

Nicholas James Wright

Selling places for economic development

**a study of the place marketing and image
building activities of local authorities**

Submitted for the degree of MSc
in Urban and Regional Planning :
Centre for Planning
University of Strathclyde
Glasgow

21,000 words

May 1990

Abstract

This thesis examines the concept of place-marketing - the marketing of localities with the ultimate intention of attracting economic growth. Place marketing has become an increasingly common activity in the UK recently, a result of changes in both the economic structure of the UK and its political environment. It can be sub-divided into two distinct fields : promotions targeted directly at the industrial investor, and promotions intended to boost the image of the locality and thus indirectly fuel economic growth. The thesis then focusses on the current use of place marketing by local authorities in the UK, highlighting some of its deficiencies. Finally, the main problems and issues faced by place marketing are examined, and attempts made to provide policy solutions to these problems where possible.

LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Acknowledgments	vi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Thesis structure	1
1.2 The planning context	2
2. The economic and political background to place marketing	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2.1 The changing economic context	9
2.2.2 The changing political context	13
2.3 The influence of marketing theory	16
2.4 Market-led economic development	20
2.5 Summary	24
3. Image-building as a part of place marketing	27
3.1 Introduction	27
3.2 Different types of place marketing policies	27
3.3 Images, perception and reality	31
3.4 The nature of image-building	34
3.5 Tourism and image-building	42
3.6 Summary	45
4. Survey design	48
4.1 What is the research trying to find out ?	48
4.2 What type of survey to use ?	50
4.3 Questionnaire design	52
4.4 Questionnaire destinations and responses	55

5. Analysis of questionnaire responses	60
5.1 Introduction	60
5.2 Departmental responsibility	60
5.3 Outside liaison	64
5.4 Staffing	67
5.5 Financial resources	71
5.6 Objectives of place marketing	72
5.7 Promotions used & target markets	77
5.8 Promotional literature	81
5.9 Summary	83
 6. Place marketing into the 1990s	 86
6.1 Introduction	86
6.2 The planning context	86
6.3 The <i>ad hoc</i> nature of place marketing	88
6.4 The type of economic development	95
6.5 Increased competition between places	98
6.6 The effectiveness of local authorities in competition	103
6.7 The need to change attitudes in local authorities	106
6.8 Conclusions	109
 Appendix 1 The questionnaire package	 112
Appendix 2 Destination local authorities	116
Appendix 3 Problems of questionnaire design	118
 References	 126

List of Tables

5.1	Local authority departments involved in place marketing	61
5.2	Local authority departments with sole responsibility for place marketing	61
5.3	Involvement of Economic Development Departments related to primary objectives of place marketing policy	62
5.4	Liaison of local authorities with other bodies	66
5.5	Who holds responsibility for place marketing within local authorities ?	69
5.6	Fields of training of place marketing staff	70
5.7	Budget allocations	72
5.8	Objectives of place marketing	73
5.9	Reasons for initial local authority involvement in place marketing	74
5.10	Place marketing : a vital part of economic development or a means of attracting tourists ?	75
5.11	Local authorities' promotional activities	78
5.12	Local authorities using the marketing approach	79
5.13	Target markets : industrial v. tourism	80
5.14	Specific industrial / commercial target markets	81
5.15	Types of promotional literature	82

List of Figures

4.1	County and Regional Councils receiving and returning questionnaires	57
4.2	District Councils receiving and returning questionnaires	58

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Robin Boyle, for his constructive criticism of my work; the local authority officers who responded to the questionnaire survey, without whose help the research would have been impossible; the useful information received from various academics concerned with place marketing; and my parents, for their help in reading and commenting on the draft.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Thesis structure*

This thesis attempts to provide both a theoretical consideration of what exactly place marketing is (by considering the circumstances in which it operates, and looking at the different types of place marketing that exist), and also to provide an insight into the practise of place marketing as existed in 1990. It then uses both of these critiques - theoretical and practical - to highlight some of the problems which will be encountered by place marketing as it expands in the 1990s.

This chapter explains the relevance of place marketing to town planning. Chapter Two outlines the recent economic and political changes which have led to its growth as a policy area in the 1980s and, in doing so, identifies place marketing as a market-led economic development policy. The consequences of place marketing's market-led nature are also discussed. Chapter Three subdivides place marketing into "direct sell" and "indirect sell" promotions, and then goes on to concentrate on the nature and problems of the "indirect sell", or image-building. Chapter Four is more technical, explaining the purpose of the field research undertaken for the thesis and then discussing its design (a detailed critique of the survey design can be found in Appendix

Three). Chapter Five analyses the questionnaire results. The final chapter, Chapter Six, explores possible problems that the future holds for place marketing (both problems faced by place marketing and problems which place marketing leads to), suggesting ways to minimise these problems where possible.

1.2 *The planning context*

Planning has not entered this discussion of the nature of place marketing so far. Does this mean that planning and place marketing are unrelated ? I would argue that they are not. There may be few direct links between them, but this does not mean that place marketing is irrelevant to planning. If planning is regarded as having more than a purely regulatory function but also a positive promotional role (Nuffield Foundation, 1986), then it should certainly take account of policy fields like place marketing. Place marketing may not be a part of planning but it is a part of the wider field of what I will term "urban policy". Planning is operates alongside other aspects of "urban policy" housing policy and central government urban policy, for instance. Planners must not act as if within a watertight compartment. They must be aware of other "urban policy" fields and avoid developing a blinkered perspective.

Place marketing is not, therefore, a part of planning, although it is a policy area of which planners

should be aware. Thus the ultimate aim of this thesis is to inform planners of developments in another aspect of "urban policy", place marketing. There are other ways in which planning and place marketing are more directly related, but it is important that these are not over-emphasized. Firstly, planning acts as a mediator between the public and the private sector in land-use. The planner's experience in reconciling social and commercial interests could be used to ensure that place marketers do not lose sight of their social objectives (as discussed in the previous section). Secondly, it can be argued that many local authority planning departments (assuming that they are engaged in any sort of positive, enabling planning rather than purely negative and regulatory planning) are involved in place marketing whether they know it or not :

"They search for customers (tourists, industrial investors, local recreation users), develop products (tourism facilities, industrial sites, visitor centres, country parks)...and promote them (investment seeking publications, promotional leaflets)" (Clarke, 1986a, p.26)

Although Clarke is referring mainly to tourism-related work in planning, he himself says that the marketing approach is as relevant in economic development, countryside planning and other aspects of planning. The third way in which planning and place marketing are directly related is that both are concerned with the notion of *place*, in the broadest sense of the term - place marketing with their marketing and planning with their construction. Does this not point to some sort of

role for planners in helping to create or adapt the place that is to be marketed ? Planning is in a good position to ensure that the physical reality of place corresponds to the promotional hype; to identify and, especially, to undertake any physical improvements that might be required. As Collins (1988) says :

"As well as the promotional hype there need to be physical improvements which must be seen to be real"

This issue of reality and image, or hype, is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO PLACE MARKETING

2.1 Introduction

It is tempting to try to construct a simple definition of place marketing, such as : "the selling of places to attract industry". But such a definition only scratches the surface of place marketing. The concept is not that simple. Place marketing is a response to a variety of economic, political and theoretical influences, all of which must be understood before place marketing itself can really be understood. So, rather than try to define place marketing in a sentence, the definition will be examined and developed in both this chapter and Chapter Three. This chapter locates place marketing firmly within the field of economic development although, as is explained in Chapter Three, it is also related to tourism marketing. This chapter then looks at the changing political and economic context and its effects on place marketing; the relationship of place marketing to marketing theory; and the market-led nature of place marketing and its implications. But first, a few words on the relationship of place marketing to other strands of local authority economic development policy. Morison (1987) states that local authority involvement in economic development takes three forms :

- i. Provision of sites and premises

ii. Grants and loans

iii. Promotion of a local authority's area.

It is perhaps stating the obvious that place marketing is a part of the third form of involvement. Even though the term conjures up images of 1980s market-led policy, place marketing is not a new policy for local authorities. It has existed for years in the guise of industrial promotion. In the North of England, economic development policies in the 1960s and 1970s provided infrastructure and industrial subsidies in order to attract inward investment (Robinson and Gregson, 1990). Camina (1974) examined the industrial promotion activities undertaken by local authorities - the type of promotions used, the extent of their use, and how effective local authorities perceived them to be. Forester (1979, p.252) discusses the industrial promotion activities of the 1970s more sceptically, commenting that :

"Vast sums of money are now being spent by various bodies in frequently fruitless efforts to attract scarce jobs. Foreign junkets, hired trains, free trips, radio commercials, glossy colour supplements, advertising campaigns, poster promotions, and mounds of expensive literature are among the techniques deployed as more and more "Industrial Development Officers" are hired."

Mason (1981) finds a similar diversity of promotional in his commentary on local authorities' efforts to increase employment opportunities in the 1970s. He argues :

"...the most common, and certainly the most visible, means has been industrial promotion, notably newspaper advertising, although richer authorities also use exhibitions, direct mailing to companies, overseas delegations, and radio commercials."

As the field research in this thesis shows, a similar

range of promotional material is available now. Nevertheless, this does not mean that industrial promotion or place marketing have not changed since the 1970s; far from it. In response to the economic and political changes discussed in the following section, the underlying philosophy of place marketing has changed from a sideline of economic development to, in some cases, a mainstay. Some local authorities, such as Birmingham and Portsmouth, have wholeheartedly adopted place marketing as a central tenet of their economic development strategy. Rather than just *selling* their localities they are *marketing* them - two very different things (see section 2.3).

There has been a change in emphasis in some promotional material during the 1980s. Some local authorities are using place marketing to reconstruct images of their locality rather than as straightforward industrial promotion. Glasgow is widely regarded as a leader in this field with its "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign begun in 1983, the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival and the accolade of European City of Culture in 1990. Whilst the ostensible purpose of these promotions may be to attract more tourists to the city, the underlying purpose can be found not very far beneath the surface. As Boyle (1988) argues, Glasgow's promotions are no accident but are part of a conscious strategy to alter the negative image of the city, which is seen as the only way to attract economic regeneration. Other local

authorities, too, have embarked upon image-based campaigns with the aim of stimulating economic development : the "Bradford's Bouncing Back" campaign of Bradford City Council (Fenn, 1983), the promotion of Manchester city centre as a regional centre (Manchester City Council, 1986), and the highly developed strategies of Birmingham City Council (Fretter, 1990).

The previous paragraph should have given an indication of the changing "flavour" of some promotional campaigns. However, image-related place marketing should not be regarded as the norm amongst local authorities at the moment. It is found relatively rarely. Its significance lies in that it is being adopted by those local authorities which are most committed to place marketing, and whose approaches are therefore arguably the most advanced. Image-related place marketing is very different from the more direct promotional techniques discussed by Camina (1974), Mason (1981) and Forester (1979). The relationship between place marketing and more "direct" industrial promotion will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Two, with the assistance of brief case studies of Glasgow and Birmingham.

2.2 The Changing Economic and Political Contexts

2.2.1 The Changing Economic Context

The post-war years have seen the growing internationalisation of the UK economy; although the UK

participated in much overseas trade before the Second World War, it is only really since 1945 that an internationalisation of *production* has taken place, as Britain has become increasingly locked into a global system of production. As Dicken (1986, p.3) says :

"There is a growing consensus that the world economy as a whole has become not only more volatile and more complex but also more tightly interconnected - a "fragile and interlocking system" in the words of the Brandt Commission."

The nature of the world economy has changed dramatically since the 1950s : national boundaries are no longer boundaries to the production process. Restructuring has led to shifts in production between countries, including the birth of what Dicken calls the "Newly Industrialising Countries" (Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Mexico, etc.) which have greatly accelerated their exports of manufactured goods, primarily to developed countries.

This description of the changing pattern of world production may seem far removed from a discussion of the nature of place marketing. Nevertheless, its consequences at regional and local levels mean that it is relevant. Global restructuring of production has meant a changing economic role for the UK within the global system, a restructuring of the industrial base of the UK. Because different areas of the UK have different industrial structures, there is a spatial dimension to the consequences of restructuring. Broadly speaking, the UK's economy is restructuring from a manufacturing base to a service base. Thus areas with a strong service sector

will benefit whilst those with a predominantly manufacturing base will not.

This restructuring is not in itself necessarily a problem. However, its varying spatial consequences were exacerbated by the recessions of the 1970s and early 1980s. Restructuring, occurring at the same time as recession, meant changes in production - technical change, intensification of production, and rationalisation (Massey and Meegan, 1982). The recession meant that these changes in production tended to result in job losses as companies were forced to reduce production. As mentioned above, it was the manufacturing sector that was affected most adversely in the UK by the global restructuring of production. Massey (1984, p.135) explains the spatial impact of this :

"The very generality of manufacturing decay means that few areas have escaped entirely. But it is the old manufacturing specialists which have, inevitably, been hardest hit - the north-west of England, and the west midlands."

However, it was not just these regions that were adversely affected by restructuring, but also parts of the cities :

"The cities have suffered heavily, and for a whole range of reasons. It has not primarily been a result of the concentration there of old industries, although this has had some part to play. It has rather been because the cities have tended to have the older and more labour-intensive capacity within any sector, and were therefore more liable to suffer from programmes of cost-cutting and technical change."
(Massey, 1984, p.135)

But restructuring does not automatically result in economic decline ; decline in one area must be balanced

by growth elsewhere. So whilst the decline of the less prosperous regions reflects the occurrence there of negative or destructive forms of restructuring (rationalisation and intensification), other areas have experienced restructuring's positive or creative forms (investment and modernisation). In the UK, positive restructuring has focussed on parts of the service sector, especially those to be found in London. International restructuring has led to the transformation of London from a British-controlled financial centre to an international financial centre (Cooke, 1989). Its burgeoning growth since the trough of the recession in 1982 has spread over to the surrounding south-eastern towns, but has not yet spread out from the south-east to other parts of the country. Indeed, it can be argued that the growth and prosperity is unlikely to "trickle down" to the rest of the country because it is self-reinforcing: in Fothergill's words, the country's economy is "spiralling south" (Fothergill, 1988).

The spatial effects of the recession are therefore very pronounced : the south-east is commonly referred to as "booming" whilst the depressed Midland, Northern and Scottish industrial cities suffered severe industrial decline in the recession and have not yet experienced large-scale recovery. Fothergill (1989, p.25) clearly highlights the extent of their decline :

"The profound impact of the recession on Britain's industrial geography cannot be understated. Previously, the regional changes in manufacturing employment had been measured in tens of thousands at

the most; suddenly during the recession, the changes could be counted in hundreds of thousands. The selective nature of this de-industrialisation - the collapse of the Northern industrial economies - is the single most important geographical change in the 1980s."

The "collapse of the Northern economies" referred to by Fothergill explains the greater priority attached to economic development policy in those areas, where the effects of restructuring have been negative rather than positive, destructive rather than creative.

2.2.2 The Changing Political Context

The previous section discussed the combined spatial impact of international industrial restructuring and of the recession, and explained how the south-east has fared well from restructuring whilst it has helped exacerbate the plight of the less prosperous regions and cities. The severity of this decline has witnessed a growth in importance for local economic development policy in the 1980s as various bodies have been encouraged to try and stimulate economic regeneration in the less prosperous areas ; local economic development policy has become increasingly important as the social and economic disparities between the prosperous and the less prosperous parts of the country have increased. The changing political situation, meanwhile, has led to the appearance of different types of local economic development policy.

There is no need to give a detailed account of the

political changes which the Thatcher government has wrought in the UK since 1979 : the government's basic ideology - the stimulation of market forces - has been analysed in innumerable books and articles concerning many fields of government policy. In the context of this thesis, two particular aspects of the general policy of stimulating market forces stand out as having had impacts upon local economic development : cutbacks in public expenditure, and the erosion of local government powers coupled with the ascendancy of the private sector in decision-making. Their impacts upon local economic development policies are two-fold. Firstly, cutbacks in public expenditure have seen a systematic reduction of regional policy, both geographically and in terms of effectiveness (Martin, 1985; Swales, 1989). Local authorities can no longer rely on central government to provide for local economic development through regional policy - those that want local economic development policies have been forced to pay for it themselves (Lloyd and Rowan-Robinson, 1988).

Secondly, central government has been trying to shift the balance of local power away from local government and towards the private sector, either by placing power directly into the hands of the private sector or by transferring it first to central government. This dismantling of local authority power has been a consistent central government policy theme throughout the 1980s, not only in the field of local economic

development. Local authority housing, for instance, has been systematically reduced through the right-to-buy legislation, the enabling of housing associations to buy council housing *en masse*, and the increased role for the private sector and other forms of housing tenure in the provision of low-cost housing. Local authority expenditure has been controlled with increasingly stringent measures, from block grants and rate-capping to the community charge, whilst the abolition of the metropolitan counties in 1986 represented the ultimate dismantling of local authority power. The shift in power resulting from these changes has sometimes been to the private sector (such as to growth coalitions and enterprise trusts in the field of local economic development) and at other times to central government (with the eventual aim of passing power on from there to the private sector). Where powers have remained with local government, central government has encouraged local authorities to serve the interests of business and adopt a more promotional approach to local economic development (Mills and Young, 1986). This is crucial in explaining the changing role of place marketing : a more promotional approach to local economic development means, essentially, more emphasis on place marketing.

2.3 *The Influence of marketing theory*

The discipline of marketing is historically the concern of the private sector, and is defined by the Institute of Marketing as "the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably" (cited in Bath, 1986). Being rooted in the private sector, its ultimate objective is to create profit. Nevertheless, non-profit making organisations are increasingly looking at marketing techniques :

"Marketing provides the link between the organisation and its environment, moving the institution away from bureaucratic inertia toward responsiveness to customer needs and anticipation of continuing changes in the environment - non-profit organisations such as museums, universities, churches and government agencies are now adopting a marketing approach to their tasks."

(Clark, 1986, p.4)

Some local authorities, too, have adopted a marketing approach - Richardson (1987) outlines the general principles of marketing in local authorities from a public relations angle, discussions of the use of marketing techniques in individual local authorities exist for Portsmouth City Council (Crouch, 1986) and the Wrekin District Council (Hancox et al, 1989). Local authorities may have ulterior political motives as well as a desire to improve service delivery. As Vielba (1986, p.15) points out, there exists amongst some local authorities ...

"...an air of defensiveness in the face of possible privatisation and loss of functions."

Place marketing, however, is a separate entity for the use of marketing to improve service delivery. In her management handbook on the theory and application of marketing techniques in local government, Walsh (1989) only discusses marketing in relation to improving service delivery, not in terms of place marketing. Although both are examples of the use of marketing, place marketing does not aim to produce a local authority that is more responsive to the needs of its poll tax-payers, but to market the locality in competition with other local authorities to "win" inward investment. It is not the local authority or its services that is being marketed, but the locality.

The marketing literature makes little reference to place marketing : even the seminal text on marketing in non-profit organisations (Kotler, 1982) mentions *place* marketing only fleetingly. References are extremely hard to find in the academic marketing journals (e.g. "Journal of Marketing" and "Journal of Market Research"). There is the occasional reference in the popular marketing journals ("Marketing" and "Marketing Weekly" in the UK) but these tend to be journalistic articles about individual promotional campaigns (see, for instance, Marketing Week, 1989) rather than theoretical or analytical examinations of the concept of place marketing. In fact the only references that attempt to put place marketing into a theoretical marketing context appear in either planning or local government literature.

Clark (1986), Clarke (1986a; 1986b) and Walsh (1989) all try to relate traditional marketing theory to place marketing. Clark (1986) attempts to formulate a theoretical framework for place marketing, a place marketing model : this is composed of a marketing policy, a market analysis and a marketing mix. The marketing mix describes the various tools and techniques used to implement the "marketing concept" - Product, Price, Place and Promotion.

The most important point to come out of these theoretical discussions, in this context, is that traditional marketing theory identifies four basic stages to the marketing process : market research, selection of target markets, selling the product, and monitoring of results. It is important to realise that marketing is not just selling. Selling is just one part of marketing, albeit the most apparent to the public eye. As Clarke (1986a, p.24) explains,

"...there is a distinct difference between marketing and selling. Selling is just one aspect of communication with customers and to say that it is most important is to ignore the importance of the product, pricing and other forms of communication in achieving sales... Likewise it is naive to assume that marketing is all about advertising, since advertising is only one aspect of communication."

One of the characteristics of local authority place marketing that will become apparent in this thesis is its lack of a theoretical basis. The term "place marketing" as used in this thesis does not refer to the marketing of places in the sense of using the marketing concept to market places, but to the diverse range of activities

used to promote places. In other words, place marketing (as defined here) is not marketing in the true sense, but mere selling.

This is not to say that there are no attempts to build up a body of theory for place marketing. A research programme based in the University of Groningen (the Netherlands) is currently trying to construct theory related *specifically* to place marketing, rather than just uplift theory from marketing science and impose it on place marketing, the approach implied by Clark (1986). To quote Ashworth (1990a, p.1):

"Marketing science was historically developed for the selling of physical products for private firms for corporate profit and coined a new set of terms to describe this process. Can the terminology be applied in a quite different context, and if it is imported, is it accompanied by a set of inextricable underlying concepts and philosophies?"

Ashworth asks if place can be perceived as a product, since the purchaser neither acquires ownership rights over a disposable asset nor even obtains exclusive rights to its use. He concludes that places can be sold as products, and that place users can be treated as customers, within competitive markets, but that...

"...this selling and purchasing of places will only be effective if places are recognised as being different in a number of quite fundamental ways from the products and customers in the commercial sector for which marketing science was originally developed."
(Ashworth, 1990a, p.5)

So place marketing is not just an extension of "normal" marketing; it does require new sets of theoretical concepts to be created.

The Groningen researchers argue that numerous urban

activities operate within a market whose objective is the bringing together of supply and demand - housing, recreation, health, and even planning (Ashworth and Voogd, 1988). Indeed, it has been argued that *all* local authority services exist within markets, or can be seen as such, and can therefore be delivered using a marketing approach (Ashworth, 1990b). The difficulty with such an approach is that the ensuing distribution of services and resources is based not on need, but on ability to pay - the root problem of all market-led policy, as will become apparent in the next section.

2.4 *Market-led economic development policies*

It was argued in section 2.2 that the economic and political changes of recent years have created a more amenable climate for marketing approaches to local economic development. It is worth looking beyond the UK at this point, to the USA, where there is a longer history of market-led economic development. Examination of American approaches is useful not only in explaining the concept of place marketing but also because American policies are the model for many of the market-led economic development policies introduced in the UK in the 1980s.

Competition between local authorities has been in existence for many years in the USA. The market-orientated political economy has meant that market forces

have historically been used in decision-making, unlike the British situation. Judd (1988, p.371) illustrates these points and outlines the American context :

"The primary issues in contemporary cities revolve around the revitalisation of business districts and neighbourhoods. Revitalisation invariably is described as a process of enticing business and the middle and upper classes to locate in the central cities rather than in the suburbs. In devising strategies to accomplish this goal, cities find themselves participating in an urban sweepstakes that parallels the urban competition of the nineteenth century. During the 1860s and 1870s, cities competed for railroad connections. Those that lost the railroad competition fell into decline. In the 1980s, cities still compete for a share of the nation's economic growth."

Economic development is regarded not necessarily as the provision of employment opportunities, but as the pursuit of economic growth. The two are not the same : as Judd explains, the "revitalisation" of cities in economic growth terms does not in itself solve problems of poverty, crime, unemployment and slums. Nevertheless, "...the belief that what was good for business was good for the city became part of the popular creed of local economic development policy" (Barnekov et al, 1989).

One of the most important tools in this competition for growth has been the growth coalition. This is a concept first identified by Molotch (1976), and comprises a partnership of the local business community and local government, with the objective of securing economic growth. The earliest growth coalitions date from around the Second World War; they were increasingly popular in the 1970s, and by 1980 there was at least one in every major city in the USA (Barnekov et al, 1989). Their

logic, that a city's survival depends on economic growth, can be compelling (Judd, 1988). A good business climate leads to increased investment, which leads to the creation of more jobs and therefore more tax revenue and more income for the city, leading to improved public services in the city and more local spending / consumption, thus creating a good business climate. And so the cycle repeats itself.

During the 1980s, the growth coalition made its appearance on this side of the Atlantic. The UK version of the concept is remarkably similar to the American version (Barnekov et al, 1989), both in organisation and in underlying rationale. Its introduction in the UK is a direct consequence of the political changes overseen by Mrs Thatcher (see section 2.2.2). Lloyd and Newlands (1988, p.39) explain that :

"...the concept of a growth coalition...offers a useful explanation of the changing relationship of business interests and local government. The influence of business over local policy and decision-making is clearly increasing."

Like their American counterparts, British growth coalitions tend to be dominated by the business sector and therefore give priority to economic goals. As Law (1988, p.450) explains :

"Shaped by private sector attitudes, public-private partnerships may place too much faith in economic growth *per se*, and the assumption that this will automatically trickle down to those in greatest need."

Law continues by arguing that the involvement of the private sector in economic development may influence

local authorities to reorder their resources away from ultimately social objectives (the creation of employment opportunities etc.) to economic objectives (i.e. the attainment of economic growth as an end in itself). In other words, market-led economic development may hijack local authorities' social consciences. This is an important issue, because market-led policy does not, by its very nature, cater for the most disadvantaged sections of the population (Brindley et al, 1989). Johnson and Cochrane (1981) found in their study of economic development policy-making by local authorities that all of the authorities surveyed regarded the attainment of adequate levels of employment as a broad objective of their economic development policy. Increasing use of market-led economic development policies means that this objective moves away from employment towards economic growth - two very different things, as was explained above. Moreover, the use of growth coalitions and other market-led policies reduces the ability of the electorate to influence policy objectives. Growth coalitions are essentially non-accountable (Boyle, 1989) and are not obliged to take account of public opinion; they are self-appointed, not democratically elected. Whilst their aims may coincide with those of the majority of the local electorate, that is not necessarily the case.

The discussion may seem tangential to the main concern of this chapter - the nature of place marketing. However, growth coalitions are merely examples of market-

led economic policy. They possess the same underlying rationale as place marketing. Therein lies their relevance to this chapter : examination of the nature of growth coalitions also sheds light on the nature of place marketing.

One aspect of the market-led nature of place marketing has not been touched upon yet : the competition between both places and between local authorities that it engenders. In their need to stimulate economic development, localities are increasingly being forced to compete against each other (Barnekov et al, 1989). This increasing competition is a direct consequence of the fostering of market forces and the competition that is inherent in that. It is both a reason for and a symptom of place marketing. Davies (1989, p.19) places this growth in competition in a political context, seeing it as evidence of the enforced "retreat" of socialist local governments to capitalism, against their will, and the consequential "parochial rivalry, competition and conflict". Although unashamedly political, the message is significant.

2.5 *Summary*

This chapter has outlined the background to the growth of place marketing in the 1980s. Although certainly not a new policy in the 1980s, economic recession and international industrial restructuring combined with a

political ideology that discriminated in favour of market forces to produce an increased need for local economic development policies and also an undisguised preference for those policies to be market-led. This resulted directly in the widespread adoption of place marketing by local authorities and other economic development agencies, such as growth coalitions, following the American example. This rapid growth in the use of place marketing in local economic development has not, however, been matched by a growth in theory relating to place marketing. As a result, the theoretical development of place marketing has now been left trailing in comparison to the expansion of its practical applications. The consequences of this in terms of lack of integration and co-ordination will become clear in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER THREE

IMAGE-BUILDING AS A PART OF PLACE MARKETING

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by creating a simple framework for the different types of place marketing activity so that their inter-relationship can be more easily understood. It will then focus on one of these types of place marketing - image-building, a concept which has come to the fore in place marketing in the late 1980s.

3.2 Different types of place marketing activity

The previous chapter discussed the economic and political background to place marketing and in doing so located place marketing firmly within the field of local economic development policy. Like other market-led policies, the basic aim of place marketing is to secure economic growth by promoting or "selling" a locality with the intention of influencing investment decisions. As Burgess and Wood (1988, p.94) argue, "places have become commodities to be packaged, marketed and sold".

Approaches to place marketing vary in detail between local authorities, as the fieldwork results in Chapter Five show. However, they can be categorised into two broad groups (which are not, incidentally, mutually exclusive). Firstly, the "direct sell". This is

epitomised by industrial promotion, mentioned in section 2.1 as being popular amongst local authorities in the 1970s. It is place marketing at its simplest, the promotion of a locality direct to industrial investors with the intention of capturing their investment. "Direct sell" promotions are targeted directly at industry to inform them of the benefits of investing in the particular locality being promoted. The second place marketing approach is the more complex "indirect sell" - promotions which are not targeted directly at investors but which try to alter the popular image of a locality. The intention is not to appeal directly to industrialists to invest in the locality; rather, it is the longer term aim of counteracting the public's negative image and creating a positive image in all aspects of "quality of life". The image-building efforts of Birmingham, Bradford and Glasgow mentioned in the previous chapter can be termed the "indirect sell". The essential difference between the direct sell and the indirect sell is their target markets: the direct sell targets industrial investors, the indirect targets the general public (if they can be referred to as a target market). Both have the same ultimate aim : to attract investment and economic growth. Both are forms of place marketing.

The industrial promotion activities discussed by Camina (1974), Forester (1979) and Mason (1981) can be classified as direct sell. The fieldwork undertaken for this thesis indicates the continued importance of direct

sell place marketing : of the 30 local authorities which returned free promotional literature, the promotional literature of only three of them did not appeal directly to the industrialist or general public. The number of industrial promotion advertisements placed in the "Financial Times" and the Sunday colour supplements is further evidence of the continued importance of the direct sell.

There is very little literature relating to the direct sell approach : the work of Camina, Forester and Mason is now dated and very little has been published in the last decade. Richardson (1988) briefly mentions promotional campaigns in Bolton and Sheffield in his examinations of public relations in local government. Bath (1986) has produced a case study of the marketing of Peterborough, a new town with a relatively long history of place marketing. Bath provides an assessment of the different promotional techniques used by Peterborough Development Corporation : television, radio and press advertising, exhibitions, press and public relations, and direct mail. Burgess (1982) and Burgess and Wood (1988) talk of the standardised nature of much direct sell place marketing in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Both studies identify a uniformity of copywriting and refer to the difficulty of creating a strong identity. In the early 1980s, "towns all over the UK relied on very similar propositions to sell themselves : claims to centrality, expanding business opportunities, successful migrant

companies and an excellent quality of life" (Burgess and Wood, 1988, p.103). Judging from the promotional literature received as in response to the survey for this thesis, the same observations remain valid in the late 1980s.

The indirect sell is perhaps the more interesting of the two approaches in that it is a new type of policy. As explained above, the basic concern of the indirect sell is the *image* of a place : economic growth is attracted not by targeting inward investors but by organising a programme of image-building events and campaigns through which a previously negative image is turned around to a positive one. Boyle (1989, p.15) helps to explain the rationale behind such image-building :

"In the early 1980s, the traditional abrasive, violent image of Glasgow, coupled with the decades of economic decline that helped to produce its harsh physical and social environment, was identified as Glasgow's central problem. Unless the "hard man" image could be changed, any attempt to manufacture local economic or social regeneration would be nullified by a failure to attract visitors, companies and investment to the city."

In other words, a negative image acts as a disincentive to attracting investment whereas a positive image acts as an incentive. The logic is compelling, but is in no way new or profound. The marketing profession has manipulated product images for decades in its attempts to achieve higher sales and greater profitability. What is new about it is its application to the marketing of *cities*. Manipulating the image of a city, with its huge diversity of ownership and responsibility, is entirely different

from manipulating the image of a manufactured product. Nevertheless, the combination of economic and especially political changes in the 1980s provided the right environment for some local authorities to initiate such an overtly market-orientated means of local economic development.

Having now outlined the direct sell and the indirect sell approaches to place marketing, the rest of the chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the indirect sell approach - image-building. The direct sell is a straightforward concept with a relatively long history. It has received some attention in the literature (see the work of Camina, Forester, Mason and Burgess). Also, virtually all of the fieldwork results discussed in Chapter Five relate to direct sell rather than indirect sell place marketing. The indirect sell, on the other hand, receives rather less attention elsewhere (the lack of published references to it will become apparent during the course of this chapter). It is a new concept which is arguably at the forefront of developments in place marketing, and so warrants more attention here. The remainder of this chapter hopes to go a little way towards explaining the nature of image-building.

3.3 *Images, perception and reality*

It is worth briefly discussing the relationship of people's perception of places (their images of places)

with the reality of those places. If people's perception was always perfect (i.e. it always coincided with reality), then there would be no need for image-building activities - because there would be no images, just reality. However, image-building is made possible by the existence of gaps in people's knowledge about places. If people do not have intimate knowledge of a place, their image of that place will be necessarily based on only partial knowledge and understanding of that place. There is a spatial dimension to this : people are more likely to have a better knowledge of their own locality than of more distant places (Gould and White, 1974). This means that the image that they have of more distant places is imperfect. Added to this is the "lag effect" (Gould and White, 1974) whereby the image of a place may not be consistent with reality because old images still dominate people's perception for a number of years after they have been superceded. In other words, changes in image lag behind changes in reality, with the delay becoming more pronounced as distance increases.

These phenomena help to explain the poor perception of cities like Glasgow or Aberdeen by people in London or Plymouth (and vice versa). The long distance that the image has to travel distorts the image and it will therefore not always reflect reality. Clearly, there are other influences on the accuracy of the image - the amount of information transmitted about the image, and the ways in which that information is transmitted, for

instance. Information may come from several sources : the media, personal contact, etc.(Gould and White, 1974). Those responsible for image-building policies are very aware of these effects. They know that changing the images held by the media, for instance, is a major step towards changing the images held by the public; as Ogg, 1990, (Senior Corporate Planner of Glasgow District Council) says,

"Much of the city's image-building has in fact relied on opportunities for a "story" and the media's interest being generated through press releases, press conferences, photo-call and facility or press visits."

Image-builders also realize that varying the amount of information transmitted and the methods of transmission will have a bearing on the reception of the image. They know that the greater the distance between the public and the place in question, the greater their distance is from reality, and further removed the transmitted images are likely to be from reality. Image-builders can exercise considerable influence over the images that they promote (Ashworth and Goodall, 1988). But it is important that this influence is not used to produce misleading images. This should be borne in mind in the discussion of the controversy over the use of image-building in local economic policy in north-east England in the following section.

3.4 *The nature of image-building*

There is an almost complete absence of published references regarding the role of image-building in local economic development. This absence may reflect not only its very recent appearance as a policy but also the fact that the clear connection between image-building and economic growth (outlined in section 3.2) is rarely made. This latter point may in turn reflect the very real difficulty of measuring the economic benefits of image-building.

Although there is a lack of discussion of image-building in academic literature, local authorities involved in the field have touched upon the subject in their publications. Manchester City Council (1986) mentions the importance of image in its efforts to ensure that Manchester city centre retains its position as the regional centre for shopping and other activities. Glasgow District Council (1989), in a report on perceptions of Glasgow as an inward investment location, refers to the effect of Glasgow's negative image in many circles as a disincentive to the relocation of companies. It provides a very rare *written* connection between one of Glasgow's image campaigns (the City of Culture) and economic development objectives :

"Where general promotional work does have a more important role is in terms of "image promotion". The survey suggests that Glasgow has a negative image with staff below the level of senior management. The general promotional work likely to be undertaken by Saatchi and Saatchi as part of the "1990" event is likely to be the most immediate means of tackling

this factor." (Glasgow District Council, 1989, p.10)

Campaigns or events like Glasgow's designation as City of Culture can have a dual role. Ostensibly they are concerned with attracting visitors, but underlying this is their role in forming part of a wider policy of promoting a positive image for the locality. The event, campaign or whatever is used as a tool in this image transformation. Glasgow's image-building has also involved the "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign and the 1988 Garden Festival (see Collins, 1988; Henderson, 1989). Birmingham City Council also regards image-building as having a role in attracting economic growth. As well as campaigns and events promoting a positive image (such as the £1.5 million Olympics bid in the mid 1980s and the annual motor-racing international Super Prix), many of Birmingham's infrastructural improvements (such as the National Exhibition Centre and the new International Convention Centre) possess this dual role. Not only do the infrastructural improvements improve Birmingham's place marketing "product" in its target market - business tourism - but they are also used as part of the campaign to rebuild the city's image. To quote Fretter (1990, p.3), the former Head of Marketing in the City Council's Economic Development Unit :

"The "concrete jungle" image of "motor city" ...[and] quality of life surveys, which place Birmingham near the bottom of the league table, do little to inspire economic confidence and inward investment. We needed to (and still need to) actively market the City to change these images, but we also recognised that the long term image-building

process cannot be built on hype. Misconceptions do exist about Birmingham...and whilst we can correct these with good marketing, we must, at the same time, improve our "product".

Further insights into Birmingham's image-building are given by Downer (1990), the City Council's Marketing Manager. He relates image specifically to economic growth with a logic very similar to that prevalent in the USA (see Judd, 1988) :

"Potentially, non-promotion = reducing awareness = reduced usage = reduced income = closure, both for specific services like leisure centres, golf courses etc, and for "the City" which would likely see a fall-off in shopping and related trade = business moving to out-of-town centres = reduced rates income = less money to reinvest in the infrastructure that supports the City."

Downer goes on to discuss the difficulty of testing this relationship between image-building and economic growth.

It is difficult to test this relationship, as is witnessed by the controversy surrounding market-led local economic development policies involving image-building that has arisen in the late 1980s. The debate over the effectiveness of garden festivals as a means of economic regeneration was a forerunner of this controversy. Garden festivals are regarded in many circles as being image-building tools; Beaumont (1985) talks of the objective of the Merseyside Development Corporation's sponsorship of the 1984 Liverpool International Garden Festival as being to attract visitors to the area to form their own views, to restore confidence in an area blighted sometimes without justification. Beaumont quotes from a feasibility study of the Garden Festival which states

that one of its main justifications was :

"A significant contribution to the improvement of Liverpool's image would have a catalytic effect, attracting interest and investment to the city."

This belief in the image-building effects of the Garden Festival is not, however, universal. Downing (1986, p.6):

"It has been argued that Liverpool I.G.F. 1984 was a catalyst for the subsequent phases of regeneration of that city. Whatever the outcome of that subsequent effort, restructuring both the social and economic, and the physical fabric of the city, it is difficult to quantify the part the garden festival itself played, or to argue that the sort of publicity it created for Liverpool could not have been achieved in other ways, at no greater, and possibly much less, expense."

Whilst Downing's criticisms may be correct, it is not necessarily the case that there are no benefits. He himself says that it is difficult to quantify the beneficial effects of the garden festival. His argument is therefore not a basis for criticising the garden festival concept.

More recent controversy over image-building has criticised its use not just in garden festivals but in the wider field of local economic development. Robinson and Gregson (1990) explain how local economic development in north-east England has gone through a number of different philosophies and approaches, culminating in an orientation towards property-led regeneration and image-building since the mid 1980s. The image-building campaign is spearheaded by a growth coalition, the Northern Development Company, who have chosen to promote the north-east as "The Great North". There are similarities to Glasgow's image-building, although the Northern

Development Company's efforts is slightly more "direct" in its marketing approach in that it does promote a business image for the region rather than referring only to more general aspects of the "quality of life". Robinson and Gregson (1990, p.6) are very critical of the image-based nature of the campaign :

"The Great North campaign is about instilling confidence in the region, presenting an open-for-business and good quality of life image - above all, about selling [sic] the North to industrial and commercial institutions, especially in the South. And, there is little doubt that it has had some success in changing perceptions - but will it, or can it, do much to solve the region's problems ?"

Robinson and Gregson's criticism is not based on the campaign's effectiveness in changing images, or even the effectiveness of image-building in attracting economic growth. Their concern is that any economic growth stimulated by image-building will not address the real problems of the north-east - the social problems of unemployment and poverty brought about by economic decline. They regard the basic problem of the north-east's image-building policy as being that it does not relate to the reality that exists in the north-east : it is based on false optimism, on hype. Robinson and Gillespie (1989) explain that 1988 was seen as a turning point for the north-east. It was the year when people began to believe that the region was recovering from the recession and that the good times had arrived. But Robinson and Gillespie argue that , although confidence is being restored by image-building, it is not yet justified. The statistics for unemployment and labour

supply and demand show that although the situation is improving, the improvements are slower than in the south. Moreover, the very prevalence of image-building policy means that any criticism of the proclaimed economic revival (the basis of the new image) is not tolerated :

"...anyone questioning the nature or sustainability of the region's "economic revival" was liable to be regarded at worst as a traitor, at best, an incurable pessimist out to undermine the region's promotional efforts."

(Robinson and Gillespie, 1989, p.60)

Perhaps the most far-reaching consequence of promoting images so zealously that they become myths is that they can be misleading, as one local resident commented to Sadler (1990, p.16) :

"While I agree that the people in the job creation agencies must not become pessimistic I do, however, believe that they ought to be frank and objective and not mislead the people. If the Government is led to believe that Derwentside is now "booming" and "prosperous" then it will see no need for the massive assistance which is urgently needed to save this area from total and complete demise."

Criticism of image-building policies has been stronger in the north-east than elsewhere - which may reflect failings in the particular approach to image-building used there. Nevertheless, other image-building policies have been criticised for their failure to relate the promoted image to some aspects of reality. Hambleton (1988) writes of the American experience of using image-building as a local economic development policy. He encapsulates the criticisms levelled at image-building in north-east England in two sentences : "The trouble is that these American "success" stories with urban

regeneration distort reality. They tell us nothing about urban devastation." Glasgow District Council's image-building campaigns have met with similar criticism. from local residents and academics alike. The letters page of the "Glasgow Herald" frequently publishes local criticism, for example :

"Over recent years we have endured a constant trumpeting, within our city boundaries, about Glasgow's assets and aspirations. First Glasgow's Miles Better. Then the garden festival. Now the city of culture... There must be many Glaswegians like me who are confused and who find it hard to equate their experience of peripheral Glasgow with the press-released, stonecleaned, floodlit facade of Miles Better puffery." (Glasgow Herald, 1990a)

Boyle (1989, p.17) also asks "is Glasgow really Miles Better ?" He argues that Glasgow can only truly flourish again if it spreads the central area improvements into the outlying communities that have as yet been by-passed by the new resources and ideas.

Michael Kelly, the City's Lord Provost who started the "Miles Better" image campaign in 1983, counters criticism of the campaign's lack of impact on the outlying communities by arguing that the intention was to change the attitude of the media, especially the London media, towards Glasgow (Glasgow Herald, 1990b). He is quoted as saying :

"There are still major problems in Glasgow. The campaign was never designed to disguise those - horrendous unemployment, urban deprivation, peripheral estates in dreadful condition. We have not arrived anywhere. We have just begun the process and it's got to continue."

This discussion of image-building has tried to show

that there are potentially great problems in the use of image-building as a form of economic development. Firstly, the apparent inability of image-building to have any impact on unemployment, the peripheral estates, and so on. Michael Kelly argues that the reason for the lack of impact is that image-building is a slow process which does not give instant results. Image-building is too young a policy field to prove him right or wrong, so any criticisms cannot as yet be substantiated. The same applies to claims of image-building's effectiveness. Nevertheless, the problems of growth coalitions, place marketing and market-led economic development in general that were discussed in Chapter Two apply equally to image-building. They relate directly to the apparent inability of the benefits of image-building to trickle down through all the layers of the economy.

The second potential problem of image-building is the gulf that sometimes exists between the promoted image and reality. Robinson and Gregson (1990) and others highlighted the appearance of this gulf in the north-east; they argue that real changes are needed, not just promotional hype. Other agencies involved in image-building appear not to have misused the policy as much. Manchester City Council (1986) acknowledges that the promoted image must be borne out by the facts. Birmingham City Council realizes that it must improve its "product" as well as correct misconceptions of the city by using image-building (Fretter, 1990). In his examination of the

image of Glasgow. Collins (1988) stresses that images must be based on reality, not hype. He cites the example of the efforts to persuade a developer to invest in a substantial redevelopment in central Glasgow : the developers were only persuaded to invest in the city when Glasgow was able to present both an image of itself as a developing city and also evidence of this (pp.105-107). Collins concludes :

"As well as the promotional hype there need to be physical improvements which must be seen to be real. Hence the marketing of Glasgow only represents one dimension of a strategy for developing the existing service sector which incorporates related projects involving land and property markets, transport and telecommunications infrastructure and environmental to the city centre." (p.146)

This is a crucial issue : image building is not a policy which is free standing, but it must be integrated with other local authority policies - in the field of economic development and elsewhere. The following section discusses the links between one such policy, tourism promotion, and image-building to serve as an illustration of this necessity for integration and to highlight the complexity of links between image-building and other policy areas.

3.5 *Tourism and image-building*

There is considerable debate over the contribution of tourism to economic regeneration - whether it constitutes a panacea for economic decline. Although growth in the

tourism industry does produce jobs, critics have many reservations about the quality of those jobs - their seasonality, low pay, low levels of training, part-time nature and inequalities in gender distribution (see Williams and Shaw, 1985; Heeley, 1985). Other criticisms include the tourism industry's susceptibility to externalities - not only fluctuating exchange rates and other vagaries of the world economy, but also international political upsets (witness the drop in the number of American tourists flying to Europe after the American bombing of Libya in 1986; see Goodall, 1987).

As discussed in section 3.4, the events and campaigns used in image-building have a dual role. Ostensibly they attract visitors - often tourists - but underlying this is their role in forming part of a wider policy of promoting a positive image for the locality. Gould and White (1974) explained that information about images can come from several sources - for example, the media and personal contact. Tourist visits are another of these sources, as Law (1985a, p.78) explains :

"When a city is developed for tourism and when it is sold for tourism, the effect is to improve the image of the area in the wider world. This is generally regarded as desirable, so that unfavourable images are removed and economic investment of various types can be attracted to the urban area."

The fact that tourists are in themselves sources of information about images has diverse consequences for image-building policy. Image builders must be aware of the tourist "product" : the tourist attractions of the locality, both specific attractions like museums and also

more general attractions such as the townscape or the place's ambience. More significantly, since our concern is with image, image-builders must be aware of the image that is being promoted in tourism promotions for the locality. They must work with tourism marketers to ensure that the images being promoted for tourism are compatible with the aims of the general image-building programme. Indeed, the individual events or campaigns of the image-building programme may have tourists as their target market, and so may be trying to attract tourists and visitors partly with the intention of employing them as unsuspecting transmitters of information about images. Examples of this are Bradford's promotions of weekend tourists breaks (Fenn, 1990; Law, 1985b) and Glasgow's City of Culture designation already discussed. Another issue of importance for image-building is the effects of any growth in the local tourism industry. Any increase in the number of tourists visiting the locality will mean that there are more potential sources of information about its image. The more sources of information there are, the greater is the potential to change the image, as the above quote from Law (1985a) stated. However, if the increase in the number of image information sources is going to result in positive improvements to the image, then the reality of the place must reflect the promotional image. This reintroduces the issue of the need to base images on reality rather than hype. If image-building attracts visitors who then become sources

of information from which other people will build up images, then the visitors must not be disillusioned - they must be able to relate their image, influenced as it is by image-building, to the reality of the place. As Ogg (1990) says :

"Image-building and place marketing can have a positive contribution to the development of an area, as long as the "product" you are promoting matches the expectations created by the various campaigns. Dissatisfied customers are to be avoided at all costs !"

The foregoing discussion, although only touching upon the various inter-relationships between tourism and image-building, serves to illustrate both the complexity of those inter-relationships and the need to integrate image-building and tourism. Without effective integration between image-building and other policy fields such as tourism, any image-building policy will be only partially effective at best.

3.6 *Summary*

Place marketing activities can be divided into two types: the direct sell, targeted straight to the industrial investor, and the indirect sell, concerned with image-building and changing general perceptions of places. The direct sell is a relatively straightforward concept, which perhaps explains its popularity, and has a much longer history than the indirect sell. The indirect sell is much more abstract and less clearly focussed - but

that is not to say that it is not a powerful place marketing weapon. Although image-building is too new a field to be evaluated as yet, its ability to change people's perceptions and therefore ultimately to influence investment decisions should not be underestimated. Image-builders must bear this in mind when constructing images, and ensure that the reality of the place that they are marketing is reflected in their promoted image.

CHAPTER FOUR

SURVEY DESIGN

4.1 *What is the research trying to find out ?*

The literature review revealed that there has been no research into how local authorities organise their place marketing and image building activities, what they hope to achieve from them, and what level of resources are employed. A few articles exist regarding place marketing in individual local authorities, but these tend to be explanations of policy stances (examples include Crouch, 1986, on Portsmouth; Clarke, 1986, on Devon; Kuit, 1983, on Newcastle; and Blackadder, 1985, on Shetland). Most of the articles are now too old to be an accurate representation of current policies : in a young and developing policy field like place marketing, a couple of years is a long time. However, the articles were useful in providing background information as to the ways in which local authority place marketing might be organised, with which other bodies local authorities liaised, and the reasons for the introduction of place marketing (see, for instance, Law, 1985a and 1985b; Matthews, 1983; and the references cited earlier in the paragraph). The biggest drawback of these studies is not their age, but their *individual* nature and the consequent lack of comparison between local authorities. No general survey of the state of place marketing in British local

authorities exists. Whilst this thesis does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey, it will seek to provide general statements about the present status of local government place marketing.

There is a need for this basic information about the practice of place marketing and image building in local authorities. Although it would clearly be more fulfilling and more practically useful to produce an *assessment* of the different promotional methods used in different local authorities, it is impossible to undertake this work until a bank of information on *how* local authorities promote themselves is assembled. So although the research that is being suggested may be mainly factual and not that stimulating, it is very necessary groundwork that must be done before any research of a more evaluative nature is carried out.

It should be apparent by now that the research is concerned with local authorities. But why are local authorities being targeted rather than any of the other bodies involved in place marketing - Urban Development Corporations (UDCs), development agencies and growth coalitions ? The first reason is that local authorities are easily comparable, simply because there are a large number of them and they all operate under the same constraints. Study of the Scottish Development Agency, of growth coalitions and of UDCs presents many methodological problems related to difficulties of comparing and analysing their activities. However, ease

of research is not in itself a tenable reason for adopting one particular research design in preference to another. More important is the fact that place marketing is about "place" - the same concept that local authorities are concerned with. Local authorities exist both to govern and serve their locality. They know and represent the "place" and its inhabitants. Other agents in the place marketing process are not so concerned with place and locality. UDCs, for instance are concerned with place insofar as they are limited in areal extent to one particular place. But they are not concerned with the general well-being of that particular place in all its social, political, cultural and economic aspects. They are simply trying to stimulate economic growth; it just so happens that they are stimulating economic growth within a bounded area, or a place. The same can be said for national Development Agencies and for growth coalitions : they have boundaries, but their concerns are economic rather than spatial.

4.2 *What type of survey to use ?*

It was decided that it was necessary to maximise the number of responses so as to give the widest possible coverage. The bigger the sample size and the wider the coverage, the more accurate a picture the research paints of the national situation. One basic intention was to give an indication of the management of place marketing

on a national scale, not just in a few isolated local authorities.

The type of information sought - mainly factual, but a wide sample to ensure realistic coverage of local authority activities - dictated the choice of survey format. Individual face-to-face interviews would yield the most detailed information (including valuable insights into the subject gained from those being interviewed), but the time and expense involved would mean that the sample size could only be small. As stated above, the prime objective was to give the largest possible sample size. Although the detailed information gained from face-to-face interviews would be interesting, it was not absolutely necessary for the type of research selected : basic information was what was being sought. Face-to-face interviews were thus ruled out.

A standardised survey format, to ensure that every respondent had been asked exactly the same questions, was regarded as the only way to achieve results that would be comparable. The ability to *compare* the responses of the local authorities was essential - without it, a meaningful picture of the present state of place marketing activities in British local authorities could not be produced.

The easiest and simplest way of achieving the desired results was therefore postal questionnaires. Standardised format would be guaranteed, it is the cheapest and easiest way of achieving a large sample

size, and the results come in a permanent, written format which is easily analysed. One might argue that standardised telephone interviews could have been chosen instead. Their one major drawback when undertaking a large survey is that the respondents' replies do not come ready packaged in a completed questionnaire : they have to be transcribed from the spoken to the written word.

4.3 Questionnaire design

Questionnaire design began by identifying a number of specific research questions. These are worth listing here (in no particular order) :

1. Which departments are responsible for place marketing in local authorities ? Which other departments are involved ? Do specific units or sections exist for place marketing ?
2. With which other public and private sector bodies do local authorities liaise ? Do local authorities have overall responsibility ?
3. How many local authority staff are involved in place marketing ? Who is in charge ? What training do they have ?
4. How much local authority money is devoted to place marketing ? Which budget allocations does it come from ?

5. What are the objectives of local authorities' involvement ? Why did local authorities initially become involved in place marketing ? Are they involved in place marketing just to attract more tourists or as part of an economic development strategy ?
6. What place marketing activities are currently being used ? Are these activities properly researched, targeted and monitored or are they just administered on an *ad hoc* basis ? What are the target markets ?

Once these research questions had been established, the task of designing the questionnaire could begin. As stated above, the intention was to obtain as many responses as possible. In order to maximise the response rate, considerable effort was devoted to designing a questionnaire package that was "user-friendly". The letter accompanying the questionnaire was identified as crucial to the success of the survey. It had to perform the tasks of explaining the nature of my research and encouraging the respondents to complete the questionnaire. Since the research was concerned with image-building, it was vital that I at least produced a favourable image so that the questionnaires would be completed. The *image* of student research is not good in that it is often regarded as unimportant or of little use to anybody else. It was necessary for me to present a

questionnaire package that was as professional as possible to encourage responses. Hence all writing was typed, 9" x 7" envelopes were used to avoid awkwardly folded paper, all postage was first class, and so on. The introductory letter (see Appendix One) had to be kept to a single side, not least because an accountant friend told me that he tended to put letters longer than one side to the bottom of his tray. Within that single side, the concept of place marketing and the purpose of my research had to be clearly and interestingly explained. These details may seem unimportant, but the intention was to create an impression that made respondents think that the research *mattered*. Judging from both the quality and quantity of responses, this policy of good presentation was worthwhile.

Now to the questionnaire itself (shown in Appendix One). The questions were to be as quick and as easy to answer as possible, with a minimum of explanatory answers needed from the respondent. Its length had to be kept down. Four sides (two sheets of A4 paper printed on both sides) was decided upon as the maximum length : a long, demanding questionnaire is likely to be relegated to the bottom of the in-tray or, even worse, slung in the waste-paper basket. It proved quite difficult to tackle all the above issues within these constraints; where a decision had to be taken on including or dropping a question, it generally veered towards the short and simple rather than the long and complex so as to maximise the response rate.

For instance, it would have been useful to have had a couple of open-ended questions asking the respondent about his or her views on place-marketing, but it seemed prudent to relegate these to an optional section on the last page of the questionnaire where the respondent was invited to make comments on such issues.

4.4 *Questionnaire destinations and responses*

Questionnaires were sent to all 47 English and Welsh County Councils and all 12 Scottish Regional and Island Councils in order to ensure that there was virtually national coverage - the exceptions being the six former Metropolitan Counties. The five provincial former Metropolitan Counties were to an extent covered by sending questionnaires to at least some of their constituent District Councils, but it was decided to avoid coverage of London altogether. The main reason for this was that, as identified in Chapter Two, place marketing is an economic development policy that has been adopted most aggressively in areas hit hard by the recession. Whilst not wishing to imply that parts of London have not experienced economic decline and all its attendant social problems, London as a whole does not need to promote itself to attract economic development : it is the heart of the most prosperous region of the UK and has an economy which is, if anything, overheating rather than stagnating. With limited financial resources

constraining the size of the questionnaire survey, it was therefore decided to cover other urban areas at the expense of London.

Questionnaires were also sent to 66 District Councils : all Districts in Scotland possessing an urban area (21 in total) and English and Welsh Districts possessing a city or reasonably sized town (45 in total). As Figures 4.1a and 4.2 show, the resulting coverage is spatially biased. Firstly, towards Scotland, reflecting a finer grain of questionnaire coverage there; and secondly, towards the Midlands and North of England, reflecting the denser population found in those areas than elsewhere in the UK apart from Greater London. (Appendix Two lists the local authorities to which questionnaires were sent.)

A total of 123 questionnaires were sent out. It was hoped that this would be sufficient to secure 50 completed responses, regarded as the minimum which would constitute a representative national sample. In the event, 75 completed questionnaires were received. Figures 4.1b and 4.2 show the local authorities which returned completed questionnaires (see Appendix Two for a list of these authorities).

Figure 4.1
Counties & Regions
receiving & returning
questionnaires

Figure 4.1a
 Counties & Regions
 in receipt of a
 questionnaire

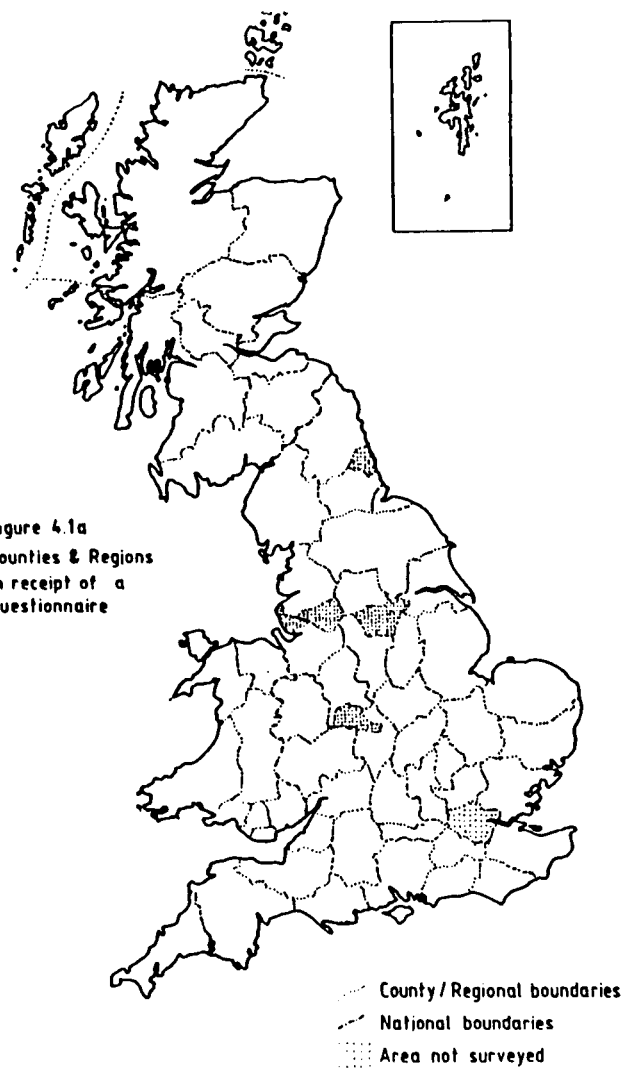
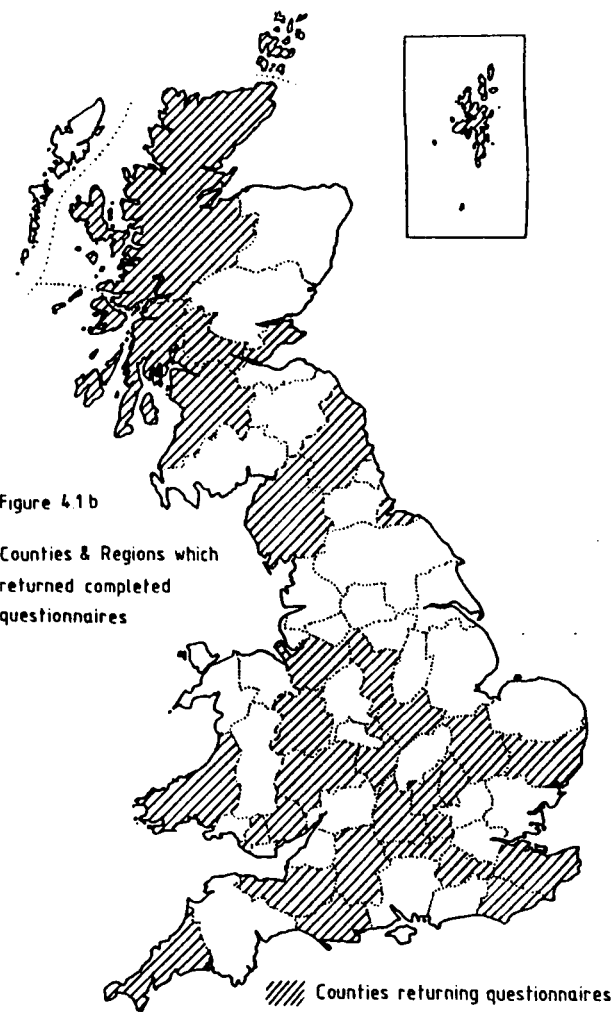
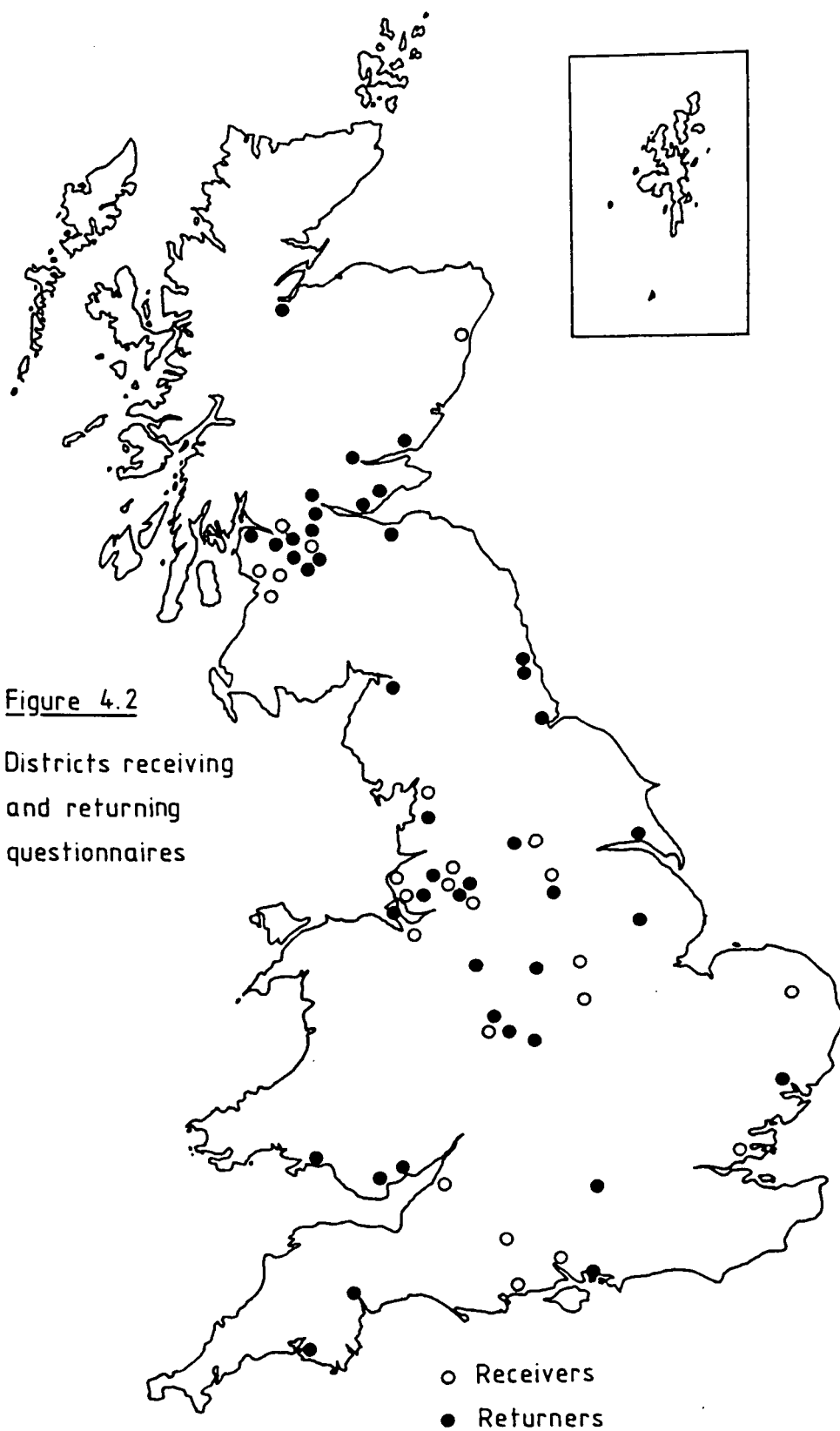


Figure 4.1b

Counties & Regions which
 returned completed
 questionnaires





CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

5.1 Introduction

This analysis of the questionnaire responses will be subdivided into the six broad research questions that were identified in section 4.3. Whenever a specific question is mentioned in the analysis, the type of question will be stated (i.e. tick-box questions, open-ended factual questions, open-ended policy questions, or additional comments). This should allow easy cross-referencing to the problems of these different types of question as discussed in Appendix Three.

5.2 Which departments are responsible for place marketing in local authorities ? Which other departments are involved ? Do specific units or sections exist for place marketing ?

Table 5.1 shows the involvement of local authority departments in place marketing. The overall leading role of the economic development is clear : 72% of local authorities stated that their Economic Development Department had a leading role. Its nearest rival was Tourism, which had a leading role in 45% of local authorities. A few local authorities cited only one department as having a leading role : despite the small

Local authority departments
involved in place marketing

	By percentages of local authorities	
	"Leading role"	"Involved"
Economic Development	72%	6%
Tourism	45%	10%
Chief Executive's	32%	30%
Public Relations	29%	22%
Recreation / Leisure	16%	21%
Planning	12%	33%
Marketing	10%	13%
Property / Estates	6%	25%

Sample = 67

sample size (16 of the total sample of 67), the figures are arguably a better indicator of which departments really have the leading role, because they indicate which have sole responsibility for place marketing rather than share it with other departments. The figures are given in Table 5.2 :

Table 5.2 Local authority departments with sole responsibility for place marketing

By percentages of local authorities	
Economic Development	56%
Tourism	-
Chief Executive's	25%
Public Relations	6%
Recreation / Leisure	-
Planning	6%
Marketing	-
Property / Estates	6%

Sample = 16

Interestingly, none of these 16 local authorities give the Tourism Department the *sole* leading role, whereas 45% of the total sample give Tourism Departments a *joint* leading role. Why this discrepancy ? Perhaps it is because those responsible for place marketing wish to use any promotional expertise that Tourism Departments may have but feel that the overall management of place marketing is better left to a Department more concerned with its objectives - which, as will transpire in this chapter, tend to be more related to economic development than to tourism.

What of the 25% of the sample who did *not* consider their Economic Development Department to have a leading role ? Was this reflected in economic development objectives being of less significance to them ? Table 5.3 would indicate that the answer is "yes" :

Table 5.3 **Involvement of Economic Development
 Departments related to primary
 objectives of place marketing policy**

	By percentages of local authorities	
	Total sample (n = 63)	30% of sample where Econ.Dev. is <i>not</i> a leading role (n=17)
Investment (office/factory)	79%	59%
Tourism (leisure/business)	81%	71%
General interest/ public awareness	71%	71%

Questions 4 and 14 (both tick-box)

A note of caution : the figures are not strictly comparable. Just because an Economic Development Department does not play a leading role does not necessarily mean that Economic Development staff are not involved. If an Economic Development Department does not exist, Economic Development functions will be the responsibility of another department - frequently the Planning Department. But since respondents were not asked to list their local authority's departmental responsibilities, the extent of this is unknown.

A word about the involvement of Planning Departments. They rarely have a "leading role" (only 12% of the sample) but they are the department that is most likely to be "involved" - in 33% of the sample. There is, however, scope for Planning Departments to play a greater role than this. They may or may not be the most suitable departments to maintain overall responsibility for place marketing (see Chapter One), but they can contribute valuable perspectives and information to place marketing. It was argued in Chapter Three that the promotional image must be based on reality rather than mere hype. Planners are in a good position to relate land use and the built environment to the promotional image, to ensure that physical reality and the promotional image do correspond.

The last point to note from Table 5.1 is the lack of importance of Marketing Departments in a policy area which appears to fall directly within their remit. This is simply because not all local authorities possess

Marketing Departments. The proportion of the sample which do possess them is unknown, so it is impossible to give an accurate indication of their involvement in the place marketing process.

The final research issue in this section is the existence of specific units within local authorities. The second part of question 14 (open-ended factual) addressed this issue : "If a specific unit or section of a department is responsible for place marketing / image building within a department, please name it". Twenty-one local authorities, or 31% of the sample (67), named such a section. Thirteen (62%) of these were specifically concerned with either promotions or marketing rather than economic development in its broader sense.

5.3 With which other public and private organisations do local authorities liaise ? Do local authorities have overall responsibility for place marketing ?

Virtually all local authorities liaise with both the public and the private sectors: 99% (sample 67) with other public sector organisations, 97% with the private sector. These percentages are very high - but if they were any lower, they would give cause for concern. Place marketing is a young and diverse policy area. Dissemination of ideas is essential to ensure that policy makers have a full grasp of the subject, so liaison with

other local authorities is vital. Moreover, place marketing overlaps with the interests of other organisations to a considerable extent. Local authority staff are not experts in all of the fields which it covers. Other public sector organisations like national and area tourist boards can make valuable contributions. The private sector has a dual role : firstly, marketing is traditionally a private sector activity , so private sector expertise is likely to be of considerable assistance to public sector policy makers. Secondly, the continuing cuts in local authority expenditure mean that private sector co-operation is often fundamental to policy implementation. Without it, a local authority may not be able to afford to implement its policy.

Table 5.4 provides a summary of the outside liaison results. The results are derived from open-ended factual questions and so are therefore best treated as a guide to the *relative* degrees of outside liaison (see Appendix 2). To illustrate this, the organisations most frequently liaised with are other local authorities - 54% of the full sample. But it is likely that the true figure is much higher than 54% because very few local authorities are unlikely to consult with the other tier of local government in their locality; since the question is open-ended it is possible that respondents may have forgotten to specify some of the organisations that they liaise with. So although the 54% figure may not be statistically accurate, it does indicate the relative importance of

Table 5.4

Liaison of local authorities
with other bodies

By percentage of local authorities		
	Percentage	Sample
<u>The Public Sector</u>	99%	67
Other local authorities	54%	56
Central government:		
DTI (IDS in Scotland)	11%	54
DoE (urban policy)	6%	54
National tourist boards	45%	56
Area tourist boards	20%	55
Institutions of higher education	6%	54
Public agencies (Scotland only):		
SDA	60%	15
Locate in Scotland	20%	15
<u>The Private Sector</u>	97%	67
Local growth coalitions or development companies	47%	58
Chambers of Commerce and local trade associations	38%	58
Local firms	26%	57
Local enterprise trusts and agencies	9%	57
Local visitor attractions	10%	59
Transport organisations (airlines, BR, ferry companies etc)	9%	58
Marketing consultants	5%	57
Estate agents	4%	57
Developers	4%	57
Confederation of British Industry	4%	57
Questions 17 and 18 (both open-ended factual)		

liaison with other local authorities.

The figures in Table 5.4 are self-explanatory, but it is worth drawing attention to a few points. Central government (and national bodies of any kind, apart from

the SDA in Scotland) have little involvement in local authority place marketing. This highlights the lack of a national body to co-ordinate place marketing activities, an important point considering the inherently competitive "zero-sum game" nature of place marketing (discussed in more depth in section 6.3). Local organisations, on the other hand, are very involved in place marketing : Chambers of Commerce, local trade associations, local area tourist boards, local firms, and especially local growth coalitions (whose significance is discussed in section 2.4). Little use is made of marketing consultants in creating place marketing strategies : just three local authorities admitted to employing them.

5.4 How many local authority staff are involved in place marketing ? Who is in charge ? What training do they have ?

Questions 11 and 13 addressed these issues. All three were open-ended factual questions. Firstly, Question 11 : how many staff are involved. The difficulties of this question are discussed in Appendix Three, and are so great that the results are not worth displaying. Comparison would be inherently inaccurate and therefore misleading. All that can be said is that the general impression is that staffing levels are low, the majority of responding authorities having well below ten employees involved.

Question 12 asked "Which member of staff is responsible for place marketing / image building activities?". The aim of the question was to find out at what level responsibility for place marketing was held. Although it proved difficult to analyse the responses for this aim, they did lend themselves to analysis in terms of the Departments in which members of staff responsible for place marketing are employed. The results (Table 5.5) once again emphasize the importance of Economic Development staff in having responsibility, a trend already noted in Table 5.1. But there the similarities between the two Tables end : take, for instance, Marketing. Table 5.5 shows that Marketing staff hold responsibility for place marketing relatively frequently, whilst Table 5.1 shows that only in 7% of local authorities did Marketing *Departments* hold a leading role. Conversely, Tourism Departments held a leading role in 30% of local authorities, but responsibility lies with Tourism staff in only 14%. It is clear that individual and departmental responsibility are two different things in local authorities.

Now to the issue of what training place marketing staff possess (Question 13, staff training). The most significant finding here was that even though the question asked only about training, 51% of respondents (sample : 43) took it upon themselves to mention that they had experience. Twenty-eight percent of the same sample (i.e. of the entire sample) mentioned only

Table 5.5

Who holds responsibility for place
marketing within local authorities ?

By percentage and number of local authorities

	%	Number
Economic Development	38%	21
Director of E.D.		3
Depute Director of E.D.		1
Senior E.D. Officer		6
E.D. Officer		6
Industrial Promotion Officer		1
Industrial Liaison Officer		1
*Principal Surveyor (E.D.Dept)		1
*Asst Chief Planning Officer (E.D.Dept)		2
Marketing	21%	12
Marketing Manager		3
Marketing Officer		6
Head of Promotions and Media		1
*Director of Marketing & Leisure		1
*Director of Marketing & Tourism		1
Public Relations	14%	8
P.R. Manager		2
P.R. Officer		6
Tourism	14%	8
Director of Tourism		1
Tourism Officer		5
*Director of Marketing and Tourism		1
*Senior Planning Asst (Tourism)		1
Planning	9%	5
Chief Planning Officer		2
*Asst Chief Planning Officer (E.D.)		2
*Senior Planning Asst (Tourism)		1
Property & Estates	5%	3
Director of Property & Estates		1
City Surveyor		1
Principal Surveyor (E.D. Dept)		1
Leisure and Recreation	4%	2
Director of Leisure and Recreation		1
*Director of Marketing & Leisure		1
Chief Executive's Department	2%	1
Asst Chief Executive		1

* = post counted under two headings
Question 12 (open-ended factual)

Sample = 56

experience. not referring to training at all. Judging from the large proportion of respondents who mentioned work experience without being prompted, it appears that many of them believe work experience to be at least as important as training. Work experience is as important as training - but it is not a substitute for training. The high proportion of respondents who ignored the main thrust of the question and chose instead to refer to work experience sheds light on their opinions of the value, or otherwise, of training. The aim of the question was to discover the proportion of staff who had received formal training in fields related to place marketing. The proportion was higher than expected, 60% of the sample, with only 10% admitting to having had no specific training. (N.B.: If the twenty-odd respondents who did not answer the question are taken as not having had training, the percentage of those with training drops from 60% to 40%.)

Table 5.6

**Fields of training of
place marketing staff**

	Number of authorities
Marketing	10
Journalism / Public relations	5
Surveying	3
Economics	2
Planning	2
Tourism	1
In-service training	4

Question 13 (open-ended factual)

Sample = 27

5.5 *How much local authority money is devoted to place marketing ? Which budget allocations does it come from ?*

The intention of Question 9 (expenditure) was to provide an indication of the resources devoted to place marketing in different local authorities - increasing expenditure can be taken as a rough measure of increasing commitment by a local authority. The inability to compare the responses to Question 9 is discussed in Appendix Three, the root of the problem being that most local authorities do not have a specific budget for place marketing. Quoting a couple of responses will emphasize this point :

"No specific budget, but the Economic Development Sub-Committee budget estimate for 1989/90 was £491,700" ¹ ...

...a total which includes all economic development expenditure, not just place marketing. Another respondent summed the situation up succinctly :

"Various departments (and divisions within them have their own budgets, one overall/global system does not exist. " ²

The questionnaire responses did, however, provide useful information on the budget allocations from which place marketing finance came. Once again Economic Development leads the field with over half of the sample allocating place marketing finance from the Economic Development budget (Table 4.6). Note also that Planning scores relatively well with 13% of the total sample.

Table 5.7

Budget allocations

By percentages and numbers of local authorities

	Percentage	Number
Economic Development	54%	33
Tourism	23%	14
Marketing / Promotions	20%	12
Planning	13%	8
Policy and Resources	8%	5
Public Relations	8%	5
Leisure and Recreation	5%	3
Central Budget	3%	2
General Purposes	-	1
Property Development	-	1
Arts grants	-	1
Chairman's Funds	-	1
Question 10 (open-ended factual)		Sample = 61

5.6 What are the objectives of local authorities' involvement in place marketing ? Why did local authorities become initially involved in place marketing ? Are they involved in place marketing just to attract more tourists or as part of an economic development strategy ?

Firstly, the objectives of local authorities' involvement in place marketing (Table 5.8). Equal numbers of local authorities said that attracting leisure tourism and factory investment were primary objectives ; the attraction of office investment lagged behind a little, with the attraction of business tourism a poor fourth. (Business tourism - the attraction of conferences, etc - is a highly developed market in the USA but is still a

Table 5.8

Objectives of place marketing

By percentages of local authorities

Pri. = Primary objective

Sec. = Secondary objective

Pri/Sec. = Either primary or secondary objective

Neither = Neither a primary or a secondary objective

	Pri.	Sec.	Pri/Sec.	Neither
To stimulate :				
...office investment	62%	17%	80%	19%
...factory investment	77%	9%	86%	13%
...leisure tourism	77%	15%	91%	7%
...business tourism	39%	33%	87%	22%
...general interest/ public awareness	74%	15%	88%	12%
To stimulate :				
...office or factory investment	80%	6%	86%	10%
...leisure or business tourism	81%	15%	96%	3%

Question 4 (tick-box)

Sample = 69

relatively small-scale activity in the UK; see section 2.4 for a brief discussion of American place marketing.) However, if one adds together the number of authorities where these objectives are secondary to those where they are primary, the disparities between the figures even out, because the attraction of office investment and business tourism were important secondary objectives. Significantly, these figures do not reflect the emphasis towards economic development and away from tourism found hitherto in terms of departmental involvement, staffing and budget allocations. Does this mean that local authorities regard tourism promotion as an important objective of their place marketing, but do not carry this

importance forward into resource allocations and responsibility for decision-making ? That economic development objectives are in perhaps 'more primary' than tourism objectives, but that the questionnaire was unable to pick up such subtle differences in priority ?

The large percentage of local authorities specifying the stimulation of general interest and heightening of public awareness as an objective is worth noting. This is the first hint of the importance of image building (as distinct from place marketing) that we have come across in the questionnaire analysis. The differences between image building and more direct place marketing - the "indirect sell" and the "direct sell" - were explored in depth in Chapter Three.

The second issue in this section is concerned with reasons for local authorities' involvement in place marketing. Table 5.9 shows the great diversity of reasons for becoming involved in place marketing. (The responses were in the form of comments and have been categorised only broadly to maintain this diversity and avoid too much subjectivity in the categorization.). Not surprisingly, a lot of reasons for involvement are economic - to attract investment, create employment, put the locality "on the map" in business terms, etc. Ten respondents specifically mentioned "image" : they consider place marketing (or more accurately image building) to be a means of counteracting their existing poor image with a new and better one. These ten

Table 5.9 Reasons for initial local authority involvement in place marketing

By numbers of local authorities	
To put local authority "on the map" :	29
Generally	11
For business	7
For tourism	4
To overcome placelessness	3
As a regional centre	2
In the European context	2
To attract investment	15
To create employment	13
To match other local authority's efforts	13
To counteract bad image / build good image	13
To diversify the local economy	5
To boost tourism	4
To keep local residents informed	3

Question 5 (open-ended policy)	Sample = 64
--------------------------------	-------------

authorities have all been hit by industrial decline in recent years, which contributes to their contemporary "poor image" - South Wales, the West Midlands, South Lancashire, South Yorkshire, Tyneside and Clydeside.

The most interesting result in Table 5.9 is that as many as thirteen local authorities said that they began place marketing to match other local authorities' efforts. Seven of these thirteen gave this as the *only* reason. These figures demonstrate the extent to which the "zero-sum game" phenomenon has taken hold of local authority policy. Local authorities are spending their precious funds on something which they feel they are forced into doing whether they like it or not.

And so to the final issue of this section. Does place

is a vital part of economic development are located in the country's former industrial heartlands, whereas those using place marketing for tourism promotion are more evenly spread. This concentration in former manufacturing areas that have experienced considerable economic decline due to industrial restructuring (see Chapter Two) may reflect a greater need for, and commitment to, local economic development - or desperation by the local authorities to try any policy that might regenerate the local economy, depending on how cynically one views place marketing.

5.7 What place marketing activities are currently being used ? Are these activities properly researched, targeted and monitored or are they just administered on an ad hoc basis ? What are the target markets ?

Table 5.11 shows the promotional activities employed by the local authorities in the survey. The results are in the main self-explanatory, but a few points are worth drawing attention to. As might be expected, free promotional literature is ubiquitous. The low percentages advertising on television and radio are no surprise considering place marketing's traditional preference for printed media (for instance Clarke, 1986, found that printed media were the main advertising media in case studies of Swindon, East Kilbride and Glasgow). With this tradition for printed media it is somewhat unexpected

that posters are used relatively infrequently. Sending delegations to trade fairs and arranging trips for potential investors are an important aspect of place marketing, but one that is rarely in the public eye.

Table 5.11 Local authorities' promotional activities

By percentages of local authorities

Free promotional literature	97%
Advertising media :	
Newspapers	77%
Magazines / periodicals	74%
Television	13%
Radio	14%
Posters	40%
Slogans	66%
Use of events / celebrations :	
Historical anniversaries	57%
Sporting events	54%
Arts festivals	59%
Other cultural events	54%
Delegations to trade fairs	67%
Trips for potential investors	67%
Others (not specified on questionnaire) :	
Use of media through press releases etc	4%
Seminars / surgeries	3%
Direct mail	1%
Merchandising	1%
Telemarketing	1%

Question 3 (tick-box)

Sample = 70

A very high percentage of local authorities are promoting themselves : but are these advertising efforts being managed effectively ? Are local authorities undertaking market research to identify gaps in the market, targeting those gaps and then monitoring and

critically evaluating the results ? It would be unthinkable for a professional marketing consultant not to use all three stages of the marketing process. Without market research, targeting and monitoring, marketing simply is not marketing - it is merely advertising. There is a world of difference between the two activities. Advertising is only one small part of the marketing process (see Kotler, 1985; Clarke, 1986; or any marketing text). Unfortunately not all local authorities use this accepted marketing approach. Too many are content just to use one or two of the components, not all three : only 40% of advertising local authorities use all three (Table 5.12). The Table also shows that not all of the authorities which selected target markets undertook market research first. How could they have select accurately without researching first ?

Table 5.12

**Local authorities using
the marketing approach**

	Yes	Sample
Market research ?	52%	66
Targetting ?	74%	65
Monitoring ?	79%	67
All three ?	40%	65
Questions 6,7,8 (all open-ended factual)		

And so to the target markets themselves. Not all local authorities broke their target markets down into

specifics. Some just said "tourism" or "industry" (whether such broad headings can really be regarded as target markets is another issue). Because of this varying quality of responses, the following results should be taken as demonstrating the range of target markets, and only as rough indicators of comparative importance.

Since, as was argued in Chapters Two and Three, place marketing is concerned more with economic development than with tourism, only the industrial / commercial target markets are given in more detail here. Twenty-two local authorities specified only *sectoral* target markets, two specified only *spatial* target markets. Just seven defined their target markets both spatially and sectorally.

Table 5.13 Target markets : industrial vs tourism

By numbers of local authorities	
Industry / commerce :	32
(and not tourism) :	20
Tourism :	20
(and not industry/commerce) :	8
Local residents	8
<i>Total</i>	<i>43</i>

Question 7 (open-ended factual)

Table 5.14

Specific industrial /
commercial target markets

By numbers of local authorities			
<u>Sectoral targets</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>Spatial targets</u>	<u>9</u>
Hi-tech:	10	Domestic:	6
Electronics	4	SE England	4
Biotechnology	3	All of UK	1
Business services	5		
Pharmaceuticals	3	Overseas:	7
Food processing	2	Europe	5
Offshore industry	2	USA	5
Property sector	2	Japan	4
Giftware	1	China	1
Petrochemicals	1	Hong Kong	1
Printing	1	Scandinavia	1
<hr/>			
Question 7 (open-ended factual)		Sample = 31	

5.8 Promotional literature

Local authorities were requested to send copies of their free promotional literature at the end of the questionnaire. Thirty of the seventy-five respondents did so. Most of the glossy literature that was received conveyed a standard message, advertising a place that is ideal for industry and commerce with good communications and an excellent quality of life. Such general glossy literature was the most common promotional literature, used by over half of the sample (see Table 5.15 for details of the types of promotional literature sent). However, a lot of local authorities also sent factual

information : socio-economic profiles of their localities, details of available financial assistance and of training and education, and so on. The number of respondents putting their literature in a European context was surprisingly small considering the advent of 1992 and the single European market. Two authorities referred specifically to the European context in their literature, and two included French and German translations alongside the English version. Only three authorities included clip-out coupons for further information (two of these were freepost); the remainder relied on contact telephone numbers and addresses.

Table 5.15 **Types of promotional literature**

By numbers of local authorities	
General glossy brochures	20
Newsheet	10
Official guide	5
Specific details :	
Factual area profile	8
Information on financial assistance	8
Information on specific sites	5
Information in training & education	4
Information on specific sectors	3
Information on local growth coalitions	3
Business directory	1
Clip-off coupon for further information	3
Details of Business Information Service	2
Tourist information	15
Academic-style report	1
Reprint of Financial Times survey	1
European-related information	2
Foreign translations (French & German)	2

Source : free promotional literature Sample : 30

5.9 *Summary*

Although the questionnaires were not as effective at producing detailed information as was intended, their responses have produced some important findings. Three general findings emerge from the analysis :

i. The dominant role of Economic Development resources in the organisation of place marketing. This emerged clearly in the fields of allocation of finance, staff responsibility, overall objectives and departmental involvement. But it is only to be expected, bearing in mind that most local authorities consider place marketing to be more of an economic development policy than a tourism policy.

ii. The inclusion of place marketing within other disciplines rather than its establishment as a self-standing policy field. Place marketing has not yet carved out its own niche within the local authority organisational structure. It rarely receives its own budget or its own staff, invariably being under the wing of departments and staff with much wider responsibilities.

iii. The ad hoc nature of much place marketing policy. This is best illustrated by the incomplete and therefore deficient use of the three keystones of marketing in local authorities' promotional efforts. It is linked with the previous conclusion, and both may be due to the fact

that place marketing is still a very "immature" policy area.

5.10 *Notes*

- ¹ Somerset County Council
- ² Ipswich Borough Council

CHAPTER SIX

PLACE MARKETING INTO THE 1990s

6.1 *Introduction*

Several potential problems of place marketing have been mentioned in earlier chapters of the thesis. The aim of this chapter is to discuss these problems in more detail, and to highlight their interrelationships. The problems are of two sorts. Firstly, the problems *faced* by place marketing (for instance, its weak organisation in the majority of local authorities and the cuts in local authority spending enforced by central government); and secondly, the problems *led to* by place marketing. Readers should be aware of this distinction, even though the following discussion has not been subdivided correspondingly (the distinction is somewhat artificial in that problems may be best envisaged in groups, where not all the constituent problems are of the same type).

The next section reiterates the relevance of place marketing to planners. Then, the bulk of the chapter discusses the various problems and issues of place marketing in the near future, with possible solutions to these problems discussed as appropriate. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

6.2 *The planning context*

Statutory planning and place marketing have few, if any,

direct links. However, this is not to say that place marketing is irrelevant to planners. Planning increasingly operates outside the scope of its statutory negative, regulatory functions : most planning departments have a positive role of some kind in that they try to promote certain sites of development on certain sites. Obviously, some departments use more positive planning than others. Also, many commentators on the planning system argue for more emphasis on positive promotional planning (e.g. Nuffield Foundation, 1986), the use of planning as an enabling instrument that does not merely control "bad" development but also promotes "good" development in its efforts to secure an efficient pattern of land-use. Whilst place marketing is not the same as positive planning, both are similar in nature in that they are promotional policies : the difference lies in the degree to which the two disciplines use promotional and marketing techniques.

Planning is but one policy field in the quest to make urban areas more efficient and pleasant to live and work in. It must not regard itself as a discrete policy area, separate from local economic development policy, housing policy, and so on. All these policy fields are a part of a wider policy area which could be termed "urban policy". Each discipline within the umbrella of "urban policy" must be aware of the decisions made and strategies adopted by the other disciplines in order to provide a co-ordinated approach to resolving urban

problems. (The importance of co-ordination of place marketing is discussed in section 6.5 below; the same arguments apply here.) Therein lies the basic purpose of this thesis. It exists not just to provide a critique of place marketing for its own sake, but to inform urban policy-makers of the issues facing place marketing so that they are better educated in the field of "urban policy". The readers may tend to be planners - but the thesis should be of as much use to economic development officers, private-sector consultants involved in urban regeneration, civil servants responsible for formulating urban policy, etc. in that it informs them of the of another aspect of the broader discipline within which they work.

6.3 *The ad hoc nature of place marketing*

This issue emerged strongly in the questionnaire analysis contained in the previous chapter. It has three aspects to it : firstly, the lack of co-ordination and organisation of place marketing within local authorities. Secondly, the related lack of consensus amongst local authorities as to how best organise their place marketing. And thirdly, the out-of-date nature of much place marketing when compared to recent developments in other areas of spatial economic development policy (this criticism applies only to traditional "direct sell" place marketing rather than the more recent "indirect sell"

image building; nevertheless, it is a widespread criticism because of the ubiquitous usage of "direct sell" place marketing).

The lack of co-ordination and organisation of place marketing in local authorities was very apparent from questionnaire responses. Although Economic Development departments tended to have the leading role in place marketing, many other departments were also involved. Many authorities were unable to give specific budgets or staffing levels for place marketing. Individual responsibility lay with a wide variety of staff. These points reflect the failure of place marketing, as yet, to find a niche in the local authority organisational structure. Apart from the odd notable exception - Birmingham, Bradford, Glasgow - place marketing has tended to be slotted into local authorities wherever possible in the absence of a clear niche. However, this lack of co-ordination is not restricted just to place marketing. It applies to economic development as a whole, as Mills and Young (1986, p.141) observe :

"... it should be said that we have as yet no clear evidence as to what forms of organisation are really appropriate to a range of economic policy stances. It is, however, evident that the classic problems of local authority organisation - duplication, lack of co-ordination, slowness of the decision-making process - emerge with particular force in the economic sphere."

Mill and Young continue by arguing that a corporate approach is needed to tackle economic problems seriously. Their findings show that, in 1986, this had not been achieved in the field of local economic development.

Today, in 1990, it has certainly not been achieved in the narrower and younger policy field of place marketing.

Alongside this lack of organisation of place marketing within local authorities is a corresponding lack of consensus amongst local authorities about how best to implement this organisation. This is not a political lack of consensus, in the sense that different local authorities have adopted different strategies and organisational structures and cannot agree which are best for place marketing. As stated in the previous paragraph, most local authorities have not yet given place marketing a niche within their organisational structure. The lack of consensus therefore arises because they have not yet begun to discuss the issue amongst themselves. The absence of a formal means for dissemination of ideas amongst local authorities about place marketing policy does not help the situation. There is not even consensus as to which staff or which departments should be responsible for place marketing. Dissemination of ideas is linked to informal word-of-mouth discussions or occasional academic papers (see, for instance, Crouch, 1986; Fretter, 1990; and Ashworth and Voogd, 1988) which, undoubtedly, do not reach the eyes of every local authority officer involved in place marketing.

Just as there is an absence of basic knowledge of what constitutes good place marketing practise, so there is an absence of place marketing theory, as was discussed

in Chapter Two (section 2.3). The development of a set of theoretical concepts for place marketing is essential for the development of good practice : it can at least provide practitioners with useful insights to help them formulate their policies. The questionnaire results showed that only a very small proportion of respondents liaised with institutions of further education in their place marketing (three of a sample of 54; see Table 5.4), implying that place marketing theory has little impact on practice.

The third aspect of the *ad hoc* nature of place marketing is the dated character of much place marketing - or, at least, of much "direct sell" place marketing. As Burgess and Wood (1988, p.16) explain :

"Place advertising has been increasingly used over the last twenty years in attempts to attract firms from overseas and to capture a share of footloose investment by large UK companies. The era in which area-development policies could rely almost exclusively on such "mobile" investment has, however, long since past. As a consequence, greater emphasis has been placed upon encouraging locally-based regeneration..."

Both "direct sell" place marketing and regional policy are forms of spatially-concentrated economic development policy. Despite this, place marketing is very backward compared to regional policy : its policies are dated and, therefore, perhaps not as effective as they might otherwise be. There are two sides to this. Firstly, the focus of regional policy, throughout Europe, has swung away from attracting inward investment to encouraging local indigenous growth (Damesick and Wood, 1987; Yuill,

1990). Until the mid 1970s, regional policy in every Western European country concentrated on influencing the location of industrial investment, specifically attracting footloose mobile investment to those regions regarded as being most in need of economic development. With the onset of recession in the mid-1970s and the contraction of such mobile investment, regional policy became increasingly ineffective. Reformulation of regional policy occurred during the 1980s, and every Western European country now bases its policy on enabling poorer regions to achieve economic development by realisation of their own potential and resources. The attraction of inward investment now forms a minor part of European regional policies, it being deemed to be less cost-effective (and, indeed, less effective anyway in terms of producing sustainable development) than the encouragement of local indigenous growth. "Direct sell" place marketing, on the other hand, still focusses on the attraction of inward investment.

The other aspect of the out-of-date nature of place marketing is the message carried by most promotional literature : its persistent concern with quality of life and accessibility (judging from the thirty sets of promotional literature received for this research: see section 5.8). Again, regional policy - where it still tries to attract inward investment - has moved away from these traditional sales ploys to an emphasis on business infrastructure : information provision, technology

transfer, and so on (Yuill, 1990).

Place marketing's continued preference for traditional sales ploys is not only out-of-date, but also gives no sense of the commodity that it is really trying to market - i.e. place. The standardised nature of much "direct sell" place marketing was mentioned in section 3.2, where Burgess (1982) and Burgess and Wood (1988) were cited as identifying a uniformity of copywriting and the difficulty of creating a strong identity. Promotional messages are remarkably similar from place to place. The same is arguably true of "indirect sell" image-building as well, internationally as well as nationally, as Holcomb (1990a, p.7) identifies :

"The packaged image reflects the aesthetic tastes of postmodern society with its eclectic conformity, its fragmented palimpsest of past times and distant places, its commodified ethnic culture and sanitized classlessness. The city is rebuilt to conform to this increasingly international aesthetic so that although the beer is better in Glasgow, the chablis and spider plants are indistinguishable from those in Cleveland and Pittsburgh."

Place marketing, ironically, is promoting placelessness. Each local authority promotes itself as a central location, ideal to live and work, with an excellent cultural life and easy access to the countryside. Hardly any authorities focussed on their own unique attributes or their character. And the more standardization there is, as place marketers seek to give the market what they think it wants, the more localities will lose their individual characteristics and the more placeless they will become - perhaps not in reality, but in people's

images. Cooke (1988, p.17) envisages the emergence of a new geography as a result. He sees ...

"*Place marketing* (sic) as an attempt to create a New Geography - "Visit Hull's museums, Wigan has no peer, Glasgow's Miles Better, I love New York, The Swindon Effect..." - to bring in the tourist coachloads and ensure inward investors know all about Cwmbran's centrality, Telford's communications, and everywhere's links with everywhere else."

Such place marketing ignores the unique aspects of place. the commodity which it really should be trying to market. As Cheshire (1988, p.96) says :

"All cities are different. They have particular locations, particular topographies, a particular history and inheritance and particular economic functions. They are expressions of specific regional and national societies and cultures."

To return to the issue of the *ad hoc* nature of place marketing : a significant reason for this is undoubtedly the discipline's immaturity. It has not yet had time to find its feet, to develop theories, accepted best practises and so on. Nevertheless, it does need to develop these as soon as possible in order to maximise policy effectiveness and minimise any wastage of limited local authority resources. Some means of dissemination of place marketing policy and practice is needed ; conferences for practitioners and more articles in journals are needed (not only in academic journals such as "Local Government Studies" but also in in the larger circulation journals like "Local Government Chronicle"). At present, local authorities are left very much to their own devices in developing place marketing policies and

strategies. Better dissemination of ideas would reduce the amount of time spent by local authorities discussing how to organise place marketing and allow them to develop and implement policy itself. This is where academic work and the development of a body of theory come in : theoretical work, if disseminated properly, could provide invaluable information for policymakers, both in producing effective ways of place marketing and in acting as an independent critic.

At the same time as improvements in the dissemination of information on the practice and theory of place marketing are needed, so is more actual information in these fields. It is evident from the questionnaire research that most local authorities have not organised their place marketing effectively as yet : the wide variety of posts responsible for place marketing in local authorities illustrates this (see Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.5). Local authorities are clearly unsure of the best way to fit place marketing. More ideas, and better dissemination of them, would be a major contribution to improving the situation.

6.4 *The type of economic development achieved*

Chapter Two clearly identified place marketing as a market-led economic development policy. Section 2.4 discussed at length the implications of market-led economic development, including the type of economic

development achieved. The objective of market-led policies is economic growth : the creation of wealth and the stimulation of investment. The aim is not necessarily to create jobs, although it is believed by policy-makers that the benefits of economic growth will trickle down through the economy to reach those in need - the unemployed, the low-paid, and so on. Critics would argue that this is economic growth for its own sake because the belief that its benefits will trickle down to those in need is misfounded ; they would advocate a local economic development policy which is designed to directly benefit those in need, rather than allow the benefits to accrue to the investors attracted by place marketing. This begs the following question : who benefits from place marketing ? No answer will be given here : it is up to the reader to make up his or her own mind. The answer is entirely political, as should be apparent from the content of this paragraph.

There is one other important issue related to the type of economic development achieved by a market-led policy like place marketing. Meyer and Boyle (1990) argue that market-led local economic development policies seek to maximise economic growth within a given set of local conditions, achieving as much as is possible within existing external and local conditions. They call this "constrained maximisation". Policy does not try to adapt to the market - it cannot do, since it is market-led - but has to conform to its constraints. (Meyer and Boyle

specifically discuss growth coalitions but, as argued in section 2.4 above, the points made apply equally to other forms of market-led economic development policy as well.) "Constrained maximisation" produces inherent long-term problems, related to reductions in local diversity and local autonomy as economic development is guided by and subservient to the market. Local diversity is reduced in terms of land-use, economic activity and economic development policies. Local autonomy is reduced as the local economy is consciously subordinated to the demands of non-local capital in order to attract a maximum flow of new investment. Meyer and Boyle argue that reduced diversity and autonomy together lead to increased instability as the capacity of the local economy to adjust to changing external conditions falls over time.

The problems discussed in the previous paragraphs are problems arising from the use of place marketing, rather than problems encountered by it. As such, prescriptive solutions cannot be proposed as was the case for the problems related to place marketing's *ad hoc* nature. Those were problems encountered by place marketing that could be dealt with relatively easily. The problems discussed in this section are inherent in place marketing ; they are embodied in its nature. Any local authority which adopts place marketing must have made the (political) decision that these problems are outweighed by the benefits deriving from place marketing.

The goal of local authority place marketing is to attract inward investment. Local authorities are trying to entice firms to move or to develop further in particular areas. The problem is that most of this activity is self-defeating because authorities are simply competing amongst themselves for a dwindling market of footloose companies (Harford, 1979). They are not creating new employment, merely redistributing what already exists. Hence the term "zero-sum game". Moreover, as long as some local authorities undertake such a policy then all are under pressure to do so, or take the risk of being outmanoeuvred by others (Cochrane, 1986). This came out very clearly in the questionnaire research; it was noted in section 5.6 that the need to match other local authorities' involvement was a common reason for involvement in place marketing. The situation has probably gone further down the line in the USA where place marketing has a longer history :

"In the US...place marketing has become like tax abatements - every place has to do it, even though it hardly offers a locational advantage any longer. It is...a zero-sum game. But you lose if you don't play." (Holcomb, 1990b)

The futility of the zero-sum game, and of the necessity for local authorities to join in against their will and for redistributive rather than creative ends, is a consequence of the increasingly competitive environment in which place marketing operates (and contributes to).

This more competitive environment affects both the private and the public sectors. Place marketing is one aspect of increased competition in the public sector. It is indicative of the increasing competition forced upon localities in other areas - economic, social and political. Rosie (1990) writes of the relationships between what he calls the four Scottish "city-states" : Duntay (Dundee and Tayside), Aberampian (Aberdeen and Grampian), Edinthian (Edinburgh and Lothian) and Glasclyde (Glasgow and Strathclyde). Whilst Rosie's concept of Scotland dominated by city-states is controversial, it is the competition between them identified by him that is most interesting :

"...just as fourteenth-century Florence, Milan, Genoa, Venice and Rome squabbled among themselves, so do their twentieth-century Scottish counterparts. It is plain, for example, that Glasclyde envies Edinthian's status as the Scottish capital, while the capital resents Glasclyde's ability to drum up international publicity. Duntay is jealous of the way its neighbour to the north swallows most of the benefits on North Sea oil, while Aberampian is notoriously fearful of the political clout of Edinthian and Glasclyde (without which, it says, the headquarters of Britoil would never have gone to Glasgow). All three smaller city states bridle at what they regard as the cultural imperialism of Glasclyde."

Rosie captures the mood of the underlying competition and rivalry between the city-states very well. Competition between cities is not new; but there does appear to be a different tone to it now than in earlier times, as Davies (1989, p.22) identifies :

"...to reduce Newcastle to presenting itself as a bigger and better loss-leader than Gateshead can scarcely be good for the country. There has, of course, always been proud, vigorous and often

boastful competition between neighbouring local authorities : every Victorian city produced its lists of paved streets and miles of drainage : but these were boasts based on genuine local achievement, on sensibly optimistic assumptions about the future, and a sense of generosity towards neighbour and hinterland."

A recent feature series in the "Glasgow Herald" entitled "Cities at the crossroads" (3 March to 8 March 1990) ran a two-page feature on each of Scotland's four cities, each looking at what the future held for that particular city. The reader was left in no doubt that those involved - journalists and public & private sector civic leaders - saw the cities' future as depending upon how they measured up to their competition. The assumption throughout is that a buoyant future for the city is reliant upon beating the competition. David Mowat, Chief Executive of Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, is quoted as saying :

"So far as Edinburgh is concerned, it is essential that the city gets into that league of international cities which have the resources and technical & general infrastructure to be rated alongside the Berlins, the Frankfurts, the Amsterdams and the Milans."
(Glasgow Herald, 1990c)

The Chief Executive of the new local enterprise company in Aberdeen, Ian Wood, is even more direct :

"The next two or three years are going to be critical because we are either going to jump some of the fences and become truly established internationally or we are going to become an also-ran."
(Glasgow Herald, 1990d)

Interestingly, these representatives of Edinburgh and Aberdeen both regard their competition as being European rather than just national. Changes in Europe in

the recent past and the near future mean that a European perspective will be vital if places are to be competitive. The appearance of the single EEC market in 1992 will mean that the barriers to competition within the EEC will be dismantled one stage further. Economic differences between places will become less significant. Both the size of markets available to place marketeers and the competition between them will increase accordingly. Meanwhile, the spread of Western-style democracy through Eastern Europe will probably result in an expansion of the European trading blocks and therefore further growth in markets and competition.

The increased competition between places that is fostered by place marketing is, like the type of development produced by place marketing (section 6.3), a direct consequence of its market-led nature. Increased competition between places is wasteful of resources, especially as so many local authorities feel that they are forced to compete when they would rather use their resources elsewhere. And not only is increasing competition wasteful, but it is inequitous. It is not that more prosperous localities have an unfair advantage because they can more easily afford place marketing when, arguably, they have less need of its benefits than other areas. The questionnaire research showed that local authorities in the prosperous south-east and East Anglia are less likely to use place marketing anyway. They often regard the role of their economic development policy as being to redistribute the benefits of existing economic

growth more equitably rather than to attract further growth. Rather, it is the larger urban authorities who wield greater financial and political power than smaller authorities, who can afford to pump more money into place marketing - the Birminghams and the Glasgows. Other localities may be as much in need of the benefits which place marketing could bring them, but a tighter drawing of local authority boundaries might mean that they do not have the resources to compete against the larger authorities.

Although the wastefulness of resources and inequity produced by competition are inherent in place marketing (because competition is inherent in place marketing) they could be ameliorated if so desired. As with the problems of lack of organisation of local authority place marketing, a co-ordinating body could help to reduce any problems of wastefulness and inequity. This separate body would oversee the spatial co-ordination of place marketing activities. Wastefulness could be reduced by ensuring that, for instance, two adjacent localities do not compete directly against each other : obviously, both could still compete, but the overseeing body would ensure that the marketing strategies of the two were complementary rather than conflicting. Such conflict does exist - witness the quote from Davies (1989) in the previous section regarding the futile conflict between Newcastle and Gateshead over shopping centres and the like, all of it in the political interest rather than the

public interest. Any spatial inequities in place marketing could be eased by the imposition of a spending limit per head of local authority population. However, any spending limits on local authorities would only be partially effective since an increasing amount of place marketing expenditure comes from the private sector (see the following section). Any attempts to limit private sector spending would be politically unacceptable.

6.6 *Local authorities' effectiveness in competition*

If place marketing is adopted as a means of local economic development, increased competition between local authorities must be accepted. It could be mediated by an overseeing body to try and attain complementarity rather than conflict, but the competition would always exist. But just how effective can local authorities be in competition? The erosion of local authority powers in the 1980s (see section 2.2.2) must raise doubts.

Local authorities' potential effectiveness in place marketing has been reduced by both a weakening of their powers in the specific field of promotions and by their reduced spending power through continual cuts in income. The weakening of powers specifically for promotion followed the 1981 Stoddart Report and the 1988 Widdicombe Report, which resulted in the Local Government and Planning Act (Scotland) 1982 and the Local Government and Housing Act 1989 respectively. The effects on place

marketing are, however, minimal (Hayton, 1989, 1990). The sections of the 1989 Act related to promotional activity were concerned with reducing political promotions from local authorities - local authority newspapers and radio stations, for example, which could be politically influencing. The scope of the restriction itself is fairly minor : it restricts the foreign trade fair delegation activities of Scottish District Councils, so that the attraction of inward investment from abroad is now the responsibility of Localities in Scotland and the Regional Councils. However, the rationale behind the legislation was to avoid wasteful duplication of resources, and the legislation therefore reflects the realisation by central government at an early date that uncontrolled place marketing could lead to wasteful competitive practises.

A more important influence on local government's effectiveness in competition than specific legislative restrictions is the general reduction in local government finance enforced by central government in the 1980s. Details of the cutbacks and the reasoning behind them were explained in section 2.2.2 ; basically, central government is trying to transfer local power from the hands of local government to the local private sector who, it believes, will be more efficient in providing many of the services and implementing many of the policies which were previously the responsibility of local government.

How effective can local authorities' competition be in the face of continuing cutbacks in their powers ? Promotion is a multi-million pound business in the private sector, and because it is predominantly the private sector that place marketing is trying to attract one would expect that increasingly large sums will be spent by place marketers as they compete with each other to attract investment. An indication of expenditure in just one form of private sector marketing and image building, corporate entertainment (which has only taken off in the UK in the last five years or so), can be gleaned from this passage :

" "Turnover in the business is up to £500 million a year", says Wakeley [spokesman for a corporate entertainment company]. "Companies are putting aside major sums every year to budget for it." ...The moral blackmail implicit in love-bombing your bank manager or potential customer with a champagne-sodden day at Henley, Ascot or Cowes is hard to resist. If that doesn't soften them up, you could hit them with a hot-air ballooning trip, a celebrity-hosted banquet at a stately home, a turn in a rally car or a themed adventure experience dressed up as a pirate or a Chicago gangster." (Chappell, 1989, p.10)

Whilst expenditure in the public sector has not yet soared to these proportions, it is likely to increase as competition between local authorities intensifies.

A combination of cutbacks in local authority finance and increasingly competitive place marketing is therefore resulting in greater involvement of the private sector in place marketing (and other aspects of local economic development), hence the increasing number of growth coalitions identified in Chapter Two. Whilst the main

reason for private sector involvement may be political, the increasing cost and sophistication of place marketing is forcing local authorities into entering into growth coalitions simply because they themselves do not have the resources. The consequences of this were discussed in section 2.4 : development which is in the interests of business rather than the general public, and increasing non-accountability.

The only way to avoid these problems is to maintain responsibility for place marketing within local authorities. But this will occur only if local government has sufficient resources to undertake effective place marketing. At the moment only the largest authorities appear to have sufficient resources, although with local government powers being continually weakened they may soon find themselves lacking in resources as well. Without sufficient resources, local authorities have to grant the private sector decision-making powers, and public accountability is slashed at a stroke.

6.7 *The necessity of changing attitudes*

If local authorities are to adopt effective place marketing, they will need not only more co-ordination of different places' activities, and the creation and improved dissemination of information on the theory and practice of place marketing, but attitudes within local authorities must also be changed. As a couple of

questionnaire respondents commented, every local authority employee or member must be regarded as a place marketer if place marketing is to be successful. This could be taken further : it could be argued that every inhabitant of the local authority area who talks to or is seen by outsiders is a potential place marketer, in that they contribute to outsiders' image of the locality. But a line has to be drawn somewhere, otherwise place marketing could become the guiding principle behind all local authority activities. Ashworth (1990a) argues that if place marketing is to be truly effective, this must be the case - i.e. place marketing must dictate the management philosophy of the local authority. To quote :

"Market planning becomes an alternative philosophy of place management, that is a way of looking at cities, their functions, activities and attributes in relation to the actual and political demands made upon them by user groups, and thus a new way of managing this relationship." (p.1)

Ashworth believes that *all* local authority services exist within markets, or can be seen as such (1990b). and therefore the entire local authority can be run on marketing principles. As with the question of who benefits from place marketing, we are on political ground here again : one person may see it as advantageous to regard all services as existing within markets (and thus to adopt a marketing strategy for the entire authority), another may not. The decision is political. The important point is that once marketing is adopted, it may have a tendency to infiltrate management philosophy in order to be more effective, and thus change the policy-making

basis of perhaps the entire local authority. The decision of whether or not to employ place marketing as a major tool of local economic development can therefore have far-reaching implications.

Not only would all local authority policy be subject to the constraints of market-led policy discussed in sections 2.4 and 6.4 - i.e. concern for overtly economic rather than social objectives - but it would be subject to changes in the requirements of the market. The market changes over time : if localities do not adapt to follow the new fashions as they appear, they will be left out in the cold. A market-led local authority will only be successful for as long as it provides what the market wants. Jenkins (1990) notes that Glasgow has provided what the market has wanted in the 1980s, but cautions that the city must respond to changes in the market :

"...my warning is that fashion by its very nature is a fickle jade. Glasgow has been tremendously a *la mode* for the past five years. But *la mode*, by its very nature cannot remain constant... Having caught and mounted the horse of fashion in the early eighties, and dashinglly ridden it for seven years or so. Glasgow must be ready for its vagaries soon to take the horse veering off in another direction."

Local authorities which are not responsive to these changes in direction may come a-cropper : for them market-led policy will not have been a success but, arguably, an expensive mistake. Other local authorities may be more able to follow the changes in direction and continue to provide what the market wants. But does that mean that their market-led policy is successful ? It must be remembered that the cost of keeping up with

market fashions may be very high, in terms of having the right infrastructure, the right image, and so on. The answer to the question of whether policy is successful or not necessitates a comparison of the costs of following the market and the benefits derived from the market-led policy - a difficult, if not impossible, task.

6.8 *Conclusions*

Place marketing is firmly on the local economic development policy agenda, and in the present political and economic climate it will undoubtedly increase in importance (a comment made by the vast majority of questionnaire respondents). For it to be more effective, local authorities need to integrate place marketing into their management structure more fully - at present it sits uncomfortably in a variety of positions within the organisational structure. It needs to find a niche for itself. Also, more debate and dissemination of ideas concerning both the theory and practise of place marketing is needed.

A carefully-constructed place marketing strategy, especially one involving image-building, can produce real benefits for a locality. They may be hard to quantify, but they are nonetheless there. The images of a locality as held by outsiders can be dramatically improved, the pride and confidence of local inhabitants can be strengthened, and investment may flow in from outwith the

area as the new images become popularly accepted - provided that the images are based on real changes, not just hype.

Place marketing does, however, have its limitations. It must not be thought of as a panacea for economic malaise. Its market-led nature means that the economic benefits may not necessarily trickle down to those most in need. The competition that it engenders between places may prove costly and conflicting unless some sort of co-ordinating body is established to oversee different localities' efforts. These deficiencies must be recognised by those who choose to adopt it as a means of local economic development. Most importantly, place marketing must operate within a wider economic development strategy, complemented by other policies that have different advantages and deficiencies - job training, the encouragement of indigenous growth, and so on. Place marketing can produce real benefits : but, on its own, it cannot form the basis for healthy, sustainable economic development.

APPENDIX ONE

QUESTIONNAIRE PACKAGE

The questionnaire package consisted of :

One covering letter (sample overleaf)

One questionnaire (sample overleaf)

One stamped, typed addressed envelope (First Class).

Each package was sent out by First Class post in a typed addressed 9" x 7" envelope to the Chief Executive of each Council.



UNIVERSITY • OF STRATHCLYDE

The Chief Executive
Strathclyde Regional Council
20 India Street
Glasgow

Robin M Boyle, DipTP MSc MRTPI
Head of Department
Urlan A Wannop, MA MCD MRTPI
Professor of Urban and Regional Planning

Centre for Planning

50 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XN
Tel: 041-552 4400 Ext 3906
Telex: 77472 (UNSLIB G) Fax: 041-552 0775

9 January 1990

Dear Sir / Madam,

THE ORGANISATION OF "PLACE MARKETING" AND IMAGE BUILDING ACTIVITIES IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES

As part of the M.Sc. course in Urban and Regional Planning in the Centre for Planning I am preparing a thesis on the above topic. The "image" of towns and cities seems to be increasingly important in the competitive environment of the 1990s. It is necessary for local authorities to go out and promote themselves - to "sell" their towns and cities to the market. The purpose of this research is to discover to what extent local authorities have embraced such "place marketing" - including activities such as image building, image promotion and advertising their locality. "Place marketing" activities are still in their formative years and many different approaches are emerging. The aim of this research is to provide a useful evaluation of these differing approaches.

The success of the research depends on a high rate of response to the attached questionnaire from local authorities. I would therefore be very grateful if you could find time to complete it. The questionnaire should not take long to fill in - it is as short as possible and the responses need a minimum of writing. The work is purely for educational purposes and I will protect the confidentiality of individual responses. The thesis will be available for consultation from the Centre for Planning after July 1990.

If the survey raises any problems please do not hesitate to contact me.

The completed questionnaire should be returned to me using the enclosed stamped addressed envelope. I would be pleased if you could return it by 31 January 1990. I trust that you will be able to assist me and look forward to receiving your reply.

Yours faithfully,

Nicholas Wright
Postgraduate Student. Urban and Regional Planning

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY :

"PLACE MARKETING" AND IMAGE BUILDING IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Please return to : Mr N. Wright
Centre for Planning
Marland House
University of Strathclyde
GLASGOW G1 1XN

Where a written response is required it will be indicated. Most answers involve either tick-boxes or yes / no answers - all you need do is tick a box or delete as appropriate.

All responses will be treated in the strictest confidence.

1 Name of local authority :

2 Name and position of officer completing questionnaire :

Your Council's promotional activities

3 Please indicate in the table what "place marketing" / image building activities you support to promote your area :

	Yes	No
Free promotional literature	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advertising campaigns:		
Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Magazines / periodicals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Posters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Advertising slogans (e.g. "Glasgow's Miles Better")	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Individual events to promote your town or city:		
Historical anniversaries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sporting events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arts festivals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other cultural events (e.g. garden festivals)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Delegations to trade fairs to attract investment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arranging trips for business investors to visit your locality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Establishment of a specific unit or subsidiary organisation to promote your locality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The objectives of your promotional activities

4 What are the objectives of your place marketing / image building activities ?

	Primary objective	Secondary objective
To stimulate...		
...office investment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...factory investment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...tourism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...conventions and conferences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...general interest and to raise public awareness of your area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...others (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5 Why was it felt necessary to become involved in place marketing / image building ?

Your local authority's approach to promoting its locality

6 Did you undertake market research before mounting the promotional campaign ?

Yes / No

7 Do you have target market(s) ? (Please name them)

Yes / No

8 Do you monitor your promotional activities ?

Yes / No

The organisation of promotional work in your local authority:

9 What was the "place marketing" / promotional budget in the financial year 1988/89 ?

£

10 From which budget allocation(s) does this finance come from ?

11 How many staff are involved in "place marketing" / image building in your local authority ?

12 Which member of staff is responsible for "place marketing" / image building activities ?

13 What training does that person have in this field ?

Departmental involvement

14 Which departments of your local authority are involved in place marketing / image building ?

	Leading role	Involved
Chief Executive's / Town Clerk's	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Economic Development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Marketing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Property / Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public Relations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recreation / Leisure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tourism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(If a specific unit or section of a department is responsible for place marketing / image building within that department, please name it.)

15 What is the relative importance of "place marketing" / image building compared to other aspects of economic development policy ? Is it regarded as a vital part of the Council's economic development strategy or as a means of attracting tourists ?

16 How has your approach to place marketing / image building changed since it was first introduced ?

LIAISON WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

17 Does your local authority co-operate with and work alongside other public sector bodies to improve your locality's image ? (Please name them)

Yes / No

18 Does your local authority co-operate with and work alongside private sector organisations ?

(Please name them)

Yes / No

19 Who is responsible for "place marketing" / image building / promotional activities in your local authority area ?

THE FUTURE FOR PLACE MARKETING / IMAGE BUILDING ?

If you have any thoughts on the following issues, I would be very grateful if you could write a few words in the space below - any comments will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Can promotional efforts like image building and "place marketing" make a valid contribution to the development of your local authority area ?

What does the future hold for image building, "place marketing" and similar promotional efforts by local authorities ?

Have local authority attitudes to "place marketing", image building and so on changed in the 1980s ?

If you have any relevant official literature, I would appreciate it if you could enclose it with the completed questionnaire.

Thank you for your assistance and co-operation. Please return the completed questionnaire to me by 29 January 1990.

APPENDIX TWO

LOCAL AUTHORITIES INVOLVED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Local authorities which returned completed questionnaires are indicated by an asterisk.

Scotland : 33

Regions : 9

Borders

*Central

*Dumfries & Galloway

*Fife

Grampian

*Highland

Lothian

*Strathclyde

Tayside

Islands : 3

*Orkney

*Shetland

Western Isles

Districts : 21

Aberdeen

Clydebank

*Cumbernauld & Kilsyth

Cunninghame

*Dundee

*Dunfermline

*East Kilbride

*Edinburgh

*Falkirk

*Glasgow

*Hamilton

*Inverclyde

*Inverness

Kilmarnock & Loudoun

*Kirkcaldy

Kyle & Carrick

Monklands

*Motherwell

*Perth & Kinross

*Renfrew

Stirling

England : 78

Counties : 37

Avon

*Bedfordshire

*Berkshire

*Buckinghamshire

*Cambridgeshire

*Cheshire

*Cleveland

*Cornwall

*Cumbria

*Derbyshire

Devon

*Dorset

Durham

*East Sussex

Essex

Gloucestershire

Hampshire

*Hereford & Worcester

*Hertfordshire

Humberside

Isle of Wight

*Kent

Lancashire

*Leicestershire

Lincolnshire

Norfolk

Northamptonshire

*Northumberland

North Yorkshire

Nottinghamshire

*Oxfordshire

*Shropshire

*Somerset

Staffordshire

*Suffolk

*Surrey

*Warwickshire

West Sussex

*Wiltshire

Metropolitan Districts : 20

Barnsley
*Birmingham
Bolton
*Bradford
*Coventry
Dudley
*Gateshead
Leeds
Liverpool
*Manchester
*Newcastle
*St Helens
Salford
Sefton
*Sheffield
Stockport
*Trafford
*Wigan
*Wirral
*Wolverhampton

Wales : 11

Counties : 8

Clwyd
*Dyfed
*Gwent
Gwynedd
*Mid-Glamorgan
Powys
South Glamorgan
West Glamorgan

Districts : 3

*Cardiff
*Newport
*Swansea

Non-metropolitan districts : 21

Bournemouth
Bristol
*Carlisle
Chester
*Derby
*Exeter
*Hull
*Ipswich
Lancaster
Leicester
*Middlesbrough
Norwich
Nottingham
*Plymouth
*Portsmouth
*Preston
*Reading
Salisbury
Southampton
Southend
*Stoke

APPENDIX THREE

PROBLEMS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

A3.1 Introduction

The main problems of the questionnaire design and analysis relate to the ability, or lack of it, to compare responses. As stated in Chapter Four, the ability to *compare* the responses of the different local authorities was essential. Some questions elicited responses which were very easy to analyse and compare on a quantitative basis, whereas others produced responses in the form of comments which could only be compared in general terms. Although the use of different types of questions (tick-box, open ended, etc) meant that this was only to be expected, a few of the responses were not as easily comparable as was anticipated.

For simplicity's sake, this section has been subdivided into four parts. Each part relates to the problems associated with a different type of question on the survey : four types of question were used, and each had its own drawbacks. Examples are drawn from the questionnaire analysis where necessary, but more detailed discussion of the results is left to Chapter Five.

A3.2 Tick-box questions

(This includes questions which demand a 'yes/no' response). Comparison of these responses was relatively

straightforward - by simply tabulating the responses in one large matrix which could then be used for analysis. Question 3 (promotional activities) for instance asked respondents to tick 'yes' or 'no' to each of a list of possible promotional activities undertaken by their local authority.

Even so, an element of subjectivity could creep into this type of question. Question 14 (departmental involvement) asked which departments have a "leading role" and which are involved in place marketing. The terms "leading role" and "involved" were not defined, and could be taken to have slightly different meanings. For instance, one respondent might think that only one department could possess a leading role, whilst another might think that several departments could at once. This means that responses are not necessarily *directly* comparable.

A3.3 *Open-ended questions which asked for facts*

These questions were the most problematic of all - because the difficulties that arose were not anticipated. Difficulties arose because some questions did not ask for information that was available in the form requested. Question 7 asked local authorities to specify the target markets of their promotional campaign. Classification of responses for comparative purposes was very difficult because some respondents were more specific about their

target markets than others ; one local authority might say "inward investment", another might say "inward investment in biomedical engineering, especially from the USA". These differences may reflect differing perceptions of targeting within local authorities.

Question 9 (financial resources) is perhaps the best illustration of asking for information in a form not available. It asked for the size of the local authority's place marketing / image building budget in 1988/89. The figures given are, basically, incomparable. Some respondents gave the *total* expenditure of the departments involved ; if these were the Planning, Chief Executive's and Economic Development Departments. then the figure given would obviously be considerably greater than the sum devoted specifically to place marketing. Other respondents gave the size of the budget which related specifically to place marketing. Likewise, some authorities included salaries in their figure ; others did not. The biggest difficulty was that most respondents did not state exactly what the figure included, so there was no way of knowing if direct comparisons would be valid.

The root of the problem is that most local authorities do not have a specific budget for place marketing. Indeed, 12% (sample:67) respondents declined to supply a figure because (as they each stated) they had no specific budget. Nevertheless, the question was not a waste of space. The inability of local authorities to

supply a specific figure for place marketing / image building does demonstrate that place marketing is not as yet important enough to warrant its own budget allocation in most local authorities.

Question 11 (number of staff) produced problems of comparability similar to those of Question 9. Some authorities specified the total number of staff involved, even if only for a couple of hours a week; others counted only full-time professionals (as opposed to support staff). This would not have mattered too much if each respondent had stated exactly what the involvement of the staff included in the total was. As in the case of budgets discussed above, only a very few respondents were so specific : virtually all respondents could only put a number of staff without being able to specify their degree of involvement. There was no way of knowing if the staff were part-time or full-time, support staff or fully trained professionals.

However, not all of this second type of question suffered from these disadvantages. Question 10 (budget allocations) for example was simple and straightforward, and produced responses which could be directly compared.

A3.4 *Open-ended question which asked for comments*

Unlike the open-ended factual type of questions just discussed, the difficulties in analysing the third type of responses were no greater than anticipated. From the

outset, accurate comparisons were not expected : the infinite variety of policy angles adopted by local authorities meant that any policy comparisons would be generalistic.

Although there is an infinite variety of possible policy angles, superficially different policies are often merely variations on the same basic themes. Question 15 (importance attached to place marketing) illustrates this clearly. The exact wording of the question was :

"What is the relative importance of place marketing / image building compared to other aspects of economic development policy ? Is it regarded as a vital part of the Council's economic development strategy or as a means of attracting tourists ?"

The responses to this were very easily classified and allowed easy comparison (they are given in Chapter Five, section 5.6). A more open-ended question was Question 16, which asked : "How has your approach to place marketing / image building changed since it was first introduced ?". It was surprisingly easy to classify the responses, as the results show (see Chapter Five).

It must be remembered that these typologies are very generalised and that the percentages given are not necessarily accurate. Their purpose is to indicate trends rather than form the basis of a statistical analysis.

A3.5 *Additional comments*

The last part of the questionnaire attempted to stimulate comments from the respondent regarding the usefulness of place marketing. how its role has changed in recent

years, and how it might change in the future. Three questions were posed to identify issues and to prompt comments; plenty of space was left below for those comments. The response rate (or "comment rate") was better than expected (36 % of the whole sample). Unfortunately, the questions were often treated as only needing one-word answers - just what was trying to be avoided. Better wording of the questions would have helped. For instance, of the responses to the question "Can promotional efforts like image building and place marketing make a valid contribution to the development of your local authority area ?", only 73% (sample: 45) were comments. The rest were one word answers, all of them "yes". Simple rewording of the question might have raised the percentage of comments to 100%.

A3.6 Summary

The prime objective of the questionnaire survey was to obtain as high a response rate as possible in order to produce large sample sizes from which valid generalisations could be made. Unfortunately this objective itself resulted in some of the responses being uncomparable and therefore useless in creating such generalisations, because the questions were often too short to extract sufficient detail. As discussed in section 4.3, the questionnaire design was a balance between long and complex (giving more detailed responses)

and short and simple (giving a higher response rate). It was decided to maximise the response rate, so simplicity and ease of response became the guiding principles of the questionnaire design. If design had veered towards a longer questionnaire and more detailed responses, it would have been possible to find out more more accurate information about staffing levels and financial resources - but the lower response rate would have meant that a national picture of the state of place marketing could not have been built up.

The main problem of the chosen questionnaire design was that some questions asked for information that was not available in the format requested. The questionnaire treated place marketing / image building as a discrete subject area, but it was apparent that most local authorities do not adopt this approach. For them, it overlaps other policy areas without having a separate identity of its own ; hence the problems experienced when asking for the size of the place marketing / image building budget and the number of staff involved.

A pilot survey might have been useful in avoiding these problems (and also in improving the wording of specific questions). But, as mentioned earlier in this appendix, such questions as those concerning budgets and staff were by no means useless : the absence of direct answers reflects the current state of place marketing in local authorities.

REFERENCES

- Ashworth, G. (1990a)
"Can places be sold ?"
Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Glasgow
- Ashworth, G. (1990b)
Personal communication, 9 February 1990
- Ashworth, G. and Goodall, B. (1988)
"Tourist images : marketing considerations" in
"Marketing in the tourism industry" ed. B. Goodall and G. Ashworth, Croom Helm : London
- Ashworth, G. and Voogd, H. (1988)
"Marketing the city : concepts, processes and Dutch applications" Town Planning Review 59 (1) 65-79
- Barnekov, T. Boyle, R. and Rich, D. (1989)
"Privatism and urban policy in Britain and the United States" Oxford University Press : Oxford
- Bath, D. (1986)
"Marketing towns and cities : a case study of Peterborough" The Planner 73 (2) 89-93
- Beaumont, R. (1985)
"Garden festivals as a means of urban regeneration"
Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts May 1985 406-421
- Blackadder, A. (1985)
"The Shetland approach to producing a local tourism development strategy" Planning Exchange Paper 22 : Strategies and Opportunities for Tourism Development
- Boyle, R. (1988)
"Glasgow's growth pains"
New Society 8 January 1988. 83 (1306) 15-17
- Boyle, R. (1989)
"Partnership in practise"
Local Government Studies ()
- Brindley, T., Rydin, Y. and Stoker, G. (1989)
"Remaking planning : the politics of urban change in the Thatcher years" Unwin Hyman : London
- Burgess, J. (1982)
"Selling places : environmental images for the executive"
Regional Studies 16 (1) 1-17

Burgess, J. and Wood, P. (1988)
"Decoding docklands : place marketing and decision making strategies for the small firm" in "Qualitative methods in human geography" ed. J.Eyles and D.M.Smith, Polity Press : Cambridge

Camina, M. M. (1974)
"Local authorities and the attraction of industry"
Progress in Planning 3 (2) 83-182

Chappell, P. (1989)
"Business and pleasure"
New Statesman and Society 4 August, 2 (61) 9-11

Cheshire, P. (1988)
"Urban revival in sight : the end is where we start from ?" Local Economy 3 (2) 96-108

Clark, D.F. (1986)
"Place marketing - marketing for investment"
Unpublished MSc thesis, Centre for Planning, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

Clarke, A. (1986a)
"Local authority planners of frustrated tourism marketeers ?" The Planner 72 (5) 23-26

Clarke, A. (1986b)
"Tourism marketing in local authorities"
Local Government Policy Making 13 (3) 66-71

Cochrane, A. (1986)
"Local employment initiatives : towards a new municipal socialism ?" in Lawless, P. & Raban, C. (eds) "The contemporary British city" Harper and Row : London

Collins, J. Murray (1988)
"Glasgow's changing image as a factor in attracting footloose investment to the city" Unpublished MPhil thesis, Dept of Town and Regional Planning, University of Glasgow

Cooke, P. (1988)
"The changing city state"
New Society 15 April 1988. 84 (1320) 16-18

Cooke, P. (1989)
"Localities : the changing face of urban Britain"
Unwin Hyman : London

Crouch, S. (1986)
"Marketing can improve your economic health - the Portsmouth experience" Local Government Policy Making 13 (1) 75-79

- Damesick, P. and Wood, P. (eds)(1987)
 "Regional problems, problem regions and public policy"
 Oxford University Press : Oxford
- Davies, J.G. (1989)
 "From municipal socialism to ... municipal capitalism ?"
Local Government Studies 14 (2) 19-22
- Dicken, P. (1986)
 "Global shift : industrial change in a turbulent world"
 Harper and Row : London
- Downer, P. (1990)
 Personal communication, January 1990
- Downing, M. (1988)
 "Garden festivals and their uses"
Planning Outlook 31 (1) 4-6
- Fenn, E. (1983)
 "Launching a local authority district into the tourism market"
Local Government Policy Making 9 (3) 33-37
- Forester, T. (1979)
 "The great jobs hunt : trying to beggar regional neighbours"
New Society 3 May 1979. 48 (865) 252-255
- Fothergill, S. (1988)
 "Spiralling south : the geography of jobs in Thatcher's Britain"
Times Educational Supplement 1 April, p.32
- Fothergill, S. (1989)
 "The geography of jobs in Thatcher's Britain"
The Planner 75 (2) 25-27
- Fretter, A. (1990)
 "Marketing a city in transition"
 Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Glasgow
- Glasgow District Council (1989)
 "Perceptions of Glasgow as an inward investment location"
 Glasgow District Council
- Glasgow Herald (1990a)
 Letter to the editor : "Peripheral decline"
 8 March, p.12
- Glasgow Herald (1990b)
 "Glasgow : But it still has miles to go" Glasgow Herald
 8 March, p.9
- Glasgow Herald (1990c)
 "Edinburgh : A vision of international status"
Glasgow Herald 5 March, p.7

- Glasgow Herald (1990d)
 "Aberdeen : Future challenge : to jump the fences or be an also-ran" Glasgow Herald 7 March, p.11
- Goodall, B. (1987)
 "Tourism policy and jobs in the United Kingdom"
Built Environment 13 (2) 109-123
- Gould, P. and White, R. (1974)
 "Mental maps"
 Penguin : Harmondsworth
- Hambleton, R. (1988)
 "The new St Louis blues"
The Guardian 11 May 1988 p.33
- Hancox, A., Worrall, L. and Pay, J. (1989)
 "Developing a customer-orientated approach to service delivery : the Wrekin approach" Local Government Studies 15 (1) 16-25
- Harford, I. (1979)
 "Restructuring the state and the inner city."
 in Craig, G., Foster, J. and O'Malley, J. "The state and the local economy" Newcastle Community Development Project / Political Economy Collective
- Hayton, K. (1989)
 "The implications of the Local Government and Housing Bill for local economic development"
Local Economy 4 (1) 5-16
- Hayton, K. (1990)
 Personal communication, February 1990
- Heeley, J. (1985)
 "Tourism in England : a strategic planning response ?"
 in Planning Exchange Occasional Paper 22 : Strategy and Opportunities for Tourism Development
- Henderson, J. (1989)
 "Glasgow : European City of Culture 1990"
Local Government Policy Making 6 (2) 43-47
- Holcomb, B. (1990a)
 "Re-visioning place : de- and re-constructing images of the industrial city" Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Glasgow
- Holcomb, B. (1990b)
 Personal communication, 8 February 1990
- Jenkins, Lord (1990)
 "Glasgow's place in the cities of the world"
Glasgow Herald April 12, p.13

- Johnson, N. and Cochrane, A. (1981)
 "Economic policy-making by local authorities in Britain and West Germany". George Allen and Unwin : London
- Judd, D. (1988)
 "The politics of American cities : private power and public policy" Scott, Foresman and Co.: Boston
- Kotler, P. (1985)
 "Marketing for non-profit organisations" (second edition) Prentice Hall : Englewood, N.J.
- Kuit, P. (1983)
 "Tourism and Newcastle Quayside Project"
Local Government Policy Making 9 (3) 45-56
- Law, C.M. (1985a)
 "Urban tourism : selected British case studies" Urban Tourism Project, Working Paper 1. Dept of Geography, University of Salford
- Law, C.M. (1985b)
 "Urban tourism : selected British case studies" Urban Tourism Project, Working Paper 4. Dept of Geography, University of Salford
- Law, C.M. (1985c)
 "Urban tourism in the USA" Urban Tourism Project, Working Paper 5. Dept of Geography, University of Salford
- Law, C.M. (1988)
 "Public-private partnerships in urban revitalisation in Britain" Regional Studies 22 (5) 446-451
- Lloyd, M.G. and Newlands, D.A. (1988)
 "The 'growth coalition' and urban economic development" Local Economy 3 (1) 31-39
- Lloyd, M.G. and Rowan-Robinson, J. (1988)
 "Local authority responses and economic uncertainty in Scotland" Scottish Government Yearbook 1988 pp.282-300
 Edinburgh University Press : Edinburgh
- Manchester City Council (1986)
 "City Centre Manchester : Right at the heart of things. A review of the 1985 promotional campaign"
 Manchester City Council
- Marketing Week (1989)
 "Scotland : bravely selling it like it is"
Marketing Week 17 November, 12 (37) 56-68
- Martin, R. (1985)
 "Monetarism masquerading as regional policy"
Regional Studies 19 (4) 379-388

- Mason, C. (1981)
"Industrial promotion advertising"
Town and Country Planning 50 (5) 134-136
- Massey, D. (1984)
"Spatial divisions of labour : social structures and the geography of production" Macmillan : London
- Massey, D. and Meegan, R. (1982)
"The anatomy of job loss : the how, why and where of employment decline" Methuen : London
- Matthews, R. (1983)
"Working with the private sector to develop tourism"
Local Government Policy Making 9 (3) 57-61
- Meyer, P. and Boyle, R. (1990)
"Lessons from the USA and directions for British local economic development efforts"
Local Economy 4 (4) 317-320
- Mills, L. and Young, K. (1986)
"Local authorities and economic development : a preliminary analysis" in "Critical issues in urban economic development, vol. 1", ed. V. Hausner, Clarendon Press : Oxford
- Molotch, H. (1976)
"The city as a growth machine : towards a political economy of place" American Journal of Sociology 82 (2) 309-322
- Morison, H. (1987)
"The regeneration of local economies"
Clarendon Press : Oxford
- Nuffield Foundation (1986)
"Report of an inquiry into town and country planning"
Nuffield Foundation : London
- Ogg, S. (1990)
Personal communication, 26 February
- Richardson, T.F. (1988)
"Public relations in local government"
Heinemann Professional Publishing : London
- Robinson, F. and Gillespie, A. (1989)
"Let the good times roll ? The North's economic revival" Northern Economic Review 17 60-72
- Robinson, F. and Gregson, N. (1990)
"The Great North ? Economic regeneration policies in the North of England" Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Glasgow

- Rosie, G. (1990)
"War of the city states"
Glasgow Herald 3 March, p.9
- Sadler, D. (1990)
"Place marketing, competitive places and the construction of hegemony in Britain in the 1990s"
Paper presented at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Glasgow
- Swales, K. (1989)
"Are discretionary regional subsidies cost-effective ?"
Regional Studies 23 (4) 361-368
- Vielba, C. (1986)
"Marketing and local government : a contradiction in terms ?" Local Government Studies 12 (6) 14-19
- Walsh, K. (1989)
"Marketing in local government"
Longman / Local Government Training Board : London
- Williams, A.M. and Shaw, G. (1988)
"Tourism : candyfloss industry or job generator ?"
Town Planning Review 59 (1) 81-103
- Yuill, D. (1990)
Lecture on regional policy in the EEC, Centre for Planning, University of Strathclyde, 29 January