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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CITY MARKETING

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Introduction

City and place marketing have become important elements of local economic development strategies over the last two decades. These topics have become a major focus for practitioners involved in place management and development (including both local government and non-governmental organisations e.g. Urban Development Corporations, Training and Enterprise Councils). They have also grown in importance as topics for academic investigation.

This bibliography seeks to present a comprehensive listing of references related to city and place marketing. It includes books and journal papers, major conference papers, and a section listing examples of city marketing which can be accessed on the World Wide Web (WWW). The bibliography should be of use for research and teaching purposes for those interested in topics such as city or place marketing, local economic development, planning, urban development, urban studies, place imagery, marketing science, local government studies, urban politics, and to practitioners in local authorities and other agencies of local economic development.

After a short introduction discussing the meaning of city marketing, a series of key themes are identified within the current literature on city/place marketing. The bibliography is then structured around these themes which are: city and place marketing in general; partnerships and governance - the new political context of city marketing; city marketing in the context of local and global relationships; place imagery and representation in city marketing; city marketing in the context of local economic development; and case studies of city marketing.

What is place marketing?

City or place marketing are not straightforward terms to define (Ashworth and Voogd, 1988). Although both concepts draw on specific ideas and practices from marketing in the private sector, the marketing of places is different in significant ways. Fundamentally place marketing is a non-profit making exercise. Places are not the same as products, the aims of marketing strategies differ, and it is more difficult to evaluate the success of this kind of marketing.

City marketing is taken here to be the application of place marketing principles and activities within urban settings or environments, though in reality the phrases city and place marketing are interchangeable. The meanings and the activities involved in both, however, have developed over time. Originally the terms related to the selling or promotion of images of places (Barke and Harrop, 1994; Spooner, 1995; Ward, 1995, 1996). In the USA and the UK the practice of place promotion can be traced back to the 19th century with the selling of large real estate developments, suburban estates, resort towns and even industrial cities (Gold and Ward, 1994; Ward, 1995).

Over the last two decades, however, under conditions of globalisation and the spiral of international competition, place marketing has taken on additional meanings, as well as becoming an established tool of local economic development (Mills and Young, 1986; Barke and Harrop, 1994). Place marketing today will encompass a range of activities from place advertising and promotion, to 'product development' i.e. sophisticated strategies involving large scale investment in local attractions, environmental improvement, property development, flagship projects and 'spectacle events' (such as major cultural and sporting events). The academic literature often bundles all these activities under the term 'civic boosterism' (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994; Spooner, 1995, Smythe, 1994).

Another academic perspective draws on marketing theory. This view sees the development of place marketing as part of a shift in the organisational and management philosophy of local government (Ashworth and Voogd 1988; 1990; 1994). In this context, place promotion can be regarded as just one marketing tool within a much wider strategic approach to place management. This wider strategic approach has involved the adoption of multiple, holistic and complex objectives. These range from traditional concerns with improving place image/identity or raising awareness about an area; to include attracting inward investment, tourists, or skilled employees; promoting self confidence and civic pride; and using the same techniques to draw down external governmental and European Union funding.

References which present general discussions of the meaning and application of city marketing can be found in the bibliography section *City and place marketing: general*. Examples can be found in the sections *Case studies of city and place marketing and Resources for investigating city marketing on the WWW*.

Place image and identity

Although city marketing can be regarded as a complex strategic management function one of its key activities is the advertising of place (see the bibliography sections *Place imagery and representation in city marketing, Case studies of city and place marketing and Resources for investigating city marketing on the WWW)*. The creation and use of place imagery is an important area of study and forms a significant element of the practices of city marketing. Image is important to cities. If cities are to become 'meccas of consumerism' they need to break away from their industrial past and carve out a new identity. There is a need to change perceptions of cities and how people value cities. The projection of the 'right' image can: improve a city's marketability within the global economy; maintain business confidence; and stimulate consumer or tourist expectation. To create the right image, agents of urban governance such as local authorities have initiated sophisticated marketing strategies and advertising campaigns (Bianchini et al. 1992; Smyth 1994; see the bibliography section *Partnerships and governance: the new political context of city marketing)*.

Image marketing comprises two stages. First, it is an awareness raising exercise. Second, it is an attempt to identify and change people's attitudes towards a place, and thus modify their behaviour. Initially, much place marketing practice was concerned with simple awareness raising campaigns, and some of the academic literature has been concerned with describing and evaluating these (Burgess, 1982; Wilkinson, 1992). However, as place marketing has become more ingrained in local economic development practice image and communication strategies have become more sophisticated (Mills and Young, 1986). Understanding these more complex issues has received more academic attention. Attention has been focused on the cultural representation of place (Barke and Harrop, 1994; Dann, 1996; Holcombe, 1993; Lew, 1991; Pocock, 1992; Squire, 1993); the politics of place representation (Boyle and Hughes,

1991; Lovering, 1995, 1996; Sadler, 1993); issues of social exclusion (Boyle and Hughes, 1991; Burgess and Wood, 1988); the process of the communication of image (Gold, 1994); and the consumption of city image and its impact on decision makers (Burgess and Wood, 1988; Burgess, 1982; Young and Lever, 1997; Herbert, 1996; Wakeman, 1996).

In addition to these analyses another perspective is one which is critical of the use of place imagery as a central part of local economic development strategies. A fundamental criticism is that marketing the city does not tackle root economic problems, and instead masks the growing economic and social polarization occurring in many cities/places (Harvey, 1989; Lovering, 1995). Loftman and Nevan (1994), for example, show how flagship projects in Birmingham have contributed to the creation of dual or secondary labour markets. They go on to question whether the city needs to market itself at all, showing how businesses relocating to the area are attracted by the city's existing communications infrastructure and geographic position rather than the city's new conference and cultural facilities. In the long term, flagship projects may even be detrimental to the local economy, considering that the opportunity cost of such investment is spending on housing and education. In addition, cities that base economic development on external growth factors, such as inward investment or tourism, become more vulnerable to change beyond local control.

Social polarization may occur because the images of urban lifestyle presented through city marketing are often targeted at particular social groups (Bianchini, 1991; Sadler, 1993). Sadler, for example, argues that place marketing can be read as a process that involves the social construction of place that reinforces the political hegemony. Madsen (1992) argues that through marketing, cities aim to attract corporate investment, tourism and dynamic employees. As a consequence resources are concentrated on attracting office development, expensive housing and cultural facilities for these specific social groups, even though it is widely recognised that the economic benefits of such developments are unlikely to trickle down to local disadvantaged social groups (Bianchini et al, 1992; Bovaird, 1994; Loftman and Nevan, 1994; Robinson et al, 1994).

City marketing has also been criticised as being more of a political than an economic instrument. The reconstruction of the city's 'physical and social imagery' (Harvey 1989, 14) to improve competitiveness is politically motivated by local elites. Image is used as a mechanism of social control to unify the city, to create a sense of shared identity or civic pride, but also to mask factors that could harm business or consumer confidence, such as social disorder or internal political dissent (Harvey 1989; Sadler 1993).

Why has city marketing become important?

Place marketing has emerged as a key element of local economic development strategies in the late 20th century (see the bibliography section *City marketing in the context of local economic development*) because of economic and political change at a variety of scales. The key processes are global economic restructuring and an associated transition in political ideology towards a neo-right agenda, which have influenced new directions in local economic development and local governance (an apparent move towards 'entrepreneurialism' in governance and the creation of new agencies of economic development e.g. public-private partnerships). The appearance of new forms of local governance is thus complexly related to the interplay of global and local forces (see the bibliography section *City marketing in the context of local and global relationships*).

Many European and North American cities have lost their ability to compete in manufacturing in the context of global economic restructuring and the 'global shift' in manufacturing (Dicken, 1992). The result is an 'urban crisis', with cities having to cope with a falling tax base, a poor environment, high rates of poverty or of social polarisation, and unemployment, all of which contribute to a poor image of declining industrial cities as locations for investment. Cities now find themselves in an environment where resources are scarce and inter-urban competition for international capital and revenue flows is more intense. From this perspective international capital is regarded as hyper-mobile i.e. large multinational companies can choose from an increasing number of localities in which to invest. In response, some cities have tried to re-orientate themselves towards different functions, notably the service sector and consumption (Harvey, 1989; Fainstein 1990; Lash and Urry 1994; Smyth 1994; Wilkinson 1992). In this context, place marketing has emerged as an appropriate tool to tackle problems such as the poor image as perceived by potential investors in, and visitors to, the city (see the bibliography sections *Case studies of city and place marketing* and *City marketing in the context of local and global relationships*).

The emergence of place marketing has also been facilitated by change in the political climate in which local government operates (see the bibliography section *Partnerships and governance: the new political context of city marketing*). During this period, the dominating political hegemony is a basically a neo-right agenda that stresses market-led solutions to economic problems, a rolling back of the state, and the importance of the private sector in terms of offering resources and expertise. The increasing pressures of inter-urban competition have contributed to a spiral of place competition (Bennet and Krebs, 1991; Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993; Goodwin, 1993; Harvey, 1989; Keating 1993; Kotler et al, 1993; Paddison, 1993). This competition is fuelled by the fears of local policy makers that by failing to 'play the game' they will become losers in the global economy. A criticism of this political stance is that as a result elected local government has to be seen to be doing something to promote the local economy. In this respect city marketing is criticised as being a metaphor for local economic development (Bovaird 1994; Lovering, 1995). Despite local political difference, these broad political pressures are influencing the nature and content of local responses to structural economic conditions.

Although it is difficult to generalise, certain characteristics of these local responses in the West can be identified. Local government has become more involved in supporting local economic development (Mayer, 1995; Mills and Young, 1986). Some observers have suggested that this is evidence that local government is becoming entrepreneurial i.e. involved in risk-taking, inventiveness, and promotion (Harvey, 1989). The extent to which this shift has occurred is debatable (Hall and Hubbard, 1996), but the majority of observers would agree that local government is more involved in local economic development.

The private sector has increasingly been granted a role in local economic policy formation and implementation. There are public-private partnerships on two levels. First, there are an increasing number of specific short term arrangements between the public and private sectors with the objective of levering in private capital into distressed urban environments. Second, there has been a growth of quangos which has involved bringing together public and

private sector expertise in order to bring new fast-track initiatives to regeneration. Therefore the focus of study is now on local governance as opposed to local government. Local governance refers to the combination of local government and private interests. This can take several institutional forms: public-private sector partnership; private sector penetration of local state e.g. contracting out of local government services to the private sector; and the penetration of local government by quangos e.g. TECs, UDCs (Stone, 1989).

However, this account of, and explanation of change, is somewhat generalised. The globalisation 'thesis' has been over-emphasised, and the impacts of globalisation have been restricted to certain places and economic activities. The impacts of the hyper-mobility of capital and globalisation of economic activity have in fact been restricted to certain industrial sectors, and certain businesses and activities within those sectors e.g. financial services and certain manufacturing operations. Core business activities tend to be 'locally embedded' i.e. they are fixed in localities. Localities thus attempt to attract those elements of capital which are mobile, and to retain existing economic activity.

In addition to this diversity in the impacts of globalisation, local case studies reveal that in certain times and places powerful local forces can mediate the impact of global economic change (see the bibliography sections *City marketing in the context of local and global relationships* and *Case studies of city and place marketing*). The ability of local actors (such as local government, business and partnerships) to mobilise resources to secure sustained local economic development varies over time and space. This variation is due to the diversity of: local economic problems; the strength and organisation of the local business community; the politics of the local authority and the local community; local ideological and historical/cultural traditions; and the role of key individuals acting as catalysts in partnership formation. Capital development is essentially culturally and socially embedded in small and often geographically confined networks and sub-systems of individual and group activity. The rise in importance of city marketing is thus due to a complex interplay of local and global forces (Amin and Thrift, 1994, 1995; Cox, 1993; Dunford and Kafkalas, 1992; Lovering, 1997; Peck and Tickell, 1994; Sadler, 1992).

Local case studies thus reveal a number of implications for the practice of place marketing in the global economy. First, given the uneven nature of globalisation there is a diversity in marketing strategies and objectives. Second, the dynamic nature of the global economy implies that localities will need to constantly adapt and accommodate new economic trends (Kotler et al. 1993). Third, localities must ensure that they promote uniqueness and place heterogeneity in order to avoid the serial reproduction of place imagery in their strategies, and entering into a 'zero-sum' game of seeking to produce very similar urban environments (Harvey, 1989). The degree to which local government has adopted entrepreneurial approaches and city marketing is thus variable and diverse.

All of these themes require further refinement and empirically based research. The literature has too often focused on a small number of case studies often of a certain type, mainly large urban and former industrial locations. Some of these cities are perhaps exceptional in their experience. Theoretical perspectives and generalisations have been made based on this small number of case studies which need to be investigated further through a range of case studies. Research has indicated, for example, that it is extremely difficult to apply generalisations based on the US experience to the UK, and the UK is probably a special case in

Europe because of the nature of its local government. The experience of the countries of the former Eastern Europe and Soviet Union is highly under-researched, as are Developing World countries. General accounts of city marketing as evidence of a move towards entrepreneurial strategies in local governance need evaluating with regard to the diversity of experience found in local areas. The issues associated with city marketing, however, are likely to continue to be of vital importance to many cities for several years to come and require a deeper understanding.

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Resources for investigating city marketing on the World Wide Web

The World Wide Web contains many hundreds of sites prepared by local authorities around the world. Though these vary in quality and content many give good examples of local authority practice in city marketing. Many of these local authority sites can be accessed via the websites indicated below which form a starting point for Web searches. They are intended only as an initial guide to the vast resources available on the Web.

City Net (links to 5000+ places, examples of place advertising)
http://www.city.net/

Directory of local authorities in the UK (list of UK local authority websites
http://www.tagish.co.uk/tagish/links/localgov.htm

Government Information Service (links to UK local authorities and other governmental bodies)
http://www.open.gov.uk/

Keele University (links to UK local government plus links to European and North American information on local government)
http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/po/local.htm

UK Local Government Web Sites in England and Wales (list of websites)
http://www.gwydir.demon.co.uk/uklocalgov/localgov.htm

UK Travel Guide (links to 100+ places in the UK, examples of place advertising)
http://www.uktravel.com/ukmap.html

UK Local Government Web Sites in Scotland and Northern Ireland (list)
http://www.gwydir.demon.co.uk/uklocalgov/localgsi.htm

Examples of North American and European government sites (websites which have links to local authorities outside of the UK)

Canada
http://www.intergov.gc.ca/

Finland
http://www.cs.hut.fi/finland.html#Municipalities

Germany
http://www.chemie.fu-berlin.de/adressen/bl/bundeslaender.html

Spain (Madrid)
http://www.munimadrid.es/ayuntamiento/html/aying.map?25,240

Switzerland
http://www.ethz.ch/swiss/Switzerland_Info.html

USA
http://www.piperinfo.com/state/states.html

HISTORIANS, HERITAGE AND ALL THAT: A REVIEW ARTICLE.

by J. D. Marshall.

Although the word heritage is as old as the English language, it has assumed its special significance only within the last two decades. The late Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory*[1] traces the semantics of the term, while Robert Hewison[2] has pointed out that the word found parliamentary approval, if not definition, in the National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983. In the latter year the organisation known at English Heritage was set into operation. The author of a recent major study of the heritage upsurge, David Lowenthal,[3] states that 'the modern preoccupation with heritage dates from about 1980', that is in France, Britain and the United States. France's Year of Patrimony was in fact 1980, although the European Architectural Heritage Year was 1975.

It is worth bearing in mind that the word and the rather inchoate movement it represents are not peculiar to Britain (or England), and in the U.S.A. the general idea seems to have been appropriated by the new or Reaganite right, when the Heritage Foundation of 1973 was organised to promote conservative and anti-communist political philosophy on an international scale.[4] The then Mrs. Thatcher was a dedicated supporter of the Foundation (and probably still is). It was credited with influencing American and British decisions to withdraw from UNESCO .

Can we then assume that heritage has deep political connotations? If its political depths are murky, as they are, it will also be wrong to assume that any clearcut concept or formula appears in the gloom. The original commentators on the characteristics of English heritage, Hewison and Patrick Wright,[5] were in any case accused of indulging themselves in conspiracy theory, and the truth seems to be that the movement - hardly a 'crusade' as in Lowenthal's title - is inchoate if influential and even powerful through governmental interventions and postures, but is chiefly remarkable for its appeal to broad masses and for the widespread nature of its grassroots activity. It is this which justifies a fairly lengthy review article in JORALS, for no regional or urban or local historian is likely to have travelled far in his or her territory without encountering some manifestation of heritage. On a broader scale, the movement is international if not internationalist, for heritage thrives on ethnic differences, and on nationalism and even chauvinism. Its patriotism is in no case examined dispassionately or coolly, but is taken for granted. The word itself has national nuances, so that the French *patrimoine* can be seen as personal, in the sense that a legacy is personal, while the German *Erbgut* may seem to be tribal or nationalistic. The regional historians of the future will collide with ethnic groups and cultural differences at every turn, and will meet with the raw material of folkways studies, which take heritage (alarmingly?) close to the serious business of social history.

Heritage, then, is not history, although it uses historical texts and findings. It is a response to particular views of the past, and to popular reactions to the past on the part of large numbers of persons who, as consumers, visit museums or theme parks, or who take part in local celebrations which refer to the past in those localities. Heritage responds by using forms of presentation that demand the simplified, that over-simplify, employ bias, ignore evidence, prompt nostalgia, and above all appeal to antiquarianism, the state of mind that absorbs