

Theoretical papers

Country as brand, product, and beyond: A place marketing and brand management perspective

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Abstract

This paper examines how widely held country images affect attitudes towards a country's products and services and ability to attract investment, businesses and tourists. It assesses the role of strategic marketing management in promoting the country's image, attractiveness and products.

COUNTRIES AS BRANDS AND PRODUCTS

Because product features are easily copied, brands have been considered a marketer's major tool for creating product differentiation. Even when differentiation based on product characteristics is possible, often consumers do not feel motivated or able to analyse them in adequate depth. Therefore the combination of brand name and brand significance has become a core competitive asset in an ever-growing number of contexts.¹

The American Marketing Association defines a brand as a 'name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition'. Brands differentiate products and represent a promise of value. Brands incite beliefs, evoke emotions and prompt behaviours. Marketers often extend successful brand names to new product launches, lending existing associations to them. As a result, they speed up

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consumers' information processing and learning. Brands have social and emotional value to users. They have personality and speak for the user. They enhance the perceived utility and desirability of a product. Brands have the ability to add to or subtract from the perceived value of a product. On one hand, consumers expect to pay lower prices for unbranded products or for those with low brand equities. On the other hand, they pay premiums for their treasured or socially valued brands. Brands have equity for both customers and investors. Brand equity translates into customer preference, loyalty and financial gains. Brands are appraised and traded in the marketplace. Brand equity has been pointed out to include many dimensions, such as performance, social image, value, trustworthiness and identification.²

The question here is: can a country be a brand? Is there such thing as country brand equity? Shimp *et al.*³ applied the term 'country equity', referring to the emotional value resulting from consumers' association of a brand with a country. Country names amount to brands and help consumers evaluate products and make purchasing decisions. They are responsible for associations that may add to or subtract from the perceived value of a product. Research has supported the idea that consumers are more willing to buy products from industrialised nations as a result of country equity.⁴ Products bearing a 'made in Germany', 'made in Switzerland' or 'made in Japan' label are commonly regarded as high quality, due to the reputation of these countries as top world manufacturers and exporters. At the same time, 'made in Surinam' or 'made in Myanmar' labels may raise

doubts about the quality of the products due to the low country brand equity.

In some instances a country may deliberately use its name to promote its products. For almost two decades now, American consumers have regarded Café de Colombia (Colombian coffee) as a top-quality coffee. The promotion of Colombia, a country name, as a brand of high-quality coffee has been done with the help of the Juan Valdez character. This 'quintessential *cafetero*', and his mule are portrayed in a logo created in 1981 to be used as a seal of guarantee issued by the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia. The Café de Colombia logo has been extensively used in advertising, promotional materials and coffee packaging, providing a good example of integrated marketing communications as well as consistency. Efforts to promote Colombia as a brand of coffee included the sponsorship of the two-week-long US Open tennis tournament in Flushing Meadows in 1995.⁵ Consumer advertising featuring the logo has paid off. Colombia is the leading exporter of coffee to the US and Café de Colombia holds over 40 per cent of the speciality coffee market in the USA. A 1995 survey found that 83 per cent of Americans interviewed associated the logo with coffee and 53 per cent properly identified it with Colombian coffee.⁶

Even when a country does not consciously manage its name as a brand, people still have images of countries that can be activated by simply voicing the name. Country images are likely to influence people's decisions related to purchasing, investing, changing residence and travelling. Country image can be understood as

'the sum of beliefs and impressions people hold about places. Images represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with a place. They are a product of the mind trying to process and pick out essential information from huge amounts of data about a place.'

A country's image results from its geography, history, proclamations, art and music, famous citizens and other features. The entertainment industry and the media play a particularly important role in shaping people's perceptions of places, especially those viewed negatively. Not only are product categories such as perfumes, electronics, precision instruments, wines, cars and software strongly identified with certain places, but so also are societal ills such as Aids epidemics, political riots, civil rights violations, attacks on the environment, racial conflict, economic turmoil, poverty and violent crime. All of these have been repeatedly and strongly associated with certain locales. Of course, different persons and groups are likely to hold different stereotypes of nations since the mental phenomenon is inherently subjective. Sometimes they are widespread however, and pervasive across elements of the same group — they are social cognitions, mental representations shared by members of a given society.

Most country images are in fact stereotypes, extreme simplifications of the reality that are not necessarily accurate. They might be dated, based on exceptions rather than on patterns, on impressions rather than on facts, but are nonetheless pervasive. The simple pronunciation or spelling of a brand name in a foreign language may impact

on product perceptions and attitudes. Leclerc *et al.*⁸ found in one experiment that the French pronunciation of a brand name affects the perceived hedonism of the products and attitudes toward the brand. They also found that the French branding influence persisted even in a product taste test — that is, with a direct sensory experience with the product.

Country images, or knowledge structures related to places, or place schemata, are commonly used as short-cuts for information processing and consumer decision heuristics. People, especially in low involvement situations, are sloppy cognitive processors. They resist changing or adjusting their cognitive structures or prior knowledge. They prefer to adjust what they see to fit what they know. They may fill in information that is not presented or distort the reality to fit their mental representations. People are also more likely to pay attention to information that confirms their expectations. They disregard information that challenges their knowledge structures in a process known as confirmation bias. They avoid the effort necessary to reconstruct their cognitions, unless misrepresentations have a cost for them or they find utility in the revision of their schemas. Therefore, images can be long lasting and difficult to change. They can be assessed and measured, and they may be managed and influenced by place marketers as well.

THE IMPACT OF COUNTRY NAMES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD PRODUCTS

In many countries, mandatory product labelling requires marketers to disclose a product's place of origin. This legal

requisite has raised the interest of marketing researchers and practitioners in understanding consumers' attitudes toward foreign products. For over three decades, the so-called country-of-origin effect (COO) has been the object of extensive investigation. In 1993, a book edited by Papadopoulos and Heslop⁹ presenting only original research on the topic was published. In 1994, Peterson and Jolibert¹⁰ identified 184 papers published in academic journals dealing with country image effects. Country of origin has become an integral part of the repertory of extrinsic cues to product evaluations, along with price, brand name, packaging and seller, as opposed to the study of the role of intrinsic qualities of the product such as materials, design, style, workmanship, colour, and smell.

Country-of-origin studies have been developed for a variety of durable and non-durable consumer products, including cars, electronics, apparel, smoke detectors, and pickles. Findings consistently support the fact that consumers pervasively use country-of-origin information as an indicator of quality. The simple manipulation of the country-of-origin or 'made-in' label has been observed to influence people's attitudes, even when subjects are given a chance to see, touch, feel or taste the very same physical product.¹¹ Research has also evidenced that national stereotypes affect relationships between manufacturers and foreign clients.¹²

The effect of country of origin has been observed through research using different methods, such as surveys, experiments and conjoint analysis. In most studies COO is used as an independent variable, while attitudes towards a product or a country's product serve as the dependent

measure. Perceived quality has also been used as a dependent measure, operationalised in many ways. Some authors contend that relevant quality dimensions are different for different products, and that a given country of origin can be highly regarded in one dimension, such as Volvo's reputation for safety, while it may score low in another, for example serviceability.¹³ Questions have also been raised about whether country image would really be a summary construct or should be decomposed in different dimensions¹⁴ such as country of design and country-of-assembly,¹⁵ country of brand,¹⁶ country of product design, country of parts manufacture and country of product assembly.¹⁷

Another line of investigation concerns the impact of the country of origin on highly valued global brands, such as Sony, Honda and Daimler-Mercedes. The topic has practical implications given the fact that, for cost or logistical reasons, global marketers constantly relocate manufacturing facilities or create new ones to serve local, regional or global markets better. Some studies report that COO information can be less important when other indicators of quality exist.¹⁸ For example, a global brand like Sony could countermand a negative effect of country of origin.¹⁹ But the opposite can also happen, namely people think less of Sony when it is produced in a country of low esteem.

Some investigators suggest that country-of-origin effects can only be understood with respect to ethnocentrism.²⁰ Most studies using the construct ethnocentrism apply the CETSCALE developed by Shimp and Shama.²¹ One example of this is the *Malinchismo* effect.²² In Mexico the

term *Malinchista* designates betrayers of Mexico, those who purchase foreign products and devalue the Mexican identity. The name comes from a Mexican woman known as La Malinche who served as interpreter to Cortez during the Spanish invasion in 1519. La Malinche became Cortez's confidante and mistress, and helped him defeat the Aztec King Montezuma II.

Extending the understanding of the ethnocentrism effect, Klein *et al.*²³ have also researched how animosity towards a foreign nation would affect negatively the purchase of products. To this end they investigated the attitudes of Chinese consumers toward Japan and Japanese products. The authors argue that ethnocentrism and animosity have different implications for perceptions of product quality. Animosity is a country specific construct, while ethnocentrism is described as people viewing their own in-group as central and rejecting what is alien, unfamiliar. Examples of animosity would include Jewish consumers avoiding German products, discussed by Hirschman,²⁴ and Australian and New Zealand consumers boycotting French products in protest at nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

Other studies have investigated a number of possible mediators of the country-of-origin effect. Motivation has been studied as a possible one, and research supports that country-of-origin effect is more likely to occur when consumers are under low motivation.²⁵ Researchers have also investigated the role of cultural dimensions in the COO effect. For example, individualism and collectivism have been used to explain why consumers prefer home country products over

imported ones even when provided with information that the foreign product is superior.²⁶

In conclusion, extensive research has supported the impact of country of origin on attitudes towards foreign products. Export promotion authorities in many countries recognise that their country's reputation constitutes an important asset to be managed.

MARKETING COUNTRIES AND MANAGING THEIR BRANDS

In a world of over six billion people living in nearly 191 independent states (and in many other still fighting for their sovereignty) the challenge of building a nation's wealth has become a critical business arena. Approximately 80 per cent of the world's population lives in the third world, most of them in poverty. Problems such as low living standards, population growth, job shortage and poor infrastructure are plaguing nations worldwide.²⁷

The challenge of national economic development has gone beyond the limits of public policy. The new economic order has transformed economic development into a market challenge as well. Nations compete with other nations and strive to devise sources of competitive advantage.²⁸ Thus today there are more reasons why nations must manage and control their branding. The need to attract tourists, factories, companies and talented people and to find markets for their exports requires that countries adopt strategic marketing management tools and conscious branding.

Strategic place marketing concerns the enhancement of a country's position in the global market-place. It requires understanding the en-

vironmental forces that may affect marketability — that is, the strengths and weaknesses of the country to compete with others, such as the size of domestic market, access to regional trade areas, education of the population, tax incentives, skilled labour, cost of labour, security and other factors. It also entails monitoring the external environment, gaining a dynamic understanding of opportunities and threats, as well as the competitive forces in the environment. The process must involve government, citizens and businesses, all with a shared vision. It requires setting and delivering the incentives and managing the factors that might affect place buyers' decisions — these factors include image, attractions, infrastructure and people.

The following subsections will deal with different tasks of country brand management — managing the image, attracting tourists and attracting factories and companies.

Managing the image

Why do many more tourists visit Greece than Turkey? The Turkish claim that they have longer coasts, unpolluted waters and superb archaeological sites to delight any visitor. Still, an overwhelmingly larger number of vacationers seeking sun and antiquities pick Greece instead of the neighbouring Mediterranean country. Turkey has tried to reposition the country and manage its troubled image. It has hired a public relations firm to promote the country worldwide as a major democracy, quite different from the image of a human rights violator spread several years ago by the movie *Midnight Express*. Tourism is a pivotal industry to Turkey's economy, and a

large-scale international campaign has been implemented to get tourists to perceive the 'Turkey' brand as closer to Greece's position.²⁹

Assessing a brand's image and how it compares to its competitors' images is a necessary step in designing the country's marketing strategy. Today there are many reasons why nations must manage and control their branding. The need to attract tourists and factories and companies requires conscious branding strategies for the different target groups. But some of the branding may be in conflict, for example when Ireland wants to attract tourists (beautiful country image) and software experts (high-tech image).

'Strategic image management (SIM) is the ongoing process of researching a place's image among its audiences, segmenting and targeting its specific image and its demographic audiences, positioning the place's benefits to support an existing image or create a new image, and communicating those benefits to the target audiences'.³⁰

To be effective, the desired image must be close to reality, believable, simple, appealing and distinctive (there are already too many 'friendly places' out there).

Brand managers use several tools to promote the country's image. One is a catchy slogan, such as 'Spain — Everything Under the Sun', 'Flanders — Europe's Best Business Location', 'Miami — Financial Capital of South America', and 'Scotland — Silicon Glen'. Visual images or symbols also play a role, such as the Eiffel Tower (Paris/France), Big Ben (London/England), Red Square (Moscow/Russia), the Statue of Liberty (New York/USA), and the

Corcovado-Christ Statue (Rio de Janeiro/Brazil). Events and deeds are also strongly connected to places and used to promote a country's image, like the Oktoberfest (Germany), the Rio Carnival (Brazil) and the Wimbledon Tennis Tournament (England).

Confronting a negative image can be an arduous challenge. The brand manager has no control over environmental factors that may keep tourists and investors away, such as natural disasters, political turmoil and economic downturns. Even more difficult can be controlling how the media and the press disseminate a country's problem, often creating or perpetuating stereotypes. A Turkish spokesperson once said that Turkey receives much worse press than it deserves. In some instances, managers mistakenly try to fix the country's image without fixing the problems that gave rise to it. No advertising or public relations will make an unsafe place safer, for example. Attracting tourists to the place without fixing the problem will lead visitors to bad-mouth the country and worsen its image.

To improve a country's image, it may be easier to create new positive associations than try to refute old ones. When many people hear the name Chicago, the Bulls and Michael Jordan come more often to mind than Al Capone.

Attracting tourists

In the 1990s, according to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), international tourism arrivals grew at an average rate of 4.3 per cent a year. In 2000, international tourism grew 7.4 per cent, the number of international tourism arrivals reached a total of 699

million and travel and tourism generated directly and indirectly 11.7 per cent of global GDP and nearly 200 million jobs.³¹ In 2020, the number of people travelling internationally is forecasted to increase to 1.6 billion and the revenue from international tourism should gross more than US\$2 trillion.³² Tourism creates direct and indirect jobs in hotels, restaurants, consulting, transportation and training; it increases tax revenues; and it helps the exporting of local products. These benefits do not come without a price, however. Tourism has been criticised for the destruction of the natural environment and threats to local cultures.³³

Country brand managers must understand that different places attract different tourists. The tourism market can be segmented by the attractions tourists seek, such as natural beauty, sun, adventure, gaming, events/sports or culture/history. The market can also be segmented by areas, regions or locations, by seasons, by customers' characteristics, or by benefits.³⁴ To be successful in the tourism industry a country must be very specific about what it wants to market and to whom.

Countries with natural beauties, archeological sites or a strong culture and history will attract natural tourists, those drawn to existing features of the place. If too few natural attractions exist, the country needs to undertake investment marketing to build attractions or to promote events that will attract tourists. Money also has to be spent to build an adequate infrastructure, safety and services.

Tourist managers must undertake research to understand the values tourists seek as users (performance, social and emotional values), as buyers

(convenience and personalisation) and payers (price and credit). The competitive environment must also be meticulously analysed. Consumers have literally thousands of destination choices. They will be drawn to destinations that they perceive to offer the best value either because they offer the most benefits or because they are inexpensive or more accessible.

Tourism requires image making and branding grounded in the place's reality. The tourist manager can use different tools. Jamaica invests millions of dollars each year in advertising targeted to American vacationers. France ran a campaign to get French people to portray a warmer attitude towards tourists. Famous residents, events and new attractions can also help build or revamp a destination's image. The ultra-modern Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, has given a strong facelift to the city and has helped to attract visitors and new investors. Hosting sports events or the Olympics can give another lift to a country's image.

In spite of tourism's importance, a country cannot expect the income generated by tourism to solve all of its problems. On the contrary, the country may first need to solve its problems in order to be able to generate the wanted tourism income.

Attracting factories and companies

In 1996, Intel Corporation's worldwide site location team was asked to make a recommendation about where the company should place its first plant in Latin America. Numerous countries fiercely competed to be the recipient of the US\$300–\$500M investment — money that would bring in new jobs,

taxes, complementary industries and new exports (100 per cent of the production would be exported to the USA). It could also leverage the confidence of other global investors in the country. The analysis took several months of hard work by a number of highly ranked Intel executives. It included several field trips before the team was ready to recommend a shortlist of four countries: Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Costa Rica. The final choice was not Brazil, the largest Latin American economy and market. Nor did Mexico, a member of NAFTA and the most accessible location to Intel's headquarters, become the choice. Chile, the fastest-growing and most stable economy of the continent with one of the best and least-expensive telecommunication services in the world, also lost out. Surprisingly, Costa Rica won the prize.³⁵

Costa Rica, the smallest of the four finalists, a country with only 3.5 million people, ended up winning the Intel plant. The country was not even on the original shortlist. Costa Rica won because it used many of the principles of place marketing. It also counted on the great job of the officials of CINDE — Coalición Costarricense de Iniciativas para el Desarrollo (Costa Rica's Investment Promotion Agency). CINDE followed the recommendation of the World Bank to target the electronics industry. A consultant from the Irish Development Agency (IDA), that country's successful investment promotion agency, also assisted in Costa Rica's effort. Instead of waiting for Intel's questions, CINDE's officials anticipated them and provided the information Intel might need. The pursuit for Intel's investment involved the active participation of many

people, including business professors at the Instituto Centroamericano de Administración de Empresas (INCAE), state ministers and the dean of the Instituto Tecnológico de Costa Rica (ITCR). Even the country's former President Jos María Figueres got involved and personally discussed the business with Intel's executives. President Figueres, who was educated at West Point and pursued graduate studies at Harvard, had been committed to attracting high-technology investments to Costa Rica, rather than investments based on cheap labour or the exploitation of national resources.¹⁶

One of the most interesting facets of place marketing deals with countries' efforts to attract new factories and business investments. These are expected to create new jobs and economic growth, with an overall benefit on the country's economy. Because of the dramatic improvements in telecommunication and transportation services worldwide, global companies are now searching for new locations that might bring down their costs. This has transformed supply-chain management, logistics and site selection in core competencies within global companies.

Country marketers must understand how companies make their site selection. Usually they begin the process by choosing a region in which to invest (eg, Latin America) and collecting information about the potential country candidates (see Table 1). In this phase, each country must be able to provide accurate and reliable information. Better, it should anticipate informational needs, as CINDE did in the case of Intel's site selection. The country should understand the loca-

Table 1 Basic information sought by business searching for a location

Local labour market
Access to customer and supplier markets
Availability of development site facilities and infrastructure
Transportation
Education and training opportunities
Quality of life
Business climate
Access to R&D facilities
Capital availability
Taxes and regulations

Source: Kotler *et al.* (1993), p. 232

tional characteristics companies are seeking as they relate to labour, tax climate, amenities, higher education, schools, regulation, energy, communication and business (see Table 2).

Today, countless countries and cities are trying to attract high tech industries. One of the reasons Costa Rica could attract Intel investments was because of the high level of technical education in the country and the number of electronics firms already located there.¹⁷ As Harvard professor Michael Porter¹⁸ argues, competing or complementary industries tend to form clusters of excellence that build productivity. The rivalry and competitive pressures among companies located in these clusters force them to innovate. That would explain concentrations of similar businesses in places like Silicon Valley (IT and software) and New Jersey (pharmaceuticals). Countries must define the industries they wish to build, and plan sites to appeal to these specific industries from the very beginning.

To compete, countries must be prepared to offer strong financial incentives to lure prospects. These incentives include tax exemption, work training, infrastructure invest-

Table 2 Locational characteristics: old and new

Characteristics	Old	New
Labour	Low cost, unskilled	Quality, highly skilled
Tax climate	Low taxes, low service	Modest taxes, high services
Incentives	Least-cost production, cheap land and labour	Value-added adaptable labour force, professionals
Amenities	Housing and transportation	Culture, recreation, museums, shopping, airport
Schools	Availability	Quality schools
Higher education	Not Key	Quality schools and research facilities
Regulation	Minimum	Compatible quality of life and business flexibility
Energy	Cost/availability	Dependability/reliability
Communication	Assumed	Technology access
Business	Aggressive chamber of commerce, etc	Partnerships

Source: Kotler *et al.* (1999), p. 227

ments, interest subsidies and even stake participation. Attracted by the potential proceeds of new factories and businesses, some nations fail to analyse the true cost of successfully attracting a company or plant. Incentive wars have led to a situation in which each created job costs tens of thousands of dollars that might never return to the community. The inducements can far exceed the benefits that the country might get. For example, in the late 1990s a new governor of the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul questioned the incentives offered by his predecessor to an automobile manufacturer. Withdrawing from the deal, Ford decided to build the new facility in the state of Bahia, which offered Ford even more inducements to attract the business.

Studies have shown that although government inducements play an important role in the site decision process, they rarely determine the final result. Proximity to consumer or supplier markets, qualified labour, and confidence in the administration are

likely to be more crucial aspects in the development of the decision. Numerous cases show that the decision is also highly influenced by the market performance of the promotion agency and the commitment of local authorities.

CONCLUSIONS

A great deal of empirical research has attested that country images are important extrinsic clues in product evaluations. They are familiar, they elicit associations and they can influence product evaluations and purchase decisions. Country images can lend a positive reputation to a whole category, such as French wines or perfumes, or even brand it — Café de Colombia.

Beyond serving as brand names, countries can be products as well. They compete in the market for tourists, factories, businesses and talented people. Thus countries must embark on more conscious country branding. This requires the following strategic management approach.

- The country needs to carry out a SWOT analysis to determine its chief strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.
- The country then chooses some industries, personalities, natural landmarks and historical events that could provide a basis for strong branding and story telling.
- The country should then develop an umbrella concept that would cover and be consistent with all of its separate branding activities. Among the possible concepts would be a country of (pleasure, quality, security, honesty, progress), or other concepts.
- The country then allocates sufficient national funds to each branding activity deemed to have a potentially large impact.
- The country creates export controls to make sure that every exported product is reliable and delivers the promised level of performance.

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