

PLACE BRANDING: VIABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY OR PRACTITIONER PLACEBO

Michael C. Carroll

Professor/director, Department of Economics, and Economics Research Group,
University of North Texas, Denton, Texas, 76203-5017, USA.

Email: Michael.Carroll@unt.edu

Steven Nelson

Research assistant, University of North Texas, Economics Research Group,
Denton, Texas, 76203-5017, USA.

ABSTRACT: Much has been written about place branding in recent years. Some authors believe a city's brand is an important asset in positioning a city for future growth (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009). Others believe logos and slogans have a limited impact (Govers, 2013) and development efforts should be concentrated in other areas. What the literature does agree on is the practitioner community's fascination with superficial branding. Useful or not, the use of slogans and logos is certainly popular. So popular in fact, many cities have multiple place branding slogans. The U.S. cities of Austin, TX and Boulder, CO are good examples. Austin wants to 'Keep Austin Weird' so it can continue as the 'Live Music Capital of the World'. Boulder claims to be 'The Berkeley of the Rockies' but it secretly longs to be 'The People's Republic of Boulder'. While these slogans are certainly clever, the real question is do they provide any real economic benefit?

KEY WORDS: Place Branding; City Slogans; Urban Development; Las Vegas; Hartford.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the use of place branding strategies as economic development tools; specifically the subset area of place branding, slogans. This paper focuses on how slogans fit into branding strategies, what is needed for a successful slogan, and what effect these slogans can have on branding campaigns. Section one provides an introduction and history of place branding, a brief review of the literature with regards to what makes a successful slogan,

and points out modern branding strategies used by regions and cities today. Section two presents an employment analysis of two U.S. cities (Las Vegas and Hartford) that have place branding at the center of their economic development strategy. We examine employment trends before and after the implementation of the place branding to see if the strategy had any tangible impact on the cities' employment base. The final section offers a summary of the results for each case city. We also provide suggestions to local practitioners for the implementation of branding strategies.

2. SECTION 1

There are several incentives for a city or country to practice place based branding. With the ever-increasing reality of global travel and international trade, many cities feel an increased competition for tourists, residents, jobs, and investment (Herget *et al.*, 2015). This has led some cities to lean on advertisers and marketers to create a slogan or brand for the city. Some cities like Austin, TX did not have to adopt a brand but merely made official something that was already a reality. When Austin adopted the slogan 'Live Music Capital of the World', Austin was already a live music hot spot that had been growing for years. An increasing number of cities and small towns have chosen to undergo branding identity campaigns. From major cities like Las Vegas to small towns like Andover, they all see a potential benefit a well-known brand can bring to a community. Successful brands bring national or international recognition by increasing the city's attractiveness to tourists. "When most people talk about place branding, they aren't usually talking about giving a name or a symbol to a place, place branding is used to make a place famous," (Anholt, 2010). Some brands are focused on this aspect, especially ones developed for countries or large cities. It seems that the international tourism market can be a major focus when developing branding strategy. Some place brands focus on a unifying theme for the city and its stakeholders that illustrates a proud feature or distinct history of the city. This can build strong feelings of pride and unification for residents and businesses that boosts local economic activity and development.

The concept of place branding has been around for centuries in one form or another but the intended role has changed with the times. Early on places were given names to invite migration, there are examples of this in Europe and America. "Greenland, according to one popular account, was given its name

by Erik the Red in order to attract settlers to the territory by giving it an impression of greater fertility than the place actually possessed,” (Anholt, 2010). In early and mid-20th century America, cities were branding themselves to lay claim to their specific local industries. Detroit was ‘Motor City’, Wichita was the ‘Air Capital of the World’, and Pittsburgh was the ‘Steel City’. As the 20th century progressed and global competition increased, these older cities became less and less known for their once prominent industries.

Today place branding has taken on new roles, mainly focusing on the marketing of the city towards potential tourists. As consumption roared following the Second World War, the art of marketing transformed from art to science; the growing marketers and advertisers evolved place branding into something comparable to the branding of products or services (Anholt, 2010). The ultimate goal being to attract international tourists and investors to bring added revenue into the local economy. Some branding campaigns focus on the marketing of the city much like a company would market their products, using a catchy phrase that entices the consumer to purchase the product, or in this case travel to the destination (Herget *et al.*, 2015). But is that all that is needed?

Many different suggestions and theories have been put forward about what a place branding campaign needs to be successful. We believe for a branding campaign to be effective the experience must be real and not manufactured. The experience must be formatted in a way that can be delivered to the desired audience and gain enough attention to make the effort worth the investment. Creating a phrase or slogan which correctly captures the experience a region wants can be very difficult. Cities now must compete on an international level for tourists, skilled workers, jobs, and investment (Herget *et al.*, 2015). They must stand out, be different but attractive. It is in a person’s mind that the city first takes form, through each individual’s perceptions and images of the city. “A useful way to look at branding in general is to conceptualize it as managing consumers’ expectations. City branding in particular should be understood as a process of generating expectations in actual and potential city users’ minds and ensuring that these expectations are met in the way people experience the city. Creating or, at least, influencing expectations about the city takes place through communication and promotional activities” (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009).

Some of the most famous brands describe an experience the visitor will enjoy. Painting a picture in the traveler’s mind of what they will experience, then following through once the visitor arrives. New Zealand’s brand ‘100%

Pure New Zealand' is a good example of marketing a niche, the country has realized it can offer, that lines up great with a demand created by some tourists. Slogans based in reality are more successful (Hildreth, 2013). New Zealand ads have many different natural scenes from sunny beaches to snow covered mountains, which the slogan boasts are 100 per cent pure. By identifying a highly demanded aspect of the region and then promoting it an implicit message is sent, that other possible destinations are somehow less than 100 per cent pure (Cleave and Arku, 2015). "Place brands attempt to represent something that is unique to that region, to differentiate the region from others, and to attract attention," (Bunio and Wyly, 2014). We see examples of this happening in cities across the World.

Some regions are branded towards developing new industries such as advanced manufacturing, entertainment, or technology. These regions either create the brand to develop a new industry or the title is bestowed upon them like Detroit's 'Motor City'. One industry we see this happening in is high-tech. Research and Development (R&D) hubs have created such respected reputations that only a handful of places are attractive for high-tech firms (Anttiroiko, 2015). Silicon Valley has held the mantle for tech companies to headquarter but as the sector grows an increasing number of other cities want to attract the high paying jobs that come along with the industry. Although not an official slogan Austin's 'Keep Austin Weird' aims at doing just that. "Weird covers an array of new industries Austin wishes to attract and grow such as ad agencies, film, and technology," (Rodriguez, 2014). This type of place branding does not have to be instituted by a single city or county. Under the name Central, South Carolina several counties have banded together to attract new jobs and industries. Their slogan 'Business Friendly, Business Ready,' makes obvious they are targeting businesses and their website displays positive information about their area geared towards targeted industries. It is interesting to see a group of counties bond together under a third party brand to create a common place brand and be able to provide similar experiences to its target market. Encompassing more than one local government is out of the ordinary for a place branding campaign.

Slogans

Whether the branding takes place in a single city or a group of counties slogans are used to catch attention and create a unifying theme. However, the

branding effort taking place must involve more than just a catchy slogan or phrase. A repeated problem with place branding is often only part of the branding process is implemented, mainly the development of a phrase, slogan, or logo. (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009). When creating the new brand it would benefit officials to think of all the stake holders being represented, then craft something that creates an association or experience (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Govers, 2013). A slogan is important but the experience felt while there is even more important. “The name or logo is the tool for identification and recognition, but the core of branding is to make sure that consumers attach distinctive associations,” (Govers, 2013). The slogan should create a perception in the audiences’ mind of what they are going to experience. “Cities frequently employ catchy tag lines in their efforts to position and establish brand image,” (Kemp *et al.*, 2012). However, the best attraction slogan in the world that catches the most attention, if not based in reality, will not be as effective as a good slogan that describes the awaited experience for the visitor.

A good way to make sure the slogan creates the correct image of the place is by looking carefully at all the city’s stakeholders. City residents, the local culture, businesses and employers, and government officials should all be considered when creating a successful place brand (Kemp *et al.*, 2012). “A key challenge of city branding is the difficulty of delimiting a city’s identity and core values in a manner that is widely acceptable, easily marketable, presentable, and open to experience in a daily manner,” (Herget *et al.*, 2015). One of the challenges of branding a city lies at finding a unifying experience that the whole city can offer, then materializing the experience into a slogan. It is highly beneficial if the experience being represented is felt by most of the residents, something they might take pride in or find favorable about the city (Kemp *et al.*, 2012). “When residents feel a strong connection to the branding efforts of the city, so much so that the brand aligns with their self-concept, a civic consciousness can be created that helps to strengthen the city’s brand management system, especially as it is introduced to external constituents,” (Kemp *et al.*, 2012). Then the idea must also be crafted into a marketable slogan that is easily presentable to the target audience. A slogan cannot be complicated or long or it risks being forgotten, which places added difficulties when trying to illustrate an entire experience in only a few words.

Branding Strategies

There are two main branding strategies cities follow when creating a place brand. A tourism strategy is designed to attract visitors from outside the city. A redevelopment strategy to attract new businesses and outside investment into the city. Most place branding strategies cited in the literature are tourism strategies. The city's main objective then is to attract more visitors. "When competing with other cities, every decision regarding further development of the city and its brand must be realistic and carefully planned in accordance with numerous factors, including the city's political stage, heritage, financial resources, geographic location, cultural diversity, social ties and so on," (Karvelyte and Chiu, 2011). That is why great focus and attention in branding campaigns is spent developing a logo or slogan to better create a positive image in the visitors head based on the factors Karvelyte and Chiu present. The branding turns into an attempt to represent something that is unique to the city that attracts positive attention (Bunio and Wyly, 2014). Place brands highlighting something unique about the city include Hershey, PA and its brand as the 'Sweetest Place on Earth', seems fitting due to the large amount of chocolate made there, and Solvang, CA uses the brand 'Danish Capital of America', to show its unique characteristic. Although the two brands are totally different they both showcase a unique attribute of the city, hopefully creating a positive image or expectation in the potential visitors mind about the experience they would feel visiting the city.

Creating the imagined experience in the visitors mind and then delivering a similar experience can only be achieved if the many different city stakeholders are involved. The more engaged the local government is with the community before formulating the brand the better. Local government officials should try to not take too much control of the creation processes (Lindstedt, 2015), instead let the branding form naturally from the local culture, the experience visitors feel once they arrive cannot be manufactured (Lindstedt, 2015). The more natural forming the brand is the more unified the city will be in support of the brand. Few place brands are thought up in a conference room and then implemented with much effect. The ones that succeed are felt by the stakeholders of the city long before they become official. For the visitor to truly experience the intended branding all the city stakeholders should be on board. "The ability of residents to understand and internalize the values embodied in a city's brand identity is necessary if it is to be transmitted

correctly to external stakeholders. In the context of city branding, successful branding strategies can harmonize culture and social consciousness as well as increase economic benefits,” (Kemp *et al.*, 2012). There is value in having a brand which highlights a sought-after point of the city that lines up with its culture. A good brand strategy builds interaction between city stakeholders along with people outside the city (Govers, 2013).

Some cities recently have been focusing more on ambiguous slogans for their place branding efforts. Hartford, CT uses ‘Hartford Has It’, and Greenwood, MS uses ‘That’s so Delta’. These branding slogans offer the visitor the opportunity to fill in what he or she thinks the slogan means for them. A very creative way to possibly include all the stakeholders. Each one will be able to have their own lens they see the brand through and hopefully no one is alienated. This allows for each stakeholder to view the city brand from their own perspective (Merrilees *et al.*, 2012). Offering a creative way to get around the difficulty of city developers picking the brand most in line with the city stakeholders. ‘That’s so Delta’ gives local businesses room to create a ‘delta’ experience they can offer tourists that best fits their strengths and abilities. Sometimes a unifying theme rather than a specific experience can work better when branding a city.

As mentioned above, place branding strategies are not without limitations. Time is a factor that is usually left out of the strategy. Many practitioners believe their campaign will yield immediate benefits. They soon realize that a successful campaign only begins to generate results after numerous touch-points with a visitor. This is even more important when attempting to change the attitude of current residents (Kotler *et al.* 1993). That kind of change will take years to come to fruition. The other limitation that is generally overlooked is the belief that an external firm can craft a successful strategy. A good place based program must include significant guidance for local players. Local development officials and politicians must be involved throughout the process. Without this interaction a branding initiative runs the risk of losing credibility with a number of constituents (Pasquinelli, 2010 p. 570).

Redevelopment

Places working on a redevelopment strategy may have a more challenging goal to achieve. There are two different sub strategies, one aimed at developing new industries and one aimed at rejuvenating downtown areas. Instead of just

attracting people to visit their city the development strategy focuses on getting people and businesses to move and stay in the city. To do this city officials should understand what are driving economic factors in the city, what industries would be best supported by the existing business, and are their features close to the city that gives them a comparative advantage? One such region, central South Carolina that is using the new industry strategy, points out to businesses who may potentially want to relocate, their proximity to a major international airport and two major metropolitan areas. Along with other features these positive attributes comprise the comparative advantage they hope to illustrate, so their target market will know they are business friendly. There are not a lot of examples of this type of place branding occurring in the literature. We suspect this may be because place branding's a relatively new area of study and this strategy has such a higher risk due to the additional complexity, most cities may not be up for the task. However, many cities throughout the mid-west may be soon considering a branding strategy like this to differentiate them from their neighbors. Cities in the area are shadows of their former selves because of the declining industries that defined their existence.

Another redevelopment strategy focuses on rejuvenating the downtown instead of trying to bring in completely new industries. Many cities have found their downtown lose population to the suburbs, and along with them many jobs, entertainment, and businesses. Some cities have focused their branding on breathing life back into their fleeting downtowns. As you will see this has been the focus of Hartford, CT. With the brand 'Hartford Has It' their goal is to attract more people from around the area to do their shopping or see entertainment downtown rather than in the surrounding area. The slogan cleverly captures everything you can think of doing, as long as there is one in Hartford. The slogan is ambiguous enough that the experience can be personalized for each visitor or resident, which is great when interacting with a diverse population of people. We will talk more about this specific city and another in section two and test whether the place branding has affected the local labor market.

3. SECTION 2

City and regional governments have made place based branding an important objective. But does the economic benefit outweigh the cost? Are more

residents better off because of the government efforts? A major sign of economic strength can be indicated by employment. An increase in employment caused or at least correlated with the implementation of a brand would be great news for any city, a sign that demand for what the city offers has increased. Other measures such as income are possible but they are generally correlated with employment. Another reason to focus on employment is the availability of the data at the city level. The analyses presented in this section is based on quarterly employment to increase the degrees of freedom in the model. City measures of income are generally annual numbers which did not fit the shorter timeline of the study. Brands are usually developed to increase tourism but some are geared towards redevelopment within the city; we will take a broad look at one example from each of these strategies. Since the economic benefits from tourism and redevelopment could potentially reach all industries within a city we assume that if the branding campaign was effective an increase in employment would follow.

Methods

To capture the effects of a new brand on local employment a simple time series regression model is used. The dependent variable used is total employment within the city. This variable is of interest if it is positively affected, negatively affected, or not affected at all by the city's branding campaign. The model does include an intercept coefficient. To account for the inherent trend present in most time series data sets a time variable is used. This variable counts up from 1, starting with the first time period and ending with the last. For Las Vegas the time variable counts quarters to go along with the rest of the data and for Hartford the time variable counts months. This variable will capture and account for the trend in the dependent variable. To account for the increase or decrease in employment because of higher or lower wages another independent variable was used, average weekly earnings within the city. This variable will account for any changes in employment because of the wage rate. The slogan variable is a dummy independent variable that takes a value of zero for all time periods before the slogan was implemented and a one for all time periods after the slogan was used. The estimated coefficient will tell us the average effect the slogan has on employment within the city, *ceteris paribus*. More importantly the sign the coefficient takes will show if the slogan has a positive effect on employment or a negative effect. Which will be

interpreted by the sign of the slogan variable's coefficient. All data sets used were pulled from the Federal Reserve website (FRED). The model used and described above is shown below.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Total Employment} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{slogan}) + \beta_2(\text{time}) \\ & + \beta_3(\text{average weekly wage}) \end{aligned}$$

As a separate analysis, we also calculated the location quotient for certain industries we felt would potentially benefit the most from the new branding. The location quotient calculates the percentage of jobs one industry has in its area and then divides that by the percentage of jobs that industry has throughout the entire country. There are limitations on these models that restrict them from isolating the total effect of the place branding; the dynamic environment of real world events because of the macro data used in our models may affect the results. We must give credence to the world financial crisis, the recession, and slow growth that followed may impact our findings. The cases we look at either started just before or just after the downturn.

To measure the success of place branding and broaden the scope, we focus on two cities, each using a different strategy, to test the significance of place branding on employment within the city. We selected Las Vegas, NV 'What Happens Here, Stays Here', and Hartford, CT 'Hartford Has It' as our case studies. The Vegas brand, implemented to increase tourism to the city, highlights the possibility of exotic nightlife and entertainment available but also left unspoken once the retreat ends. Hartford uses a redevelopment strategy for their downtown in the hopes of attracting people to enjoy dining and entertainment there instead of going outside the city. Using a regression model and location quotients we will assess the effects of these two branding campaigns on their respective local employment.

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Las Vegas

Las Vegas is a city located in the deserts of Nevada. Las Vegas has 22.2 per cent of its workers making less than \$1 250 a month, 37 per cent making between \$1 251 to \$3 333, and 40.8 per cent making more than \$3 333 a month. The education services industry has the highest share of jobs at 19 per cent of all jobs, accommodations and food services industry and the retail trade industry have 16.3 per cent and 12.6 per cent respectfully. Over 70 per cent of Las Vegas workers have at least some college. The city was founded in 1905 and received its first major inflow of people when construction of the Hoover Dam was under way. The major influx of people led to the legalization of gambling as the city hoped to capitalize on entertaining all the new predominantly male workers. Its first gambling licenses were issued in the 1930's. Shortly after World War II casino resorts started to be built, many resorts such as the Riviera and the Flamingo were said to be financed by organized crime looking to capitalize on legal gambling. Because of its history of organized crime and illicit activities Las Vegas has been labeled 'Sin City' by many. Looking to capitalize on the notion of being able to fulfill anyone's 'sinful' desires to boost the city's dwindling tourism industry city leaders commissioned a new city slogan to market the city 'What Happens Here, Stays Here'. Already having the reputation of sin city the new slogan now gives assurance that whatever is to be enjoyed in Las Vegas it will not follow you home.

The case of Las Vegas is interesting; a city that has capitalized on debauchery, founded by organized crime, and located far away from everything in a desert yet still has grown and flourished. This could be originally attributed to the lack of competition it faced among other cities; not many other places, especially in the United States, allowed for gambling and drinking all night, along with all the other sinful activities that seem to happen in Vegas.

It has even been nicknamed ‘Sin City’ by many. However, other cities have taken away some of the competitive advantage Vegas once held, Atlantic City had a casino boom in the 80’s and 90’s once gambling was made legal there and gambling also became popular in Oklahoma around the same time. The Las Vegas city government decided they needed a new branding campaign to differentiate themselves again, or at least remind people what makes a trip to Las Vegas exceptional. In 2003 at a brainstorming meeting in the Las Vegas tourism department of ad agency R&R Partners the new slogan was created. ‘What Happens Here, Stays Here’, branding was used for the first time in the fall of 2003 (Shankman, 2013).

Has this clever place branding campaign had a positive effect on the local employment in Las Vegas? We used seasonally adjusted quarterly data for our regression gathered from the St. Louis Federal Reserve website. Using the regression model listed above, all variables were significant based on their p-values, and interestingly the coefficient for the slogan variable was negative. (See Table 2) This tells us that everything else held constant, the implementation of the branding negatively affected total employment in the city.

Table 1. Las Vegas Total Employment Regression Statistics.

R Square	0.93155
Adjusted R Square	0.92952
Standard Error	49.0030
F- Statistic	458.2106
F Stat Significance	<0.0001
Observations	105

Note: Data used from Federal Reserve website (FRED) Data range for data: First Quarter 1990 - Third Quarter 2016.

Table 2. Las Vegas Total Employment Regression Independent Variable & Intercept Statistics.

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	-451.42	-5.35	< 0.0001
Slogan	-48.68	-2.20	0.0300
Time	-3.22	-3.96	0.0001
Average Weekly Wage	2.08	10.47	< 0.0001

Note: Data used from Federal Reserve website (FRED) Data range for data: First Quarter 1990 - Third Quarter 2016.

Obviously there are many macroeconomic variables that cannot be accounted for with this model such as the ‘Great Recession’ which started in 2008 and the unprecedented slow recovery that has followed. This macro event may have skewed the data to show a more negative illustration than what would be expected during ‘normal’ times. For instance the time variable also had a negative coefficient, although much smaller than the one for the slogan; even though graphing the dependent variable, shown below in figure 1, shows an obvious positive trend through most of the data.

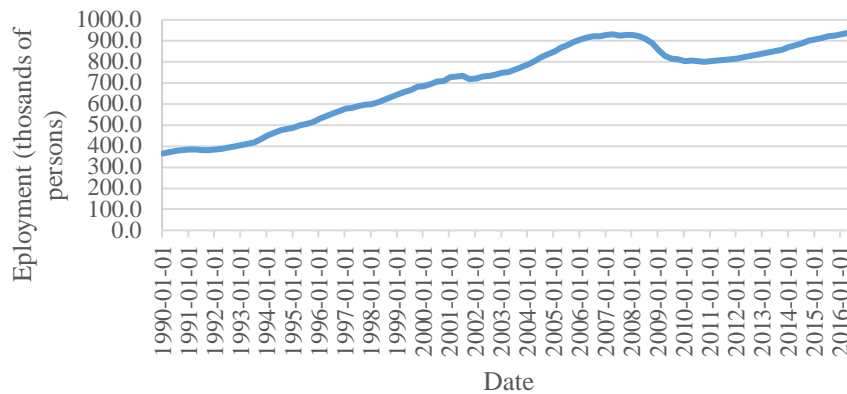


Figure 1. Las Vegas Total Employment (thousands of persons). Source: the Authors.

The next method we used to highlight the effects of place branding on employment is the location quotient. Amusement and gambling employment serves as our specific industry because of our likely assumption that this entertainment is central to the tourism market in Las Vegas.

Once the calculations were made the results were graphed to see any relevant information, (see figure 2) the values start around 3.5 and have a steep downward trend, keeping the same slope until roughly 2005. Then the graph sort of levels off just under 1.5. Can this be accredited to the branding campaign? Or is it more likely whomever was building casinos and adding amusement/gambling jobs elsewhere in the country finished up their projects by 2005? There is probably a little truth to both of those questions.

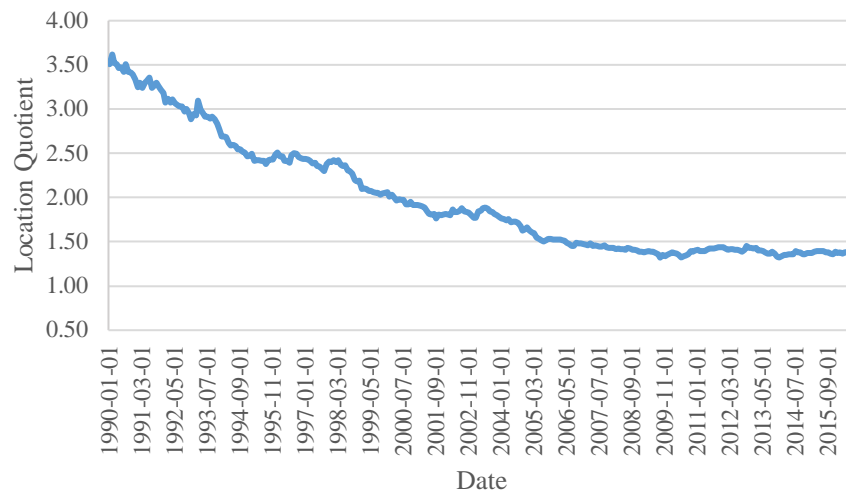


Figure 2. Las Vegas Amusement/Gambling Employment Location Quotient.

Source: the Authors.

Hartford, CT

Hartford is the capital city of Connecticut, located in the northeast United States. The city lays between the metropolitan areas of New York City and Boston. 74.9 per cent of the workforce has at least some college education.

This correlates with the higher wages many of the residents receive with 64.1 per cent of Hartford workers making more than \$3 333 a month and only 13.8 per cent of workers making less than \$1 250 a month. The main industry is finance and insurance which comprises 21.6 per cent of the workforce, the next largest industry is health care with 18.5 per cent of the workforce. Hartford has been known as the insurance capital of the northeast because of its heavy concentration of insurance headquarters. The finance and insurance jobs pay higher wages than many other industries, giving Hartford a great opportunity of having many affluent citizens within its borders. However, the city has had problems competing with New York and Boston to keep the consumers spending money in Hartford instead of going to the bigger cities. They have tried to use branding efforts in the past, most recently using ‘The Rising Star’, with little effect. The new slogan ‘Hartford Has It’ is intended to remind its citizens they do not have to travel outside of their city to find what entertainment they desire.

Hartford, a city located in the densely populated north east, uses its slogan to bring attention to the many assets within the city. Targeting younger to middle aged adults, the marketing campaign relies heavily on social media and buzz building. The city wanted to change dated images and perspectives that they feel are no longer relevant to the culture of Hartford (Nelson, 2014). The city targets the population around Hartford and promotes a sense of pride for the area, so that residents will keep their spending in Hartford instead of going somewhere else. The new branding campaign officially replaced the old one in 2013, with only a fraction of the funding of the last campaign (Nelson, 2014).

Redevelopment strategies such as this one are less likely implemented than a branding aimed at tourists. Here we clearly see the city of Hartford branding their city as a destination for everyone in the area. “No need to look outside the city for food and entertainment, Hartford already has what you are looking for,” is the implied message from their slogan. This can have an implicit message that the other cities don’t have what you want (Cleave and Arku, 2015). Hartford may have chosen a redevelopment strategy instead of a tourism strategy because of its proximity to already major tourist locations such as New York City and Boston. Instead of trying to compete with these cities for outside tourists, Hartford decided to attract local residents as well. Now let us look at whether or not their new branding campaign has helped

total employment in the area. Figure 3 shows total employment of Hartford across a 16 year time period.

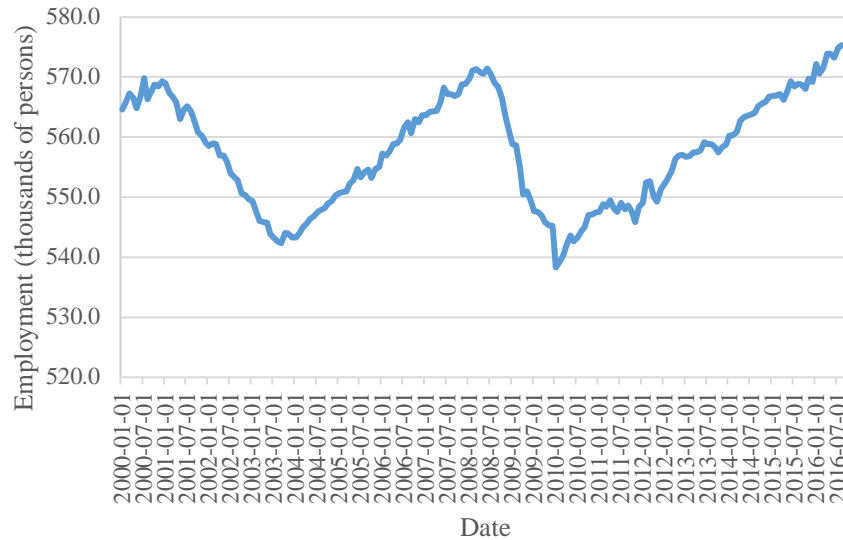


Figure 3. Hartford Total Employment (thousands of persons). Source: the Authors.

Targeting local residents to stay in Hartford and spend more of their income was the goal of the branding campaign. We can follow that if more people are indeed spending money within the city vs outside the city, then employment levels should be positively affected by the new activity. Using the same regression model as before we find that the branding coefficient is indeed positive (refer to table 4); saying that holding all other variables constant the new branding had a positive effect on total employment. We should point out there was a positive trend in total employment that started before this brand was used and continued on during the branding campaign.

Table 3. Hartford Total Employment Regression Statistics.

R Square	0.5424
Adjusted R Square	0.5304
Standard Error	6.8381
F- Statistic	45.0416
F Stat Significance	< 0.0001
Observations	118

Note: Data used from Federal Reserve website (FRED). Date range for data: January 2000 - October 2016.

The job sector chosen for comparison in the location quotient statistic is leisure and hospitality. This industry consists of employment in entertainment, recreation, accommodations, and food services (BLS, 2017), the sectors that would benefit the most from an increase in people staying within the city for dining or entertainment. Looking at the graph we see that the location quotient increases slowly from 2000 to 2014 followed by a slight two year decrease before the data runs out. Seeing the change in trend right after the new slogan leads us to question whether these jobs were the ones increasing after the branding.

Table 4. Hartford Total Employment Regression Independent Variable & Intercept Statistics.

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	436.20	21.14	< 0.0001
Slogan	29.21	10.57	< 0.0001
Time	-0.43	-8.20	< 0.0001
Average Weekly Wage	0.18	6.84	< 0.0001

Note: Data used from Federal Reserve website (FRED). Date range for data: January 2000 - October 2016.

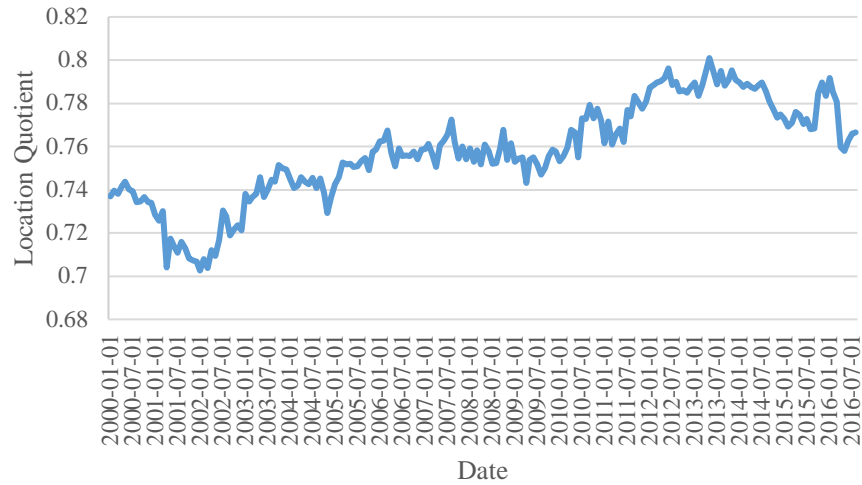


Figure 4. Hartford Leisure and Hospitality Location Quotient. Source: the Authors.

4. SECTION 3

We can see what the data shows about the effectiveness of the place branding that took place, but did the cities selected run successful branding campaigns? To dive into a full analysis of each city's branding campaign using criteria presented in the literature is beyond the scope of this paper. However, in this section a few features in each city's branding strategy that were instrumental in increasing its chances of success will be examined. The examination will be done by referencing what some have written about place based branding.

Las Vegas seems to have, as Hergert *et al.* 2015 suggests, identified a core part of their culture and presented it in a clever easy to remember slogan. The slogan highlights what makes Las Vegas unique from any other destination (Bunio and Wyly, 2014); in a positive light it entices the audience to think about what they would like to do but would not do at home. By associating themselves with the visitor being able to leave whatever it is behind them after their adventures in Las Vegas, it implies that anywhere else what a visitor does may follow them home (Cleave and Arku, 2015). Las Vegas did a good job

branding itself based off the points found in the literature about what a city should do in order to brand itself successfully. Even though the results of our regression pointed towards a negative effect of the branding it's hard to tell whether that would have been the case without the 'great recession' that took place a few years after the branding campaign.

Hartford, using the redevelopment strategy had different goals than Las Vegas but followed some of the same place branding recommendations. Hartford, CT wanted to draw people in from the immediate metro area and promote assets in the city (Carlesso, 2013). The ambiguous slogan lets the observer incorporate it into any entity, whether a business, restaurant, or some form of entertainment venue. This follows what Govers (2013) recommended, that the consumer be able to attach distinct associations to the slogan. At the same time it's a way to include all the stakeholders (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Govers, 2013) without disenfranchising anyone. Hartford also has devoted a webpage run by the business improvement district that highlights many city events and activities (Carlesso, 2013). So they are not falling into the trap of implementing a brand by only developing a slogan and advertising it (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009); instead they continue to devote time and resources towards the brand through their website and the use of social media. Our statistical results pointed towards their branding campaign having a positive effect on the city's total employment.

One final point to note is how a branding strategy can build cohesion within the economic development community of a region. It can provide a single focus that can unify a community that can often be splintered. This is true for tourist based strategy or a redevelopment strategy. In the cases we covered in this paper Hartford highlights this more than Las Vegas. Hartford is more of an active strategy that was consciously implemented. Any development strategy depends on building social capital within the economic development community and place branding can provide a non-threatening way to do that. It also builds unity by keeping local practitioners and local politicians engaged. (Pasquinelli, 2010). This unity is necessary for the accountability and confidence in the strategy.

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