Cities xxx (xxxx) xxx–xxx

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Cities

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/cities

Reframing place promotion, place marketing, and place branding - *moving beyond conceptual confusion*

Martin Boisen[a,*], Kees Terlouw[b], Peter Groote[a], Oscar Couwenberg[a]

[a] Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands
[b] Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Urban policy
Urban governance
Place management
Place promotion
Place marketing
Place branding

ABSTRACT

The literature and practice of place promotion, place marketing and place branding lack a common understanding of what these three concepts mean and through what kind of policies they can be implemented. Although scholars have provided several theoretical frameworks and definitions, both scholars and practitioners (advisors, civil servants, public and private stakeholders, and politicians) often use them synonymously. This paper argues that recent developments in both theory and practice – with respect to place promotion, place marketing and place branding – provide an opportunity to address this conceptual confusion. In the academic debate, a common understanding is slowly emerging and in practice, a more integral approach is gaining ground. To contribute to these advances, we present the outline of a framework to help distinguish between place promotion, place marketing and place branding, along with a discussion on why we believe these differences (should) matter to practitioners.

1. Introduction

Policies to promote, market and/or brand places are nothing new, but they have become more important over the last decades (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008; Ward, 1998). With respects to cities, the basic assumption is that promotion, marketing and/or branding can support urban policies aimed at improving the place to the benefit of residents, businesses and visitors. As an increasing number of cities in countries around the world incorporate these concepts, the confusion about their meaning and their implications for urban policy grow.

The diversity of these perspectives on place promotion, place marketing and place branding is related to the complex set of challenges cities have been confronted with over the last decades and which have stimulated the development of these policies to strengthen the competitiveness of cities (Boisen, 2007; Boisen, Terlouw, & Van Gorp, 2011). We identify four different reasons for this increase: 1) First, the shift from a managerial to an entrepreneurial approach by urban governments that Harvey (1989) identified as a "transformation in urban governance in late Capitalism" (Harvey, 1989; p.3). This 'entrepreneurial shift' has brought the terminology, the concepts and instruments and the mechanisms of the corporate sector to the public sector; and competitiveness is a chief goal of nearly all of these. 2) Second, the dominating paradigm of neoliberalism has brought a strong focus on competitiveness onto the agenda of many states and is actively promoted by supranational organisations (Jessop, 2002). This influence how local governments approach competitiveness and the sense of urgency that surrounds it. 3) Third, the increased pressure local governments and civil servant organisations of cities as a result of what Brenner (2004) described as the rescaling of statehood; a proces wherein central governments are withdrawing and leaving more and more responsibility for their future social and economic development to the cities. 4) And fourth, the idea of a growing global network of cities with new urban hierarchies wherein the position of any given city is perceived as much more volatile as compared to the one it holds within its national urban hierarchy (Beaverstock & Taylor, 1999; Taylor, 1997).

Not all cities have reacted in the same way to these competitive pressures. Local governments have mobilised private and public stakeholders in different ways to address this more or less perceived challenge of inter-urban competition - effectively creating new allegiances and promoting governance over government (Brenner, 2004; Cox, 1995; Hall & Hubbard, 1996; Jessop, 1997, 2002). The contemporary policies relating to place promotion, place marketing, and place branding are mainly competitiveness-driven entrepreneurial policies (Ashworth, 2011; Ashworth & Voogd, 1990). Ward (1998) concluded that cities and regions in the United States and the United Kingdom were amongst the first to formalise these instruments as part of local and/or regional development strategies. Countries like

* Corresponding author at: Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen, Postbus 800, 9700 AV Groningen, The Netherlands.
E-mail address: m.boisen@rug.nl (M. Boisen).

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.08.021
Received 31 January 2017; Received in revised form 24 August 2017; Accepted 25 August 2017
0264-2751/ © 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

the Netherlands swiftly followed suit (i.g. Andriesse, 1986; Ashworth & Voogd, 1990; Boerema & Sondervan, 1988; Borchert & Buursink, 1987; Buursink, 1991; Van den Berg, Klaassen, & Van der Meer, 1990). In 2016, a comprehensive study determined that these instruments were a policy issue in 310 out of the 390 Dutch municipalities (79,5%) and that 125 municipalities (32,1%) had established organisational entities explicitly tasked with place promotion, place marketing and/or place branding (Boisen, Groote, Terlouw, and Couwenberg, in press). The same study established that the three concepts are used synonymously by practitioners; both in the description of tasks and in the naming of the responsible organisations.

Despite increasing popularity of these concepts on the part of scholars, it is still a predominantly practitioner-led topic (Therkelsen, Halkier, & Jensen, 2010). Most theoretical frameworks are not based on studies of actual policies of cities but translated from corporate frameworks devised for products, services and companies. The scientific community still struggles with this translation, as reflected in the lack of shared definitions (Gertner, 2011a, 2011b; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005; Warnaby & Medway, 2013). Meanwhile, many researchers continue to use these concepts as if they were synonymous, while habitually hinting that they are not. This lack of conceptual clarity is worsened by the fact that the empirical content of the research domain predominantly consists of single case studies, and that none of the existing theoretical frameworks have been tested empirically (Acharya & Rahman, 2016; Ashworth et al., 2015; Gertner, 2011b; Green, Grace, & Perkins, 2016; Hankinson, 2010; Lucarelli & Berg, 2011; Lucarelli & Brörström, 2013; Vuignier, 2016). With single case studies, there's often no imminent methodological need for establishing comparability, and thus no incentive for employing concepts defined independently from the case in question. This might result in the researcher unquestioningly adopting the terminology used by the practitioners involved in the case in question. As such, theoretical, empirical and practical exercises that build upon the extant literature are likely to suffer from a lack of conceptual clarity. Hankinson (2015) noted that:

"[…] while there has clearly been convergence, there remains a need for tighter specification of the concepts. Thus, it has been noted that some old concepts such as place promotion remain, alongside new concepts such as place branding (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). A clearer understanding of the key conceptual terms is necessary if empirical research is to progress." (Hankinson, 2015; p. 27).

Even when not being used synonymously, place promotion, place marketing and place branding mean different things to different people at different times and in different situations. This is also the case in the general use and meaning of these concepts (Skålen, Fougere, & Fellesson, 2008). One might argue, whether this 'clearer understanding' should result in definitions presented by peak bodies, interest organisations, or scholars. Equally interesting is the question, whether the constructs should be defined by academics based on conceptual exercises – such as presented in this article – or by practitioners themselves. In any case, there is a need to further distinguish between the three concepts as argued earlier by Skinner (2008), Hanna and Rowley (2008) and Ashworth et al. (2015). The discussion below of place promotion, place marketing and place branding explores both the distinct and the interrelated character of these concepts. The focus of the practices related to these concepts differs: place promotion is mainly about generating favourable communication; place marketing is mainly about balancing supply and demand; and place branding is mainly about creating, sustaining, and shaping a favourable place identity (Boisen, 2015; p. 14). The next sections discuss in detail how these concepts are being used and how these are related. This provides the building blocks to build a new conceptual framework that helps to differentiate between place promotion, place marketing and place branding.

2. Place promotion

It is difficult to find 'clean' definitions of place promotion, as most definitions of place promotion overlap extensively with place marketing and place branding, and therefore use similar terminology – albeit often with slightly different meanings. For example, place promotion is defined by Ward & Gold as:

"the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target market." (Ward & Gold, 1994; p. 2).

A closer examination of this definition unveils that 'marketing' here is not a reference to a broad conceptualization of marketing (e.g. the extended marketing mix, see Goi, 2009), but refer to marketing communication as something distinct from general publicity. In addition, the definition include terminology inherent to the concepts of branding (image) and marketing (target market) respectively, but with different meaning and utilisation. It should not come as a surprise that a conceptual confusion exists, however. If one was to describe the purpose of place promotion without using terminology from marketing or branding, one might describe it as 'generating attention for what a place has to offer to certain target audiences in the expectation that this will increase demand'.

One of the most frequently used models for marketing-communication, the AIDA, state that increased *attention* for certain offerings is likely to lead to a certain *interest*, which might give birth to a *desire* that eventually might result in a certain *action* (Garber & Dotson, 2002). It is important to observe that this illustrate a one-directional process, in which *attention* is front and centre. This basic assumption of a straightforward and hierarchical relationship between *attention* and *action* embodies the very reason why both public and private stakeholders launch and/or support efforts of place promotion.

In the marketing mix, 'promotion' represents but one of the four (McCarthy, 1964), or seven (Booms & Bitner, 1981) P's. Accordingly, it should be noted that most of the theoretical frameworks in the existing literature, view place promotion as but one of the tools of either place marketing or place branding (see: Ashworth & Voogd, 1990; Bailey, 1989; Gold & Ward, 1994; Hubbard & Hall, 1998; Kavaratzis, 2004; Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993). Ashworth and Voogd (1990) define 'promotional measures' as one of the four elements in their theoretical framework of place marketing; whereas Kavaratzis (2004) regards such promotional measures as belonging to the 'secondary communication' within his theoretical framework of place branding. Although the distinction between place promotion and place marketing is present in most of the theoretical frameworks, the term 'place promotion' deserves specific attention because this concept covers most (if not all) of what most practitioners are doing – even when they say that they are doing place marketing and/or place branding.

This is reflected in the practice of place promotion: the responsible organisations often have very limited – if any – influence over the developments that directly influence the development of the offerings of the place in question. They tend to launch promotional campaigns and give high priority to the development and distribution of promotional materials that present much of what the place has on offer to (specific) target audiences in (specific) target markets – according to their tasks, mandates, and the plethora of wishes of the many different stakeholders involved. The use of a visual identity (logo, slogan, colour scheme, font, style) to label the coordinated promotional efforts has become a signature element of place promotion, as well as advertising (Ward, 1998), and the mutually indistinguishable promotional campaigns (Eisenschitz, 2010). Such efforts are also what most stakeholders have come to expect. In our experience, this is not only the case for public stakeholders, but also for private stakeholders, and especially if they are co-funding said organisations. Paradoxically, an instrument aimed at making a place attractive and exhibit its uniqueness often produce homogenous promotional efforts.

As such, place promotion doesn't require significant influence on the actual development of the place. The instrument is chiefly concerned with how the target audiences can be reached with messages that increase their knowledge of what the place has to offer. The *belief* is that this will increase the chance that members of the target audiences develop an *intention* – and ultimately *decides* - to visit, invest, or move to the place in question. To that end, the existing offerings are bundled in promotional messages aimed at increasing the knowledge of these offerings amongst certain target audiences. This requires the collaboration of a multitude of public and private stakeholders; each with their own particular set of incentives and priorities; and each with their own set of offerings that they would like to be showcased through the promotion of the place.

We conclude that place promotion has the following characteristics: First, place promotion is *supply-driven*. In its purest form, it is nothing more and nothing less than a traditional *sender-to-receiver* approach to marketing communication. The task is, therefore, to increase the *attention* (the offerings of) the place receives amongst selected *target audiences*. The corresponding mandate for urban policymakers is limited to the *coordinated promotion* of the place. The goal of place promotion has been accomplished when the place has gained the *attention* of the chosen target audiences. The results of such efforts therefore primarily – but not exclusively – belong to the *cognitive domain* of *knowledge* and should, therefore, primarily be measured and evaluated within that domain (see Fig. 1).

3. Place marketing

In the literature, several definitions have been offered of what place marketing means, or should mean. Many of these definitions seem to overlap with place promotion, but most also include other elements. Consider the following examples: Ashworth and Voogd (1990), included 'spatial-functional measures', 'organisational measures' and even 'financial measures' as part of place marketing; Hubbard and Hall (1998), included 'physical redevelopment', 'public art and civic statuary', 'mega-events', 'cultural regeneration' and 'public-private partnerships' as part of place marketing; and Kotler et al. (1993), formulated 'infrastructure', 'basic services' and 'attractions'. Although place promotion is an important part of place marketing, it is clear from the above that the place marketing concept is much broader, and encompasses much more than promotional measures (Berglund & Olsson, 2010; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). Place marketing can be seen as one of the most important instruments in the shift from a supply-side to a demand-side approach to urban development (Boisen, 2007), and this shift towards a customer-centric view is therefore central to place marketing. For example, based on the definition of marketing by the American Marketing Association (2008), Braun defines place marketing as:

"the coordinated use of marketing tools supported by a shared customer-oriented philosophy, for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging urban offerings that have value for the city's customers and the city's community at large." (Braun, 2008; p. 43).

Correspondingly, Hospers (2009) – while making a slight adjustment to an earlier definition offered by Lombarts (2008) – defines place marketing as:

"the long-term process and/or policy instrument consisting of different, yet interrelated activities aimed at keeping and attracting different target groups to a certain city." (Translated from Hospers, 2009; p. 51).

Notwithstanding these definitions, place marketing is frequently used synonymously with place promotion. In the tourism industry, the name of a whole category of organisations – the DMO (destination marketing organisation) – illustrate this point. DMO's are not often in a position to change the destinations they are tasked to promote. Contrary to this, organisations tasked with Foreign Direct Investment, are often termed 'investment promotion agencies', names that correspond better with their tasks and mandates. Since place promotion is an integral and important part of place marketing, organisations tasked with place marketing will develop and employ promotional measures. This again helps sustain the conceptual confusion, because of the fact that promotional measures unsurprisingly draw more attention than other measures. So, similar to place promotion, stakeholders have come to expect the same limited focus on promotional efforts of place marketing. In fact, they might not even distinguish between the two concepts. This sustains a certain terminological confusion, especially when organisations tasked with place promotion state that they are doing place marketing. Hospers (2009) expands on this, with a plea to see place marketing as much more than place promotion:

"A campaign will not make a city more attractive or entrepreneurial than it is. Effective place marketing consists of specific actions that benefit target groups, such as good childcare for families, possibilities for expansion for companies, simplified procedures for start-ups. A city should not simply *claim* that it is unique – it should *prove* that it is unique." (Translated from Hospers, 2009; p. 51).

Both definitions underline the demand-side approach, and both implicitly define place marketing as concerned with target groups as consumers or users (Braun, Kavaratzis, & Zenker, 2010; Zenker, 2011). Kotler et al. (1993) distinguished three predominant market segments for place marketing: 1) visitors, 2) residents and employees, and 3) business and industry. However, place marketing is just as concerned with securing inward investment (e.g. Moilanen & Rainisto, 2008), (mega-) events (e.g. Andersen & Matthiessen, 1995; Rennen, 2007), flagship developments (e.g. Smyth, 1994), and government funding for infrastructure or support for other local and/or regional objectives. Zenker and Gollan (2010), even measured the success of place marketing as the willingness of citizens to stay in a certain place, instead of moving. With, these authors, and Hospers (2009) in mind, we state that catering to certain target-groups require specific strategic choices, followed by actions – thereby making it important to distinguish between internal and external market segments, yet consider both in the formulation and implementation of urban policies.

As such, place marketing requires a substantial influence on the actual development of the place. If it is to be truly demand-driven, the organisation tasked with place marketing should be in a position to influence the product-market combinations of the place (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1998) and the place in its entirety (Ashworth & Goodall, 1990). Place marketing requires a high level of influence over product development with the purpose of fine-tuning it to better fit the needs of the strategically chosen target groups. In other words, place marketing should – possibly even chiefly – be concerned with adjusting and improving the place itself. Compared to place promotion, this requires the collaboration of even more public and private stakeholders; each with their own particular set of incentives and priorities; and each with their own agendas in terms of which target groups they would prefer the place to be fine-tuned towards. This also means that place marketing implies a higher complexity in terms of tasks, mandates and organisations as compared to place promotion.

Place marketing is thus *demand-driven*. It represents an *outside-in* approach with the needs of selected target groups front and centre. The task is to manage *supply* - the offerings of the place - and *demand* - of target groups in certain *market segments*. The corresponding mandate, therefore, should include both the marketing communication (place promotion) and a certain influence over the market-led development of attractive and distinctive *product-market combinations*. The goal of place marketing has been reached when people amongst the selected target groups have *chosen* to make use of the product-market combinations of the place, instead of the product-market combinations of other places. The results of such efforts therefore primarily – but not exclusively – belong to the *conative domain* of *behaviour* and should, therefore, primarily be measured and evaluated within that domain. As depicted in Fig. 1, these characteristics of place marketing are different from place promotion and place branding.

4. Place branding

In 2005, Anholt (2005) concluded that place branding was widely misunderstood. The translation of the concept of branding to places has since resulted in a long range of contributions aiming to define it for both theoretical and practical purposes (see: Anholt, 2007; Boisen et al., 2011; Dinnie, 2010; Govers & Go, 2009; Kavaratzis, 2004; Moilanen & Rainisto, 2008). In a recent study amongst place management professionals, de Noronha, Coca-Stefaniak, and Morrison (2017) found quite different interpretations of what 'place branding' meant. Conceptual confusion exists *between* the concepts and *within* each concept. Some scholars prefer to view place branding as an instrument of place marketing, whereas other scholars prefer to view place marketing as an instrument of place branding. This is more than a trivial discussion between interrelated disciplines, it signifies different schools of thought: A place marketing approach to place branding might pursue to develop different place brands to improve the competitive advantage of the place amongst different target groups (see: Zenker & Beckmann, 2013) in different market segments (see: Zenker, Braun, & Petersen, 2017), whereas a place branding approach to place marketing would pursue a strategy wherein all place marketing efforts should be on-brand (see: Govers, 2011). Although disagreeing on whether places *have brands*, or *are brands* (Boisen, 2015), both schools of thoughts seem to agree that a place brand is:

"[…] a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioral expression of a place and its' stakeholders. These associations differ in their influence within the network and in importance for the place consumers' attitude and behavior." (Zenker & Braun, 2017; p. 275).

Unfortunately, it remains necessary to repeatedly establish that 'a brand' is not the same as 'a logo' or a 'visual identity'. Central to place branding are the concepts of *identity* and *image*. In place branding, according to Boisen et al. (2011; p. 136): "the identity of a place is sought identified, extracted and orchestrated to further load the place brand with positive associations. Ultimately, the goal of such practices is to improve the image of the place." The *identity* here does not refer to everything that the place *is*, but to a combination of different types of identification. The identity of a place serves to differentiate the place from other places, but also to select what intrinsic material and immaterial elements fit with the place – a process of identification *of*, *with* and *as belonging to* the place (Kalandides, 2012). When the identity of a place is recognised, it becomes a promise, an expectation: an image. The image of the place can be defined as how the place is perceived. A *strong image* exists when a majority share similar associations, whereas a *positive image* exists when those associations are perceived as favourable in a specific context. Ideally, there's a strong match between the *identity* and the *image* of a place. Yet both are virtually powerless if members of the target audience(s) have never heard about the place in question. *Attention*, therefore, is a prerequisite for place branding. In other words, the goal of place promotion is the starting point of place branding, which demonstrates that it would be futile to not see place promotion as a tool of place branding. When engaging in place promotion from a place branding perspective, the goal of the place promotion evolves: It is no-longer just about generating attention for the offerings of the place, but subsequently about converting the *attention* into *awareness* that positively impact the image of the place. Such conscious and continuous image-orchestration is meant to contribute positively to the place's general *reputation*. Borrowing from the corporate literature, we can distinguish the notion of place reputation as different from place image as follows:

"Corporate image, as stated earlier, is the immediate mental picture that audiences have of an organization. Corporate reputation, on the other hand, indicates a value judgement about the company's attributes. Corporate reputations, typically, evolve over time as a result of consistent performance, reinforced by effective communication, whereas corporate images can be fashioned more quickly through well-conceived communication programmes." (Gray & Balmer, 1998; p. 697).

Whereas place image needs to be interpreted within a specific context to be deemed positive or negative, place reputation is a long-term sum of normative opinions about the place that stimulates an immediate judgement and/or emotional response. These insights correspond with key contributions from the general branding literature (e.g. Keller, 1993; Sharp, 2010).

Most contemporary scholars view place branding as a holistic concept, wherein *the whole place* matters. Kavaratzis (2004, 2005) for example, define place branding as the process of managing the primary (i.e. the behaviour of the place), secondary (i.e. place promotion) and tertiary (word-of-mouth and media representations) communication to influence the image of the place. As Kavaratzis (2004) shows, the formation of an image involves both a relationship between the cognitive and the affective (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999) and is strongly influenced by the conative (Hankinson, 2004; Sharp, 2010). Boisen et al. (2011) argue that place branding as compared to place marketing "implies a more hedonistic approach to places" – or in other words prioritize the affective, above the conative or cognitive – and that its chief goal should be "to add value to the place in a broad sense" (Boisen et al., 2011; p. 136). It is thus primarily in the realm of *stories* and *meanings* that place branding seeks to differentiate, through *relevance*. Not in the realm of *propositions* and *transactions* (place marketing), nor in the realm of *offerings* and *messages* (place promotion). This implies that place branding is a highly selective process (see: Boisen et al., 2011; Colomb & Kalandides, 2010; Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015). Following this, Oliveira (2016; pp. 2–3; pp. 51–61) argues that place branding should be a central instrument in spatial planning. However, from a place branding perspective, the relationship could just as well go in the other direction. We argue that place branding requires a different kind of influence on the actual development of the place as compared to place marketing. Place branding is primarily concerned with *why* and *how* something is done in terms of *purpose* and *meaning* – and less concerned with the specific product-market combinations of the place. Place branding aims to get the total sum of primary, secondary and tertiary communication *on-brand* (Kavaratzis, 2004), in the sense that all contribute to the expression of the same *values* and reinforce the same *narratives*. This requires place branding to have a strong influence on both material and immaterial aspects of urban governance, urban policy, and urban development, or as phrased by Boisen:

"The place brand strategy could be a framework of core values, emphasizing the identity of the place. Such a framework should then work as a set of guiding principles against which all other strategies and policies should be judged to the extent to which they are on-brand or off-brand and to the extent to which their contribution to the place brand is positive, negative or neutral." (Boisen, 2015; p. 16).

In contrast to place promotion and place marketing, place branding is *identity-driven* (see Fig. 1 below). It represents an *inside-out* approach that seeks to express selected values and narratives of the place in question. The task is a conscious effort to sustain and/or improve the reputation of the place; in other words, *reputation-management*. The corresponding mandate is one of *image orchestration*, which put emphasis on being able to influence both coordinated promotion (place promotion), and the development of product-market combinations (place marketing) – to be able to influence the perception and the *associations* that people have with the place in question. The goal of place branding has been reached when people, in general, and over longer periods of time, hold a favourable *reputation* of the place. The results of place branding, therefore, primarily – but not exclusively – belong to the *affective domain* of *attitude* and should, therefore, primarily be measured and evaluated within that domain.

5. Implications

Fig. 1 below presents an overview of place promotion, place marketing and place branding, as discussed in detail in the above. These are three distinct, yet intertwined and interrelated concepts that employ different means to reach different goals.

	PLACE PROMOTION	PLACE MARKETING	PLACE BRANDING
DRIVER: APPROACH:	SUPPLY-DRIVEN SENDER TO RECEIVER	DEMAND-DRIVEN OUTSIDE-IN (NEEDS)	IDENTITY-DRIVEN INSIDE-OUT (RELEVANCE)
TASK: MANDATE: BUDGET:	TO COMMUNICATE OFFERINGS COORDINATED PROMOTION TARGET AUDIENCES	TO MANAGE SUPPLY & DEMAND PRODUCT-MARKET COMBINATIONS TARGET MARKET SEGMENTS	TO MANAGE REPUTATION IMAGE ORCHESTRATION PERCEPTION & ASSOCIATION
RESULTS:	ATTENTION	CHOICE	REPUTATION
PRIMARY* DOMAIN:	COGNITIVE* (KNOWLEDGE)	CONATIVE* (BEHAVIOUR)	AFFECTIVE* (ATTITUDE)

*) It should be noted that all three concepts relate to all three domains (cognitive, conative, and affective), albeit to different extents. The distinction here is meant to help differentiate between them, and therefore emphasise their primary domain, which is the domain to which the main results belong to.

Fig. 1. Distinguishing between place promotion, place marketing, and place branding.

Our reframing helps to clarify the confusion surrounding these concepts and provide guidelines for policy formulation, institutionalisation and implementation. The classification brings conceptual clarity into the structure of the relationship between the concepts and the corresponding tasks, mandates and expected results. Since the tasks, mandates, targets and results differ, it is reasonable to assume that the organisational aspects should also differ to facilitate effectiveness and efficiency. Therefore, these distinctions are also helpful in terms of how these concepts should be employed and implemented in policies aimed at increasing the attractiveness and reputation of a place.

It is evident that the task of place marketing goes beyond the task of place promotion in that it is not only aiming to influence the development of the place indirectly, through promotional measures, but also directly, through those of the product-market combinations of the place that are relevant to the target groups in the strategically chosen market segments (Braun, 2008; Hospers, 2009; Kotler et al., 1993). Ideally, an organisational entity tasked with place marketing needs a strong mandate to provide guidance for other organisations and stakeholders – a mandate that includes influence on the development of the place itself. Contrary to place marketing, the task of place branding is reputation-management, and to orchestrate the image of the place in its entirety an even stronger mandate and an even broader power base as compared to place marketing is needed (Eshuis & Klijn, 2012; Hankinson, 2015). Place branding essentially needs to be able to influence everything that has a significant impact on how the place is being perceived (Govers & Go, 2009). This is more complicated to facilitate for places than for corporations, primarily due to the political dimension. Terlouw (2017), observes that the characterisation of the identity of a place is frequently contested by both public and private stakeholders, and thus frequently become a topic of political debate. Similarly, Lucarelli (2015; p. 86) argues that place branding is "a political process which is materializing as policy intervention. […] a process which has the possibility to shape new spaces." To achieve this, place branding should be an integrated part of the general urban policies and strategies – a cornerstone of the urban governance (Boisen, 2015; Eshuis & Klijn, 2012; Oliveira, 2016). To make this feasible, compared to place marketing, place branding requires a broader political and managerial support base, cooperation with more (types of) stakeholders on more topics (Eshuis & Edwards, 2012), and more expertise within the organisation itself (Braun, 2012).

In Fig. 2 we illustrate the interrelatedness of place promotion, place marketing, place branding and the development of the place, wherein the arrows represent the direction of required influence. We use 'place development' here as a container term, representing other aspects of urban governance that are directly concerned with creating and/or improving the offerings of the place and the place itself.

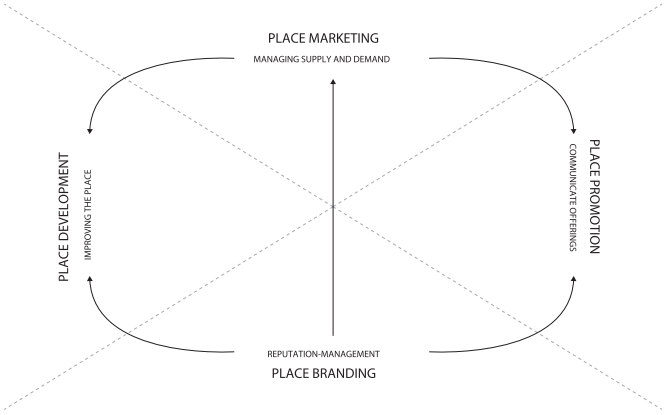

Fig. 2. Place promotion, place marketing, place branding and place development.

Our reframing of place promotion, place marketing and place branding (Fig. 1) can also be used to clarify different policies directed at different market segments. Fig. 3 depicts the relation between the three concepts and the three dominant market segments (businesses, residents, and visitors). It further illustrates that as an instrument, place promotion is predominantly concerned with increasing the attention for what the place has to offer at this moment. Without a broader, long-term strategy, place promotion might, therefore, have a tendency to be short-term, focusing on what part of the offerings of the place should be brought to the attention *now*. Place marketing, on the contrary, is predominantly concerned with managing supply and demand, which requires a longer-term strategy and approach, with a higher degree of market segmentation and product/service-development (Braun, 2008). This means that place marketing should focus on both the now and the future, adjusting the offerings of the place while taking changing preferences and trends into account. In the case of place branding, a high degree of selectivity (Boisen et al., 2011) and long-term consistency (Govers & Go, 2009) of both the place development and the place promotion is required.

The premise that we present here is that of a successional relationship between the three concepts with respects to their institutionalisation and implementation: Contrary to the corporate context, wherein marketing sometimes may take precedence over branding, we argue that to be effective and efficient, place branding must take precedence over place marketing and both must take precedence over place promotion (Fig. 2). Whereas place marketing can concern itself with specific target market segments, place branding inherently needs influence over the place in its entirety. This results in an

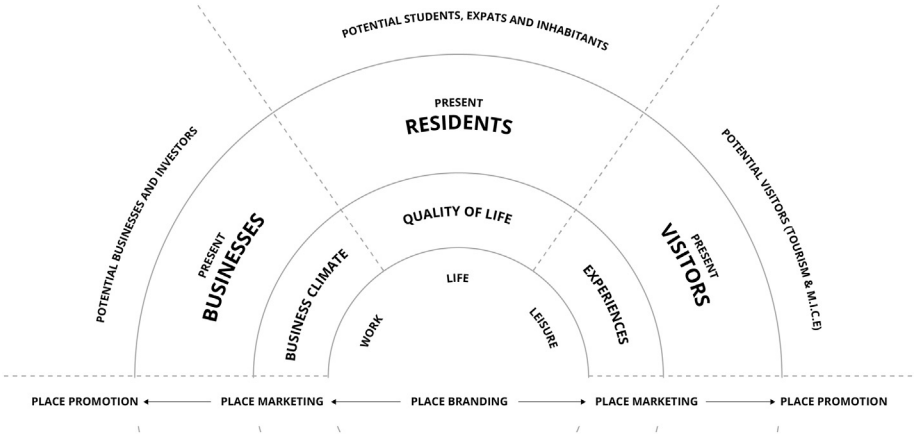

Fig. 3. Organisational aspects of place promotion, place marketing, and place branding.

increase in the complexity of the required governance and political and managerial support base as we advance from left to right in Fig. 1, or from the centre and outwards in Fig. 3.

The interrelatedness of the three concepts sustains the conceptual confusion; yet failing to take note of the differences might result in asymmetries between the goals, the means, and the ends. In practice, an organisation tasked with place promotion, place marketing and/or place branding might have a formal task formulated as 'improving the image of the place' (reputation - place branding). The same organisation's mandate might be limited to the 'coordination of promotional efforts' (attention - place promotion). To further complicate matters, the organisation is very likely to be evaluated based on indicators such as 'more visitors, longer stays, more expenditure, and more returns' (choice – place marketing). Such asymmetries between tasks, mandates and evaluation might not only obstruct the effectiveness and efficiency of the organisation, they might also hamper the resilience of the organisational structure itself, endangering the organisation's legitimacy and even its reason to exist. To avoid such hindering asymmetries, organisations tasked with certain goals should also be given the corresponding tasks (and mandates), and their efforts and results should also be evaluated correspondingly. This is especially of importance when choosing key performance indicators and formulating organisational targets.

In practice, such asymmetries are widespread. With respect to *place promotion*, city authorities often transfer the responsibilities for tourism promotion, investment promotion, export promotion, and talent attraction to separate organisations. These organisations might even be operating at different territorial-administrative levels (i.e. a local destination marketing organisation for tourism, and a regional investment agency). Yet even in instances where these responsibilities are transferred to a single organisation with an integral mandate, the asymmetries are likely to prevail. Although required as argued in the above, authorities are often reluctant to give organisations tasked with *place marketing* any significant influence on the actual development of the place, thereby holding such organisations responsible for outcomes which they are not in a position to exercise enough influence over. And last but not least, authorities often fail to recognize that a place brand management organisation needs to be put in a position to persistently ensure on-brand *place marketing*, *place promotion*, and *place development*.

Some cities have recently sought to solve such asymmetries by exploring new ways of structuring and organising the application of place promotion, place marketing and/or place branding. The Hague (the Netherlands), has for example recently established an internal organisation responsible for place branding, with the idea of putting place branding in a position to exercise more influence over urban policy, while keeping an external marketing organisation in place to fine-tune the city towards meeting the needs of certain target groups (Boisen et al., in press; Municipality of The Hague, 2017). Oslo (Norway) chose a different organisational set-up, by establishing an external place brand management team with the explicit purpose of separating the task, mandates, and responsibilities for place branding from those of place marketing, without creating a new integrated organisational entity. Thus, Visit Oslo remains the destination marketing organisation responsible for the various product-market combinations directed at visitors, Oslo Business Region remains responsible for the product-market combinations directed at companies and investors, and Oslo Regional Alliance remains responsible for the residents. Each of these organisations keeps their own tasks and mandates, and their own stakeholder relationships as part of the governance of the Oslo region. Yet each of them has committed to the overarching place brand strategy – and to act on-brand, receiving guidance from the place brand management – who has the task and mandate to provide such guidance and will be evaluated on the extent to which it succeeds in doing so (Project Oslo Region, 2015). Organisational changes such as those made by The Hague and Oslo, correspond with the conceptual distinction that effective and efficient place branding requires a different mandate and a different organisational position than effective and efficient place marketing.

In addition to the implications for practitioners, the distinctions presented in this paper may also guide future research into the asymmetries mentioned in the above. As mentioned in the introduction, most empirical research into the application of these concepts to places consists case studies. Instead of adopting the terminology from the places under scrutiny, the distinctions offered in this paper allow for more structured analyses of what tasks and mandates the responsible organisations hold, and how that correspond with the activities and projects they carry out, along with how these activities and projects, are evaluated, and how they relate to the expectations and wishes of different types of stakeholders. Likewise, empirical research concerned with effect-measurement and/or organisational efficiency might also benefit from more conceptual clarity because it raises different questions as to what they should aim to evaluate and measure. And lastly, by clarifying what these concepts entail, this paper might contribute to an overdue debate about to what places should be managed according to the prerequisites of these concepts and instruments.

6. Conclusion

The conceptual confusion regarding place promotion, place marketing and place branding is rooted in the complexities of the diverse and constantly changing practices of cities to improve their competitiveness. In this paper, we have revealed that beneath this diversity, commonalities can be discerned in both the academic reflections regarding the concepts in theory and their application in practice. The exploration of the recent academic debate on, and the contemporary urban governance implications of, the differences between the three

concepts provided us with the building blocks to present a more coherent conceptual framework. This framework helps distinguish place promotion, place marketing and place branding, it can aid academics in structuring their analysis and analysing and comparing their findings, and provide practitioners with the clarity to avoid impeding asymmetries in their efforts to develop more coherent policies, built better organisations and define the task, mandates and goals of these organisations with more clarity.

In developing the conceptual framework based on the differences between the three concepts, we have established that place promotion is limited to increasing the attention for what the places have to offer. Place marketing is predominantly concerned with fine-tuning the place to manage supply and demand, both through promotional measures and other measures aimed at improving the product-market combinations. Therefore, place marketing benefits from an integrated approach, and should not be detached from the actual development of the place. We further established that place branding, is the most encompassing of the three and that it asks the most of the organisational capacity. In order for place branding to be a meaningful instrument, it cannot be a separate policy field or an external organisational entity – and requires an even deeper integration as compared to place marketing.

With respects to all three of the concepts, we emphasise that conceptual clarity is more than an academic endeavour and much more than a semantic discussion. Conceptual clarity will enable researchers to classify, and practitioners to streamline, the tasks, mandates, targets and goals within the corresponding domains of each of the three concepts.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Sebastian Zenker for proposing and editing this Special Issue, and for having provided helpful feedback on the initial ideas of the content of this publication. The authors would also like to thank Heather Skinner for a number of refreshing conference presentations and discussions on an ongoing literature review of hers. In addition, our gratitude goes out to the anonymous peer reviewers. They all provided us with extensive, thought-provoking questions, useful comments, and concise suggestions that helped us improve this paper.

References

Acharya, A., & Rahman, Z. (2016). Place branding research: A thematic review and future research agenda. *International Review of Public Non-profit Marketing, 1*(1), 1–29.

American Marketing Association (2008). The American marketing association releases new definition for marketing. Retrieved from: https://archive.ama.org/archive/AboutAMA/Documents/American%20Marketing%20Association%20Releases%20New%20Definition%20for%20Marketing.pdf.

Andersen, H. T., & Matthiessen, C. W. (1995). Metropolitan marketing and strategic planning: Mega-events – A Copenhagen perspective. *Danish Journal of Geography, 95*(1), 71–82.

Andriesse, F. (1986). Citymarketing: een onontgonnen terrain. *Tijdschrift voor marketing* (pp. 48–50). (May 1986).

Anholt, S. (2005). Some important distinctions in place branding. *Place Branding, 1*(2), 116–121.

Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new Brand Management for nations, cities and regions.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ashworth, G. J. (2011). Should we brand places? *Journal of Town and City Management, 1*(3), 248–252.

Ashworth, G. J., & Goodall, B. (Eds.). (1990). *Marketing tourism places*. London: Routledge.

Ashworth, G. J., Kavaratzis, M., Warnaby, G., Kvaratzis, M., Warnaby, G., & Ashworth, G. J. (2015). The need to rethink place branding. *(2015) Rethinking place branding: Comperehensive brand development for cities and regions*. Cham: Springer.

Ashworth, G. J., & Voogd, H. (1990). *Selling the city: Marketing approaches in public sector urban planning.* London: Belhaven Press.

Bailey, J. T. (1989). Marketing Cities in the 1980s and Beyond (1998) In T. Hall, & P. Hubbard (Eds.). *Regimes and representations*. Chichester: Wiley.

Baloglu, S., & McCleary, K. W. (1999). A model of destination image formation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(4), 868–897.

Beaverstock, J. V., & Taylor, P. J. (1999). A roster of world cities. *Cities, 16*(6), 445–458.

Berglund, E., & Olsson, K. (2010). Rethinking place marketing – A literature review. *Paper presented at the 50th European regional science association congress, August 19–23, Jönköping*.

Boerema, E. M., & Sondervan, H. J. (1988). Ondernemersgerichte city-marketing. *Tijdschrift voor marketing* (pp. 35–41). (January 1988).

Boisen, M. (2007). The role of citymarketing in contemporary urban governance. *Paper presented at the 51st conference of the international federation of housing and planning in Copenhagen, 23–26 September 2007*.

Boisen, M. (2015). Place branding and non-standard regionalization in Europe. In S. Zenker, & B. P. Jacobsen (Eds.). *Inter-regional place branding: Best practices, challenges and solutions* (pp. 13–23). Cham: Springer.

Boisen, M., Groote, P., Terlouw, K., & Couwenberg, O. (2017). Patterns of place promotion, place marketing and place branding in Dutch municipalities. *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* (in press).

Boisen, M., Terlouw, K., & Van Gorp, B. (2011). The selective nature of place branding and the layering of spatial identities. *Journal of Place Management and Development. 2*(4), 135–147.

Booms, B. H., & Bitner, M. J. (1981). Marketing strategies and organization structures. In J. H. Donnelly, & W. R. George (Eds.). *Marketing of Services*. Chicago: American Marketing Association.

Borchert, J. G., & Buursink, J. (1987). Citymarketing en geografie. *Nederlandse Geografische Studies. 43*.

Braun, E. (2008). *City marketing: Towards an integrated approach.* Rotterdam: Erasmus Research Institute of Management (ERIM).

Braun, E. (2012). Putting city branding into practice. *Journal of Brand Management, 19*(4), 257–267.

Braun, E., Kavaratzis, M., & Zenker, S. (2010). My city – My brand: The role of residents in place branding. *Paper presented at the 50th European regional science association congress in Jönköping, 19–23 August*.

Brenner, N. (2004). *New state spaces: Urban governance and the re-scaling of statehood.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buursink, J. (1991). *Steden in de markt – het élan van citymarketing.* Rotterdam: Coutinho.

Colomb, C., & Kalandides, A. (2010). The be berlin campaign: Old wine in new bottles or innovative form of participatory place branding? In G. Ashworth, & M. Kavaratzis (Eds.). *Towards effective place brand management*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Cox, K. R. (1995). Globalisation, competition and the politics of local economic development. *Urban Studies, 32*(2), 213–224.

Dinnie, K. (2010). *City branding: Theory and cases.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eisenschitz, A. (2010). Place marketing as politics: The limits of neoliberalism. In F. M. Go, & R. Govers (Eds.). *International place branding yearbook 2010: Place branding in the new age of innovation* (pp. 21–30). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eshuis, J., & Edwards, A. (2012). Branding the city: The democractic legitimacy of a new mode of governance. *Urban Studies, 50*(5), 1066–1082.

Eshuis, J., & Klijn, E. (2012). *Branding in governance and public management.* New York: Routledge.

Garber, L. L., & Dotson, M. J. (2002). A method for the selection of appropriate business-to-business integrated marketing communications mixes. *Journal of Marketing Communications, 8*(1), 1–17.

Gertner, D. (2011a). A (tentative) meta-analysis of the 'place marketing' and 'place branding' literature. *Journal of Brand Management, 19*, 112–131.

Gertner, D. (2011b). Unfolding and configuring two decades of research and publications on place marketing and place branding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 7*(2), 91–106.

Goi, C. L. (2009). A review of marketing mix: 4P's or more? *International Journal of Marketing Studies, 1*(1), 2–15.

Gold, J. R., & Ward, S. V. (Eds.). (1994). *Place promotion: The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions.* Chichester: John Wiley Publishers.

Govers, R. (2011). From place marketing to place branding and back. *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 7*(1), 227–231.

Govers, R., & Go, F. (2009). *Place branding: Glocal, virtual and physical identities, constructed, imagined and experienced.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gray, E. R., & Balmer, J. M. T. (1998). Managing corporate image and corporate reputation. *Long Range Planning, 31*(5), 695–702.

Green, A., Grace, D., & Perkins, H. (2016). City branding research and practice: An integrative review. *Journal of Brand Management, 23*(3), 252–272.

Hall, T., & Hubbard, P. (1996). The entrepreneurial city: New urban politics, new urban geographies? *Progress in Human Geography, 20*(2), 153–174.

Hankinson, G. (2004). Relational network brands: Towards a conceptual model of place brands. *Journal of Vacation Marketing, 10*(2), 109–121.

Hankinson, G. (2010). Place branding theory: A cross-domain literature review from a marketing perspective. In G. Ashworth, & M. Kavaratzis (Eds.). *Towards effective place brand management*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Hankinson, G. (2015). Rethinking the place branding construct (2015) In M. Kavaratzis, G. Warnaby, & G. J. Ashworth (Eds.). *Rethinking place branding: Comprehensive brand development for cities and regions*.

Hanna, S., & Rowley, J. (2008). An analysis of terminology use in place branding. *Journal of Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 4*(1), 61–75.

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The new transition in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler B, 71*(1), 3–17.

Hospers, G. J. (2009). *Citymarketing in perspectief.* Lelystad: IVIO Wereldschool.

Hubbard, P., & Hall, T. (1998). The entrepreneurial city and the new urban politics. In T. Hall, & P. Hubbard (Eds.). *The entrepreneurial city: Geographies of politics, regimes and representations*. Chichester: Wiley.

Jessop, B. (1997). The entrepreneurial city: Re-imagining localities, redesigning economic governance, or restructuring capital? In N. Jewson, & S. MacGregor (Eds.). *Realising cities: New spatial divisions and social transformation*. London: Routledge.

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neo-liberalism, and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective. *Antipode, 34*(3), 452–472.

Kalandides, A. (2012). Place branding and place identity. An integrated approach. *Tafter*

journal. 43 (LINK).
Kavaratzis, M. (2004). From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 1*(1), 58–73.
Kavaratzis, M. (2005). Place branding: A review of trends and conceptual models. *The Marketing Review, 5*(4), 329–342.
Kavaratzis, M., & Ashworth, G. J. (2005). City branding: An effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick? *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 96*(5), 506–514.
Kavaratzis, M., & Ashworth, G. J. (2008). Place marketing: How did we get here and where are we going? *Journal of Place Management and Development, 1*(2), 150–165.
Kavaratzis, M., & Hatch, M. J. (2013). The dynamics of place brands: An identity-based approach to place branding. *Marketing Theory, 13*(4), 69–86.
Kavaratzis, M., & Kalandides, A. (2015). Rethinking the place brand: The interactive formation of place brands and the role of participatory place branding. *Environment and Planning A, 47*(1), 1368–1382.
Keller, K. L. (1993). Conceptualizing, measuring, and managing customer-based brand equity. *Journal of Marketing, 57*, 1–22.
Kotler, P., Haider, D. H., & Rein, I. (1993). *Marketing places: Attracting investment, industry, and tourism to cities, states, and nations.* New York: The Free Press.
Lombarts, A. (2008). *De hunkerende stad: bewoners, bedrijven en bezoekers en hun onderlinge interactie en spanningsvelden.* Amsterdam: Hogeschool InHolland.
Lucarelli, A. (2015). *The political dimension of place branding.* Stockholm: Stockholm Business School.
Lucarelli, A., & Berg, P. O. (2011). City branding: A state-of-the-art review of the research domain. *Journal of Place Management and Development, 4*(1), 9–27.
Lucarelli, A., & Brörström, S. (2013). Problematising place branding research: A meta-theoretical analysis of the literature. *The Marketing Review, 13*(1), 65–81.
McCarthy, E. J. (1964). *Basic marketing – A managerial approach.* Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin Publishers.
Moilanen, T., & Rainisto, S. (2008). *How to brand nations, cities and destinations.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Municipality of The Hague (2017). *The Hague branding 2020.* The Hague: Bureau Citybranding The Hague.
de Noronha, I., Coca-Stefaniak, J. A., & Morrison, A. M. (2017). Confused branding? An exploratory study of place branding practices amongst place management professionals. *Cities, 66*, 91–98.
Oliveira, E. (2016). *Place branding in strategic spatial planning – An analysis at the regional scale with special reference to Northern Portugal.* Groningen: University of Groningen.
Project Oslo Region (2015). *The Oslo region brand management strategy.* Oslo: Oslo Regionen & Oslo Business Region. Retrieved from: http://www.projectosloregion.no/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/ProjectOsloRegion_EN.pdf.
Rennen, W. (2007). *CityEvents – Place selling in a media age.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Ritchie, J. R. B., & Ritchie, R. J. B. (1998). *The branding of tourism destinations, report presented to the 1998 annual congress of the international association of scientific experts in tourism.* Morocco: Marrakech.
Sharp, B. (2010). *How brands grow: What marketers don't know.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Skålen, P., Fougere, M., & Fellesson, M. (2008). *Marketing discourse. A critical perspective.* London: Routledge.
Skinner, H. (2008). The emergence and development of place marketing's confused identity. *Journal of Marketing Management, 24*(9–10), 294–304.
Smyth, H. (1994). *Marketing the city: The role of flagship developments in urban regeneration.* London: Taylor & Francis.
Taylor, P. J. (1997). Hierarchial tendencies amongst world cities: A global research proposal. *Cities, 14*(6), 323–332.
Terlouw, K. (2017). *Local identities and politics: Negotiating the old and the new.* London: Routledge.
Therkelsen, A., Halkier, H., & Jensen, O. B. (2010). Branding Aalborg: Building community or selling place? In G. Ashworth, & M. Kavaratzis (Eds.). *Towards effective place brand management*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Van den Berg, L., Klaassen, L. H., & Van der Meer, J. (1990). *Strategische city-marketing.* Schoonhoven: Academic Service, Economie en Bedrijfskunde.
Vuignier, R. (2016). *Place marketing and place branding: A systematic (and tentatively exhaustive) literature review. Working paper de l'IDHEAP* (5/2016).
Ward, S. V. (1998). *Selling places – The marketing and promotion of towns and cities 1850–2000.* London: Routledge.
Ward, S. V., & Gold, J. R. (1994). Introduction. In J. R. Gold, & S. V. Ward (Eds.). *Place promotion: The use of publicity and marketing to sell towns and regions*. Chichester: John Wiley Publishers.
Warnaby, G., & Medway, D. (2013). What about the 'place' in place marketing? *Journal of Marketing Theory, 13*(3), 345–363.
Zenker, S. (2011). How to catch a city? The concept and measurement of place brands. *Journal of Place Management and Development, 4*(1), 40–52.
Zenker, S., & Beckmann, S. C. (2013). My place is not your place – Different place brand knowledge by different target groups. *Journal of Place Management and Development, 6*(1), 6–17.
Zenker, S., & Braun, E. (2017). Questioning a 'one size fits all' city brand: Developing a branded house strategy for place brand management. *Journal of Place Management and Development, 10*(3), 270–287.
Zenker, S., Braun, E., & Petersen, S. (2017). Branding the destination versus the place: The effects of brand complexity and identification for residents and visitors. *Tourism Management, 58*(10), 15–27.
Zenker, S., & Gollan, T. (2010). Development and implementation of the resident migration scale (ReMiS): Measuring success in place marketing. In E. H. Witter, & T. Gollan (Eds.). *Sozialpsychologie und Ökonomie*. Pabst Verlag: Lengerich.