

## The Zombies of Sleepy Hollow: Reimagining Geelong

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**Abstract:** Place branding is traditionally concerned with drawing on the positive and unique elements of a community to generate investment and build community pride. In 2014 a promotional video was released portraying Geelong as a zombie town, with flamboyant Mayor Darryn Lyons riding in on horseback to save the city and its people. The imagery was more at home in cult zombie cinema than a tourism promotion. Critics berated the video as an ill-conceived stunt that carried a message derisive to the local community. Supporters focused on the bold, creative nature of the endeavour, claiming its potential to 'go viral' would enhance Geelong's media presence, improve the city's perception and draw visitors to the area.

Geelong was first badged 'Sleepy Hollow' in the 1860s when the new gold towns of Ballarat and Bendigo boomed, challenging its supremacy as a commercial centre. Geelong prospered in the 1920s through industrialisation, but the moniker has remained. Today, Geelong faces a period of economic uncertainty and transition as it adjusts to major job losses in manufacturing. While this presents significant challenges, it also creates opportunities for the city to re-imagine itself by capitalising on the physical and cultural assets that set Geelong apart. While the zombie video has sparked debate, its success in influencing views of the city is constrained by its references to past stigma and its imposition of a new sense of dystopia in the present. This paper explores the Sleepy Hollow predicament and considers how the branding of Geelong might move beyond parody to better reflect its position as Victoria's largest regional centre through an approach based on imageability, narrative, assets and investment.

### Introduction

*Geelong Reinvented* is a marketing video that was commissioned by Tourism Greater Geelong and the Bellarine in late 2014. The video's release coincided with an exodus of heavy industry including the closure of Ford and Alcoa plants that have formed an integral part of Geelong's economic landscape for many decades. While making reference to some of the challenges that the region has faced throughout its history, the video juxtaposes an image of Geelong as a zombie-infested urban wasteland with an alternative enchanted vision of the region as a vibrant, fun-filled destination that has successfully erased its former soporific reputation as a poor cousin to the nearby thriving metropolis of Melbourne. The message is confused by the inclusion of a pastiche of imagery that borrows from American westerns, pop-culture horror films, and the fantasy fiction of wizardry and magic. Though the video may be a brave attempt to translate a dystopian view of Geelong into a memorable piece of marketing, it also raises questions of authenticity, the representation of place, and how exercises in place marketing interact with a city's major ambassadors—its residents. This paper argues that although the video may be well-intentioned, its portrayal of Geelong as both a zombie-filled dystopia and an indistinct playground for the young nouveau-riche serves to debase the city's proud heritage of blue-collar labour on which it has largely been built, the capacity and achievements of its residents, extensive pre-and-post settlement history as well as the physical and cultural assets the city has to offer. In neglecting the more auspicious elements of the city's rich history, the voices and expression of local people, and Geelong's genuine place-specific assets, the video misses the mark in providing a platform for a brighter post-industrial future, based on substance rather than spin.

### 'There was once a town known as Sleepy Hollow ...'

Geelong is located on the edge of Corio Bay, 75km south west of Melbourne. It is Victoria's largest regional city with a population of more 220,000. The area was first surveyed in 1838, three weeks after Melbourne. By 1841 Geelong had sent its first load of wool to England. While Geelong also became the home of other export industries such as tallow, candles, soap, and flour, wool was the city's economic staple, allowing it to establish itself as a thriving commercial hub. By the late 1840s, the local *Advertiser* newspaper declared Geelong "the pivot on which the commerce of Port Phillip turned" (Wynd 1971, p.2). The term 'pivot' initially met with derision by the Melbourne papers but the export figures justified the claim. By 1850 Geelong was the fifth largest town in Australia and the beginning of the Gold Rush in 1851 spurred further growth (Reid et al. 1988, p.6). Due to its proximity to the Ballarat goldfields, Geelong offered the ideal departure point for diggers seeking their fortune. So concerned were Melbourne merchants about the loss of trade to Geelong, they issued a falsely scaled map that showed Melbourne closer to the goldfields than Geelong (Strachan & Co, 1981). This dubious cartographic exercise did little to foster relations between Melbourne as the state's political capital, and Geelong as the aspiring commercial capital. After the golden decade however, Geelong's prodigious growth started to wane and by 1861 the new towns of Ballarat and Bendigo began to eclipse Geelong. Melbourne

critics soon dubbed Geelong the 'Sleepy Hollow', a name that burdened the town for decades (Reid *et al.* 1988, p.6).

Wool continued to retain its importance for Geelong throughout the remainder of the 19th century with associated industries being established including tanneries and fellmongeries. A textile industry developed with several woollen mills setting up in the 1860s and early 1870s. Other industry followed including the Cheetham Saltworks in 1888, the Geelong Butter and Cheese Company in 1893 and the Fyansford Cement Works in 1889 (Wynd, p.55). By 1901 the tables once again turned with Ballarat and Bendigo showing signs of decline while Geelong began surging ahead. This was due to the steady industrialisation of the town which saw major corporations including Cresco Fertilisers, Ford Motor Company, Corio Distillery and Pilkington Brothers glassworks establish bases in Geelong. This was the beginning of a new era for the city. All this industry required people power resulting in a doubling of the region's population from around 26,000 in 1901 to over 52,000 in 1942 (Wynd, p.56). This increase was more than matched after World War II which saw old industries expand and important new industry commence operation, including the Shell Oil Refinery in Corio and the Alcoa aluminium smelter at Point Henry. Though the city prospered as a result of this influx of manufacturing and industry, in the late 1980s and early 1990s the tag of Sleepy Hollow came back with a vengeance. Modernisation of industry, the affects of free trade agreements, and the Pyramid Building Society collapse hit the region hard, causing many Geelong institutions to close down or significantly downsize. Continued deindustrialisation coupled with recent challenges faced by traditional bricks-and-mortar retailers that have impacted the city centre, have prompted the need for Geelong to transform its economy around other sectors such as education, health, technology, tourism, and service-based enterprise.

This history of economic prosperity, decline and transformation provides the basis on which the *Geelong Reinvented* video narrative has been created. An examination of how this history has been filtered, exaggerated, and indeed 'reinvented' sets the backdrop against which the success of this marketing endeavour can be analysed.

### **Geelong Reinvented—the video**

*Geelong Reinvented* is a slickly produced, place marketing video that runs for 2 minutes and 15 seconds. The video cost \$37,000AU to create and is the brainchild of a small Geelong-based video production company, Robot Army Productions. Their company ethos is encapsulated by a statement on their website that claims "(f)or us, it all starts with the message, it has to be authentic ... The delivery can be as exaggerated and out of this world as ever, but at its core, it must be genuine. No sales gibberish, no tricks, no bullshit". *Geelong Reinvented* certainly delivers on theatricality but how does it address the notion of authenticity? And is such an approach able to be sympathetic to the sensitivities and complexities of a city that is currently in the throes of major economic change and uncertainty? A review of the video's content will start to unpack these questions.

The video opens with an image of a dreamcatcher hanging from a tree and gently blowing in the wind. What this Native American symbol has to do with Geelong is unclear but read within the broader context of the video, it could be taken as a sign of attempts to keep nightmares at bay. The scene then cuts to an aerial shot of Corio Bay and the Waterfront precinct followed by short snippets of a merry-go round and a child dressed in indigenous aboriginal costume. A dramatic movie-trailer voiceover begins to narrate the clip: "There was once a town known as Sleepy Hollow—a town with a proud history forged on passion and hard work; on the blood, sweat and tears of those in the thriving wool and manufacturing industries and fast became a city where anything was possible." The voiceover is accompanied by romanticised sepia-washed images of strapping, gritty rousabouts. According to the narrator though, "something changed—the city became tired and it fell on dark times". The scene shifts to a hollow, zombified woman mindlessly sweeping the pavement while a couple gawk at her as they drive past in their black SUV. The football stadium and a local vineyard have also become inhabited by zombies. The narrator then reveals that "just as all hope seemed to be lost, a new day approaches". A mysterious, cloaked figure on horseback is seen riding into the deserted main street of the city towards three vacant-eyed zombies that stumble down the middle of the road. The cloaked figure dismounts from his saddle and, taking a few steps forward, reveals his face and ceremonial chains before plunging a magic staff into the ground, causing an explosion of light that sends the three zombies recoiling backwards. The heroic figure is the city's high-profile Mayor, Darryn Lyons, known for his colourful life as a paparazzo and media identity in Australia and the UK (Lyons, 2008).

At this point the video moves into more familiar place marketing territory. A generic sequence of swiftly changing images set to a triumphal soundtrack show attractive young people playing at a theme park, skydiving, frolicking through a vineyard, dining out on seafood, shopping, surfing, cheering on a football

team, and enjoying nightlife entertainment. Short clips of face-painted aboriginal children performing traditional dance create what Anholt cynically refers to as “the correct impression of respect for ancient traditions coexisting with a dynamic and thrusting modernity” (2010, p.87). The final scene has the words ‘Geelong and the Bellarine’ scaffolded against the mountainous backdrop of the You Yangs, simulating the famous ‘Hollywood Sign’ on Mount Lee in the Hollywood Hills. The narration ends with an invitation to “come to Geelong and the Bellarine and star in your own blockbuster”.

Critical reception of the video has been somewhat mixed. A local Federal Member of Parliament, Sarah Henderson, described the concept as “fundamentally flawed”, stating that the zombie imagery was “very regrettable and not the sort of image of our region needs” (Geelong Advertiser 2014a). On the other hand, local marketing executive, Karen Cartwright, argued that “(w)e cannot take it too literally. It’s created as entertainment as all great adverts are, and it shows Geelong has the energy and passion to try new things” (Geelong Advertiser 2014a). Herald Sun reporter, Aleks Devic is somewhat less complimentary in his critique, describing the video as “a slap in the face for all those people who have managed to get through the tough times” making specific reference to a range of economic misfortunes that have had devastating consequences for many of the city’s residents (Devic 2014). The Executive Officer of Tourism Greater Geelong and the Bellarine, Roger Grant, spins it a different way, arguing that “the world’s full of tourism promotional videos featuring beautiful people romping through a destination having fun. What we needed to do to change the perception of our destination was to firstly and figuratively slap people across the face with an intriguing story that would urge people to have another look and reconsider a destination that they had too often dismissed in the past as being lacklustre and boring” (Grant 2014). The video itself, however, features the same images of “beautiful people romping through a destination” that Grant refers to in his statement. One might also question whether a figurative ‘slap across the face’ is in any way helpful, apart from gaining fleeting attention. Perhaps most importantly, Grant’s statement begs the question of why the area has been dismissed as ‘lacklustre and boring’ and what *Geelong Reinvented* does to address this. Much of what is promoted in the video, such as wineries, surf beaches, and the city’s beloved AFL football team, have long been attributes of the region. So, what has changed that might alter these negative perceptions? As Anholt argues “imagining that such a deeply rooted phenomenon (as reputation) can be shifted by so weak an instrument as marketing communication is an extravagant delusion” (2010, p.6). A better image cannot be constructed or invented, it can only be earned (Anholt 2010, p.11).

This is not to say that new place narratives cannot be established. But according to Hague, we need to be alert to tensions between the new narrative and other narratives concerning that place. Hague argues that “(p)ast and present realities cannot be easily erased in favour of some ersatz new identity, even if those with power wish to do so” (Hague 2005, p.11). Wycisk, also warns of the difficulty of establishing a new place narrative because it implies convincing recipients to be open to a new interpretation while rejecting the old stereotype. Wycisk explains that “the recipient is asked to embrace unusual coding. Inconsistency with the previous coding, personal experience, emotions and attitude, can affect the meaning and distort the narrative” (Wycisk 2014, p.536).

To accept a new narrative, the receiver must perceive its authenticity. While the diverse and complex nature of places can make authenticity a contested notion, Relph argues that the imposition of a selective, superficial identity created by elite individuals or groups for mass media consumption can encourage a phenomenon he refers to as placelessness (2008, p. 58). Placelessness is evident in the *Geelong Reinvented* video which presents images that could be located anywhere. The use of the water theme park is an obvious illustration of this point. Relph describes theme parks as synthetic landscapes or pseudo-places, in that they bear little relationship to their geographical or cultural setting (2008, p. 97). Founder of Renew Newcastle, Marcus Westbury, believes cities must parade what makes them unique. “Cities must trade in cultural cringe for a growing sense of confidence in our distinctiveness ... cities need to involve their people in making and remaking their own mythology, and create something that is truly unique” (Westbury 2008, p.180). While the video’s bleak images of a dystopian city immediately cut to sun-drenched scenes of the theme park that sell a fantasy notion of a utopian place where excitement and amusement are guaranteed, the vision is not authentic. The use of placeless images does nothing to communicate Geelong’s unique essence, while the use of zombie imagery can be said to highlight a cultural cringe around Geelong’s history and present status, of the type Westbury believes cities should avoid.

### **The Zombies of Geelong – who are they and what do they mean?**

The use of zombies in *The Tale of Sleepy Hollow* has been a source of contention because of the awkward question of what they might signify. Observing contemporary cultural representations of zombies is instructive in this regard, and teamed with a semiotic approach, can offer insight into what

the zombies of *Sleepy Hollow* might signify to the video's audience as communication symbols, both in their own right and as objects influencing perception of place.

The resurgence of zombie imagery in popular culture during the new millennium has been such that Ogg (2011) found they contributed more than \$5bn annually to the American economy, primarily through films and video games but also conventions, events and merchandising (Ogg, 2011). In this sense, the use of zombies in place marketing might be seen to be leveraging a cultural zeitgeist. The zombie resurgence has been linked to a sense of post-modern uncertainty. As Saunders states, "zombie uprisings are ... used as a narrative tool for exposing concerns about international relations or domestic social problems" (2012, p.81). Considered in this context, the zombies of *Sleepy Hollow* might be an allegory for the causes and symptoms of urban decay. The *Geelong Advertiser's* forthright editorial saw the imagery as a slight on residents, portraying Geelong "prior to the arrival of Mayor Lyons as a defeated, broken city where we, as citizens, were the living dead...an insult to every person in this city" (*Geelong Advertiser* 2014b, p.23). This reflects the hegemonic western view of zombies as dehumanized, non-sentient beings at best and at worst, "an allegory of a menace that cannot be satiated or appeased, only annihilated" (Saunders 2012, p.85), as reflected in "shoot-em-up" video games like *Resident Evil* (Saunders 2012, p.98). Annihilation appears to be the fate of the zombies that have the misfortune of falling victim to the magic of the Mayor's wizard staff, which might itself be seen as a sign of phallic power, or a tool of rejuvenation; depending on the observer's point of view.

The image of the zombie is thought to have risen in the western world via the American occupation of Haiti from 1914-1931, where traditional west-African stories of 'the living dead' came to the US. According to Saunders, these zombies weren't in themselves objects of fear—the fear was rather that one might become a zombie (2012, p.85). American cinema changed this fear though through plots in which zombiism was transmissible through biting and so the zombie became further dehumanized and itself an object of fear (Saunders 2012, p.86). Over the 21st century, the zombie has been used as a metaphor for a dehumanized 'other', both in popular culture and international politics, as the use of the term in Russia to describe Islamist terrorists demonstrates (Saunders 2012, p.98). These representations of zombies as objects of revulsion, fear and "the ultimate terror of alterity" (Saunders 2012, p.86) abound in *Sleepy Hollow*, most notably in the footage of a still-human couple in a black car gawking at the zombified woman on the street.

The use of zombiism as an allegory for uncertainty and urban decay has precedent in Detroit, another city experiencing the effects of deindustrialization during both the early 1980s and 2000s. During the 1980s, zombiism was a symbol from a Detroit hard-core subculture that included punk act The Misfits, a regular fixture around the Cass Corridor. According to Mock, the Cass Corridor in 1978 looked like "ground zero ... the bleak world of (zombie film) George Romero's *Dawn of the Dead*" (Mock 2014, 206). In this subculture, the zombie became a symbol of fear about the future, but also a theory of survival: "if you're not eating, you're going to be food" (Mock 2014, p.207). According to Mock, "both Detroit and zombies now seem to offer us perpetually recyclable metaphors for a post-industrial apocalypse created when the American Dream becomes the American nightmare" (2014, p.202). This nightmare continued to play out in Detroit, with the city becoming bankrupt in 2013. One of the most famous expressions of this nightmare was the spraypainting of the slogan 'Zombieland' on the Park Hotel, a once-glamorous establishment in the blighted Cass Corridor. The slogan carried a clear message: this was a city that was still functioning, still moving, but effectively dead; but it also referenced the 2009 Ruben Fleischer comedy *Zombieland* which proposed rules for survival in a zombie-filled world (Mock, 2014, p.210). This graffiti is another subcultural expression mirroring the early 1980s Detroit punks' performance of zombie scenarios, which Mock describes as "the theatricalisation of lived experience" (2014, p.207). In this way, the graffiti and the 1980s Detroit zombie subculture carry messages of survival, developing a shared meaning and expression of social distress. This is different from Geelong's zombies—a creation commissioned by a regional tourism authority, which is an arm of local government. Rather than an organically developed subcultural phenomenon, Geelong's zombies are part of a newly contrived narrative imposed on a place by a representative body.

Geelong, like Detroit, faces uncertainty after the withdrawal of heavy industry and the subsequent loss of thousands of jobs. But the cities have vastly different social indicators. Perhaps most telling is the abandonment of one-in-three houses in Detroit in the decade from 2005-2015 (Kurth & MacDonald 2015) as compared to Geelong where 70% of residents either owned or were paying off homes in 2015 (G21 Regional Alliance, 2014, 62). Stiglitz described the "distressing facts about Detroit" as "almost a cliché" given their constant recital, including a 25% population fall in the decade to 2015 and a decline from 296,000 manufacturing jobs among a population of 1.85m in 1950 to fewer than 27,000 manufacturing jobs among a population of just over 700,000 in 2011 (Stiglitz 2013). The *Detroit Future*

*City* report of December 2012 found there was one job for every four Detroit residents (Detroit Future City 2012, p.11). By contrast, Geelong's unemployment rate was 7.1% in December 2012, peaking at 10% in the suburb of Corio (G21 2014, p.22) and the city's population continues to grow. And yet, Detroit resident Wayne Ramocan defends his city, arguing that it is indeed alive: "People talk about the city like people don't live here...it's only blight and vacant houses, but it's more to it than that...Detroit is not barren" (Detroit Future City 2012, p.10). This sense of civic pride of place further illustrates the problematic significations of Sleepy Hollow. Whether the zombies are intended to represent actual people or a story of urban decay, the idea that a city is lifeless can be insulting or demoralising to the people that give it life, especially when this view comes from a hegemonic and even privileged voice like a government organisation.

### **Dystopian images, perceptions and branding**

The use of dystopian images by a powerful voice in place marketing is fraught because of its potential effect on residents and on how people form views of a city. These views can effectively become the brand of a city, as Van Ham's definition of state branding as "the outside world's ideas about a particular country" suggests (2001, p.6). Cities and places have limited control over the way people perceive and brand a place, as distinct from place branding as a strategic and coordinated marketing activity. The continued expansion of digital and social media reinforces this fact. Whether or not zombies are intended to be part of a strategic approach to branding Geelong is immaterial in terms of place perception and how people envisage or brand places if they are seen as a representation of a place. As Saunders states, consumers of media construct and construe images that "become a frame of reference ... effectively branding nations, places and spaces" (2013, 83). Thus, the zombies of Sleepy Hollow form a reference point and even a lens through which both residents, and people whose views of the place are not influenced by direct experience, actually perceive the city.

According to Insch, city brands often neglect their most important ambassadors: residents. Insch states that residents "live and breathe" a city's brand identity (2011, p.8) and have a vital role "as loyal supporters and ambassadors of the city brand" (2011, p.9). Of course, residents will have differing views and there is a wide scope of people and groups that have an interest in how a city is perceived including business owners, students, community groups, levels of government and visitors. But an approach that appears to neglect its impact on residents can "offend and even alienate" them (Insch 2011, p.11). This is exemplified in the Las Vegas marketing campaign 'What Happens Here, Stays Here'. This motto has divided residents due to its perceived encouragement of antisocial behaviour (Komenda 2014) and came into question when photos of Prince Harry cavorting in the city found their way on to social media (Berns 2015). Some residents' and workers' perceptions of increased anti-social behaviour associated with the branding and transmission of events via social media suggest that what happens in Vegas does not always stay in Vegas—particularly for those that live and work in the city.

According to Hospers, the development of city brands can focus on identifying 'image carriers' (2011, p.29). Such image carriers can include memorable visual elements, which Hospers links to Lynch's concept of imageability, defined as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (Lynch 1960, p.9). Imageability is a useful idea in this instance because it captures a link between the physical environment and how places are perceived. Lynch defines five elements that form a city's image: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (1960, pp.47-48). Hospers' approach particularly focuses on the edges, landmarks and physical objects in a city that can be "identified, recognised and remembered" (2011, p.32). However, the images and identity of a place are not constituted by its physical components alone. Relph argues that rather than being selective abstractions of an object reality, images are also socially structured. He explains that "(t)he image of a place consists of all the elements associated with the experience of individuals or groups and their intentions towards that place" (2008, p.56). Thus, images of place, be they physical landmarks observed through experience of a place, mediated representations, or objects associated with that place, can all contribute to the way people themselves perceive and brand places.

Place branding does not have to rely solely on high-profile existing assets. It can also happen in tandem with an approach aimed at building community capacity through various forms of investment. This has happened in evolving industrial cities around the world. After being named "the worst place to live" on a British property TV show, the city of Middlesbrough in the UK sought to build capacity by investing in its already acclaimed institute of modern art to bolster a creative hub (Houghton *et al.* 2011, p.50). Similarly, Wollongong, a New South Wales city that like Geelong has experienced the fall-out of de-industrialisation, has sought to brand itself as 'a city of innovation' and backed the campaign with beautification of large industrial structures, improvement of beach reserves and recreational infrastructure (Kerr *et al.* 2011, p.219). To the north of Sydney, the industrial city of Newcastle took a

different approach to tackling its brush with “economic mortality” (Westbury 2008, p.173) through the now-renowned Renew Newcastle project which involved re-imagining the city as an incubator of creative culture, using vacant shopfronts and buildings as art spaces. This approach was a different kind of investment based in small-scale facilitation and breaking down barriers to give local creative expression an outlet to rejuvenate spaces. “A city can’t build a culture any more than it can build an idea ... Once you let go of the idea that cultures can be constructed, new possibilities emerge ... Great cultural cities are those which allow their cultures to flow rather than freeze” (Westbury 2008, p.172).

These examples point to the importance of starting with community views and local physical, social and cultural assets to form a city brand in a way that is seen to be authentic and part of a locally-supported suite of activities. They also show the potential of capacity building investments and further developing existing assets—natural, cultural or physical—to act as a springboard from which perceptions of place might be influenced. This can involve capital investment, but also policy development, facilitation activity and lighter interventions that incubate what Westbury might call an authentic and evolving culture—turning loose the power of local views and narratives. Here, we return to Anholt’s insight that marketing and communications alone cannot change deeply held perceptions (2010, p.6). There is no one right or wrong way to change the perception of a city, but respecting local voices, understanding local images and stories, eschewing imitation while investing in, fostering and drawing on community capacity present logical prerequisites.

## Conclusion

The use of zombies in place branding or promoting Geelong is problematic because the imagery is divisive, can be seen to denigrate residents and presents a contrived narrative imposed on the city through a singular production. Credible alternative approaches that contribute to civic pride are possible in reviewing a city’s imagery, its narratives and in making appropriate investments in physical and social infrastructure. The Geelong region has its own rich indigenous and settlement history and a broader engagement with this history presents opportunities to tell engaging local stories. These include stories of the region’s Wathaurong people who inhabited Geelong and the Bellarine for 25,000 years, as well as a counter narrative to the Tale of Sleepy Hollow that positioned Geelong as the “pivot city” of Victoria in early European times.

Taking into account Lynch’s concept of imageability, Geelong could capitalise on its north-facing waterfront and build on redevelopment of the area through the 1990s to bring the benefits of this edge further into the city. The waterfront area includes distinctive built and natural landmarks including buildings and public art, while a renewed focus on preserving Geelong’s built heritage may provide opportunities of its own. The distinctive red brick of Geelong’s still-standing industrial structures including the woolstores, now Deakin University’s Waterfront campus, and other CBD buildings and factories such as the Ford Motor Company plant can also provide visual cues.

Having established the existence of alternative images and narratives, capacity building activities like investment and bottom-up facilitation can also be considered. This has been a successful approach in other cities facing similar economic transitions. Middlesborough’s rejuvenation as a creative centre shows that using existing assets and focusing on investment builds community capacity as well as credibility, while Renew Newcastle shows the potential of providing space for an evolving local culture to coalesce, grow, be shared and expressed. Geelong has social infrastructure of tertiary education facilities, arts and cultural facilities, and sporting and events facilities; all of which can meld with the city’s history and the capacity of its residents to build a strong platform for the future that locals can take pride in and which visitors and investors will recognise as meaningful and authentic.

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