Is there a feeling of unity? Is it crucial for the development of Røros? How it is maintained?

17) What do you do on your spare time? Are you involved in other activities?

18) How do people contribute in the local society?

19) Where do most people place the responsibility of creating “a sense of place”?

20) How do you work to create new workplaces?

Attachment 2: Interview guide for the mayors

The interview guide for the mayors also follows McCracken (1998) guidelines in regards to start and they are open-ended thus they invited the informant to talk.

Motivation, identity and perception of Røros

1) What was your motivation for becoming the mayor? How did you become the mayor?

2) What did you want to achieve? And do feel like you achieved what you set out to do?

3) Which governing principles do you rule by? What was important to you as mayor?

4) What is Røros to you? What is a rørosing? Where does this sense of identity come from?

5) What brings people together? Why?

6) How do you think the outside world perceives Røros?

Close down of the mines

7) For majors around the close down: Do you remember the close down of the mines?

8) For the mayors around the close down: Did the close down have an impact on the people? If yes, how? Was it dramatic or had people seen it coming? How did people cope with the loss of place to work?

9) For the mayors around the close down: How did it affect the municipal authorities? Had there been any preparation done prior to the shut down in terms of what people were going to do, in order to secure the population?

10) For the mayors around the close down: What were the priorities of the municipal authorities back then? Why?

Since 1977- people and entrepreneurs

11) What have been the reasons for the stabile number of inhabitants since before 1977?

- 12) What kind of strategies did you have for retaining people (and possibly grow) in the municipality?
- 13) Are there any forums where people can express their opinions on the direction Røros is going in? How do you involve people in developing Røros?
- 14) People need a place to earn their living, how are the municipality supporting entrepreneurs starting up and businesses?
- 15) How are you working on creating entrepreneurs?
- 16) How is Røros going to sustain itself in the future? Is the past important?
- 17) What are the main challenges in preserving the Røros spirit and innovate for the future?

(Last mayors: I saw in “Næringslivsplanen” that the goal is to get 6000 inhabitants by 2022 and that Røros should be a good place to live)

- 18) How do you define a good place to live?
- 19) Is there an overarching plan where all the areas are covered or are they department plans?

Attachment 3: Interview guide for companies

This interview guide was designed for the start-up companies and daily managers.

Motivation and identity

- 1) How was it to start a business in Røros when you decided to start up for yourself?
People, businesses, authorities etc..
- 2) What made you want to start for yourself? / What was your motivation leading this business?
- 3) What helped you in the process of starting your business? Incentives and push factors?
- 4) Do you feel connected to Røros as a place? If yes, how?
- 5) What is Røros to you? What is a rørosing? Where does this sense of identity come from?
- 6) What brings people together? Why?
- 7) Did the closedown of the mines affect the connectivity? If yes, how?
- 8) The number of permanent residents been stable since the 1970` s. What do you think are the main reasons for that?

Outside view/brand

- 9) How do you think the outside world perceives Røros?
- 10) Why do people visit/buy from you? What makes Røros unique, if it is?
- 11) What do you want the term Røros to convey? What do you think it convey to others?
- 12) How do you work on conveying this image to the outside world?
- 13) Do other people share your view? Do you feel like people work together to achieve this image?

Involvement

- 14) Which forums are available for you so you contribute to the development of Røros?
- 15) Are you currently, or have been in the past, involved with any other businesses here?
If yes, how? Is this usual? What makes that usual? What do you gain? What does Røros gain?
- 16) Are you, or have you been, involved with any kind of school projects or cultural events? Which ones and why?

Attachment 4: Consent form

Informasjon om studie og samtykkeskjema

I forbindelse med min, mitt navn, mastergradsoppgave ved Markedshøyskolen i Oslo har jeg valgt og utforske hvordan Røros har klart overgangen fra et gruvesamfunn til dagens samfunn uten å miste sitt særpreg. Bakgrunnen for valget av tema kommer fra observasjonen at mange små steder i Norge i dag sliter både med fraflytting av mennesker og bedrifter eller nedleggelse av hjørnesteinsbedrifter, men Røros ser ut til å være et av unntakene ettersom Røros har opplevd befolkningsvekst siden 1980 og nye bedrifter etableres. Studien vil ta for seg de bakenforliggende årsakene til denne veksten og hvordan det arbeides med å fortsette veksten uten at Røros som sted mister sitt særpreg. Til min viten er det ikke skrevet om de bakenforliggende årsakene før, men det foreligger teoretisk kunnskap om hva som motiverer mennesker – til kjøp eller engasjere seg -, hvordan utvikling utenfor storbyene bør utføres og hvordan utenforstående forstår et sted og hva som øker deres tilbøyelighet til å kjøpe varer eller reise til et sted. Videre er det ikke skrevet om hvilke strategier steder som brukes for å bygge et sted for fremtiden samtidig som man jobber med å beholde sitt særpreg. Det er dette gapet studien prøver å lukke. I tillegg kan studien gi svar på hvilke elementer som står sterk og som det kan bygges videre på både i markedsføringen av Røros og utviklingen av stedet Røros i samsvar med dens særpreg.

Studien retter seg mot utviklingen av det nåværende livsgrunnlaget på Røros og stedets utvikling, og i den forbindelse anses din kunnskap, erfaringer og meninger som tidligere ordfører/innbygger/bedriftsleder/grunder i kommunen som nyttig. Jeg setter stor pris på din deltagelse.

Det er flere fordeler ved å delta i denne studien. Om det skulle ønskes så kan oppgaven tilsendes etter sensurering, hvilket kan berike ens egen forståelse av Røros, hva som har skjedd siden nedleggelsen av gruvene og hva som ligger i merket Røros. Informasjonen kan også gi grunnlag for en ny forståelse av hva som er viktig for grunderne for deres oppstart og hvilke strategier og elementer som insentiverer grundervirksomhet.

Ulemper knyttet til studien er at du ikke er fullstendig anonym med tanke på at intervjuene gjøres ansikt til ansikt og ettersom Røros er et lite sted så kan meninger gjenkjennes. Dog navn eller beskrivende personlighets karakteristikk vil ikke bli publisert og ikke tilknyttet oppgaven på noe vis. Hvorvidt du deltar eller ikke i studien har ingen konsekvenser for din arbeidsgiver eller ditt arbeidsforhold. Konfidensialitet garanteres. Når studien er over vil lydopptak, samtykkeskjema og notater makuleres. Sitering kan forekomme.

Du kan når som helst trekke deg fra studien; før, under eller etter intervjuet. Studien gir en mulighet til å reflektere og gi en innsikt én tidligere hadde, så det antas at studien vil være berikende.

Vær vennlig å vise at du samtykker på å delta i studien ved å signere under:

Deltakers navn (blokkbokstaver)

Deltakers signatur

Dato