

# Place Attractiveness and Image. A research agenda.

Edited by Christophe Alaux, Laura Carmouze,  
Vincent Mabillard, Martial Pasquier





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## Editors

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**Run Zhao** is a PhD candidate in the Erasmus Initiative collaboration programme, Inclusive & Prosperous Cities, at Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands. With a master's degree in public administration and a bachelor's degree in business administration, she brings experience from the urban planning consulting industry. Her research focuses on the synergy between inclusive urban public policy, urban project governance, and city branding.



# Place branding – A focus on actors, attractiveness, and emerging trends

This book results from a PhD workshop held in Aix-en-Provence in June 2023. The workshop was organized conjointly by Aix-Marseille Université (France), the Université de Lausanne (Switzerland), and the Université libre de Bruxelles (Belgium). It provided PhD students from all over Europe with a great opportunity to present their thesis' projects or their most recent papers. A special session, focusing specifically on place branding and marketing, gathered six contributions. These contributions then received particular attention from supervisors from all three universities, and underwent a revision process. They form the chapters presented in this book.

The book consists in three parts: 1) emerging trends in place branding, especially in cities; 2) a focus on the dynamics that characterize the relationships between actors of a city or region; and 3) attractiveness for residents and tourists (especially when places are used as filming locations). The first part relates to a global phenomenon to which cities cannot escape: the general path towards sustainable transition in many places around the world. Numerous cities are participating in the development of a more sustainable planet. Sustainability is typically seen as a “catch-all” term, that covers many dimensions. Here, the two chapters dedicated to new trends in place branding, that accompany this transition to more sustainable places, focus on two main aspects: being “green” and “inclusive”.

Chapter 1, written by Run Zhao, addresses the issue of inclusiveness in cities, including a case study on Cologne, Germany. She depicts a contrast between what is presented as, in many regards, a model in inclusivity, and a reality where efforts are still to be made. Moreover, she reflects on the potential of this aspect to brand a city and to use such branding to attract targets, and what kind of targets. In Chapter 2, Joël Beney investigates how cities position themselves as green, how they are perceived in this regard, and how they may use this aspect in their branding efforts.

The second part focuses on the main actors behind place-branding and -marketing processes. Since organizations and individuals in charge of promoting a destination are central, it remains essential to better understand how they form, structure, and implement place branding. The increasing call for more participatory approaches, and the coordination challenges faced by most places, necessitate a refined understanding of these bodies tasked with improving place image and attractiveness.

Chapter 3, written by Etienne Doré-Lesachey, investigates the inter-organizational relationships between local and regional authorities on the eve of 2024 Olympic Games held in Paris, France. It discusses the challenges faced, the potential for increased cooperation (also after the event), and the main issues to consider. In Chapter 4, Dario Giuffrè concentrates on a specific aspect of attractiveness strategies designed by places: clustering. Clusters refer to closely related economic actors that have acquired specialized resources and expertise in the same business and geographical area, revealing tensions around the coopeitition logic. This calls for further research on the functioning of clusters, but also on their construction as brands, which can in turn not only increase attractiveness of the cluster, but of the region as a whole.

The third part concerns the design of place-development strategies that target specific groups and activities. While residents' attraction, and retention especially, is not completely new – cities and regions faced with emigration of people and talents have already thought about this issue for decades – residential attractiveness has often been overshadowed by economic and tourism matters. However, due to several factors (teleworking and the increased time spent at home in general), residential attractiveness has become a preoccupation for most places, now promoting life quality and lower rent/buying prices, especially outside of big city centers.

In Chapter 5, Perrine Alberola addresses residential attractiveness through the prism of geographical areas, and the related typologies. To do so, she conducts a systematic literature review that presents what has been done so far in research, and what remains to be explored. Regarding tourism, most academic contributions have focused on destination marketing. In Chapter 6, Manon Châtel prefers a different perspective, and concentrates on places as filming locations. She investigates the role played by films/series in place branding. This approach is grounded in contemporary reality, since we have observed increased flows of tourists visiting places associated with a movie or series (e.g., Iseltwald in Switzerland).

The main objective of the book is to provide the readers with compelling paths for further research in place branding, emphasizing the importance of emerging trends, stakeholder and interorganizational dynamics, and strategies (with a focus on activities and target groups).

The aim of this book is to open up new perspectives: on the one hand, by showing the research carried out by European doctoral students; and on the other, by identifying the problems encountered by public and private players in the field of territorial marketing.

**Christophe Alaux, Laura Carmouze, Vincent Mabillard, Martial Pasquier**





Part 1:  
**Emerging Trends  
in Place Branding**

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# The image of the inclusive city: Reflections of inclusion branding in Boston and Cologne

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RUN ZHAO

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## Abstract

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City marketing and branding strategies are placing growing emphasis on the portrayal of inclusive cities and leveraging their inclusive policies and initiatives to foster distinctive local brands, consequently augmenting the city's allure and enhancing its overall livability. By examining the cases of Boston and Cologne, this chapter critically examines the mechanisms employed by cities in constructing and disseminating inclusive images, while also exploring the intricate interplay between local policymaking on inclusive cities and the branding endeavors undertaken by these cities. The findings presented underscore the multi-dimensional nature of the inclusive city concept, revealing that cities possess a degree of local adaptability when selecting their inclusion brand identities. While branding inclusion has proven beneficial in terms of stimulating economic growth and enhancing a city's reputation, caution is warranted to bridge the gap that may exist between brand identity and urban reality. While an ambitious policy agenda for inclusion and branding can exhibit some compatibility, it is essential for branding strategies and policy frameworks to evolve in tandem over time. Our study explores the tension between inclusive cities and branding, thereby enriching existing knowledge in city branding research and providing strategic insights for city managers.

Keywords: Inclusion, City branding, Diversity, Policy Branding, D&I

# 1 – Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, cities have become dynamic entities competing to attract attention, investment, and talent. To gain a competitive advantage, urban centers engage in city branding – the deliberate process of shaping and enhancing a city's image (Andersson, 2014; de Jong et al., 2015; Kavaratzis, 2004). Numerous city brand indices and rankings have been developed, such as the Anholt-GMI City Brands Index (Anholt, 2006), the Best City Brand Index (Brand Finance, 2023), and the IESE Cities in Motion Index (Berrone & Joan, 2022). In most hybrid rankings, megacities such as London, Paris, and New York are always at the top of hierarchies, because their “dazzling brilliance” in economy and human capital can always easily cover up the problems they are facing, such as traffic congestion, high crime rates, slums and other issues of inequality and exclusion. However, there are also relatively small cities such as Zurich, Vienna, and Oslo that were recognized for their excellent performance in rankings measuring urban inclusiveness (Acuto et al., 2021; Zhao et al., 2023). City rankings not only enhance cities' self-positioning and competitiveness but also encourage cities to try to manage their image in creative ways (Giffinger & Gudrun, 2010; Ooi & Stoeber, 2010). With the increase of inclusive city projects and rankings, inclusiveness has been valued by more and more city branding practitioners, researchers, and policymakers.

Creating and disseminating a city's identity and core values has been key to successful city branding (Florek et al., 2006; Kalandides, 2012; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). The inclusive city concept encompasses a wide range of factors, such as social diversity, accessibility, and equal opportunity. Collett (2014) suggests that inclusion branding related to immigration and immigrant integration has grown in prominence, identifying diversity and openness as key brand values. Machado (2020) examines cities' inclusion branding from an accessibility perspective. Branding of inclusive cities is seen as having the potential to outline distinct identities, communicate shared values, and highlight unique experiences to enhance a city's reputation, stimulate economic growth, and foster social cohesion (Alsayel et al., 2022; Belabas & George, 2023). Whereas, creating and delivering a brand that is truly representative and connects the needs and aspirations of different groups remains a difficult task for many cities (Collett, 2014). As Alsayel et al. (2022) show, cities typically promise more than they deliver and are cherry-picking aspects of inclusive cities they wish to adopt in their branding, which are often aspects that contribute to increasing creativity and economic growth.

This chapter undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the processes involved in establishing and disseminating inclusive city brands in two distinct urban contexts, namely Boston and Cologne. The inherent uniqueness of the local histo-

ries and political identities of Boston and Cologne renders them highly conducive for investigating the strategies adopted to construct an inclusive city image. Notably, both cities' governing bodies are actively engaged in branding initiatives and urban transformation endeavors, with the overarching objective of projecting their locales as inclusive, diverse, open, and dynamic. However, despite their shared aspirations, both Boston and Cologne encounter a common challenge: how can they effectively persuade a discerning global audience, critical of the often commercially driven portrayal of city branding, that their respective cities genuinely embody inclusivity?

In specific, this chapter first provides an overview of inclusive cities and city branding, clarifying their basic concepts and strategies. The importance and contradictions of inclusion in city branding will be emphasized, highlighting its transformative potential for urban development as well as potential limitations. We then present two case studies – Boston and Cologne – that exemplify the multiple approaches to brand themselves as inclusive cities. It is worth noting that instead of providing exhaustive answers to all the aspects, we conduct a more modest analysis of the correlation between branding and policy formulation. As such, this is an exploratory chapter, which is based on the literature as well as a secondary analysis of relevant official reports, policy briefs, brochures, and publications of the two cities. By comparatively analyzing their inclusive city branding practices, we attempt to reveal the similarities, differences, successes, and challenges they have encountered in pursuing an inclusive city image. The findings of this chapter have important implications for urban policymakers, city branding practitioners, and researchers interested in the intersection of city branding and inclusive city development.

## 2 – Theoretical background

### 2.1 Inclusive city in urbanization context

In recent years, the concept of an inclusive city has gained enormous attention in the context of global urbanization. While globalization has brought economic development opportunities to cities around the world, it has also exacerbated multiple aspects of inequality and exclusion in cities, such as culture and religious restrictions, gender imbalances, concentration of poverty, political alienation, and neighborhood segregation (Elias, 2020; McGranahan et al., 2016). Creating a more inclusive city is necessary to ensure that people can equally benefit from urbanization, so the inclusive city has become an important framework and goal

of urban sustainable development, in line with Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 “Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (United Nations, 2015).

An inclusive city is “a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic, and political opportunities that cities have to offer” (UN-Habitat, 2016). Inclusive cities encompass multiple dimensions of urban development. The World Bank (2015) argues that an inclusive city involves a complex web of multiple spatial, social, and economic factors, where spatial inclusion refers to the need for cities to provide affordable necessities such as housing, water, and sanitation; social inclusion refers to the need for an inclusive city to guarantee equal rights and participation for all, including the most marginalized; economic inclusion refers to the need for an inclusive city to create jobs and give city residents the opportunity enjoying the benefits of economic growth.

Subsequently, scholars included environmental inclusion and political inclusion to make their framework more comprehensive, among which environmental inclusion requires contemporary humans to produce and consume in ways that do not sacrifice the needs and interests of future generations; political inclusion refers to the relationship between citizens and their (national, regional, or local) state in terms of equal political rights and obligations before the law, political participation, and a sense of belonging to the state (Liang et al., 2022; Robin, 2014). In summary, inclusive cities in the context of urbanization represent a holistic approach to urban development that recognizes and addresses the multidimensional aspects of inclusion.

## 2.2 Conceptualizing inclusive city branding

Before we can bring inclusive cities into city branding, we also need to clarify what “city branding” means. It is defined here as the various practices and tools that political organizations and local governments use to develop and market their images and values associated with their city, region, or country, including brand development, communication, and maintenance, as described in Figure 1 (Andersson, 2014; Raev & Minkman, 2020). Public authorities primarily initiate branding campaigns alone or in public-private partnerships, leveraging their resources and expertise to shape the city’s brand image (Vallaster et al., 2018). The process of city branding typically encompasses three interrelated trajectories.

The first branding trajectory involved designing and promoting media-generated images such as logos, slogans, videos, and websites for outsiders to see the place in a more positive light (Bonakdar & Audirac, 2020; Ooi & Stoeber, 2010; Rehan, 2014). The second branding trajectory is based on the creation of

high-profile icons, such as hosting international popular sporting events, cultural events, or celebrating iconic city features (Ooi & Stoeber, 2010; Zhang & Zhao, 2009). The third trajectory is to brand the place through endorsements and recognitions from other authorities, such as city rankings, or as the location of major banks and technology centers such as Silicon Valley and World Trade Center (Ooi & Stoeber, 2010; Pasquinelli & Teräs, 2013).

In addition, the use of public policy as a specific place-branding strategy has also attracted more and more attention in recent years, which entails leveraging policy initiatives and actions to shape and communicate a positive and livable brand image for a city or region, such as joining and participating in international networks and organizations, participating in policy and advocacy-related competitions and award processes, inviting guests and organizing seminars for policy communication, etc. (Andersson & James, 2018; Lucarelli, 2018; McCann, 2013; Raev & Minkman, 2020). By aligning policy objectives with the desired brand image, public authorities can strategically enhance the prestige and attractiveness of the area. This approach involves implementing policies that address key branding elements, such as sustainability and green cities (Andersson, 2016; Andersson & James, 2018), cultural heritage preservation (Boland, 2013; Nobili, 2005), livability and quality of life (Reiter, 2012).

Irrespective of the specific branding approaches employed, it is evident that city branding endeavors are progressively integrating the elements related to inclusive city aspects into their brand narratives. More and more cities brand themselves as inclusive cities (Belabas & George, 2023; Nederhand et al., 2023), which is highly related to inclusive city development projects and initiatives (Mcdaniel, 2018). A range of benefits can be realized by incorporating inclusion into city branding. First, emphasizing diversity and inclusion can promote social cohesion to encourage mutual understanding, respect, and cooperation among different communities and reduce social division and conflict. For example, the city of Amsterdam is known for its commitment to diversity and inclusion; the aspiration is to create an inclusive city, regardless of Amsterdam's diverse character: "Diversity is our strength" (Roodenburg & Stolk, 2020).

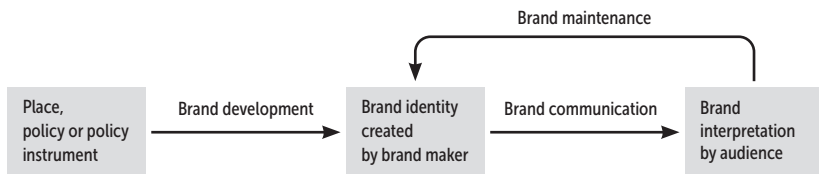


Figure 1. Visualization of branding. Source: Raev & Minkman (2020).

Second, inclusive city branding can help drive economic growth. An inclusive city brand can attract businesses and investors from diverse backgrounds, create jobs, and foster innovation and entrepreneurship. Schmitz (2017) uses the building of “Chinatown” in Berlin as an example to illustrate the positive role of inclusion branding in promoting the immigrant economy such as the catering industry. Finally, inclusive city branding may have a positive impact on overall quality of life. For example, the city of Vancouver emphasizes sustainability, environmental friendliness, and social justice in its city brand, and improves the quality of life of residents by providing high-quality education, healthcare, and social support systems (Affolderbach & Schulz, 2017).

### 2.3 Limitations of inclusive city branding

Despite the use of inclusive cities as a foundation for constructing an appealing and dynamic image through city branding, it is important to recognize that such branding endeavors may not invariably yield tangible transformations or effectively address the underlying structural obstacles to inclusivity. As Raev and Minkman (2020) highlight, even if the brand management process is effective, there are still limitations and challenges in the brand creation and communication process, which are mainly manifested in three aspects.

First, superficial and image-focused branding may mask the need for major policy changes and structural transformation. City branding has often been criticized for its tendency to prioritize superficial elements and ephemeral marketing techniques such as logos, slogans, and marketing campaigns that may not adequately address systemic issues such as social inequality or a lack of affordable housing (Bonakdar & Audirac, 2020; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). This limitation is not immune to the practice of inclusive city branding. For example, the City of Richmond (2022), Virginia, launched a new campaign accompanied by an “R” logo and the phrase, “Real People. Real Places. Real Stories”. This branding emphasized an identity that is singular and inclusive, however, some citizens said, “We have so many logos for the city already. I just think the mayor and his administration are trying to do big things instead of focusing on the city’s real problems” (Layne, 2022).

Second, there is the issue of brand authenticity, the “gap between image and reality”. When delivered products and goods do not meet expectations for the quality, quantity or availability of branded objects, not only may the brand lose its credibility, but it may jeopardize the branding organization (Ooi & Stoeber, 2010; Raev & Minkman, 2020; Rius Ulldemolins, 2014). For example, the social and economic depression Turin is experiencing is at odds with its attempt to brand itself as a vibrant, cosmopolitan, cultural and creative city, which has not only



led to the failure of the city's bid to be recognized as a "European Capital of Culture" but also led to protests by thousands of creative workers facing financial difficulties (Vanolo, 2015). A city branding itself as an inclusive city means the city is inclusive to everyone including the marginalized, however, this is at odds with the competition and selective attributes of city branding. In the circumstances of limited urban resources, this conflict is more obvious and can easily lead to the duplicity of inclusive city branding (Alsayel et al., 2022).

Third, insufficient attention has been paid to structural inequality, or "selectiveness of brands". As Scholten et al. (2019) explain, an important function of place branding is to position a place in a specific way, such that it distinguishes itself from competitors. Therefore, brands are often selective in emphasizing positive aspects in a self-celebrating manner, while downplaying or ignoring underlying structural inequalities. Although a city may showcase its diverse cultural activities or accessible infrastructure, it may fail to confront systemic problems such as unequal resource distribution or discriminatory policies (Belabas & George, 2023). For example, researchers have found that although the #LondonIsOpen campaign portrays London as a welcoming, inclusive city, those who benefit from welcoming behavior appear to be those who hold economic power and those who are seen as worthy of being welcomed (Yazici et al., 2023).

### 3 – Methodology

This chapter aims to investigate and analyze the significance of inclusion within the context of city branding, highlighting its transformative potential for urban development and the potential limitations that may arise from the pursuit of inclusive city branding. The case study method is chosen for its suitability in gaining an exploratory understanding of the complex and context-specific phenomena of city branding and inclusivity within the urban context (Ćwiklicki & Pilch, 2021; Oliveira, 2016). Specifically, we employ an exploratory type of case study which is particularly well-suited for examining relatively uncharted territory, such as the intersection of inclusive cities and city branding (de Noronha et al., 2017).

By examining two contrasting cases, Boston and Cologne, we aim to gain valuable insights into the various dimensions of inclusive city branding. The choice of Boston and Cologne as case study cities is informed by several factors. Firstly, these cities present distinct approaches to city branding and inclusivity, making them compelling cases for comparative analysis (Salzbrunn, 2014; Tissot, 2014). Secondly, their diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds offer a rich con-

text for exploring the complexities of inclusive city branding. Additionally, both cities have been actively engaged in city branding initiatives, providing a wealth of data for our study (Herrschel, 2020; Sevin, 2014).

Our data collection relies primarily on secondary sources, including literature, reports, policy briefs, and brochures. These sources offer valuable insights into the city branding and inclusive policies and practices of Boston and Cologne. By drawing from a wide range of documents, we ensure the robustness and credibility of our data. Through a systematic examination of relevant documents, we extract pertinent information and insights related to the inclusive city branding and inclusivity efforts in our case study cities. This method allows us to uncover both explicit and implicit city branding practices and policies.

Our data analysis encompasses two main dimensions: intra-case study and inter-case study analysis. Intra-case study analysis involves a deep dive into each case individually, exploring the nuances of city branding and inclusivity within Boston and Cologne. Inter-case study analysis, on the other hand, facilitates the comparison of findings across the two cases, enabling us to identify patterns, contrasts, and generalizable insights.

## 4 — The making of inclusive city branding

In this section, we provide an in-depth description of the case study cities, Boston and Cologne. We delve into their historical, cultural, and economic backgrounds, as well as their unique inclusive city branding strategies which include brand development, communication, and maintenance. This is followed by a cross-case analysis of both cities. As such, this chapter explores the inclusive city branding of the two cities.

### 4.1 The case of Boston

Boston is a city with a long history and rich culture in the northeastern United States. As one of the largest cities in colonial America, it is still the core of one of the three largest metropolitan areas in the United States (Glaeser, 2005). Boston has been committed to advancing inclusive city policies and social justice, such as inclusive education policies and programs (Johnson, 1991; Loomis, 2018), gender inclusion in the entrepreneurial ecosystem (Ozkazanc-Pan et al., 2017), inclusion

and equitable community engagement (van den Berg & Keenan, 2019). In recent years, Boston has undertaken a deliberate endeavor to brand itself as an inclusive city, recognizing the potential of this approach as a means to foster an equitable economic recovery following the disruptive impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In April 2021, Mayor Kim Janey initiated the “All Inclusive Boston” campaign, which aimed to prioritize equity in Boston’s post-COVID-19 recovery efforts and revitalize both local and international perceptions of the city. This endeavor was formulated through a collaborative venture between the City of Boston’s designated vendor for the Visit Boston Request for Proposal (RFP), namely, the Colette Phillips Communications and Proverb (CPC-Proverb team), and the Greater Boston Convention and Visitors Bureau (GBCVB). Mayor Kim Janey announced the branding campaign:

*“The ‘All Inclusive Boston’ tourism campaign is an important part of our agenda to safely and equitably reopen and renew every neighborhood in the city, [...] By promoting the City of Boston as a vibrant and welcoming place that embraces public health guidance, we will boost local visits now and influence travel plans for the future.”*

The “All Inclusive” branding strategy adopts diversity, hospitality, and vibrancy as its fundamental principles, effectively showcasing to visitors the comprehensive range of offerings that Boston has to offer. This branding approach accentuates various aspects of the city, including its unique narratives, local establishments, small businesses, festivals, and culinary experiences. The campaign disseminates through diverse channels such as local billboards, bus shelters, share bikes, bus wraps, radio broadcasts, social media platforms, as well as print and digital publications. Additionally, it directs individuals to the website [allinclusivebos.com](http://allinclusivebos.com), encouraging Boston residents to venture out and sample new restaurants or engage with different community initiatives (Figure 2). Through the website, different inclusive city aspects such as “Black Boston”, “Latinx Boston”, “Asian Culture & Experiences”, “Accessibility”, “Kid-friendly Boston” are reflected.

The branding campaign has been widely acknowledged for its instrumental contribution to sustaining Boston’s tourism industry and supporting small businesses amidst the arduous process of post-pandemic recovery. Recognizing its efficacy, Mayor Kim Janey has declared the expansion of this initiative, prolonging its implementation until the Spring Festival of 2022. Moreover, the city persists in its efforts to promote B-Local, a mobile application that streamlines local shopping experiences for both residents and tourists. Notably, this platform has garnered significant traction, boasting a participation of over 2,700 small businesses, with a considerable representation of women, immigrant, black, and minority-owned enterprises.



Figure 2. Part of the "All Inclusive Boston" branding campaign. Source: [allinclusivebos.com](http://allinclusivebos.com).

## 4.2 The case of Cologne

Cologne is the largest city in the German western state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) and the fourth-most populous city in Germany. Cologne has a national and even international reputation for its multicultural and inclusive city brand. The municipal government has long realized the importance of a diverse and inclusive image to the city's reputation and economic growth. The local carnival attracts 1.5 million people each year, with a turnover of 460 million euros and 5,000 jobs (Salzbrunn, 2014). The city government and the carnival organization even once included the city's mosque and Cologne Cathedral in the carnival medal as a symbol of tolerance (Figure 3). In addition, as "The Gay capital of Germany", the city offers a variety of bars, restaurants, clubs, and other LGBTQ-friendly shops throughout. Every July, Europe's largest gay pride parade, also known as "Christopher Street Day", is held here, attracting more than one million participants. However, the inclusive and cosmopolitan virtues that Cologne tries to celebrate and promote during the carnival have also been criticized for lack of consistency with the city's social policy. The government has always been as careful as possible in dealing with asylum seekers in actual policymaking, and their treatment of undocumented immigrants is not as liberal and open as the city's self-created image suggests (Salzbrunn, 2014).

In addition to its diverse events and parades, Cologne has recently been bestowed the esteemed title of the European Capital of Inclusion and Diversity for the year 2022, in recognition of its robust policies aimed at promoting equality and fostering inclusivity among its citizenry, encapsulated in the comprehensive initiative known as Cologne Perspectives 2030+. This accolade not only aligns harmoniously with the annual EU Diversity Month but also signifies the city's steadfast commitment to cultivating a more inclusive and equitable society within the European con-



Figure 3. Official medal of the Cologne-Ehrenfeld Carnival 2008/09. Source: Salzbrunn (2014).

text. Highlighting the significance of this recognition, Mayor Henriette Reker of Cologne expressed that the application process facilitated the acquisition of impartial feedback concerning the city's endeavors pertaining to integration and diversity.

*“A major motivation for the application was the desire to share the City of Cologne’s measures and successes in the area of integration and diversity with other municipalities as examples of good practice, [...] The exchange with European municipalities creates a space in which they can learn from each other.” (Henriette Reker, 2022)*

As the first German city to sign the Diversity Charter, Cologne, garnering the esteemed Gold Award in the “Cities with over 50,000 inhabitants” category. This prestigious recognition has yielded significant domestic and international recognition for Cologne, engendering heightened awareness and appreciation for its commitment to inclusivity and diversity. Moreover, the award has served as a catalyst for effectively communicating Cologne’s inclusive policies, thus facilitating the city’s ongoing brand-building endeavors.

*“Colleagues from the Diversity department were increasingly invited to give presentations, consultations, and exchange formats regarding the implementation of diversity measures by other municipalities, [...] This recognition has also increased awareness of the topic within Cologne. This can be seen, among other things, in the great demand for funding, which is used to implement projects on the topic of integration and diversity within the city’s society.” (Henriette Reker, 2022)*

Simultaneously, the Cologne Perspectives 2030+ strategy presents a comprehensive framework aimed at augmenting diversity and inclusivity within the city, delineating Cologne’s specific circumstances and obligations to effectively address

the future challenges and prospects of its burgeoning metropolis along the Rhine. Under this strategic approach, a series of action plans have been devised, encompassing initiatives such as:

- Diversity Ideas: Cologne Loves Diversity
- Action Plan for Acceptance and Gender Diversity
- Concepts for Strengthening the Social Integration of the City
- Intercultural Measures Plan
- Cologne Disability Policy Action Plan
- NRW Action Plan for Good Old Age
- Child-Friendly City Action Plan
- Equality Plan according to the EU Equality Charter

Furthermore, Cologne has established four working groups that diligently strive to uphold the commitment to diversity and inclusion, ensuring comprehensive coverage of integration, LGBTI rights, disability, religion, and anti-discrimination concerns at the municipal level. These working groups actively engage various target groups in participating in the formulation of policies that directly impact their well-being and aspire to attain predefined objectives across various realms of life.

### 4.3 Cross-case analysis

The findings of the two case studies have been discussed in earlier sections. This section discusses the main cross-case conclusions in more detail. Table 1 attempts a summary and parallel presentation of the main findings in each city. At this point it is necessary to reiterate the issue of generalization of the case study results reported in this chapter, which was already discussed in Section 2.

The basic principles for Boston to develop an inclusive city brand are diversity, hospitality, and vibrancy, which is committed to showing the city's diverse and thriving image. The development of Cologne's inclusive city brand is based on promoting equality and fostering inclusivity among its citizens. In terms of the specific target group of inclusive city brands, Boston mainly brands its inclusive to women, immigrants, black people, kids, and other minority groups, while Cologne covers a broader range of group dimensions, including gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, age, disability, intercultural, religion. As for the specific brand communication trajectory, Boston mainly communicates the brand through media-generated images and high-profile icons, while Cologne not only communicates through media-generated images and high-profile icons but also by endorsements from the European Commission and incorporates it into the policy agenda. From the perspective of brand maintenance, Boston adopts a relatively short-term

	Boston	Cologne
<b>Brand development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fundamental principles: Diversity, hospitality, vibrancy</li> <li>• Inclusive to whom: women, immigrants, blacks, kids, minorities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fundamental principles: promoting equality and fostering inclusivity among its citizenry</li> <li>• Inclusive to whom: gender &amp; sexuality, race &amp; ethnicity, age, disability, intercultural, religion</li> </ul>
<b>Brand communication</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media-generated images (billboards, bus shelters, share bikes, bus wraps, radio broadcasts, social media platforms...)</li> <li>• High-profile icons (B-Local)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media-generated images</li> <li>• High-profile icons (Cologne Carnival, Christopher Street Day)</li> <li>• Endorsements (European Capitals of Inclusion and Diversity Award)</li> <li>• Policy agenda (Cologne Perspectives 2030+)</li> </ul>
<b>Brand maintenance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The campaign last from April 2021 to the Spring Festival of 2022</li> <li>• Mainly the responsibility of governments and enterprises</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Long-term vision and strategy (from 2018 to 2030+)</li> <li>• Mainly the responsibility of the government and its working departments, with cross-government cooperation</li> </ul>
<b>Potential benefit</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic recovery (sustaining tourism industry, supporting small business)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City reputation (tolerance)</li> <li>• Economic growth (tourists, businesses)</li> <li>• Policy communication (examples of good practice)</li> <li>• Promote social cohesion, mutual understanding, and well-being</li> </ul>
<b>Potential limitation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• May overemphasize and prioritize superficial elements</li> <li>• The consistency challenge between brand identity and city identity</li> <li>• Selectivity towards inclusive city dimensions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The challenge between branding and social policy coherence</li> <li>• Inclusion of broad groups may lead to resource conflicts</li> </ul>

Table 1. Main findings of the case studies

campaign and marketing, and focuses on cooperative marketing between the government and enterprises; while Cologne incorporates inclusive brand into its long-term policy agenda and emphasizes cross-government cooperation.

In other words, although Boston's brand narrative emphasizes "All Inclusive", it actually focuses on all-inclusive tourism marketing. This kind of inclusive city branding plays a prominent role in promoting the city's economy and tourism. However, this type of branding can be criticized for being superficial, cherry-picking, and marketing-centered due to an overemphasis on superficial elements.

Cologne's city branding has benefits in many aspects, including improving the image of an inclusive city, promoting economic growth, attracting talent, promoting policy communication, social integration, and common well-being. The inclusive city branding of Cologne requires attention to the challenges of brand and social policy consistency and the resource conflicts that may arise in comprehensive brand delivery.

## 5 – Discussion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the comparative analysis of the cases of inclusive city branding in Boston and Cologne. First of all, two cities with diverse backgrounds both value inclusive brand identity and regard diversity as the core value of the brand. It is worth noting that although diversity and inclusion are interdependent and have long been used simultaneously in brand communication, diversity cannot actually be equated with inclusion (Jonsen et al., 2021; Oswick & Noon, 2014; Roberson, 2006). According to the researchers, diversity branding focuses on emphasizing differences, while inclusion branding emphasizes how people feel valued and included by the organization (Jonsen et al., 2021).

As for the brand identity of an inclusive city, due to the multi-dimensionality of the concept, the city may also choose different aspects of inclusiveness (Alsayel et al., 2022). For instance, in contrast to Cologne's brand of inclusivity, Boston primarily branded inclusion in terms of race, gender, and sexuality, but not religion and disability. Overall, the two cases in this study show that cities often emphasize inclusive images of women, immigrants, and LGBTQ+ groups, which in turn creates neglect of other potentially excluded groups such as the poor and the disadvantaged people with physical and mental illness. This not only reflects the local adaptability logic of inclusive cities as a global concept but also reflects the neoliberal and/or humanitarian logic behind cities picking different inclusive dimensions for branding (Alsayel et al., 2022; Salzbrunn, 2014).

Both Boston and Cologne have used traditional brand marketing techniques, that is, creating and disseminating media-generated images and developing high-profile icons. However, it is obvious that inclusive city branding based on marketing techniques is relatively short-lived, and it is easier to be questioned and criticized because it is difficult to match with local policy development (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). In other words, when inclusive city branding is a marketing tool, it needs to focus on bridging the gap between brand image and urban reality. In addition, Cologne's inclusive city branding adopted endorsements and



recognitions from other authorities and the use of public policy as a strategic trajectory for city branding, which received a relatively more positive response. Thus, the study suggests that while the nature of the relationship between city branding and policymaking from the perspective of neo-liberal urban entrepreneurship is controversial, they are compatible when the two values are aligned (Andersson & James, 2018; Demaziere, 2020).

Third, cities brand inclusivity for a variety of reasons, ranging from promoting economic growth and enhancing a city's reputation to meeting citizens' needs and sustainable development. In this study, Boston uses inclusive city branding as a post-pandemic economic recovery tool, while Cologne also generates significant economic benefits due to annual inclusive branding events such as Carnival and Christopher Street Day. However, branding inclusion and diversity may not be about achieving inclusivity, but rather as a superficial strategic proposition to appeal to narrow target groups such as creative workers and tourists (Falcous & Silk, 2010). The arrival of a large number of tourists, talents and investment may cause great pressure on local resources, such as housing tension, poor public security and gentrification, leading to "anti-branding" (Braun et al., 2013; Lundholt et al., 2020; Vallaster et al., 2018). In this study, the branding of Cologne as a European Capital of Inclusion and Diversity not only promotes awareness of the topic within the city but also facilitates policy exchange between cities. However, according to previous studies, when cities brand labels related to sustainable development, the focus of policies needs to avoid "narrowness" and be adjusted in time with time and social conditions (de Jong et al., 2015).

## 6 – Conclusion

This chapter attempts to discuss how inclusive city images are used in the process of city branding by analyzing the cases of Boston and Cologne and linking them to issues and contradictions noted in previous research on city branding and inclusive cities. The various city rankings mentioned at the beginning of this chapter attempt to reflect the call for attention to the current quality of life in cities. When a city is more inclusive it makes the city more livable and attractive, which in turn becomes the city's brand and attracts global media attention. Promoting inclusive cities has become a major goal of city authorities (Elias, 2020; McGranahan et al., 2016). In the field of city branding, images of inclusion and diversity have also received increasing attention (Alsayel et al., 2022; Belabas & George, 2023; Florida, 2004). This chapter has important implications for academic researchers and city managers.

The contribution of this chapter to the theory mainly lies in the enrichment of the city branding theory, especially its turn in brand identity and brand practice strategy in recent years. In terms of brand identity, the image of an inclusive and livable city centered on human rights has been selected as a more sustainable brand identity, rather than the simple pursuit of unique and exotic images in the past. In terms of brand practice strategy, this study once again explores the shift from neoliberal urban marketing-led branding to policy-based urban branding. From a practitioner's perspective, this chapter affirms that branding of inclusive cities – even if they are only briefly marketed – can be important for promoting economic growth and attracting talent, as it can greatly influence audiences. Furthermore, the chapter argues that integrating branding with substantive measures such as inclusive urban planning, equitable resource allocation, and participatory governance can help bridge the gap between inclusive brand images and inclusive urban realities, leading to meaningful and sustainable change. Therefore, incorporating inclusivity into city branding should be accompanied by a holistic approach to urban development that prioritizes the well-being and empowerment of all residents.

Despite the significant contribution, this chapter suggests that several limitations should be acknowledged. One limitation of this chapter is the relatively broad and qualitative definition of inclusive city criteria. Future research should aim to better define and operationalize these criteria in a more precise and quantitative manner. This would allow for a more robust evaluation of inclusion in city plans and branding efforts. For example, interviews with government managers and brand practitioners may help revealing the motivations for inclusive city branding. Another limitation is the challenge of measuring the actual impact of inclusion on various target groups within a city. Future research should focus on developing methodologies and metrics to quantitatively assess the effects of inclusive policies on different demographics and communities. Besides, this chapter did not extensively explore the distinction between inclusion policies embedded in city plans and inclusion as a branding strategy. Future research could delve deeper into distinguishing between these two aspects and examining their interplay in urban development. This research primarily provides a snapshot of inclusion within a specific timeframe. It does not account for the evolving nature of city planning and branding efforts. Future research should explore how inclusion changes over time and its long-term effects. In conclusion, while this chapter has laid the foundation for understanding inclusion in the context of city branding, it is essential to acknowledge these limitations. Addressing these limitations through future research endeavors will contribute to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of inclusion and its impact on urban development and branding strategies.

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# City attractiveness: to be green or not to be green? A comparative study of 8 European cities

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JOËL BENEY

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## Abstract

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This chapter explores the increasing importance of sustainability in place branding. Many cities have incorporated this aspect in their positioning to enhance attractiveness and competitiveness. We investigate whether cities perceived as green, through their environmental features, have gained a decisive advantage in attracting visitors, foreign investors, and businesses. The chapter introduces the concept of green city branding and provides a conceptualization of positioning in city branding. It establishes indicators for assessing the green positioning of cities and conducts an empirical analysis to compare the intensity of green positioning among eight cities that belong to the European Capital Cities Network. It also examines the disparity between green brand identity and environmental place identity. The findings reveal that while most cities leverage their environmental performance, others still rely on greenwashing to differentiate themselves from competitors. The chapter suggests promising avenues for further research regarding green and sustainable city positioning.

Key words: Positioning, Brand identity, Place identity, City Branding, Green city branding, Sustainability, European Green Capital Award.

# 1 – Introduction

In response to a growing global imperative, cities around the world have embarked on a transformative journey by embracing “green” initiatives to become more sustainable and reduce their carbon footprint. Following this trend, a growing number of cities have adopted and often used interchangeably the buzzwords *green* and *sustainable*, which encompass a wide range of interpretations. While some initiatives are characterized by an explicit focus on a limited number of well-defined goals, others emphasize a multidimensional dimension (Andersson and James, 2018). At the same time, cities are incorporating sustainability into their branding strategies to position themselves, enhance their attractiveness as a destination, and increase their competitiveness (Joss et al., 2013). While this trend is clearly identified in the literature, cities often struggle, in practice, to effectively promote their environmental policy (e.g., “Net Zero”<sup>1</sup> objectives) to the targeted public (Goess and al., 2016). Against this background, we have identified two gaps in the literature. The first relates to the effective integration of green attributes perceived as a distinctive advantage in city-brand positioning, leading to long-term improvements. The second refers to substantiation, as green city branding has not always been consistent with the place identity.

This chapter contributes to the research on green city branding. More precisely, it aims to assess the relationship between city positioning and sustainability with a focus on the environmental dimension through a comparative study of eight European cities. In this regard, we contribute to the place-branding literature in three ways. Firstly, from a theoretical standpoint, we define and adapt the concept of positioning in city branding from a brand-identity perspective. Secondly, we propose a methodological approach to assess the intensity of green positioning, through the creation of a scale and the definition of relevant indicators. And thirdly, we create typologies that link green-positioning intensity and environmental performance to suggest avenues for future research.

The *European Green Capital Award*<sup>2</sup> (EGCA) is used here to analyze green city branding. Therefore, our study aims to respond to the following research questions (RQs): do European City Award winners or finalists capitalize on their green characteristics, and consider them as a decisive advantage (RQ1)? Do cities with higher rankings in environmental indexes emphasize their green attributes and

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<sup>1</sup> Net zero refers to the balance between the amount of greenhouse gas (GHG) that's produced and the amount that's removed from the atmosphere. It can be achieved through a combination of emission reduction and emission removal.

<sup>2</sup> Since 2010, this award has been annually granted to a European city that demonstrates efforts to improve its urban environment, implement positive initiatives, and demonstrate best practices in environmental management ([https://environment.ec.europa.eu/topics/urban-environment/european-green-capital-award/applying-eu-green-capital\\_en](https://environment.ec.europa.eu/topics/urban-environment/european-green-capital-award/applying-eu-green-capital_en))

performance as the main features of their brand positioning (RQ2)? How consistent is a city's green positioning with its actual environmental state (RQ3)? We hypothesize that cities within the EGC Network may use the green argument as a differentiating attribute to position themselves against their competitors, and that cities ranking higher in environmental performance indexes emphasize green aspects in their positioning.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 covers the existing literature on sustainability and green city branding. Sections 3 and 4 build upon theoretical insights, exploring the concepts of brand identity, place identity, and positioning, which constitute the theoretical basis for the construction of the indicators used here. Section 5 focuses on data collection and analysis. The empirical results are presented and commented in section 6. Finally, the last section provides a discussion and proposes avenues for future research.

## 2 – Definition of the main concepts

### 2.1 Sustainable development, Sustainability and Green City

Sustainable development has emerged as a key element in defining place identity, complementing traditional markers. One of the challenges in integrating sustainability into place branding is the interpretation of sustainable development (Gustavsson & al., 2012). Adding to the complexity, *green* and *sustainable* are frequently used interchangeably, often due to a broad understanding of the concept of sustainable development in the field. In this study, we adopt the widely accepted definition put forth by the Brundtland Commission in 1987, which characterizes *sustainable development* as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This foundational definition was already grounded in the three pillars of social solidarity, economic efficiency, and ecological responsibility. It was further validated by the United Nations in 2015, through the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. By adhering to this definition of sustainable development, we can make a clear distinction between the terms “sustainable” and “green”, with the latter referring specifically to the environmental dimension of the broader concept of sustainability.

Focusing on city-level actors, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) proposed the concept of *urban green growth*, recognizing that cities contribute both to economic growth and environmental degradation, while also presenting opportunities for implementing complementary and integrated environmental protection and economic-development policies at the

local level (Demaziere, 2020). Following this trend, many European city governments have embraced green growth, through strategies that encourage eco-innovation and entrepreneurship in sectors such as renewable energies, biofuel-related industry, carbon capture and storage, transport, and agriculture (Busch & Anderberg, 2015). However, local authorities not only respond to citizen, economic, and state pressures but also develop strategies to position themselves as global *green cities* (Andersson, 2016). Copenhagen, Freiburg, and Stockholm, for instance, have actively promoted themselves as green cities. This not only benefits the locals, but also serves to attract external target groups (e.g., potential future residents). Following Breuste (2023), we define the concept of *green city* as a “*city in balance with nature*”, where all forms of nature play a significant role in the urban form and function as part of the green infrastructure. Green cities are often characterized by features such as verticality, compactness, high density, walkability, mixed economies, robust public transit networks, and environmental protection (Anderberg and Clarke, 2013; Demaziere, 2020).

## 2.2 Green city branding

Recognizing the evolving landscape, cities are increasingly acknowledging the importance of aligning their brand strategies with the goals of sustainability and climate change mitigation. It serves not only to shape a city's profile, but also to attract specific target groups. This focalization on the process of promoting a city's environmental initiatives and sustainability practices to attract tourists, businesses, and residents is defined by McCann (2013) as *green city branding*. Its significance for cities is exemplified in two studies. Gustavsson and Elander (2012) demonstrate in their comparison of three Swedish towns that Växjö successfully branded itself as “*the Greenest City in Europe*”, while mitigation efforts in the other two towns remained relatively unknown externally. In their comparative study on city branding in polycentric urban regions, Goess et al. (2006) found that cities in the Rhine-Ruhr region focus less on ecological modernization in their branding efforts compared to cities in the Randstad region, even if the German cities initiated many projects and even realized considerable improvements in their environmental performance. The results of the two comparative studies reveal a gap between the perception of a city as a brand and substantiation showing the significance for cities to emphasize their environmental efforts in communication campaigns.

Green city branding serves as a means for cities to differentiate themselves from their competitors, and demonstrate their commitment to environmental protection, to attract both external social and financial capital to the city (Kalandides and Grésillon, 2021). Nevertheless, as suggested by Busch (2015), a neo-lib-

eral, entrepreneurial mindset may sometimes lead to the implementation of superficial green urban policies deliberately designed to prioritize place image and economic growth over effectively addressing environmental issues potentially resulting leading to another buzzword: greenwashing.

## 3 – Literature review

### 3.1 Brand and place identity

Most of the research in place branding has focused on the gap between *brand image* (perceived image) and *brand identity* (projected image), while less attention has been paid to the gap between brand identity and place identity. *Brand identity* in the context of cities refers to the unique identity crafted and desired by city officials, aimed at differentiating the city from others based on an understanding of residents, clients, competitors, and the business environment (Cai 2002; Pike 2007; Wäckerlin et al., 2020). Brand identity is conceptualized as an emission, influenced by spreading activation theory, in contrast to brand image, which reflects the perception of the brand (Cai, 2002; Vuignier, 2018). *Place identity*, on the other hand, encompasses the essence and unique characteristics of a place that shape its character and facilitate its identification. Cities can benefit from a heightened awareness of their distinctive features, population, history, and traditions. For example, Grenoble, known as the “Capital of the Alps”, leverages its natural environment as a key attractiveness factor. The challenge lies in effectively incorporating these elements into branding while preserving the authenticity and avoiding the instrumentalization of place identity for marketing purposes. Overall, a comprehensive understanding of both brand identity and place identity is crucial for successful place branding, as it involves aligning the projected image with the authentic essence and unique attributes of the place.

### 3.2 Positioning

With many studies primarily focusing on a single destination, the issue of brand positioning within the comparative context of multiple cities remains significantly under-researched (Hanna and Rowley, 2019). The concept of positioning in place branding<sup>3</sup> is subject to diverse interpretations, leading to differences among marketing scholars and practitioners. Some view positioning as an issue of creating an image, while others see it as a decision related to segmentation or emphasis-

ing specific product features (Saqib, 2020). In the place-branding literature, positioning is mostly defined as the reason why clients should prefer a particular territory. *City brand positioning* consists in defining a brand in a competitive context, which requires brand differentiation. It can be defined as the process of gaining a desired position in the audience's mind, by owning a specific set of associations, in the context of competing brands (Janiszewska and Insch, 2012). The positioning of a city expresses a desired identity that one aims to develop and promote. Meyronin (2015) adds the distinction between endogenous and exogenous targets in the positioning definition. Relevant criteria for effective city brand positioning can be categorized based on the following characteristics. First, it must be credible, accurately reflecting the ambitions of the territory, verifiable by the target audience and consistent with the actual conditions of the place (Janiszewska and Insch, 2012). Second, it should be different, emphasizing a distinct reason for choosing the city over its competitors. Third, it should be sustainable, because the territorial positioning corresponds to a long-term vision of the city (Chamard, 2014).

From a marketing perspective, Gollain (2014) refers to Kotler (1994) to mention the strategic significance of brand positioning in which positioning is understood as a key component of the STP concept (Segmenting, Targeting, Positioning) and adapted to the place branding literature. Like segmentation and target group selection, positioning matters for defining a brand strategy. It is the final step, serving as the overarching concept around which the implementation of the entire marketing strategy is structured. During this stage, the objectives and targets selected in the previous phases must be translated into two key elements of any marketing strategy: positioning and customer promise. While these objectives can be ambitious, they must be proportionate to the actual comparative advantages of the territory and the human and financial capacities available to territorial marketers to be consistent (Proulx and Tremblay, 2006). It is crucial to recognize that place brand positioning must also reflect the identity of the city, as the brand identity is not only an abstract advertising concept.

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<sup>3</sup> Following Boisen et al. (2018), we consider place branding as a strategic, long-term, and identity-driven activity that encompasses the alignment between the perceived image of a place (brand image), the desired perception of the place (brand identity), and the actual characteristics of the place (place identity).

## 4 – A scale in three dimensions

Within this framework, the chapter will explore three types of positioning strategies: brand positioning, marketing positioning, and communication positioning. They constitute the basis for the development of the scale (see Table 1).

### 4.1 Brand positioning

The first dimension of our scale is the *brand positioning*. Kavaratzis (2004) underscores the importance of gathering and promoting the place as a unique and distinct entity under a well-defined brand identity. Temporal (2002) treats positioning as one of a brand's key strategic pillars that determine the brand-management process. The global positioning of the shared brand, also known as the umbrella positioning, involves determining precisely and for all the intended targets, the city's position in the market in relation to specific competitors, and communicating a clear value proposition to customers which is shared by the stakeholders of the city. This synthesis of positioning can be achieved through the formulation of a vision that reflects the desired perception of the place according to the public (Chamard, 2014). Karvelyte and Chiu (2011) emphasize that defining a coherent vision and setting clear goals is a central stage in the city brand development process, as it enables effective prioritization of planned initiatives. The main objectives of this stage include the definition of city brand elements such as core idea, identity, positioning and promising of value (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009).

### 4.2 Marketing positioning

The second dimension, *marketing positioning*, focuses on the selected targets within each market and among the key stakeholders. Cities can use *segmented* or *undifferentiated* strategies, meaning they can either target niche markets or adopt a broader approach. Unlike the global positioning, market-oriented positioning reflects a deliberate policy and intention rather than a result. While each sub-positioning for different stakeholder groups may have subtle differences, they should be compatible and mutually supportive when considered together (Gilmore, 2002). Janiszewska and Insch (2012) propose four major positioning based on this approach that differ in the targeting strategies: the concentrated positioning, the exclusive positioning, the interrelated positioning, and the uniform positioning. When communicating their advantages, based on economic, geographical, or human resources arguments, cities have the option to adopt specific position-

ing for a specific clientele or general positioning (Proulx and Tremblay, 2006). If a global brand policy has been established, targeted marketing actions should align with it. In contrast, when no brand policy is in place, efforts should focus on enhancing the territory's overall reputation through diffuse marketing actions (Gollain, 2014).

### 4.3 Communication positioning

The final dimension of the scale is *communication positioning*. It reflects the construction of all the implicit or explicit actions that express the city brand positioning and strategy towards its target audiences. Communication positioning represents the support for the brand, which carries meaning, gives meaning to targets and results in the creation of value about the place. It involves showcasing and promoting the most distinctive advantages of the city in relation to its defined competitors (Bourkache and Tessa, 2015). A well-defined positioning guides strategic communication choices, including subjects, style, and tone. This approach involves various promotional tools such as slogans, personal selling, public relations, and publicity (Florek and al., 2006). While logos and slogans contribute to the differentiation and uniqueness of a place, they represent just one aspect of communication and should not be confused with the overall place-branding strategy (Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009).

## 5 — Method

### 5.1 Indicators

In this study, we drew inspiration from the work of Tsaour et al. (2016) who developed a scale to measure Destination Brand Identity following guidelines provided by Churchill (1979) and Wang et al. (2007). Firstly, we conducted a literature review on sustainability and place branding to identify potential item samples. Second, we generated item samples based on the identified literature. Then, we performed the first data collection and conducted measure reanalysis to refine the items. Finally, we determined the scale for measuring green city positioning. The indicators developed in this chapter can be found in Table 1.



Dimensions	Nbr Items	Indicator	Description	Author
Brand positioning	5	Frame of reference	The global or umbrella positioning of the territory will be translated into an expressed promise.	Chamard (2014)
		Strategical positioning	Positioning as one of a brand's key strategic pillars determining the entire management process.	Temporal (2002)
		Global Vision	The definition of the vision and goals followed by the city is a critical stage in city brand development process: 'without a coherent vision, it is difficult to prioritize various projects.	Karvelyte and Chiu (2011)
		Continuity of positioning	Green place branding consists of making use of previous environmental efforts in a locality to define a new identity.	Andersson (2016)
Marketing positioning	6	Selling points	The precise sub-positionings for each stakeholder group, although each is subtly different, should be compatible and mutually supportive when taken together.	Gilmore (2002)
		Sub-positioning	Based on economic, geographical, or human resources arguments, cities have the option to adopt specific positioning for specific clientele or general positioning.	Proulx and Tremblay (2006)
		Main attributes of the cities	Develop four major positioning strategies may be adopted depending on the approach to the target group.	Janiszewska and Insch (2012)
Promotion positioning	6	Green Award winner	Positioning a city means highlighting and promoting its most differentiating advantages in an optimal way in relation to cities or municipalities defined as competitors.	Bourkache and Tessa (2015)
		Green promise	Promises The word "sustainable" features prominently on the site but translates as "green" in English.	Kalandide and Grésillon (2021)
		Green actors	The reflection of the stakeholders in the city.	Demaziere (2020)
		Green Label	The visual presentation and identification of a place.	Florek and al. (2006)

Table 1. Dimensions of the scale to assess the intensity of cities green positioning

Note: More details about the design and variables used to build the indicators can be found in Annex 1.

## 5.2 Data collection and analysis

The assessment of city positioning is conducted through an examination of the projected image, or brand identity. To achieve this, we adopted a comparative study with the primary objective of defining indicators and developing a scale that enables the evaluation of the intensity of the green positioning among eight selected cities. We collected data from the cities' Visit and Invest websites, and from their promotional and marketing agencies' strategies, and we analyzed the projected image to their external targets (see Table 2). Therefore, a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analysis was used. The construction of a typology that integrates the created scale. Then, the environmental situation of the cities was measured through the environmental criteria of the *IESE Cities in Motion index (CMI<sup>4</sup>) 2022* and the *Global Destination Sustainability-Index (GDI<sup>5</sup>) 2022*.

We investigate city-branding processes in eight European cities (see Table 2): Copenhagen, Glasgow, Ljubljana, Oslo, Reykjavik, Stockholm, Tallinn, and Valencia, with a specific focus on analyzing green city branding through the European Green Capital Award (EGCA). According to Demaziere (2020), the EGCA is probably the best way for European cities to brand themselves as green. It recognizes cities with a strong environmental track record, encourages further sustainability efforts, and showcases exemplary cities as role models for best practices and experiences. In line with Demaziere's assumption (2020), these cities were selected based on their potential to emphasize their green identity in positioning strategies. From the pool of thirty-six previous EGCA winners and finalists, we narrowed down the selection to cities included in the Cities in Motion Index 2022, which forms the basis of our environmental axis, while excluding those with populations exceeding one million and those not part of the Global Destination Sustainability-Index 2022 (GDS-Index) as we assumed they might have less potential for adopting a green positioning, given that participation in the index is a voluntary commitment.

Before presenting the results, it is important to precise that the selected cities rank among the top 50 out of 183 in the environmental dimension of the CMI 2022. The CMI 2022 defines sustainable development as a "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" and assess it in various dimensions. The environmental dimension of the index includes indicators related to air pollutants, water quality, and the sustainability of a city's production and urban development structure. As mobility and urban planning constitute independent dimensions, they are not reflected in the Figure 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cities in Motion Index 2022 (<https://media.iese.edu/research/pdfs/ST-0633-E.pdf>)

<sup>5</sup> Global Destination Sustainability-Index (GDI) 2022 (<https://www.gds.earth/2022-results/>)

City	Inhabitants	Country	EU Region	Type	Visit websites	Invest websites
Copenhagen	>500k	Danemark	Western Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visitcopenhagen.com">www.visitcopenhagen.com</a>	<a href="http://www.copcap.com">www.copcap.com</a>
Glasgow	>500k	UK	Western Europe	4th city	<a href="http://www.peoplemakeglasgow.com">www.peoplemakeglasgow.com</a>	<a href="http://www.investglasgow.com">www.investglasgow.com</a>
Ljubljana	>500k	Slovenia	Western Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visitljubljana.com">www.visitljubljana.com</a>	<a href="http://www.ljubljana.si/en/ljubljana-for-you/work-and-business/">www.ljubljana.si/en/ljubljana-for-you/work-and-business/</a>
Oslo	>500k	Norway	Western Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visitoslo.com">www.visitoslo.com</a>	<a href="http://www.oslobusinessregion.no">www.oslobusinessregion.no</a>
Reykjavik	>500k	Iceland	Western Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visitreykjavik.is">www.visitreykjavik.is</a>	<a href="http://www.investinreykjavik.com">www.investinreykjavik.com</a>
Stockholm	>500k	Sweden	Western Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visitstockholm.com">www.visitstockholm.com</a>	<a href="http://www.stockholmbusinessregion.com">www.stockholmbusinessregion.com</a>
Tallinn	>500k	Estonia	Eastern Europe	Capital	<a href="http://www.visit tallinn.ee">www.visit tallinn.ee</a>	<a href="http://www.investinestonia.com/regions/tallinn">www.investinestonia.com/regions/tallinn</a>
Valencia	>500k	Spain	Western Europe	3rd city	<a href="http://www.visitvalencia.com">www.visitvalencia.com</a>	<a href="http://www.investinval.com">www.investinval.com</a>

Table 2. Characteristics of the eight cities selected

## 6 – Results

Before presenting, in a second stage, the coherence between the cities' green branding strategy and the justification of the place identity, the first part of this section presents the brand identity emphasized in their positioning by the cities on their websites specifically targeting external audiences and strategies.

### 6.1 Green positioning, not an absolute priority

As discussed in the theoretical part, a city brand identity should encompass various dimensions that accurately represent the aspirations of the brand. At least one of these dimensions must differentiate the city from competing destinations. For us to answer to the first research question: do European City Award winners or finalists capitalize on their green characteristics and consider them as a decisive advantage (RQ1), we focus on the environmental dimension in the positioning strategies of the selected eight cities. In our study, we adopted a four-stage intensity scale: *low*, *medium*, *strong*, and *green*, as depicted in the right part of Table 3. We found that being perceived as green through awards (European City Award) does not necessarily drive cities to prioritize their green characteristics in brand positioning.

While the city of Glasgow derives its name from the Gaelic word “*Glaschu*”, meaning “*dear green place*”, and expresses aspirations to become one of Europe's most sustainable cities in the GDS-Index (2022), its positioning does not primarily emphasize its green attributes (*low*). Valencia and Tallinn integrate more environmental settings (*medium*), particularly when promoting the city as a tourist destination. The lack of green global integration could be explained as green city branding consists of making use of previous environmental efforts in a city to define a new identity (Anderberg & Clark, 2013). Notably, both cities are only recent winners of the EGCA, with Valencia in 2023 and Tallinn in 2024.

By contrast, Oslo, Copenhagen, and Stockholm (*strong*) have a long tradition of climate mitigation initiatives and are widely recognized as green, sustainable, and eco-friendly cities. The three Nordic cities adopt a more sustainable integrative and balanced strategy when it comes to differentiate themselves from the competition. Finally, Reykjavik, which won the Nordic Nature and Environment Prize in 2014 and was proclaimed the Greenest City in the world by Green City Times, along with Ljubljana, the first European capital to declare a Zero-Waste goal, both adopt a green positioning (GDS-Index, 2022). These small and medium-sized cities often focus on specialization as a strategy to enhance their international reputation and emphasize creative and innovative urban-development strategies that promote their environmental advantages.

	Slogan	Type of city strategy	Vision visit	Vision invest	EUCGA Date	Description visit	Description invest	Goals visit	Goals invest	Why city? Attributes visit	Why city? Attributes invest	Mention ECGA Visit	Mention ECGA Invest	Sustainable on first page visit	Sustainable on first page invest	Supplier %	Labels GDSI	Intensity of green	Intensity of green positioning
Glasgow	0.5	0.3	0	0.5	0.6	0	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0	0	0	0	1	0.82	1	6	Low
Valencia	0.5	0.5	1	0	0	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2	2	0	1	0	0.40	0.7	8	Medium
Tallinn	1	1	2	2	0.1	0.4	0	1	1	0.5	0.4	2	1	1	1	0.40	0.3	10	Medium
Oslo	1	1	1	0.5	0.4	1	1	0.1	1	1	0.2	0	0	2	2	0.87	0.7	13	Strong
Copenhagen	0.5	1	1	1	1.0	0.3	1	1	1	1	0.3	0	0	2	1	0.84	0.7	13	Strong
Stockholm	0.5	1	1	1	0.7	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	0	0	2	2	0.90	0.7	15	Strong
Reykjavik	2	0.5	2	2	0.8	1	0.5	1	1	1	0.5	0	0	2	2	0.69	0.7	18	Green
Ljubljana	2	0.4	2	2	0.6	0.5	1	0.4	0	0.4	0.4	2	2	2	1	0.44	1	18	Green
Total	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	24	

Table 3. Integration and intensity of the cities' green positioning among our city sample.  
 Note: From 0 to 6. Low green positioning: 6 to 12 Medium green positioning, 12-18 Strong green positioning, 18-24 Green positioning.

## 6.2 The higher the ranking, the greener the positioning?

From the results observed in our scale (see Table 3) and the arguments developed in the previous section, although most of the cities compared integrate their green attributes strongly into their positioning, for a minority of the cities they are not a priority. In this section, we tested whether a causal relationship can be defined between higher rankings in environmental dimension of indexes and greener positioning can be defined by answering to our second research question: do cities with higher rankings in environmental indexes emphasize their green attributes and performance as the main features of their brand positioning (RQ2)? The Figure 1 provides a unique perspective on the link between green brand identity and place identity, focusing on the consistency of positioning based on indexes. The analysis incorporates the brand identity and place identity to develop a representation that highlights the link between the two dimensions. From these figures, a linear causality between the high ranking in indexes and the intensity of green positioning cannot be observed. As seen in the Figure 1, cities with higher rankings in environmental indexes tend to incorporate their green attributes and performance in their positioning but not as the central aspect. Furthermore, each city adopts a diverse positioning to differentiate itself from its competitors, based on its attributes, resources and strategies.

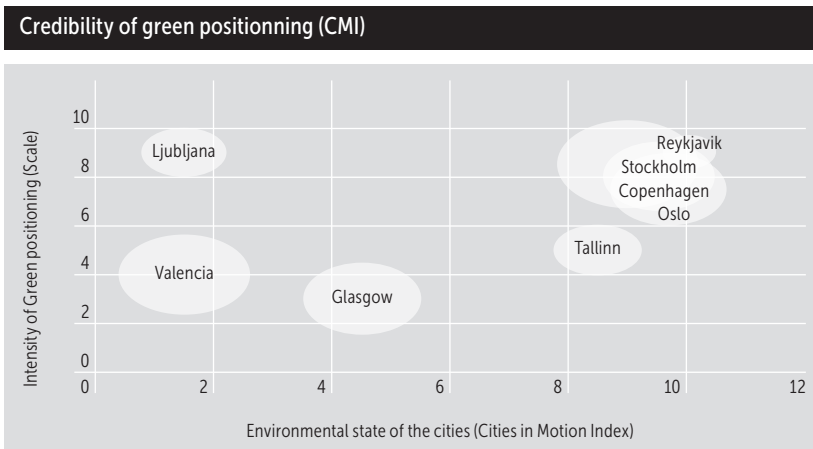


Figure 1. The intensity of green positioning in relation to the environmental performance of cities

Note: The x-axis represents the adaptive ranking of the cities in the environmental dimension of the CMI and the y-axis, the intensity of green positioning of the cities based on the scale illustrated in Table 3. The size of the bubbles represents proportionally the size of the cities in term of population.

The results suggest that cities like Oslo, Copenhagen, and Stockholm which rank high in the environmental dimension of the CMI 2022, (respectively 2nd, 3rd and 6th ranks) prioritize a sustainable development approach that balances economic, social, and environmental dimensions. They not only integrate a significant number of environmental features in their brand positioning but also consider the societal and economic dimensions of sustainable development. This can be perceived in the brand, marketing, and communication positioning dimensions. While Stockholm and Copenhagen adopt a global or umbrella brand approach, Oslo follows a more differentiated brand strategy, where the place itself is perceived as the brand rather than a logo or visual identity. The three structures which constitute the Oslo Brand Alliance following a common storytelling and sharing the same values operate and collaborate in project mode. The three Nordic cities have in common not only to integrate their green dimension in a broader comprehension of sustainability, along with the economic and social dimension, but also to develop it in other priorities and more general strategic goals and activities on their websites visit and invest.

Reykjavik (1<sup>st</sup> rank) emphasizes its geographic nature-based and environmental aspects when it comes to positioning its brand to attract exogenous targets. The city brand's strategic mission is to develop compelling storytelling based on four interconnected brand pillars that create a circular brand story: *“Our nature has shaped our people, people innovate, innovation drives sustainability, which helps nature thrive”* (GDS-Index, 2022). As seen in the scale in Table 3, the city adopts a green positioning focusing on the environmental dimension of sustainability. Nevertheless, differentiation implies a certain level of specialization that cannot satisfy all the external targets or all the stakeholders of the place. Other cities opt for a more global or balanced positioning strategy. Instead of positioning themselves as leaders or innovators in specific market niches, cities like Valencia (47<sup>th</sup> rank) and Glasgow (20<sup>th</sup> rank) communicate a range of general strengths that encompass multiple economic, geographical, and human resource attributes. While Valencia has made efforts to promote sustainable and green tourism, its branding revolves primarily around a vibrant Mediterranean lifestyle and positioning itself as an attractive hub for people, business, and talent. Cities adopting this approach aim to convey the message that they offer something for all external targets.

General positioning is often adopted when there is a lack of a clear vision (Proulx and Tremblay, 2006). Tallinn (9<sup>th</sup> Rank) strives to specialize as a green and global destination and a leader in green transformation in Estonia. However, its communication on the *Visit website* predominantly focuses on conventional features. The city has a long-term strategy *Tallinn 2030*, which set the overall objective of a *“healthy city environment and sustainable use of natural resources”* by the year 2030. We suggest that they should develop a comprehensive branding strategy and enhance coordination among the different organisms to gain in visibility and coherence.

### 6.3 Consistency of Green positioning

Based on the findings of the study, we can identify four distinct city profiles and construct a typology with two dimensions which allows us to answer to the third research question regarding the consistency of the city's green positioning with its actual environmental state (RQ3). The creation of a typology opens interesting paths for future research. It can interestingly be observed that most of the selected cities exhibit a green positioning that aligns with their actual environmental state and that the variation of methodology used by different indexes has an impact on the results.

Based on the results observed in Figure 1, the typology presented in Table 4 reveals that Glasgow and Valencia adopt a weak but consistent positioning regarding their environmental performances, while Copenhagen, Oslo, Reykjavik, and Stockholm demonstrate a strong integration of their high climate mitigation performances in their positioning. Both positioning profiles are credible as they accurately reflect the place identity and the city's ambition. However, the city of Tallinn still has a potential to enhance its branding as a green city, which could further improve its attractiveness. Such a conceptualization of city branding is particularly relevant for medium-sized cities that are less concerned by environmental issues caused by the agglomeration of economic and demographic resources, typical of large cities.

In medium-sized cities, a city branding approach based on urban projects promoting the utilization of renewable energy or the introduction of green spaces might not only be more convincing than in larger cities but also concretize sustainability objectives (Goess et al., 2016). Ljubljana, as depicted in the Table 4, appears to align with this assumption but exhibits an inconsistent positioning. For example, the city still capitalizes on and promotes its European Green Capital Award, obtained in 2016. These environmental results of Ljubljana could be surprising as the city remains the first European capital to declare the Zero-Waste goal with a total of 67% of waste recycled in 2017 and 54% of waste recycled. Ljubljana's title of European Green Capital has significantly enhanced its global recogni-

	Low environmental performance	High environmental performance
Weak green positioning	Glasgow, Valencia	Tallinn
Strong green positioning	Ljubljana	Reykjavik, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo

Table 4. Typology of consistency in green positioning



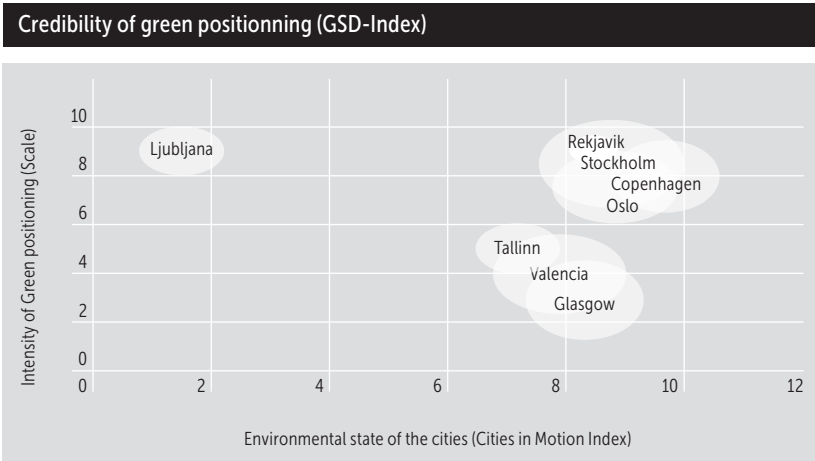


Figure 2. The intensity of green positioning in relation to the environmental performance of cities (GDS-Index)

tion, positioning the city as a leading sustainable, green, tourist, and innovative destination. In the Greenbook of EGCA, the European Commission emphasized on the important role that local authorities play in improving the environment, and their commitment to genuine progress. The focus is set on the effort produced to improve the performance of the city and not on the absolute results. It is also important to emphasize that some of the city's achievements in climate change mitigation were not considered by the CMI 2022. Furthermore, the data collected constitute only a snapshot of the reality of the city in 2022. These observations could emphasize the results observed for Ljubljana.

In order to test our typology with a second index (see Figure 2) we examine the environmental performance as measured by the GDS-Index 2022. The environmental dimension of the index encompasses various aspects of the destination such as climate change commitment, carbon emissions, renewable energy usage, resource and water management, public transport, and air pollution levels. Consequently, changes appeared in the representation of the credibility of green positioning. A mix of quantitative and qualitative indicators were mobilized to measure the environmental performances of the cities.

When comparing the results depicted in Figure 1, integrating the environmental performance measured by the GDS-Index, slight changes are observed in the positioning of Valencia and Glasgow. This reflects more the vision formulated by Glasgow, as it aims to be at the forefront on climate change with ambitions to become the UK's first carbon neutral city by 2030 and a world leading center for sustainable policy and innovation. Glasgow has featured within the top 10 of the

	Low environmental performance	High environmental performance
Weak green positioning		Tallinn, Glasgow, Valencia
Strong green positioning	Ljubljana	Reykjavik, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo

Table 5. Typology of consistency in green positioning

GDS-Index since 2016. These cities show improved environmental performances according to the GDS-Index methodology. The updated results are incorporated into the typology below.

## 7 – Discussion and conclusion

The chapter proposes a comprehensive adaptation of positioning in green city branding, focusing on the city's projected brand image (brand identity) rather than external perceptions (brand image). It also introduces an innovative methodological approach using indicators and a reusable scale to evaluate the intensity of green positioning in cities. Finally, we develop an interesting typology that opens avenues for future research. In this chapter, we emphasize the importance of brand identity being consistent with the attributes of place identity for successful positioning.

The results of the study give some insights and provide some background for future investigation in the field. It is found that being perceived as green through awards (European City Award) does not necessarily drive cities to prioritize their green characteristics in brand positioning (RQ1). Cities with higher rankings in environmental indexes tend to incorporate their green attributes and performances but not as the central aspect of their positioning (RQ2). The study suggests that cities like Oslo, Copenhagen, and Stockholm prioritize a sustainable development approach that balances economic, social, and environmental dimensions. Finally, most of the selected cities exhibit a green positioning that aligns with their actual environmental state (RQ3).

This chapter meets with limitations. The dimensions of the positioning scale in city branding and the intensity of green in positioning require verification and further investigation to consolidate the measurement tool. Then the measure-

ment of city positioning conducted through a snapshot analysis in 2022, based on strategic and website content analysis limits a generalization of the results. A longitudinal perspective would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the results obtained. Additionally, a more extensive analysis of city strategies, resources, governance, and brand management would offer a deeper insight into the significance of the green dimension in city positioning. Another limitation remains in the integration of the CMI 2022 and the GDI-2022 results in our typologies. While the rank was considered for the CMI, the percentage scores attributed to the destination in the GDI-2022 were used due to data availability. These methodological differences limit the robustness of our results in the analysis regarding the consistency of the green positioning and has an impact on the development of our typology. Furthermore, the variation in methods used by different indexes to measure the environmental performances of cities constitute an additional limit. The results obtained are dependent on the specific definition of green and the selection of indicators employed by the indexes to assess the environmental performance of cities.

## 7.1 Future research

The need to measure complex and intangible issues such as the positioning of a city, has led to an increased demand for measurement tools that can translate qualitative into quantitative assessments. Most of the research dedicated to place positioning in the field of marketing and place branding have focused on the perceived image of a place (brand image). Traditionally, qualitative methodologies such as case studies and field interviews, and theory-testing methodologies such as surveys and experiments have, for a long time, been the dominant methodologies. Constructing effective measurement tools to measure the concept of city-brand positioning represents a compelling path for future contributions, based on a comparative approach. The integration of a broad selection of cities with green positioning for comparative research would also bring more validation for the scale. Performance indicators play a crucial role in assessing and comparing the success of city policies and their branding strategies. Future research could explore socio-economic, geopolitical, and historical variables to support and complement the alignment between brand image and place identity in sustainability and green place branding.

The question of whether it is meaningful to isolate the environmental dimension from the broader concept of sustainability opens the door to further investigation and offers promising avenues for future research. It would be valuable to examine how this isolation may influence the potential trade-offs or synergies between environmental dimension and other dimensions of sustainability. While

sustainability encompasses social, economic, and environmental aspects, future research could explore the concept of green cities, their positioning, and the overall effectiveness of sustainability initiatives. A unification of the concept around the 2030 Agenda<sup>6</sup>, could set a common basis for the development of the field. By addressing these research gaps, we can advance our understanding of the interconnectedness of sustainability dimensions and inform more effective and integrated strategies for branding sustainability in various contexts.

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<sup>6</sup> Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development introduced in the Resolution adopted on 25 September 2015 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, setting 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets to be attained in 2030, which balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental.

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## Appendix 1

### Indicator structure of the scale

Dimension	Nbr Items	Indicator	Description (unit of measurement)
Brand Positioning	5	Frame of reference	Slogan of the city
		Strategical positioning	Type of city strategy
		Global Vision	Vision invest
			Vision visit
Continuity of positioning	ECGA Date		
Marketing Positioning	6	Selling points	Description invest
			Description invest
		Sub-positioning	Goals invest
			Goals visit
		Main attributes of the cities	Why city? Attributes invest
			Why city? Attributes visit
Promotion Positioning	6	Green Award winner	Mention ECGA on website invest
			Mention ECGA on website Visit
		Green promise	Sustainable on first page invest
			Sustainable on first page visit
		Green actors	Supplier Performance in % from the Global Destination Sustainability Index (GDS-Index)
		Green Label	Sustainable strategy, sustainable destination certificate, sustainability performance Labels GDSI



<b>Scoring</b>
0= no green/sustainable, 0.5 = general or economy/social , 1 = sustainable or nature/environmental/green 2 = nature/environmental/green as main vision
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, 0.5 = general or economy/social 1 = sustainable or nature/environmental/green, 2 = nature/environmental/green as main vision
0= no green/sustainable, 0.5 = general or economy/social 1 = sustainable or nature/environmental/green, 2 = nature/environmental/green as main vision
2010 = 1 2024 = 0
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no green/sustainable, nb item green/nb item total = general or economy/social 1= one objective which is environmental /sustainable
0= no, 1= yes 2= yes, on the first page
0= no, 1= yes 2= yes, on the first page
0= no, 1= yes 2= yes, on the first page
0= no, 1= yes 2= yes, on the first page
% based on the GDS-Index
0= No achievement, nb of achievements /total of achievements 1 = Sustainable strategy, sustainable destination certificate, sustainability performance

Part 2:  
**Dynamic of Relationships  
between Actors**

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# Managing the International Attractiveness of Subnational Territories: Insights from the management of the international attractiveness of the Paris Region on the eve of the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games

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## Abstract

Despite the importance of place competitiveness and the proliferation of investment promotion agencies, there remains a research gap in understanding how actors in sub-national territories coordinate to enhance their efforts to increase their international attractiveness. This chapter offers a research agenda exploring the management and mechanisms employed to ensure effective coordination between all the stakeholders involved. It highlights the role of investment promotion agencies as key actors and introduces a continuum of inter-organizational relations (IOR) that characterize the different types of possible collaboration between organizations. The relational and dyadic approaches to IOR are discussed, highlighting the existence of meta-organizational effects. The chapter focuses on the “Choose Paris Region” case, and its committee dedicated to coordinating attractiveness-related projects, on the eve of the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The research agenda proposes a thorough investigation of organizations mandated to manage attractiveness, a better understanding of the management methods and coordination bodies employed, and a clear identification of the challenges faced.

Keywords: Territorial attractiveness, International attractiveness, Subnational territories, Investment promotion agencies, Territorial governance, Inter-organizational relations, Coordination, Paris Region.

### List of abbreviations

Abbreviations	Definitions
A&NMT	Chair Attractiveness & New Territorial Marketing
CPM	Collaborative Public Management
CPR	Choose Paris Region
EPCI	Public inter-municipal cooperation establishments
EPT	Territorial public institutions of the Greater Paris Metropolis
IMPGT	Institute of Public Management and Territorial Governance
IPA	Investment Promotion Agency
IOR	Inter-organizational relations
NPM	New Public Management
OPG	Olympic and Paralympic Games
SRDEII	Regional Scheme for Economic Development, Innovation and Internationalization
STA	Sustainable territorial attractiveness

# 1 – Introduction

As Paris and its region prepare to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games (OPG) in 2024, the most recent mega-sports events have been the subject of intense criticism and even boycotts (e.g., the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar and the 2022 OPG in Beijing). These reactions from the public may have tainted the brand-building and attractiveness process, generally motivating their organization (Delaplace, 2020). In contrast to these previous events, the mayor of Paris pledges that this new edition will be very different and wishes to propose a new model, more respectful of the environment and population, with a positive and sustainable impact on society (Politique Internationale, 2020). This ambition resonates with the current paradigm shift in place attractiveness, with a particular focus on its sustainability (Soldo, 2018). The Chair Attractivité & Nouveau Marketing Territorial (A&NMT) of the Institute of Public Management and Territorial Governance (IMPGT)<sup>1</sup> defines this more sustainable attractiveness as a lever for places' current and future development and quality of life. It aims to attract and/or anchor the territory's various internal and external actors (IMPGT, 2021).

The stakes for the city and region of Paris are high as their international attractiveness, in its current form, seems likely to reach its apogee with the organization of these mega-events. Indeed, the Paris Region presents itself as the most attractive region in Europe in 2023, overtaking Greater London in the EY ranking for the first time since its creation (Lhermitte & Fourel, 2023). In the context of heightened competition among sub-national territories (Zimmermann, 2005; Alaux, 2018), this performance can, in part, be attributed to the Paris Region benefiting from the impact of Brexit on investors' choice of business locations. While Paris hopes to surpass the memory of the 2012 London OPG, the competition between these capitals should not eclipse the fact that the Paris Region is rich and complex, with many assets outside Paris city. Thus, coordinating the actors involved in this rich complexity is one of the challenges facing the renewed regional agency in charge of the region's international attractiveness, created on 1 July 2023: Choose Paris Region (CPR). Indeed, to make the best and most sustainable use of this mega-event, the Paris Region has decided to merge its tourism agency into its investment promotion agency (IPA) to develop a global one-stop shop, a great "attractiveness agency" (CPR, 2023), ready to perform during the OPG.

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<sup>1</sup> The Chair Attractivité & Nouveau Marketing Territorial (ANMT) of the Institute of Public Management and Territorial Governance (IMPGT) is the first collaborative chair dedicated to regional attractiveness. Thanks to its permanent monitoring teams, the Chair focuses on disseminating and sharing best practices in regional attractiveness in France and around the world.

However, the Paris Region faces several persistent challenges linked to managing its international attractiveness and the governance of territorial initiatives that are supposed to contribute to it.

One of these central challenges, but also one of the potential keys to the success of these initiatives, remains the coordination of territorial actors (Alaux et al., 2023). Moreover, in our view, this difficulty is exacerbated by combining two phenomena with centrifugal effects. Firstly, territories seek to exist and attract by distinguishing themselves (Vuignier, 2017). Secondly, territorial authorities assert themselves as actors in international relations and use their paradiplomatic actions (Soldatos, 1990) to promote their economic development (Mestre, 2019). Indeed, the literature shows a shift from a tradition of international solidarity to an imperative of return on investment (Rozier, 2017), to a “pro-domo” interest, i.e., prioritizing the logic of attractiveness, global influence, and economic development (Mestre, 2019, p. 53).

Thus, within a region, and especially in the perspective of hosting the Olympics, perceived as an opportunity to enhance their attractiveness (Geffroy et al., 2021), the actions of the various actors may be brought into conflict to the detriment of one, but also to the detriment of the whole (Giovanardi et al., 2013).

Coordination between subnational attractiveness stakeholders is becoming a significant concern for an increasing number of places and appears essential for successful place-marketing initiatives. Therefore, they seek to coordinate their international attractiveness actions and, in recent years, have created structures responsible for this mission, notably agencies (Alaux et al., 2023), such as Choose Paris Region. However, there has been little research into this issue. (Kauffmann, 2016).

This chapter will present research avenues to understand better how sub-national territories’ international attractiveness actions are coordinated around the dedicated agencies. It will be structured as follows. Firstly, we will look at the context underlying the issue of coordinating actions to enhance international attractiveness at the sub-national level: extension of the field of attractiveness, competition between sub-national territories, and multiplication of actions to enhance the international attractiveness of territories. Secondly, we will examine the concepts of governance and territorial attractiveness and present the latest advances in research about inter-organizational relations (IOR) and collaborative public management (CPM). Thirdly, we will present the problems specific to the French case and the first observations on the case study of the Paris Region on the eve of the OPG 2024. Finally, we will propose avenues for future research, particularly studying the case of sub-national agencies in other European countries.

## 2 – The extension of the field of territorial attractiveness and its effects in the context of competition between sub-national territories

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the notion of attractiveness has become an established part of local government discourse, the work of experts and research devoted to territories (Cusin & Damon, 2010). According to the authors, attractiveness was initially associated solely with financial movements and based on exchange rate fluctuations. The concept has now extended to all the dimensions of what can make a space quality. This extension has prompted the A&NMT Chair of the IMPGT to publish a Manifesto in 2021 proposing definitions of the concepts of place attractiveness and marketing. They stem from the concept of sustainable territorial attractiveness (STA) proposed by Soldo (2018). STA is based on a complementary relationship between external (attracting businesses and tourists) and internal attractiveness (for residents and quality of life) and covers three dimensions: economic, political, and societal attractiveness. Following this proposal, we define international attractiveness as encompassing strategic efforts of the place actors to enhance the image, competitiveness, and global appeal of the place, capture external flows of resources, and foster sustainable economic and social development.

To achieve these objectives, territorial authorities develop ambitious spatial planning policies, and put place attractiveness at the heart of their strategy. Moreover, they rely on territorial marketing initiatives as the promotion of their image has become a priority to capture external flows and enhance the quality of internal flows (Serval, 2015). Furthermore, according to the A&NMT Chair (2021), territorial marketing can be defined as “a methodological approach, both strategic and operational, that makes it possible to capture, create, communicate, and deliver value corresponding to the needs of each of the territory’s current and future stakeholders in order to ensure balanced attractiveness” (author’s translation).

The territorial governance that underpins these marketing initiatives corresponds to more horizontal methods of managing public action, which encourages the involvement of stakeholders from society, such as businesses and residents. To bring these initiatives to fruition, public authorities are implementing their own modes of governance. However, according to Alaux et al. (2023), they all share a common characteristic: the creation of new structures, outside local authorities, which allow greater flexibility in managing these collective projects. The number of such structures has risen in recent years in France, from 9 in 2017

to over 100 in 2022 (Binet, 2022). The structures in charge of managing these collective projects typically face the combination of two phenomena with centrifugal effects.

Firstly, to face the competition between sub-national territories and develop their attractiveness, the latter seek to differentiate themselves through place marketing, particularly by creating place brands. According to Chamard et al. (2013), place marketing can be defined as an approach that aims to develop an offering based on knowledge of the environment. Place branding is then a marketing tool that should make it possible to influence people's perceptions "by creating in their minds well-defined emotional and psychological associations with the place" (Eshuis et al., 2014, p. 157). According to Vuignier (2017), we are also witnessing a phenomenon of mimetism. Indeed, territories wish to develop their own brand and distinguish themselves, while relying on the same branding techniques (Babey & Giauque, 2009). In addition, territories often adopt several brands to attract different targets, raising the issue of multiple positioning (Vuignier, 2017) (e.g., Choose Paris Region Invest/Visit/Film/Work & Live). This problem is compounded by the tangle of brands at different territorial levels and the emergence of "umbrella" brands (even at the international level, as with the "Choose Europe" brand, unveiled in September 2022), sometimes managed by ad hoc structures (Gayet, 2017), which can generate a "cacophony" (Giovanardi et al., 2013, pp. 365-366).

Secondly, territories are not simply subjected to globalization but are taking their destiny into their own hands (Hernandez, 2008). Territorial authorities assert themselves as actors in international relations (Viltard, 2020). As early as the 1990s, Soldatos (1990) described the development of para-diplomacy. Today, French territorial authorities seek to legitimize it as a fully-fledged form of diplomacy and turn elected representatives into real ambassadors of the territories (Cités Unies France, 2023; author's translation). For example, at the symposium organized by Cités Unies France on 3 July 2023, on "diplomacy of territories and the international action of territorial authorities in times of crisis", the President of Montpellier Méditerranée Métropole, concluded the discussions by saying that "the time for city diplomacy has come" (Cités Unies France, 2023). Indeed, to boost their attractiveness by optimizing the mobilization of their local resources, they are increasingly putting their international actions, once focused on aid and solidarity initiatives, at the service of their economic development (Rozier, 2017).

As a result, there is an increasing number of international initiatives undertaken by territorial authorities to promote their attractiveness (Garcia, 2013). However, this often occurs without any coordination with the region's attractiveness strategy, other territorial actors, and lower or higher levels of government.

In France, the legislative changes of 2014 (Loi de modernisation de l'action publique territoriale et d'affirmation des métropoles) and 2015 (Loi nouvelle organisation territoriale de la République) have transformed the relationship between ter-



ritorial authorities on economic development. These laws positioned the region as the leading actor in economic development, reinforcing its responsibility and mission of coordination, particularly with the drawing up of a regional economic development plan (SRDEII). They have also strengthened the role of public establishments for inter-municipal cooperation (EPCI) and ended the general powers of the Départements. So, as Carmouze (2020) shows, the SRDEIIs, for example, require a degree of cooperation between metropolitan areas and regions, while the EPCIs include this injunction to cooperate in their very name. We can see that this territorial cooperation can take various forms but is often achieved through the intermediary of an agency (Alaux et al., 2023). These agencies are structured differently and created at different territorial levels. There are, for example, 21 regional, 34 departmental, 15 metropolitan, and 46 communal and inter-communal agencies (Binet, 2022; CNER, 2023). At the European level, major cities have also established structures responsible for their international attractiveness (e.g., Berlin Partner, Invest Stockholm, Catalonia Trade & Investment, etc.).

However, to date, these structures have not been the subject of much research. Thus, future research needs to examine the governance they put in place and how the coordination of territories occurs around them.

### **3 — Theoretical framework and recent advances in research on collaborative public management (CPM) and inter-organizational relations (IOR)**

To comprehensively explore the management of international attractiveness in sub-national territories, we begin by examining the concept of “place” (3.1). We then look at the dynamic processes of ‘governance’ (3.2) and introduce the concept of “collaborative public management” (3.3) as an alternative to traditional models. Our investigation concludes with a detailed examination of “inter-organizational relations” (3.4), where we explore the connections, positioning, and meta-organizational effects involving various actors and their strategies.

### 3.1 Place

To discuss avenues for future research into the governance of the international attractiveness of sub-national territories, it is crucial to return to the conception of place. We conceive the place not only as a geographical space where activities take place, but also as a social construct initiated by the actors (Hernandez, 2017). Moreover, Saucier and his co-authors (2010), in a study of the evolution of the concept over time, show that a place is also the product of collective action. Consequently, it is not only a space or a fixed institutional framework but also a space constructed and produced by the activities of actors with a view to transformation (Peres, 2020). Thus, it appears as a socio-economic construct where relationships between local actors are woven, interactions whose objective is to design and implement a common development project (Gilly & Perrat, 2003; Leloup et al., 2005). Consequently, managing the attractiveness of a region such as the Paris Region mobilizes many actors with sometimes divergent interests and whose relationships are subject to territorial governance.

### 3.2 Governance

As per Leloup et al. (2005, p. 330), we define governance as: the process, not only of coordination of actors but also of appropriation of resources and construction of territoriality. In this context, the territory cannot be reduced to a simple spatial-administrative level, but is a permanent social construct, a process of discrimination and construction of an 'inside' in relation to an 'outside' (author's translation). It corresponds to the operational, strategic, and political management methods implemented by actors who co-construct public policies at the local level (Alaux et al., 2023). This horizontal method of implementing public action is used not only in economic development but also in other sectors, such as environmental and cultural sectors, encouraging the involvement of society's actors, such as businesses and residents. Many actors are mobilized around place-marketing processes as part of attractiveness initiatives. To develop them, territories implement very diversified modes of governance, adapted to their context, but which nevertheless have a common characteristic: the creation of new structures, often associative, outside of the territorial authorities, which allow greater flexibility in the management of these collective projects (Alaux et al., 2023). The creation of these agencies can correspond to one of the post-New Public Management (NPM) trends, the New Public Governance (NPG). This conception of governance calls for building public action collectively and through deliberation. According to Osborne (2006, p. 381), it relies on the existence of a plural state and seeks to understand the development and implementation of public policy in this con-

text. It is based on two complementary aspects (Bovaird, 2005): achieving results in terms of quality of life and implementing interaction processes between the various actors concerned by public policies. The diversity of actors participating collectively in developing and implementing public services requires inter-organizational governance (Osborne, 2006), which can be carried out by these new structures that are agencies (Alaux et al., 2023).

### 3.3 Collaborative Public Management

Hence, the management of the international attractiveness of sub-national territories does not correspond to the principles of NPM. These agencies and the inter-organizational governance they implement are aligned with the proposed unifying and integrating paradigm of post-NPM currents: Collaborative Public Management (CPM) (Carmouze, 2020). Furthermore, Alaux et al. (2023) suggest that the creation of agencies can be perceived as a response to the limits of NPM.

Indeed, although NPM has been widely disseminated in public policy in France and Europe since the 1980s, and advocates applying private-sector methods and tools in public management, research has since exposed its limitations. Matyjasik and Guenoun (2019) demonstrate that disseminating NPM does neither reduce costs nor increase the efficiency of public organizations. Furthermore, Ladner (2018) demonstrates that the budget cuts and staff reductions justified by the NPM paradigm prevent local public organizations from improving their effectiveness and efficiency.

To deal with these limitations, post-NPM currents propose defining and using the CPM's framework as a unifying paradigm (Amsler & O'Leary, 2017). This paradigm attempts to move away from a vision in terms of markets, customers, and results to focus on the notions of public value, collaboration, public governance, strategy, and territories. One of its aims is to foster relations between public organizations (Osborne, 2006; Christensen & Lægread, 2011), a more horizontal management style encouraging cooperation and coordination (Christensen, 2012). Thus, the current trend favors relations between territorial managers and local elected representatives (Pollet et al., 2015) in defining and implementing territorial attractiveness strategies (Carmouze, 2020).

Therefore, we think the relationships between organizations are essential to understanding the management of the international attractiveness of sub-national territories today and the role of attractiveness-focused agencies in this process.

### 3.4 Inter-organisational Relations (IOR)

The term IOR covers relationships among and between organizations (Cropper et al., 2009), which can be understood as socially and economically nourished links between organizations (Forgues et al., 2006). Hence, the study of IOR attempts to understand the interconnection between the members of a network and the positioning of each of its organizations. Moreover, a functional reading of IOR (Carmouze, 2020), has demonstrated the existence of “meta-organisational effects”, i.e., “transcending a single organization” (Forgues et al., 2006, pp. 22-23; author’s translation).

To study the relationships between the territories, and their attractiveness-related agencies, (regarded as meta-organizations), we use the work of Carmouze (2020) on the different forms of dyadic IOR between French metropolises and regions to define their attractiveness strategies. Therefore, to study the management of the international attractiveness of sub-national territories through their agencies, we use the continuum of IOR. This approach will be enhanced by considering the constrained context faced by public organizations, as proposed by Carmouze (2020). To do this, she draws upon the work of Mattessich et al. (2001), supplemented by subsequent research (see Thomson et al., 2007; Sedgwick, 2016; Quélin et al., 2017), as illustrated in Figure 1.

Then, she suggests including additional forms such as competition, competition, and decentralized and cross-border cooperation. Thus, collaboration is defined as the most integrated form of relationship between organizations (Thomson et al., 2007; O’Lear & Bingham, 2009). It involves joint strategic planning activities, through the sharing of resources and risks, the collective definition of strategic objectives and processes for evaluating actions to be taken, in progress, or completed (Mattesich et al., 2001).

This tool, outlining nine forms of IOR integration, will facilitate future research in depicting the types of relationships that can develop among the organizations engaged in enhancing the international attractiveness of territories.

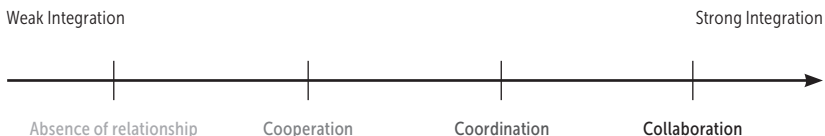


Figure 1. Continuum of inter-organizational relations.

Source: Figure adapted from Carmouze (2020, p 69) based on Mattessich, Murray-Close and Monsey (2001, p. 42), and Sedgwick (2016, p. 237).

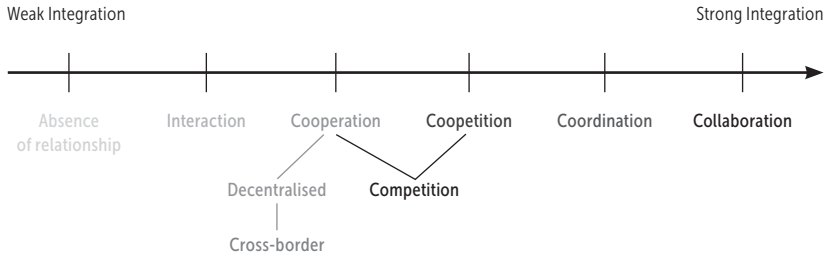


Figure 2. Enriched continuum of inter-organizational relations  
 Source: adapted from Carmouze (2020, p 616).

## 4 – Problems specific to the French case and the current advances in the case study of the Paris Region

In the following section, we provide an analysis of the Paris Region’s international attractiveness management, beginning with the challenges specific to the French context (4.1). Then, we look at the evolution of the Choose Paris Region agency’s role as a federator of stakeholders and its “Comité des territoires” as a coordinating body (4.2). This sets the stage for an exploration of the coordination process among territorial stakeholders in preparation for the 2024 OPG (4.3).

### 4.1 Problems specific to the French case

The management of the international attractiveness of the Paris Region depicts a first case study for a research agenda on the topic. It seems to us that, in France, the issue of coordinating international initiatives to enhance the attractiveness of territories is affecting all sub-national territories. This is partly driven by the forces of globalization and the consequences of a series of reforms that profoundly restructured all French territorial organizations. This “territorial big bang” (Torre & Bourdin, 2015) involved a new territorial demarcation and the redistribution of competencies among them and their groups (Sadran, 2015; Galimberti et al., 2017). These reforms reduced the number of regions from 22 to 13 in 2016 and created 22 new metropolises between 2014 and 2018. Both regions and metrop-

olises were entrusted with the responsibility of developing territorial attractiveness strategies (Marcou, 2015) and were obliged to work together in this endeavor. Furthermore, with its institutional complexity and polycentrism, the Paris Region appears to be a singular research terrain capable of generating new knowledge on this subject. The Region already identified this problem in 2017 in the regional economic development plan (SRDEII 2017-2021). The document pointed to the multiplicity of international promotion initiatives and the diversity of messages used to promote the region and regretted that they were sending out the image of a confused region and damaging its image (author's translation). More recently, the SRDEII 2022-2028 continues to address this issue and mandates Choose Paris Region to promote increased coordination between all territories.

## 4.2 First Elements and Strategic Insights in Managing International Attractiveness in the Paris Region

This sub-section explores the Paris Region case study. We discuss the CPR agency's evolving mandate and focus on international attractiveness (4.2.1), the changes in management and governance (4.2.2), the development of the "Comité des Territoires" as a coordinating body (4.2.3), and the stakeholders involved in the Agency's management of international attractiveness (4.2.4).

### 4.2.1 Evolution of the CPR agency's mandate and positioning

The current regional attractiveness agency is an association, heir of several reorganizations of the Regional Development Agency (ARD) created in 2001. Nevertheless, between 2001 and 2015, the Agency was not focused on place attractiveness. It had a dual mission, supporting the development of companies coming from and to the Paris Region. In 2016, the missions were refocused on the international attractiveness of the region with the objective of strengthening the link with other regional key actors in attractiveness. This development started shifting the Agency's position from a business focus to a place-development approach.

### 4.2.2 Evolution of the management and governance of international attractiveness implemented by the Agency

Despite this change in the Agency's role, there was no immediate establishment of a coordination body of the territorial stakeholders (i.e., mainly the local authorities, their agencies and the urban development authorities). This can be explained by the "territorial big bang", a series of reforms that have redistributed powers between the various local authorities and their groupings. For the Paris Region, this has resulted in the creation of a new organization, the Greater Paris Metro-

lis and the attribution of economic development competencies to the Region and the Metropolis, rendering obsolete the previous mode of collaboration with the Départements.

Thus, 2019 marks a turning point. Firstly, with another renewal of the association's internal governance to give all partners a voice. Secondly, with the re-launch of a governance body for territorial actors: the "Comité des territoires". Indeed, this collaborative workspace opened up governance outside the association and brought in many other territorial authorities. Moreover, the Agency submitted a charter to external and internal stakeholders to ensure their coordination. This document defines the roles of each and common ways of working.

These developments in managing the region's international attractiveness have had several consequences on how stakeholders are coordinated. Indeed, following the "territorial big bang" and the affirmation of its role as manager of the governance of the region's attractiveness, the Agency's ambition is to involve its members beyond its statutory management, to move towards a collaborative construction of a common plan of actions.

In terms of internal governance, this has resulted in the association's Board of Directors opening up to the territories by creating a dedicated college in 2019 and a second for their urban development agencies in 2021.

#### 4.2.3 Focus on the gradual development of the Comité des Territoires as a coordinating body of territorial stakeholders

Furthermore, stakeholders from outside the association were mainly involved through the re-launch of the "Comité des territoires". Indeed, this ad hoc collabo-

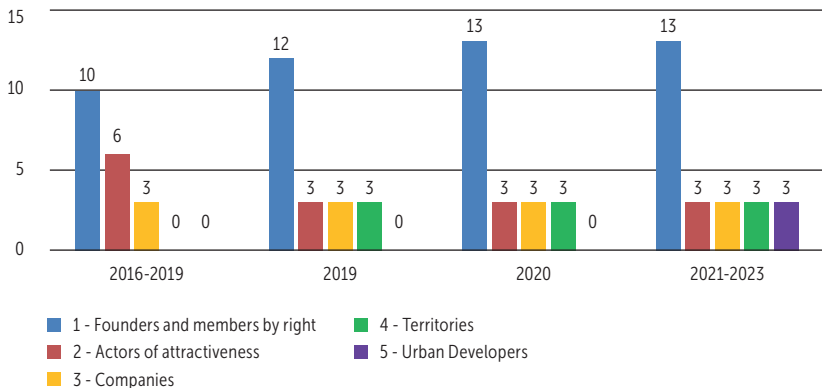


Table 1. Elected to the Board of Directors of CPR according to the Colleges.

Source: Author, 2023

Steering committee- elected representatives	Steering committee	P4F - Plan of promotion and prospection of Paris Region partners	Thematic sessions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elected representatives of the territories</li> <li>• 1 to 2 times a year</li> <li>• Since 2022</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic development managers of the territories</li> <li>• Private stakeholders invited depending on the subject</li> <li>• Discussions on priority actions</li> <li>• 2 to 3 times a year</li> <li>• Since 2019</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic development managers of the territories</li> <li>• Choose Paris Region's experts by subject</li> <li>• Sector meetings and bilateral points</li> <li>• From May to December</li> <li>• Since 2022</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interested Paris Region partners</li> <li>• Choose Paris Region's experts by subject</li> <li>• Examples: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Image</li> <li>- Impact</li> <li>- Olympic Games</li> <li>- Talents</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Depending on current events and the wishes of partners</li> </ul>

Table 2. Bodies of the Choose Paris Region Territories Committee in 2023.

Source: Author, 2023

rative tool allows for an improved exchange between the Agency and its members, but above all for the involvement of external stakeholders. It brings together more than 50 public actors, and key private actors, i.e., more than 300 people (CPR and author, 2023), to collectively construct a joint attractiveness offering. Its ambition is to develop an “operational coordination to be more effective together” (CPR, 2023) (author translation).

The committee comprises several bodies (Table 2), that bring together local representatives at different decision-making levels: Elected representatives and territorial managers.

The steering committee brings together territorial managers, 2 to 3 times a year since 2019. They discuss the priority actions they are taking individually and those they would like to take collectively.

Then, 2022 marked a new stage of the coordination process, with the collective construction of a joint promotion and prospection plan (Plan de Promotion et de Prospection des Partenaires Franciliens) and the co-financing of its implementation. This work takes place between May and December. Numerous sector meetings are held with the territorial managers and the Agency's experts dedicated to each subject (Mobility, Health, Industry, etc.). These are followed by action-specific meetings, bilateral exchanges, and continuous coordination of the action plan throughout the year.

Moreover, since October 2022, the elected representatives of these territories have been meeting once or twice a year at the elected representatives steering



committee. This new body aims to provide elected representatives with information on the Agency’s activities and to work collectively to define its strategic orientations for the territories.

In addition, thematic meetings of the “Comité des territoires” are organized according to current events and on cross-cutting subjects, such as the audiovisual sector in September 2023.

#### 4.2.4 Descriptive statistics of stakeholders involved in the management of international attractiveness implemented by the Agency

The research identifies around 140 organizations involved in the Choose Paris Region’s management of the region’s international attractiveness between 2019 and 2022. As shown in Figure 3, the largest category represents territorial authorities and agencies (33%), followed by the business sector (30%), and the regional economic development network stakeholders (23%).

When looking at an opening-up of the region’s governance of its international attractiveness, Table 3 shows that among the approximately 20% of stakeholders involved who are external to CPR (49 in 2022), local authorities and agencies represent the largest group (21, 2019-2022). Indeed, half of the Greater Paris Territories (EPTs) are not members of CPR (6 out of 11) (Figure 4). Equally, half of the conurbation communities (6 out of 12), the Communities of Communes (3) and

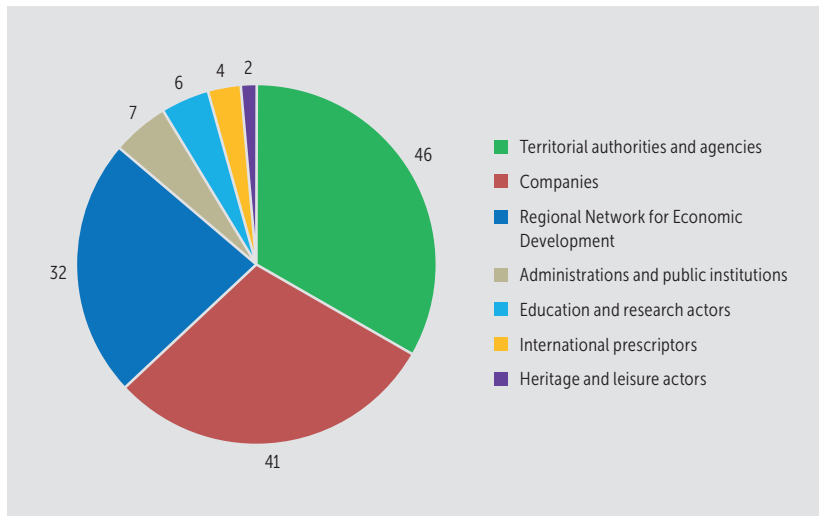


Figure 3. Stakeholder categories between 2019 and 2022  
 Source: Author (2023)

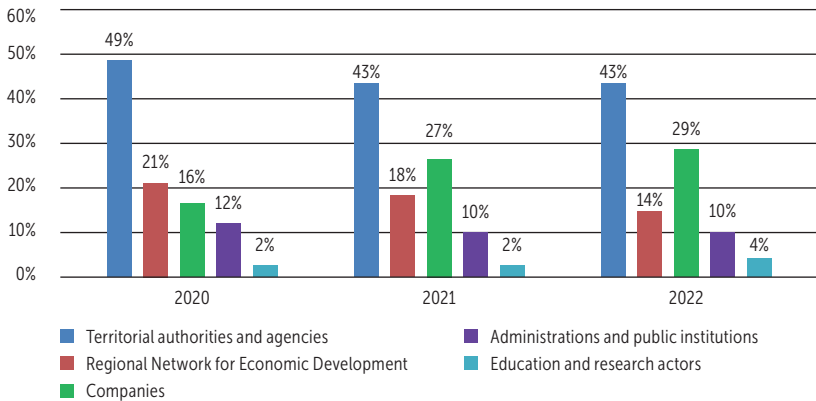


Table 3. Share of actor categories in external stakeholders between 2020 and 2022

Source: Author, 2023

Departmental Councils (2) are not members of CPR. Nevertheless, these organizations are involved in the region's international attractiveness management through the "Comité des territoires" (Figure 5).

The "Comité des territoires" demonstrates here part of its interest and success as a tool for managing attractiveness and coordinating stakeholders. However, it also highlights that the involvement of local authorities in the Agency's internal bodies remains difficult. Following the merger of Visit Paris Region into CPR, this is now at the heart of the Agency's efforts to revamp its membership policy and the services to both its members and external partners.

### 4.3 First elements on the coordination process of territorial stakeholders for the 2024 Olympic Games

Organizing one of the world's biggest events, such as the OPG, is a major challenge that mobilizes and transforms the Paris Region's territories. Indeed, more than 15 million visitors, including almost 2 million international visitors are expected (CPR, 2023). The TV viewership figures are even more impressive, estimated at around 4 billion individuals worldwide (Préfecture de Paris et d'Île-de-France, 2023). While Paris and the Seine-Saint-Denis Département will be at the heart of this event, the whole region is mobilized, with, for instance, 216 Olympic preparation centers that will welcome delegations from all over the world (Préfecture de Paris et d'Île-de-France, 2023). The stakes are therefore high to ensure the optimum experience of the region and highlight its assets and those of its ter-

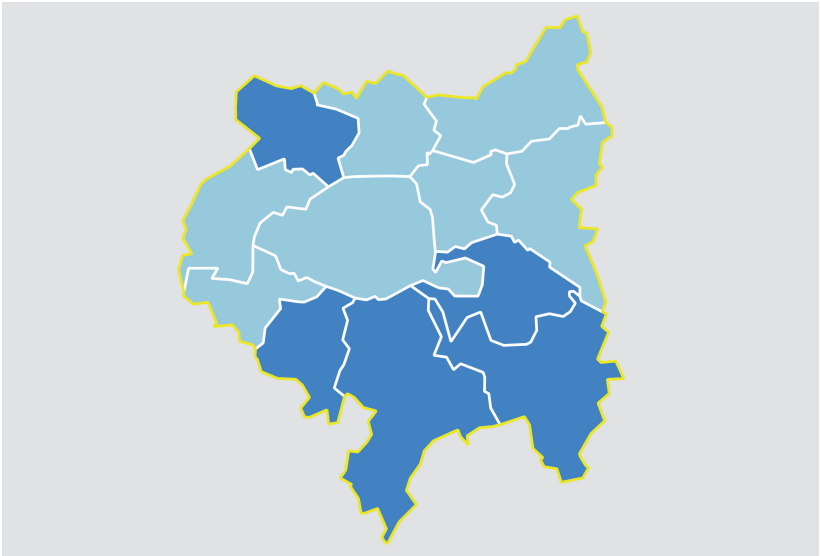


Figure 4. EPTs members of the "Comité des territoires" and the General Assembly of CPR.  
 Source: Choose Paris Region (2022)

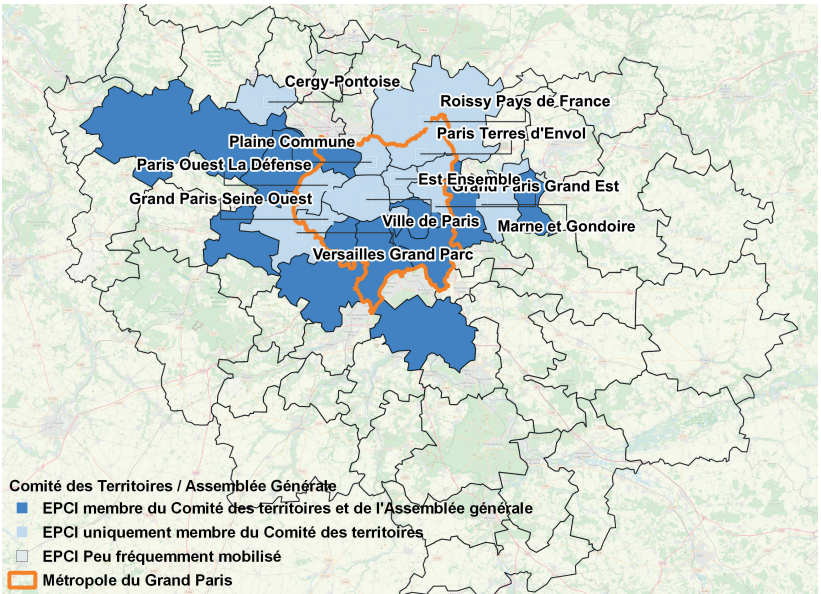


Figure 5. EPCI members of the "Comité des territoires" and the General Assembly of CPR.  
 Source: Choose Paris Region (2022)

ritories through a common and coordinated discourse and actions. Choose Paris Region therefore launched a first stage of coordination about the OPG in 2022 to identify and consult territories wishing to get involved on this topic. Several questionnaires and bilateral and multilateral exchanges were then carried out with territorial managers and elected representatives to identify the initiatives planned by the territories and to consult them on their wishes for bilateral or multilateral collaboration. It emerged that the territories were planning few actions. As of today, it seems that the territories with which the Agency usually works, i.e., the inter-municipal level, does not quite correspond to the one at which the attractiveness initiatives linked to the OPG seem to be planned. Instead, they seem to be carried out by the municipalities.

However, another phase began in summer 2023, with a new questionnaire, following the addition of tourism promotion to the Agency's missions. These results provided input for the preparation of a special session of the "Comité des territoires", dedicated to the 2024 OPG. This session, bringing together stakeholders from the investment and tourism sectors in the Parisian region for the first time, took place in December 2023. On this occasion, CPR proposed joint initiatives based on information gathered from local stakeholders. Additionally, the Agency presented its strategic directions for 2024 and outlined actions it intends to undertake autonomously or in bilateral partnership with specific territories. One example is the organization of business tours to showcase the territories and their assets more tangibly. On the other hand, stakeholders had the opportunity to present their challenges, expectations from the agency, attractiveness initiatives they plan to implement, and those they would like to undertake collaboratively. Through these exchanges and the establishment of multilateral relationships, the Agency's ambition is to collectively build a shared action plan, following the same logic as the annual "promotion and prospection plan for Paris Region partners".

A "Comité des territoires" dedicated to the challenges of the Olympics for the audiovisual industry was already held in September 2023. Indeed, the hypercenter of the region is currently saturated, and Parisian filming locations will not be accessible during the event. Then, the challenge is to continue to attract productions by building and promoting an offer of alternative filming locations outside the capital. This session provided an opportunity to present the important work in decor identification and coordination, conducted by the Agency in collaboration with regional partners. This work has led to the creation and promotion of a unified offer of sets for international productions, gathered in a regional "decor database".

Therefore, we note that there is no specific mechanism for managing the region's attractiveness and coordinating the territories' initiatives on the topic of the OPG. On the contrary, this issue has been incorporated into the usual tool for managing relations with regional partners, i.e., the "Comité des territoires" and its approach of collective construction of a joint action plan.

## 5 – Avenues for future research

Beyond studying the Paris Region, further studies of sub-national territories' coordination of international attractiveness could provide comparative insights. The latter would be valuable for the development of new knowledge on attractiveness-focused agencies' work on managing sub-national territories' international attractiveness initiatives. A comparative approach would highlight the differences and similarities in the management and governance of international attractiveness. This would allow identifying best practices, critical success factors, and lessons to be learned to improve the coordination between sub-national territories. The comparison could cover aspects such as the structure managing the attractiveness, its members or associated organizations, the mechanisms for involving stakeholders, the governance tools used, and the actions actually put in place.

- We suggest identifying and studying the organization managing the international attractiveness of a given sub-national territory and the associated stakeholders. A research hypothesis could be that in European subnational territories that have established an IPA, these organizations can be seen as managing their international attractiveness. For this, we suggest relying on the work of Rochette et al. (2016, 2019) on the creation of territorial brands. Furthermore, we suggest using the meta-organization theory (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2005). Indeed, an IPA could be considered a “territorialised meta-organization”, i.e., a meta-organization anchored in a specific territory and one of whose objectives is to contribute to its competitive advantage. (Gadille et al., 2013). While these meta-organizations appear suitable for case studies, those carried out to date have concentrated on the public sector (Gadille et al., 2013). Therefore, we propose that future research look at IPA to provide new knowledge on the meta-organizations involving public, semi-public, and private actors.
- A second question concerns the identification of IOR and their characterization using the continuum enriched by Carmouze (2020). A research hypothesis could be that, in European sub-national territories, IOR tend towards collaboration between organizations acting to enhance their international attractiveness. Thus, following Carmouze (2020), we propose to model the coordination process with a dynamic approach, to overcome the issue of linear and continuous reading of IOR. To characterize them in more detail, one could look at the underlying dimensions of IOR proposed by Sedgwick (2016). These dimensions (governance, administration, mutuality, trust, and autonomy) affect the agency's coordination of stakeholders and allow to determine the intensity of the integration of the IOR.

These two significant research questions about the organization in charge of managing the international attractiveness of territories and IOR give rise to three sub-research questions:

- Which organization is responsible for managing the international attractiveness of the sub-national territory? One research hypothesis might be that in Europe, attractiveness-focused agencies are mandated to manage the international attractiveness of their sub-national territories. To study this, we propose considering the concept of a “territorialized management situation” (Raulet-Croset, 2008, p. 138) as a tool for analyzing the management of inter-organizational relations.
- What management methods and coordination bodies are used to manage IOR and collaboration? A hypothesis might be that, as part of a more collaborative public management, the organization in charge of sub-national territories’ international attractiveness develops horizontal management methods and dedicated coordination bodies. We could draw on Osborne’s work on coordination mechanisms and bodies employed to engage stakeholders (2006).
- What are the obstacles to collaboration between organizations and the coordination levers used by the stakeholders involved in managing the international attractiveness of sub-national territories? One research hypothesis could be that the levers used by stakeholders and the obstacles they encounter can be individual, institutional, and organizational and may vary depending on the cases studied (Carmouze, 2020). For example, we could draw on the work of Eshuis et al. (2013) on the obstacles in place marketing, and O’Leary and Bingham’s (2009) research on conflicts arising from collaboration. We also suggest using Sedgwick’s work (2016) to explore the relationship between collaborative processes and activities in the context of public administration.

Based on the introduced conceptual clarification of governance and territorial attractiveness in research about IOR and CPM, as well as first observations on the Paris Region case study, this chapter proposes avenues for future research. The latter relate to: The identification of the organization managing the subnational territories’ international attractiveness, whether this organization can be classified as a meta-organization, and how the relations between stakeholders and the agency can be placed on the continuum of IOR.

Furthermore, when examining these research questions, it would be interesting to look at the different management methods put in place by the IPA and the obstacles to a successful coordination of stakeholders. In turn, such future research would be important to better understand the management of the international attractiveness of sub-national territories and the role of attractiveness-focused agencies in this process.

## 6 – Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has presented a research agenda for studying the coordination of international attractiveness initiatives in sub-national territories. The discussion highlighted the role of attractiveness-focused agencies as key actors and proposed examining the forms of collaboration between the organizations involved. The case study of the Paris Region on the eve of the 2024 Olympics will provide valuable insights into the coordination mechanisms employed by Choose Paris Region. The research agenda underscored the importance of comparative studies to identify best practices, success factors, and obstacles to coordination. It calls for investigating the organization mandated to manage international attractiveness, the management methods, and the coordination bodies employed. This agenda aims to contribute to the understanding of how sub-national territories can effectively coordinate their international attractiveness initiatives and enhance their competitive advantage in the global arena.

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# Clusters as Place Brands: Overview and Future Research

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DARIO GIUFFRÈ

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## Abstract

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This chapter presents an overview of the branding process for business clusters as place brands and an agenda for future research in this field. Place branding is deemed a participatory process in which different actors shape and negotiate brand meaning about a place at national, regional, and city level. Business clusters are agglomerations of related organisations that are located within geographical proximity. Developing a strong brand for a cluster can aid the overall development of such entities. However, the heterogeneity nature of clusters can make such process challenging. Therefore, understanding the mechanisms behind cluster formation and promotion becomes an imperative to suggest improvements in cluster branding practices. Moreover, place branding research beyond the field of tourism is scarce, and little is known about the dynamics of place branding within clusters. The chapter discusses an organic and a more controlled cluster formation to illustrate two types of cluster brands. The interdisciplinarity of cluster studies can provide a fruitful avenue of research for the field of place branding and marketing.

Keywords: Place branding, Marketing, Clusters, Stakeholder management, Co-creation

# 1 – Introduction

With rising competition for capital and talents owed to globalisation and the emergence of service- and knowledge-based economies, in the last few decades, places at national, regional and city level increasingly find themselves competing against each other (Papadopoulos, 2004). As one of the consequences of this phenomenon, the discipline of place branding has gained considerable attention from practitioners and researchers alike. Place branding is often deemed to be a tool supporting economic development stemmed from a neo-liberal local governance and market-oriented policymaking (Warren and Dinnie, 2018). However, scholars have questioned whether place branding can be considered as an effective policy strategy, or a set of tactical measures that are generally less effective in supporting regional growth over the long-term (Cleave et al., 2017).

Place brands are shaped by multiple stakeholders who engage in place branding processes (Pedeliento and Kavaratzis, 2019). These stakeholders need to negotiate brand meaning by engaging in fluid and open dialogues with each other (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2021). Place branding is, however, a non-linear process, as the actors involved in shaping a place brand can have different interests and access to resources (Lucarelli, 2018). Whilst extant literature helped to conceptually overcome the traditional top-down approach to place brand management, questions still arise as to how and why stakeholders with different access to resources and hierarchical positions engage in place branding (Pedeliento and Kavaratzis, 2019). Moreover, there is a paucity of studies that extend beyond the field of tourism.

Another area of inquiry that shares objectives and faces similar challenges is the field of clusters studies. Through the agglomeration of businesses, suppliers, and institutions of related and/or complementary nature established within spatial proximity, clusters can gain a reputation for being specialised in a particular industry (Porter, 1998). As argued by Kasabov and Sundaram (2013), clusters are “specific examples of place brands” (p. 538) that can be managed and purposefully transformed (Mora Cortez et al., 2022). However, the authors also highlight the complexity of brand-building processes of clusters given the too often incompatible or even contrasting interests and agendas held by the cluster members. As a result, extant literature has highlighted the importance of understanding the dynamics of power and consensus among cluster members to shed some light into the process of branding clusters as place brands (Kasabov, 2010).

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to provide an overview of the place branding process within business clusters. As a way of illustration, this chapter introduces two examples of different approaches to cluster formation and the resulting place brands. Extant literature draws many parallels between how

corporate brands and place brands are set in motion. Therefore, the discussion on stakeholder participation in cluster branding presented in this chapter draws upon theoretical foundation of corporate branding.

## 2 – Defining place branding

As discussed by Boisen et al. (2018), whilst often being utilised interchangeably, there is confusion between place promotion, marketing, and branding in the literature. In his systematic review of the extant literature on place branding and marketing from 1976 to 2016, Vuignier (2017) found that this research area lacks conceptual clarity due to inconsistent definitions and weak theoretical foundation. In this chapter, place promotion refers to communication tools used to attract potential visitors, investors, and residents. Place marketing involves strategically managing a place's image and reputation to increase its competitiveness. Lastly, place branding focuses on creating and managing a brand identity that entails various aspects of the place. More specifically, place promotion and marketing tend to be mostly short-term and tactical activities, whereas place branding is often deemed to be a more long-term and strategic approach (Boisen et al., 2018). To summarise, Table 1 below provides an overview of the definitions of the three concepts.

Due to the potential impact of place branding on the economy, governments usually create ad hoc agencies to manage their place brands (Cleave et al., 2016). "Place" is often used to cover different institutional territories, i.e., nations, regions, and cities. For instance, at the national level, the main scope of place branding is to summarise the essence of a nation under a single umbrella brand (Papadopoulos et al., 2016). City branding can play a pivotal role in making cities more inclusive and attractive to both the locals and potential future residents (Dinnie, 2011). Owing to its potential to be instrumental in a competitive marketplace between places, place branding can play a key role in urban and regional governance (Boisen, 2015) and business clusters (Pasquinelli and Teräs, 2013). As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the development of business clusters contributes to shaping an identity and image for cities and places in general.

Place branding mechanisms are complex processes that involve different groups of stakeholders. Place brands are deemed to be socially constructed objects that are alive and in constant formation (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2021). The dynamic aspect of place branding formation is often compared to the brand formation process of corporate and product brands (Pasquinelli and Tares, 2013). Therefore, the following section provides a reflection on the development of brand management over the last few decades to better understand such dynamics.

Concept	Author(s)	Definition
Place branding	Zenker and Braun (2010)	A network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design.
Place marketing	Boisen et al. (2018)	Place marketing involves strategically managing a place's image and reputation to increase its competitiveness
Place promotion	Boisen et al. (2018)	Place promotion refers to communication tools used to attract potential visitors, investors, and residents.

Table 1. Definitions of place branding, marketing and promotion

### 3 — Brand Management

In their review of the development of brand management between 1985 to 2006, Heding et al. (2016) identified seven different types of brand approaches. As shown in Table 2 below, according to the authors, brands have been used as a communication tool for companies to spread their messages (to passive consumers) in the first period; in the second period, brand approaches were focusing on the receiver, whereas lastly, they focused on the role of brand understood as platforms that enable societal discourses. This development of brand management is in line with emerging research streams that consider place brands as a platform for an open and fluid dialogue among stakeholders (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2021).

As argued by Holt (2003), brands represent the meanings and stories attached to a specific product or service. If, on the one hand, traditional brand theory views brands as tools controlled by the organisations behind them (Aaker, 1996), more recent studies (e.g. Hatch and Schultz, 2009; von Wallpach et al., 2017) argue that brands are the result of interactions between various actors. The shift from understanding brands as a static tool to a dynamic and collective process is often



Brand Approaches	Period	Focus
Economic approach	Before 1985	Company/Sender Focus
The identity approach	Mid-1990s	
The customer-based approach	1993	Human/Receiver Focus
The personality approach	1997	
The relational approach	1998	
The community approach	Around 2001	Cultural/Context Focus
The cultural approach	2000	

Table 2. The Seven Brand Approaches; Adopted from Heding et al. (2016)

attributed to the emergence of the so-called service-dominant (S-D) logic in marketing (Merz et al., 2009; Vallaster and von Wallpach, 2013). As described by this logic, value is determined in use and by the beneficiary (Vargo and Lusch, 2016). For instance, if once companies tried to instil value by adding meaning to a product through promotion, the S-D logic implies that the value of a certain product or service is determined by the purposes they serve, and how the receiver evaluates those purposes (Merz et al., 2009). According to Holt (2003), brand building is a complex process that is put into action by the firm and accomplished by three more brand-actors (see Figure 1).

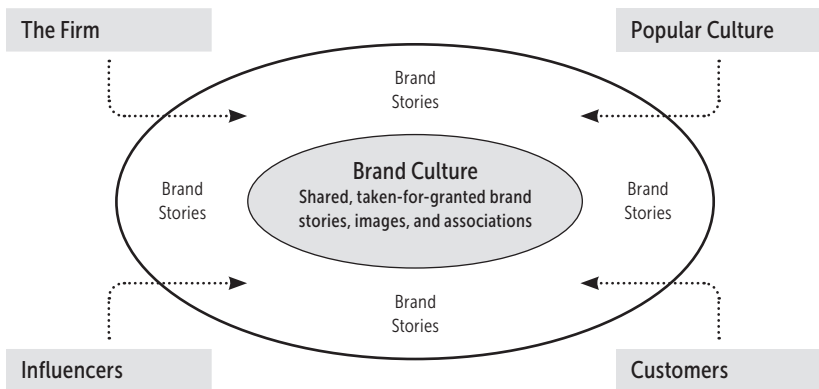


Figure 1: The four brand actors; Source: Holt (2003)

As shown in Figure 1, each brand author produces their brand-related stories. Once those meanings are widely accepted in society, they become a brand culture (Holt, 2003). Similarly, von Wallpach et al. (2017) acknowledge the critical role of the firm in initially shaping a brand and argue that brand managers need to negotiate their intended brand meanings with the wide range of actors involved with them. Whilst the academic debate on co-creation of product and service branding is well developed, there has been paucity of scholarly literature on the place branding process (Pedeliento and Kavaratzis, 2019).

## 4 — Place Branding Process

Critical questions, such as whether it is possible to market a place like a product, have arisen since place branding emerged as an academic discipline (Parkerson and Saunders, 2004). At the same time, other issues such as place brand ownership and how a brand can include all the meanings associated with a heterogeneous entity like a place have remained crucial topics in the place branding debate ever since (Florek and Insch, 2020). In an attempt to address such questions, Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) draw upon the concept of place identity. According to the authors, place brand managers should build authentic place identities upon the two principal constituents of a place: materiality (physical environments) and meanings (people's perceptions about a place). Similarly, as with corporate brands, place managers should act as facilitators of an open and fluid dialogue between internal and external stakeholders (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Moreover, place brand managers need to make sure that everyone involved with a place can identify with the brand (Kavaratzis and Kalendides, 2015). However, both the physical environment and one's perceptions about a place can change many times during one's lifetime.

This makes it more challenging to build strong brands in the minds of relevant target audiences (Papadopoulos et al., 2016). Another critical point concerns the views of residents, as they are crucial place brand ambassadors (Zenker and Erfgen, 2014). As residents are more aware of the issues a place is facing, e.g., housing and transportation, they often disagree with the simplified meanings embedded within a place brand for commercial purposes (Zenker et al., 2017). Drawing on this understanding of place brands as dynamic processes, Kavaratzis and Hatch (2021) challenged the assumption that place brands are process of reduction that distil the essence of a place" (p. 12). Instead, they envisage place branding as an ongoing process (see Figure 2 below) that can only result in what they call "an elusive place brand" (p. 8).

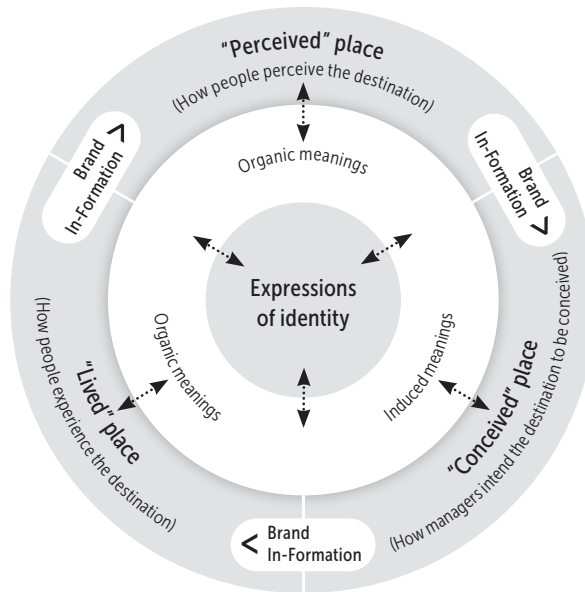


Figure 2: The ongoing place brand formation Source: Kavaratzis and Hatch 2021

As discussed before, similarly to more traditional and commercial brands, place brands can be understood as social objects and the result of negotiations between stakeholders. Stakeholders involved in the branding process may not have the same access to economic and discursive resources. Therefore, this process may not benefit all the stakeholders equally (Lucarelli, 2018). A research area that shares common objectives and faces similar issues of power and consensus is the study of business clusters (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013).

## 5 – Defining Business Clusters

Clusters are agglomerations of interconnected businesses, suppliers and other institutions in a particular field located within enough geographical proximity to generate positive externalities (Porter, 1998). Through the agglomeration of businesses, suppliers, and other institutions of related and/or complementary nature established within spatial proximity, these clusters can gain a reputation

for being specialised in one particular industry (Porter, 1998). By concentrating resources and accumulating knowledge in specific fields, successful cluster management often results in the attraction of businesses and other entities to a particular region or city and eventually establishes that place as a critical centre for national and international excellence in a specific industry (Kasabov, 2016). Notable examples of successful clusters include the Silicon Valley in California (Porter, 1998), the One-North high-tech cluster in Singapore (Esmailpoor et al., 2018), as well as the globally renowned financial hub in The City of London (Pandit et al., 2018).

In the last couple of decades, governments at national, regional, and local levels have increasingly developed policies to facilitate the concentration of related organisations within specific areas of their territories (Haafez et al., 2016). This type of top-down approach to cluster formation is driven by the desire of public sector managers to gain the potential benefits offered by the knowledge spillovers and resource-sharing provided by the agglomeration effects (Teigland and Lindqvist, 2007).

Topics that have been prioritised in the literature have focused on clusters as market organisations (Maskell and Lorentzen, 2004), collective social entities (Teigland and Lindqvist, 2007) and pool of skills (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2016). Studies have also dealt with cluster identity creation (Beebe et al., 2013; Amdam et al., 2020), cluster building (Lundequist and Power, 2002) and branding for knowledge-intensive regions (Pasquinelli and Teräs, 2013).

According to Mauroner and Zorn (2017), among the critical success factors of business clusters, the formation of a strong cluster brand is a prerequisite to yield the full potential of this type of business ecosystems. Attaching brand meaning to a cluster can help mitigate the issue of cluster decline. Accordingly, as discussed by Pasquinelli (2013), many industrial regions (e.g., Ruhr Area in Germany, Glasgow, UK and Pittsburgh, USA) have turned to place branding to reinvent themselves as a consequence of deindustrialization and to convey a more sustainable post-industrial image. For instance, led by its nomination as European Cultural Capital in 2010, the “Ruhr Valley” engaged in a series of transformations based on innovation in leisure, tourism industries and technological service sectors. This rebrand effort brought together many cities and small municipalities from the Ruhr Valley to cooperate to benefit from the region’s cultural and economic potential. This example demonstrates how branding has more recently become a more cultural phenomenon with broader societal scopes (Heding et al., 2016).

According to statistics by the European Commission, to date, there are about 2,950 clusters within the European industrial landscape. The top 200 high-performing clusters have been found to be 140% more productive than the European productivity average (European Commission, 2021). To support cluster formation, the European Commission has recently launched a number of initiatives

(e.g., ClusterXchange and EUROCLUSTERS) to encourage collaboration among firms, build resilience, and boost innovation. This growing interest in cluster formation is supported by significant amount of public funding. Therefore, understanding the mechanisms behind cluster formation and promotion becomes an imperative to suggest improvements in cluster branding practices.

The operationalisation of cluster activities through, for example, industry organisations, often faces issues of conflict and divergence linked to consensus, or lack thereof (Legendijk and Lorentzen, 2007). As argued by Kasabov (2010), there are two types of divergence: content related (about what) and communication related (expressed how). Actors within a cluster may still agree on collective action even if there is lack of complete consensus through negotiation (Greenwood, et al., 2002). However, as found by Kasabov (2010), if both content and communication disagreement is high, coordination of action is limited. From a branding perspective, a cluster brand is formed by the brand identity and image. Brand identity relates to what internal stakeholders want the brand to stand for; brand image to how the brand is perceived by the external stakeholders (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013; Mauroner and Zorn, 2017). Recent developments of place branding theory for business clusters have highlighted critical challenges they face. In fact, whilst clusters facilitate advanced networks among firms, one of the most critical issues is creating a consistent collective brand with the wide range of stakeholders involved (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013; Hafeez et al., 2016). To provide an overview of place branding within business clusters, the following section discusses clusters as place brands and the challenges faced in such processes.

## 6 – Clusters as Place Brands

Conditions such as the presence of physical, intellectual, and other resources within a region are potential drivers of cluster formation (Porter, 1998). Accordingly, commentators often argue that the nature of clusters is organic (Kasabov, 2010). However, Hafeez et al. (2016) have found that place branding and image have played a pivotal role in sustaining Dubai's key sectoral clusters such as trade, tourism, and logistics. Moreover, Dubai's strong place brand also contributed to the development of new clusters, i.e., health care, ICT, and media (Hafeez et al., 2016). According to Kasabov and Sundaram (2013), clusters are "specific examples of place brands" (p. 538), that can be purposefully transformed (Mora Cortez et al., 2022). Similarly to corporate brands, a strong cluster brand needs to find a balance between its internal identity and the image perceived by the external stakeholders. The cluster identity is often linked to the industrial landscape and

its development. For instance, in their study of three cluster projects in Norway, Rypestøl et al. (2021) found a relationship between positive cluster development and the upgrade, diversification and emergence of regional industries. According to Romanelli and Khesina (2005), cluster development can reinforce a place's industrial identity. This process is, however, conditioned by the degree of agreement of residents and external stakeholders about the suitability of a place for particular kinds of business activity (Romanelli and Khesina, 2005).

The development of clusters is not linear and can be thought of as an “adaptive cycle” in which clusters emerge, thrive, decline, or even disappear (Martin and Sunley, 2011, p. 1300). As argued by Belussi (2018), the different activities undertaken by the cluster firms may influence the overall cluster's change, renewal and internationalisation process. At the same time, cluster membership may affect firms, in a positive or more negative way, differently, based on their orientation, i.e., multinational or uninational enterprises (Pandit et al., 2018). For instance, Admam et al. (2020) found that firms within a cluster may observe and are inspired by the collective cluster identity. However, over time, the impact of the collective identity of a cluster may deteriorate as the firms gain their own experience (Admam et al., 2020). Using a French energy cluster as a case study, Pinkse et al. (2018) found that clusters can face a so-called “cluster paradox” when the collective identity indirectly hinders action towards disruptive transformation necessary for cluster renewal. As discussed by Grimbert et al., (2023), a more structured place branding process for clusters can mitigate the inertia originated by the logic of belonging hence providing a tool for the cluster organisation to embrace innovation. However, whilst shaping a consistent identity for the cluster is highly desirable, the often-contrasting agendas of the stakeholders within the cluster hinder such processes (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013). As a result, the brand identity of a cluster may be fragmented, and it is difficult to define a common one (Mauroner and Zorn, 2017).

The following table presents four main approaches to and key challenges of cluster branding drawn upon the above discussions. The four approaches are differentiation, corporate communication, company values and internal branding (see Table 3). As shown in Table 3, the four approaches face similar key challenges: finding a point of cohesion.

The actors who engage in multiple interactions within the cluster can be considered co-creators of the cluster brand (Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018). Interactions, hence, brand meaning exchanges, occur at different nested levels of context. Examining the cluster branding through its nested interactions and could provide insights and a better understanding of how and why place branding in clusters occurs. These levels can be micro, meso and macro level (Chandler and Vargo, 2011). In the case of cluster brands, the micro level refers to interaction at the level of the individual firms with their direct customers (dyadic exchange). The meso

Approach	Focus	Key challenges
Cluster brand as differentiation	Marketing campaigns and managing corporate image	Positioning; Visual cohesion
Cluster brand as corporate communication	Communication and communication gaps	Mitigating divergences between top management vision and internal and external perception of the brand
Cluster brand as a values-based approach	Focus on cluster members' values	Overcoming organisational internal resistance
Cluster brand as internal branding	Living the brand, leadership	Converting brand awareness into brand commitment

Table 3. Corporate branding approaches and key challenges; Adapted from Gyrd-Jones et al. (2013)

level may include relationships between business partners such as firms and their suppliers (Törmälä and Saraniemi, 2018). Lastly, the macro level concerns the relationships between actors within the cluster and external bodies such as governmental authorities, universities and other entities (Leijerholt et al., 2019).

As outlined in Table 4 below, there are internal and external stakeholders to be considered in the context of cluster branding. Examples of internal stakeholders are the companies, research institutions, and universities, which may form the cluster. External stakeholders could be potential employees, potential investors and policy makers who may have an interest in the cluster. Whilst a strong cluster brand can provide benefits to internal and external stakeholders, challenges can arise for both groups. For internal stakeholders, contrasting agendas and interests can hamper the branding process. Assessing the stakeholders expectations and future of the cluster can be a challenge for external stakeholders. However, understanding stakeholders expectations is necessary to enhance a smooth cooperation within a brand ecosystems (Jones and Kornum, 2013).

As highlighted by Lucarelli (2018), place branding is a fragmented process in which multiple brands, by interacting with each other, co-create the place brand. A cluster brand forged by genuine collaboration can reduce power asymmetries that may arise among actors (Mauroner and Zorn, 2017). However, cluster members have different access to resources and legitimacy based on the duration of tenure and hierarchical position in the cluster (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013). Shaping a cluster brand, therefore, becomes a matter of balancing the expectations of the stakeholders who engage with it (Admam et al., 2020). According to Kasabov (2010), holding a high degree of geographical and organisational proximity is key to ensure the clusters' success. Yet, little is known about stakeholders' participa-

	Stakeholders	Scope(s)	Implication(s)	Limitations
Internal Stakeholders	Companies	Visibility and attention	Mediating function for diverging interests	Contrasting agendas and interests
	Universities	Exchange and cooperation		
	Research Institutions	Idea and promise		
External Stakeholders	Potential Employees	Risk reduction	Awareness on the part of political decision makers	Difficulties in assessing stakeholders expectations and future direction of the cluster
	Potential Investors	Promoting regional competitive advantage		
	Policy Makers			

Table 4. Cluster Branding Stakeholders, Scopes, Implications and limitations

tion in cluster branding and how place brand managers release control over the place branding process. Therefore, questions still arise about the extent to which the branding process of business clusters can be managed. The following section presents two examples of approaches to branding of business clusters.

## 7 – Organic and Managed Cluster Brands

High-technology and knowledge intense clusters are among the most common types of clusters studied (e.g., Lagendijk and Lorentzen, 2007; Kasabov and Delbridge, 2008). Whilst this focus may neglect other types of industries (e.g., creativity clusters), it is justified by the high interest of policy making and tradition in business research in those areas (Kasabov, 2010). Therefore, drawing upon this element, this section mobilises the example of two clusters with a different approach to cluster formation and the consequent development of cluster brands. These examples serve as an illustration of different approaches to cluster formation.

On the one hand, the BioM Cluster GmbH in Munich is a formal cluster initiative supported by the Bavarian State Ministry of Economic Affairs and Media, Energy and Technology. Early agglomerations of biotechnology companies started in Munich following the foundation of the Max Planck Institute of Biochemistry in



1973. Officially founded in 1997, BioM is a membership organisation with strong links to local and international partners in the healthcare sector. BioM's headquarters are located in Martinsried, a municipality in the district of Munich that is home to a series of internationally renewed Max Planck Institutes (eg., Biochemistry and Neurobiology). As of 2023, more than 250 life science companies are located within the Munich biotechnology cluster. The company's mission states as follows: "We create a unique ecosystem in life sciences and digital health to enable innovation, growth and value creation in Bavaria". The BioM GmbH has been recognised multiple times by the European Secretariat for Cluster Analysis (ESCA) as an excellence of cluster management (European Cluster Collaboration Platform, 2021). The cluster organisation has its own trademark name, clear internal organisation and a well structured on-line presence that makes it clear that the BioM cluster is a top-down approach to branding the biotechnology cluster developed around Munich. In this case, BioM as a company aims to take a leading role in shaping the cluster brand.

On the other hand, the Cambridge Cluster, or Cambridge Phenomenon, as often referred to in the media, started to develop around 1970 with the construction of the Cambridge Science Park by Trinity College. Developed around the East of England, the Cambridge cluster includes small, medium, and micro-sized firms within a 20-miles around the city of Cambridge. The cluster is an example of a high-technology cluster spanning different sectors and industries such as biotechnology (Biotech), information and communication technology (ICT), food & agri-tech and manufacturing & materials (Rose et al., 2016). The two main sectoral clusters within Cambridge are the Biotech and ICT clusters. As reported by Cambridge Ahead (2022), the firms established within these two kinds of clusters employ about 21,980 and 20,737 people to date, whilst generating more than £5bn and £7bn annually, respectively. This makes them the most active sectoral clusters within Cambridge (Cambridge Network, 2021). As opposed to BioM, in this case, various membership organisations seek to shape the narrative discourse around the Cambridge cluster. The University of Cambridge continues to play a key role in the development of the cluster. At the same time, various networking organisations are pivotal in fostering the cluster brand. Some of the most active organisations are Cambridge Network, Cambridge Head, Cambridge& and Cambridge Wireless. To exemplify, Cambridge Network, one of the most established of such organisations states its scope as follows:

"We are a membership organisation based in the vibrant high technology cluster of Cambridge, UK. We bring people together – from business and academia – to meet each other and share ideas, encouraging collaboration and partnership for shared success".

The examples mentioned above provide two different approaches, an organic and a managed cluster formation. On the one hand, the BioM cluster is a managed cluster brand that has a clear organisational structure and strategic direction

for the brand. The Cambridge cluster, on the other hand, has developed without any particular actor being formally in control of the process. In both examples, whilst competing on various fronts, a number of organisations cooperate to promote their respective clusters and build a strong place brand for them. Joint marketing efforts that support the overall umbrella brand for the clusters are also beneficial to the single firms (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013). The two types of cluster formation reflect the place brand process of clusters. More specifically, management who seeks control over how the cluster should be perceived, produce induced meanings. These meanings, may be different from the perceived and lived experience of the place (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2021). Organic meanings that are instead generated by the lived experience and by how the cluster is perceived reflect a place's identity that is more authentic. As discussed earlier, cluster members may have different interests and expectations about what the cluster brand shall stand for. Cluster organisations, for example, the BioM Cluster GmbH, can provide a discussion platform for mitigating such asymmetries and to enhance brand meaning negotiations among stakeholders (Kasabov and Sundaram, 2013). Developing a strong brand may balance cluster members' logic of belonging and the power dynamics within a cluster, thus fostering innovation and overall support for the cluster (Grimbert et al., 2023).

## 8 — Discussion and Future Research

This chapter set out to discuss clusters as place brands and to identify similarities and research gaps between the two areas of research. From a managerial perspective, understanding the dynamics of place branding within clusters, would allow companies to coordinate their branding effort better (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2021).

The development of brand management in the last few decades has shifted from an economic approach to a cultural approach. In the early 2000s, the marketing scholars' view of brands as social objects has been borrowed by practitioners and scholars in the field of place branding. One of the most critical issues of corporate and place brands is the issue of finding a point of cohesion for what the brand stands for. As discussed by Kasabov and Sundaram (2013), an area that shares common objectives with place branding and faces similar issues is the study of clusters.

Clusters may originate organically through the presence of certain factors such as geographical conditions and physical resources. As discussed by Hafeez et al. (2016), economic development policies and place branding initiatives at the regional level can support the development of clusters. Existing literature has shed

some light on the co-creation process of place branding, hence defining place branding as an open and fluid dialogue between internal and external stakeholders. However, as discussed in this chapter, there is a paucity of studies that extend beyond the field of tourism, and little is known about how and why stakeholders engage in place branding within clusters. Therefore, further research into place branding processes could give greater attention to the stakeholder management to understand how brand value is created within clusters. Focusing on the issues of power and consensus in place branding would be necessary to understand the different access to economic, discursive, and social cultural resources to engage in the brand-related debate that eventually shapes what a cluster stands for.

On the grounds of the cluster members' ever-changing access to resources to engage in brand-related discourses (Vallaster and Von Wallpach, 2013), a promising line of research would consist in conducting research of the cluster branding process at different stages of a cluster's cycle and from the perspective of cluster members who hold different hierarchical positions within the cluster. For the same reason, it would be worth to empirically evaluate the role of legitimacy and isomorphism in influencing cluster members' behaviours during the cluster branding process, for cluster members may tend to become homogeneous due to long-term socialising with one another (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991).

There have been a few studies that have analysed the development of cluster brands (e.g., Hafeez et al., 2016; Mauroner and Zorn, 2017). These studies, however, have focused on clusters that have a similar origin and are located in the same regional or national context. Future studies could utilise a comparative methodology to focus on different types of cluster development and assess the role of institutions such as legal frameworks of different countries in influencing the cluster branding process.

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Part 3:  
**Attractiveness for  
residents and tourists**

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# Places and residential attractiveness: a systematic literature review

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PERRINE ALBEROLA

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## Abstract

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This chapter proposes a systematic literature review of recent international studies on residential attractiveness, and suggests avenues for future research. It will address the following questions: is there one type/category of place that emerges in particular as being appropriate to study residential attractiveness? Are the latest studies on residential attractiveness based on an official nomenclature? Globally, recent studies on residential attractiveness do not refer to statistical nomenclatures. They focus on the municipal level, where residential attractiveness seems to be a response to numerous issues. We therefore suggest that future research on residential attractiveness should continue to focus on the local level. However, it should pay greater attention to the broader institutional structure in which municipalities are embedded. In this regard, the European NUTS (Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics) could be used for this purpose. Finally, we warn against the limitations of certain methods used to study residential attractiveness, and suggest the creation and use of a mixed research protocol in further studies on this subject.

Keywords: Place Attractiveness, Residential Attractiveness

# 1 – Introduction

Residential attractiveness is a major issue in dynamization and balance of places (Davezies, 2009; Ruault, 2017). The latest studies on this subject seem to confirm the idea that, in France, the Covid-19 crisis tends to accelerate residential mobility current trends (France Stratégie 2022, Popsu 2022). Thus, some medium-sized or small cities seem to be attracting more and more attention from households (POPSU, 2023). It appears that the Covid-19 crisis have brought new advantages to these areas and facilitated the choice of residential mobility, particularly with the rise of teleworking (Florida et al., 2021; Mouratidis & Papagiannakis, 2021; Talandier, 2021) or by changing people's expectations in terms of housing (Benedjai & Bencherif, 2022), access to amenities, or transport (Chu et al., 2021). Nevertheless, this subject is much more complex than it may appear at first glance. While 52% of French people claim that small and medium-sized cities are ideal places to live, 22% of them would like to live in a large city, including a majority of young people, i.e., under 35 years of age, and people from high socio-professional categories (Alaux et al., 2021).

Recently, we have observed a boom in place attractiveness initiatives led by French local authorities. Traditionally, the main actors of place attractiveness include regions, departments as well as municipalities and EPCIs (public inter-municipality cooperation establishments). These organizations have created agencies in charge of place attractiveness, with more and more in-house services specialized and dedicated to residential attractiveness. Local public organizations of all sizes (from villages to urban areas) are interested in these attractiveness issues, which are no longer exclusively metropolitan (Alaux et al., 2015).

Furthermore, places of all sizes and scales (large, medium-sized, and small cities, regions, etc.) are facing a job vacancy (Bouba-Olga, 2022; *Pôle Emploi - Enquête BMO*, 2022). To respond to the recruitment difficulties experienced by local companies, these places feel the need to implement urban development and residential attractiveness policies (Askenazy & Escudero, 2022; Miot, 2015).

This context is not exclusively French. The same phenomena can be observed in many other places (Poór et al., 2021; Tuccio, 2019). The development of places is closely linked to their capacity to attract and retain residents (Florida et al., 2021; Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2019).

In line with other chapters from this book, place attractiveness is defined as *“a lever for the development and the current and future quality of life of places. It aims at attracting and/or anchoring internal and external stakeholders of the places: residents, market and non-market organizations, tourists, events, etc. Different methods can be used to achieve these objectives, including place marketing”* (Chaire A&NMT, 2021). Residential attractiveness is therefore a component of place attractiveness.

It is defined here as the capacity to convince new inhabitants to move to a place, and to keep the current population there (based on Barreira et al., 2019; Fertner et al., 2015).

Research has been conducted on the subject by categorizing places (by size, through statistical categories, or typologies, such as INSEE). For example, regarding size, there are studies on “small” towns (Delebarre & Pfirsch, 2016; Talandier & Jousseau, 2013), “medium-sized” towns, and “large” towns and metropolises (Bai et al., 2020; Houllier-Guibert, 2019).

In this regard, we ask the following question: **is there one type/category of place that emerges in particular as being appropriate to study residential attractiveness?** To respond, we will conduct a systematic literature review (Gough et al., 2017). We will follow the procedure proposed by Tranfield et al. (2003), which consists in three stages: planning the review (1), collecting the data (2), and analyzing the data and synthesizing (3).

We aim to synthesize the results of international studies on residential attractiveness to consolidate the links between the existing studies, and in a second step to identify directions for new research by questioning the approach by place category.

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<sup>1</sup> The French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) collects, produces, analyses and disseminates information on the French economy and society

## 2 – From place attractiveness to residential attractiveness

Attractiveness has become an increasingly common concept, used at all levels – local, national, and even international – and has been seen as a ‘catch-all’ term for over ten years (Cusin & Damon, 2010). It “refers to both seduction and attraction for populations, professions and locations”<sup>2</sup> (Cusin & Damon, 2010, p.26) and has as much to do with both behavioral and attitudinal factors (Serval, 2015). The concept of attractiveness has two dimensions (Alaux et al., 2023):

- A physical dimension, referring to the attraction and retention of resources (human, financial, material, intangible);
- A psychological dimension, which refers to attraction and seduction, i.e., the influence that the area can have on people’s attitudes, by arousing their interest.

According to Poirot and Gérardin (2010, p. 27) place attractiveness is “*the ability of a place to be chosen by a player as a (temporary or long-term) location for all or part of its activities; this attractiveness is a perceived attractiveness that involves only natural persons, individuals, households or teams, for example the management teams of a company or a public administration*” (author’s translation).

As part of place attractiveness, residential attractiveness has for several decades been considered a “*by-product of economic attractiveness*” (Noisette & Vallérugo, 2010, p. 247). According to Serval (2015, p.41), “these two types of attractiveness must be thought of as interdependent”. Economic attractiveness aims to attract and retain investors, skilled workers (managers of companies, associations, NGOs and qualified people working for these organisations), and tourists (Noisette & Vallérugo, 2010). In contrast, residential attractiveness is an emerging concept in search of a consensual definition (Barreira et al., 2019; Miot, 2015).

Empirically and theoretically, residential attractiveness is a subject of study common to several social science disciplines. Thus, this concept can be based on work in economics (Batisse et al., 2021; Bütikofer & Peri, 2021), sociology (Cusin, 2016; Martí & Ródenas, 2021) and geography (Rérat, 2016; Schachner & Sampson, 2020). This systematic literature review will therefore take an interdisciplinary approach.

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<sup>2</sup> freely translated by the author

## 3 – Place categories and typologies in France and European Union

The main goal of this chapter is to analyze scales and categories of areas used in the literature to study residential attractiveness. We will also look at the number of areas studied (as a whole or comparatively) in each contribution included in our literature review. We have two main objectives:

- Understand the effect of these choices on how residential attractiveness is defined and studied;
- To verify the relevance of studying residential attractiveness using place size categories or another typology.

To give a better idea of the range of possibilities in terms of place categories, we have chosen to present two examples:

- A statistical typology determined in a national context with the aim of grouping places into profiles;
- A statistical nomenclature determined in an international context with the aim of comparing places that may be very different, on the basis of multiple classifications.

### 3.1 Typology of places as defined by INSEE <sup>3</sup>

In a 2020 INSEE study on residential migration, the factors of residential attractiveness and its level are associated with place profiles. A typology of intermunicipal areas is proposed, based on their potential to attract population. This typology comprises 7 major place profiles, as shown in Figure 1 and described in Table 1. The typology has been illustrated by the French region of Bourgogne-Franche-Comté. Of the 7 profiles proposed, all are identified as being small or large clusters, or as places that are more or less directly linked to clusters, or dependent on large clusters (Ville & Bordet-Gaudin, 2020).

INSEE defines an urban cluster as *“an urban unit offering at least 10 000 jobs and which is not situated in the suburban rim of another urban cluster. Also visible means cluster - urban units from 5000 to 10 000 jobs and small cluster - urban units from 1500 to 5000 jobs.”*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> French national institute for statistics and economic studies

<sup>4</sup> (Definition - Urban cluster, 2020)





Figure 1. The Bourgogne-Franche-Comté region by territorial profile. Source: Ville & Bordet-Gaudin (2020, p.3)

Place profile	Attractiveness potential	Color on the map
Small growing clusters	Place structure and geographical position favorable to attractiveness	Orange
Peri-urban areas with low dependence on large clusters	Attractiveness contributing to developing a central role	Yellow
Peri-urban residential areas highly dependent on large clusters	Weak proximity attractiveness	Purple
Small connected clusters in decline	Place structure unfavorable to attractiveness	Blue
Small isolated clusters in decline	Remoteness and place structure unfavorable to attractiveness	Dark Blue
Intercommunality centers of large clusters		Grey
Central intercommunal areas of Dijon and Besançon		Dark Grey

Table 1. Seven place profiles, map legend for Figure 1. Source: Author, based on Ville & Bordet-Gaudin (2020, p.3)

In its approach to residential attractiveness, INSEE classifies places according to the number of jobs, emphasizing the identification of small and large areas. These adjectives are not insignificant, since in other studies they may be used to compare places on the basis of other statistical criteria. Overall, INSEE officially proposes 6 study classification systems<sup>5</sup>:

- Urban unit bases;
- Attractive urban area bases;
- Employment zone bases;
- Living area bases;
- Communal density grid;
- Cities and functional urban areas (FUA) databases - Eurostat.

### 3.2 NUTS: Territorial statistical categories in the European Union

Eurostat's NUTS 2021 (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics)<sup>6</sup> suggests a classification into 3 groups: NUTS 1, NUTS 2 and NUTS 3.

It also proposes a categorization based on the extent to which the territory is urban or rural, and a more precise version of this categorization which adds a criterion of remoteness. There are thus 5 categories:

- Predominantly urban;
- Intermediate, close to a city;
- Intermediate, remote;
- Predominantly rural, close to a city;
- Predominantly rural, remote.

Furthermore, a number of geographical categorizations are proposed: a binary categorization on the basis of metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas, a categorization on the basis of coastal areas (3 categories<sup>7</sup>), a categorization on the basis of mountains (4 categories<sup>8</sup>), a categorization on the basis of borders (2 categories<sup>9</sup>), and finally a category identifying island regions.

<sup>5</sup> INSEE website: <https://www.insee.fr/fr/information/2114631>

<sup>6</sup> Eurostat website: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/fr/web/nuts>

<sup>7</sup> Non-coastal; Coastal (on coast); Coastal (at least 50% of population living within 50km of the coastline)

<sup>8</sup> At least 50 % of population live in mountain areas; At least 50% of surface are in mountain areas;

At least 50% of population and 50 % of surface are in mountain areas; Other regions

<sup>9</sup> All NUTS3 regions along land borders, plus NUTS3 regions that have at least 50% of their population in areas of 25 km with along a land border; Other regions

Although NUTS helps to harmonize European studies, it may seem restrictive for a study of residential attractiveness, as it does not allow us to reach a scale as local as municipalities, for example.

Are the latest studies on residential attractiveness based on an official nomenclature? If so, which one is preferred, and does this make a difference to the approach taken in these studies? Does one type/category of place emerge in particular as being appropriate for future research on residential attractiveness?

## 4 – Interdisciplinary systematic literature review on residential attractiveness

The aim of this chapter is to identify relevant academic work exploring the concept of residential attractiveness and to answer the above questions. To do so, we conducted a systematic literature review (SLR) (Gough et al., 2017). The SLR allows us to synthesize varied researches that have been conducted on residential attractiveness with the aim of consolidating the links between existing works and identifying avenues for further research.

According to Brocke et al. (2009), when conducting an SLR, particular attention must be paid to the description of the method applied, the protocol for selecting papers and the way insds which they are documented.

We followed the procedure described by Tranfield et al. (2003) in three stages: planning the SLR (1), conducting the review (data collection, extraction, synthesis) (2), reporting and dissemination (data analysis, recommendations, evidence) (3).

### 4.1 Planning the review

In this first planning stage, the need to conduct an SLR must first be identified. The first parts of this chapter are therefore the direct result of this stage, during which we conducted an exploratory review of the literature. Next, it is necessary to draw up a proposal for a systematic literature review.

To plan our SLR, we used Cooper's (1988) taxonomy. Thus, as Table 2 shows, we did not choose a single focus because we felt that the results, methods, theories and applications of the papers were likely to provide insight into a definition of residential attractiveness. The goal of our work is to synthesize existing knowl-

edge on a subject within different research areas and disciplines (integration). Our SLR is organized conceptually rather than historically or methodologically, as this type of organization seems best suited to our goal. We have chosen a neutral representation that is as objective as possible. The audience for this article is general academics. Finally, we propose a representative coverage of the sources, again in line with our goal.

To conclude this planning stage, we set out the protocol for our SLR. We conduct a systematic literature review among online available papers by using a combination of four databases<sup>10</sup> to ensure a satisfactory representativeness of the literature (Bramer et al., 2017). Again to ensure satisfactory representativeness, we have chosen a two-language SLR with papers in French and English. Papers may be theoretical or empirical. We include articles published in scientific journals (ranked or not), book chapters and conference papers. We have used the bibliographic software Zotero as a reference management tool. The references were selected by keyword search on these four databases (in English or French depending on the database) on 02/03/2023. The keywords were searched in the title and/or abstract of the papers, where the database search engine allowed. Table 3 (in appendix) lists all the search queries used. These keywords were chosen on the basis of our understanding of the subject as presented in the previous section. Empirically and theoretically, residential attractiveness is a subject of study common to several social science disciplines. In particular, this concept can be based on work in economics, sociology and geography. This is why our systematic literature review is placed in an interdisciplinary approach, we chose not to integrate any discipline in our criteria of research, inclusion or exclusion.

Characteristic	Categories			
Focus	Research outcomes	Research methods	Theories	Applications
Goal	Integration	Criticism	Central issues	
Organization	Historical	Conceptual	Methodological	
Perspective	Neutral representation		Espousal of position	
Audience	Specialized scholars	General scholars	Practitioners / politicians	General public
Coverage	Exhaustive	Exhaustive and selective	Representative	Central / pivotal

Table 2. Taxonomy of literature review. Source: Author, based on Cooper (1988, p.109)

Four selection stages follow the keyword search:

- Surface sorting: reading the title only. Exclusion of duplicates found in the same query on the same database / Exclusion of papers that are neither in English nor French / Exclusion of papers whose theme has no connection with ours;
- Sorting according to online accessibility of papers;
- Removal of duplicates;
- Extensive selection: reading titles, abstracts, introductions and conclusions. Based on our knowledge of the subject, we include papers for which residential attractiveness (in whole or in part, as defined above) is the main subject or one of the main subjects (Jesson et al., 2011, p.115).

A thematic content analysis (Allard-Poesi, 2003; Evrard et al., 2009) is carried out using NVivo software. We start with open coding in order to reveal emerging categories in the corpus (Bramer et al., 2017; Wolfswinkel et al., 2013).

## 4.2 Conducting the review

Following the protocol we defined, we selected a final corpus of 53 papers. Figure 2 shows their selection and Table 4 (in Appendix) provides an overview of our corpus representing the existing literature on residential attractiveness.

More than 58% of the papers selected were published between 2017 and 2022 (Figure 3), and the oldest is from 1994. Nearly 87% of them are journal articles and 13% are conference papers (Figure 4). Although most of the studies were carried out in Europe, there is a wide diversity of countries involved (Figures 5 and 6):

- Most countries appear only once (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Greece, India, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Slovenia, and Switzerland);
- Five countries are studied twice (Germany, China, Denmark, Portugal, and Ukraine);
- Some appear in three or four studies (Latvia, Russia, Sweden);
- Five studies target several countries;
- Poland appears in six studies;
- France appears in nine studies.

Similarly, the interdisciplinary nature of the subject is very well represented in this corpus.

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<sup>10</sup> Web of Sciences (WoS), Business Source Complete (BSC), Research Papers in Economics (RePEc) et Cairn.info (CAIRN)

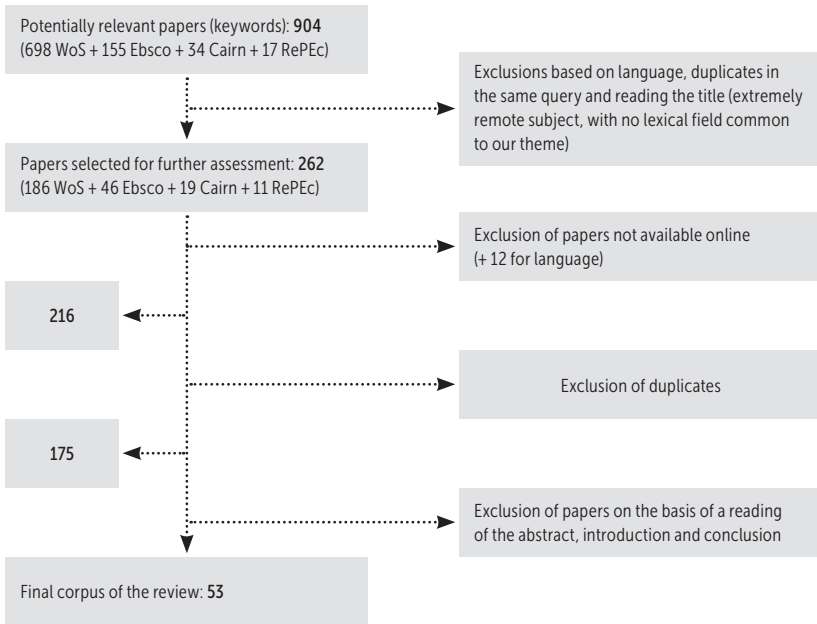


Figure 2. Diagram of the systematic literature review. Source: Author

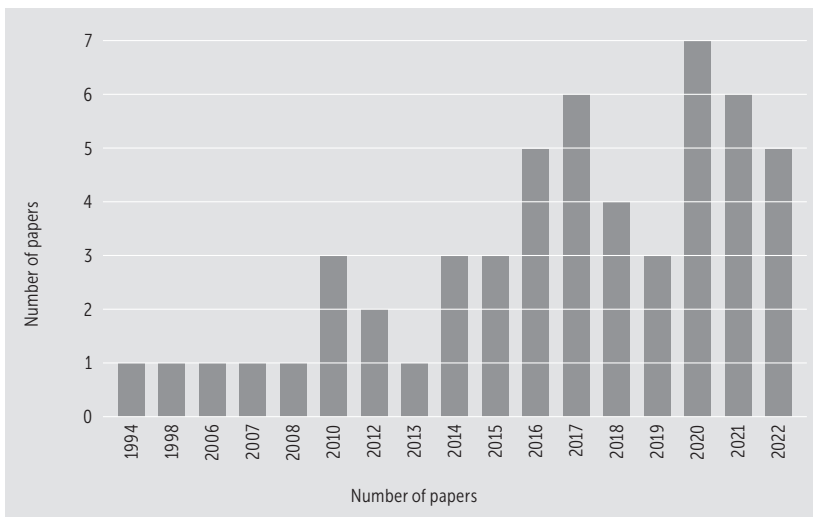


Figure 3. Number of papers published by year. Source: Author

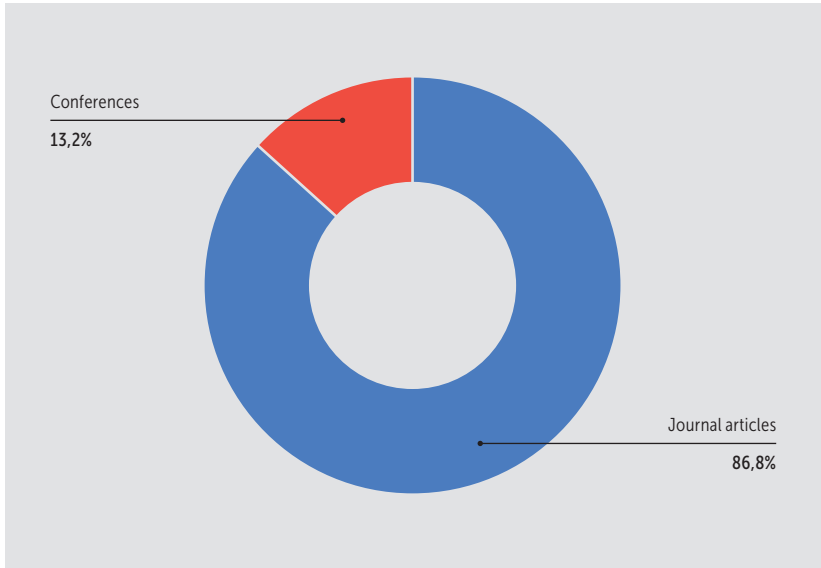


Figure 4. Breakdown of journal articles / conference papers. Source: Author

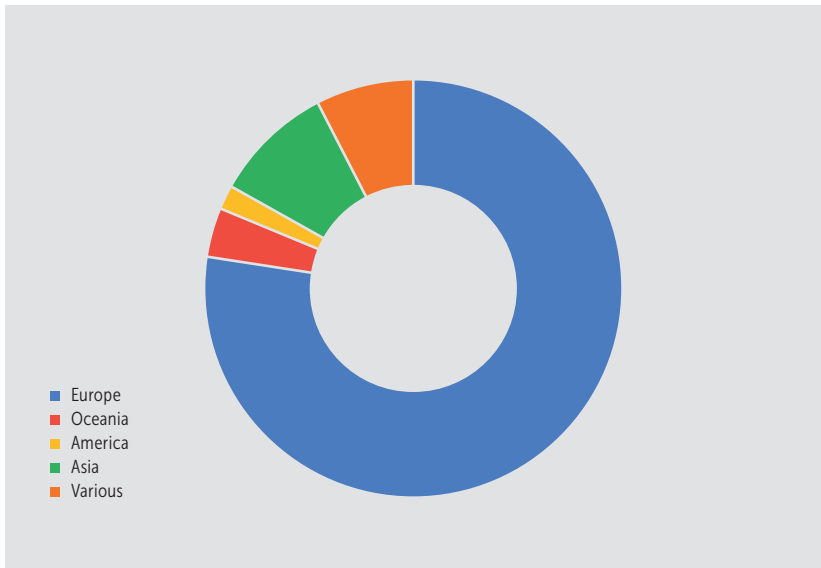


Figure 5. Geography of studies in the corpus by continents. Source: Author

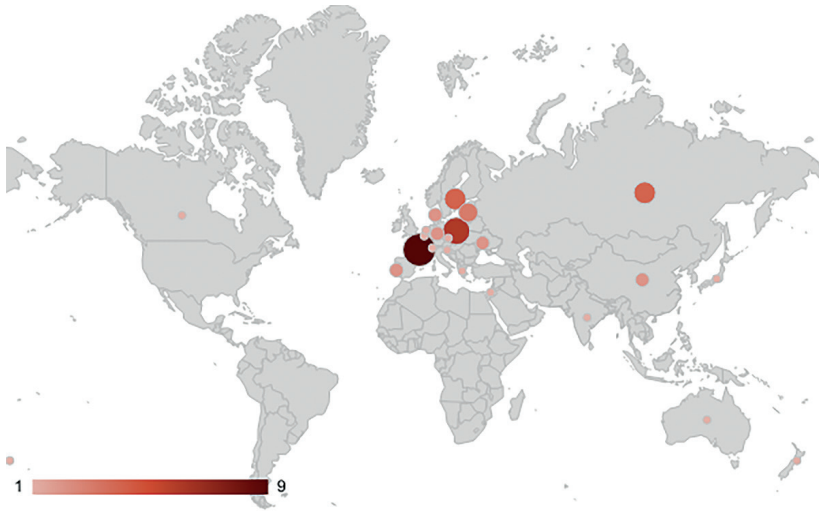


Figure 6. Geography of studies in the corpus (excluding multiple). Source: Author

To answer our research questions, we prefer to focus on the most recent part of the corpus. This choice will make our conclusions more up to date and will limit the biases linked to changes in standards and nomenclatures. We have chosen to include papers published between 2018 and 2023 in our analysis. This represents a total of 25 papers, i.e. almost half the corpus of the systematic literature review.

Of these 25 papers, 84% were journal articles and 16% conference papers. Figure 7 is a “word cloud” grouping together the author disciplines for the papers in our corpus between 2018 and 2023. Table 5 summarizes the distribution of the reduced corpus by country (where the study was conducted) and by year of publication.

This corpus was analyzed by thematic coding using NVIVO software. The following section presents the main results that help us to answer our research question and its sub-questions: **Is there one type/category of place that emerges in particular as being appropriate to study residential attractiveness?**

- Are the latest studies on residential attractiveness based on an official nomenclature?
- If so, which one and does this make a difference to the approach taken in these studies?
- Does one type/category of place emerge in particular as being appropriate for future research on residential attractiveness?





## 5 – Residential attractiveness studies from 2018 to 2023: the effect of the chosen categorization on literature

### 5.1 Globally, recent studies on residential attractiveness do not refer to statistical nomenclatures

Above the 25 studies, 23 study one or several “administrative” places (generally municipalities or regions), one study does not refer to a specific place but uses INSEE classification systems (urban areas, attraction areas, urban centers, etc.), and the last one uses the European statistical nomenclature. This article focuses on municipalities and divides them into statistical regions based on the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS). The aim was to obtain data about shrinking and growing statistical regions and to be able to identify municipalities within these regions which could be relevant for the study:

*“We obtained data about which statistical regions are losing their inhabitants and which, according to the inhabitants’ perspectives, are more attractive to live in.”*  
(Kukovic, 2018)

No statistical nomenclature does not mean no choice of category. In the corpus, we were able to distinguish four major place classifications used by the authors:

- A “geographical” classification: mountain places, coastal (or seaside) places, etc. (5 papers);
- A “size” classification: tall, small, medium sized, etc. (7 papers);
- A “socio economic” classification: rural, urban, global, shrinking, growing, etc. (9 papers);
- A “cultural” classification: artistic place (1 paper).

These classifications echo those proposed by the European Union to describe the differences between all statistical regions of the NUTS. However, even if the classification already exists in Europe, studies in Europe that use the exact same criteria do not refer to it. So they may end up studying places that could be classified in the same category and easily compared without knowing and the other way round, a study could mobilize another one thinking they are comparable when they are not.

Category code	Category label
1	> 50% of population live in mountain areas
2	> 50% of surface are in mountain areas
3	> 50% of population and 50% of surface are in mountain areas
4	Other regions

Table 5. Distribution of the reduced corpus by country of the study and by year of publication. Source: Author

Consider a scenario where a researcher is conducting a study, ‘Study A,’ which focuses on geographically categorized places, specifically mountainous regions. In the course of this study, the author realizes that there exists prior research, ‘Study B,’ on the residential attractiveness of mountainous areas and intends to draw insights from it. However, ‘Study B’ lacks a clear classification system for what constitutes a mountainous region. Now, the question arises: How can the author of ‘Study A’ ensure that ‘Study B’ is using the same criteria for defining mountainous areas as their own study? To illustrate this challenge, let’s look at the NUTS classification, which offers four possible categories for mountain areas (refer to Table 6). In this situation, it becomes evident that without a consistent and well-defined classification system for mountainous areas, researchers like the author of ‘Study A’ may encounter difficulties in comparing and utilizing findings from ‘Study B’.

This example describes a situation where the categorization is based on the landscape, on something that can be observed in concrete terms. The situation is even more blurred when a study uses adjectives such as “large”, “medium” or “small” to describe the place, without specifying what precise criteria or categorization it is based on. Of course, a number of studies in our corpus clearly specify the definition or categorization to which they refer. But it’s rarely the same and not always the case. This underscores the need for standardized categorizations in research to ensure compatibility and reliability across different studies.

Finally, about the scale studied, 20 papers out of 25 chose to work on the municipality level. The others chose regional level (3) or neighborhood level (1), one is not concerned. This will not allow us to compare the difference between the different scales of study.

## 5.2 Ancillary results: multiple issues at a local level

Above 25 papers, 8 study only short mobility targets or the repartition of population within a place. The 17 others work on long and/or short mobility targets and the attractiveness of a whole place (usually in competition with others). These are the ones we are most interested in for our review. 12 papers out of 17 study multiple places.

In our corpus, there are many issues linked to residential attractiveness (Figure 8). The 17 studies mentioned above are all concerned by at least one of these issues. 10 of the 17 clearly mention an economic issue (or response to shrinking or growing), while only 1 of the remaining 8 refers to the economy (and 2 refer to urban growth). Of these 8 studies involving internal residential movements, the most important issues are social and, to a lesser extent, environmental:

*“It is a challenge for urban planners, designers, and architects to establish environments that are inclusive and caring to their residents.” (Zhang et al., 2022)*

Among the articles that do not rule out long-term mobility, we note that there is more mention of attracting new residents than of encouraging residents to stay. Although when this is clearly specified, most articles define residential attractiveness in terms of attracting and retaining residents.

In addition, we would like to focus on the methods used to study residential attractiveness. In our corpus, we find that there is a great lack of clarity regarding the way in which residential attractiveness should be studied. This leads to methods that are sometimes very limited, resulting in a static assessment of the state of a place's residential attractiveness.

*“In the study, they were asked to **forget for a moment about their own budgets**, to identify their dream locations and choose the criteria that guided them in their selection.” (Jaroszewicz & Majewska, 2021)*

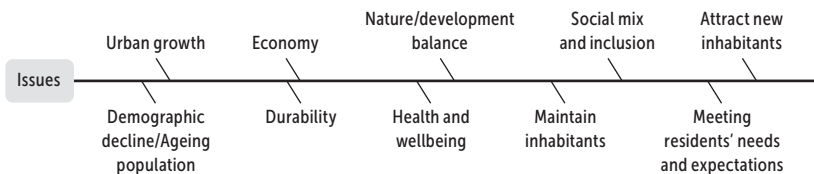


Figure 8. Issues related to residential attractiveness. Source: Author

*“The binary variable ‘intention of living the city of residence within one year’ was used as a measure of the residential attractiveness of the studied shrinking cities.” (Barreira et al., 2019) “A logistic regression model was used to assess the relative influence of the respondents’ demographic and socio-economic characteristics, including residential satisfaction, on their intention of leaving the city of residence (residential attractiveness)” (Barreira et al., 2019)*

*“Although our work also takes into consideration the different impacts of the various “urban functions” of cities on two different agents (in particular, residents and tourists), the importance of those functions as determinants of urban attractiveness is estimated through its quantitative impacts on **population growth** and tourism dynamics” (Romao et al., 2018)*

These three quotations illustrate methods of measuring residential attractiveness that are present in the corpus and that we consider to be limited because they do not take into account the concept in all its complexity, sometimes completely changing its meaning.

## 6. Conclusion: towards more comprehensive studies of residential attractiveness

Based on our corpus, the municipal level<sup>11</sup> appears to be both the most commonly used to study residential attractiveness and also the most appropriate. However, it seems clear from the majority of studies that the environment, the landscape and neighboring areas have a very important role to play in the residential attractiveness of a place.

Therefore, we would suggest that future studies on the subject should give greater context to the municipality being studied. Indeed, it might be appropriate to do so with regard to an official nomenclature such as the European Union’s NUTS. This nomenclature makes it possible to locate the municipality in a statistical region with a certain level of precision regarding its main characteristics: we noted in the previous section that the same categories were present in our corpus. The NUTS regulation is based on precisely defined principles and characteristics (Population thresholds, statistical regions generally mirroring the territorial administrative division, ...) <sup>12</sup> thus it can be transposed to non-EU countries.

In most of the studies, two aspects of residential attractiveness, which seem to us to be pivotal to this concept, are left out of the equation:

- Residential attractiveness is a tool for place development and balance. It is very often a response to a broad issue, which must be specified and translated into clear goals;
- Residential attractiveness, like place attractiveness (Serval, 2015), is bi-dimensional. It involves both physical attraction (body of the place; Kourtit et al., 2021) and psychological attraction (soul of the place; Kourtit et al., 2021).

These aspects of residential attractiveness and the complexity and recency of the concept lead us to encourage mixed studies combining quantitative measurement methods and qualitative methods of understanding. For the qualitative part, we find in the corpus multiple case studies that seem relevant for observing and understanding the particularities of the context of several municipalities. These studies must be conducted at a municipal level, while paying particular attention to the context of the place using its statistical region (as proposed in the NUTS for example).

As we conclude, it is evident that the concept of residential attractiveness is both multidisciplinary and multidimensional. To advance our understanding of this complex phenomenon, it is imperative to bridge multiple disciplines, employ a range of research methods, and adopt various perspectives, encompassing the micro, meso, and macro levels. Standardizing place categorizations is essential to enhance comparability and foster meaningful connections between different studies.

It is vital to emphasize that residential attractiveness should not be merely assessed at a single point in time ('t'). It should be viewed as a dynamic tool for the development and balance of places. Furthermore, we must recognize the bi-dimensional nature of residential attractiveness, encompassing both physical and psychological attraction.

With these principles in mind, researchers can contribute to a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of residential attractiveness, ultimately assisting public managers, policymakers, and urban planners in creating more attractive places.

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<sup>11</sup> Using the UNESCO definition of the municipal level as "a public administration that exists at the lowest administration level within government state such as municipality of district." (Local/Municipal Level, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> (Principles and Characteristics - NUTS - Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics - Eurostat): <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/principles-and-characteristics>

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## Appendices

Nom	Exact query	Data base	Number of results
WOS 1	"residential attractiveness" (title or abstract)	Web of Science (WoS)	21
WOS A	"residential appeal" (title or abstract)	WoS	4
WOS 2	"attractiveness" AND resident (abstract)	WoS	482
WOS 3	"attractiveness" AND inhabitant (abstract)	WoS	174
WOS 4	"attractiveness" AND resident (title)	WoS	14
WOS 5	"attractiveness" AND inhabitant (title)	WoS	3
BSC 1	"residential attractiveness" (title or abstract)	Business Source Complete (BSC)	3
BSC A	"residential appeal" (title or abstract)	BSC	3
BSC 2	"attractiveness" AND resident (abstract)	BSC	119
BSC 3	"attractiveness" AND inhabitant (abstract)	BSC	25
BSC 4	"attractiveness" AND resident (title)	BSC	4
BSC 5	"attractiveness" AND inhabitant (title)	BSC	1
ECON 1	"residential attractiveness" (title or keywords)	EconPapers (RePEc)	6
ECON 2	"attractiveness" AND resident (title or keywords)	RePEc	8
ECON 3	"attractiveness" AND inhabitant (title or keywords)	RePEc	3
CAIRN 1	"attractivité résidentielle" (titre ou résumé)	CAIRN	5
CAIRN 2	"attractivité" et résident (résumé)	CAIRN	10
CAIRN 3	"attractivité" et habitant (résumé)	CAIRN	19
n/a	"attractivité" et résident (titre)	CAIRN	0
n/a	"attractivité" et habitant (titre)	CAIRN	0
n/a	"residential appeal" (title or keywords)	REPEC	0

Table 3. Queries used to select the corpus

N°	Authors	Year	Title
1	Zhang et al.	2022	Data-Based Analysis of Environmental Attractiveness towards Low-Carbon Development in Seaside Cities
2	Berriet-Sollicet et al.	2022	The National Rural Development Programme in France: How Does It Contribute to the Attractiveness of Regions? Le programme hexagonal de développement rural : quelle contribution à l'attractivité des territoires ?
3	Berns et al.	2022	Pour un changement de paradigme dans la politique d'attractivité résidentielle en Région de Bruxelles-Capitale
4	Di Croce et al.	2022	A sonic perspective for the post-pandemic future of entertainment districts: the case of Montreal's Quartier des Spectacles
5	Talandier	2022	Métropolisation et inégalités territoriales. Bilan de trente années de recomposition territoriale:
6	Kourtit et al.	2021	How to make cities the home of people - a 'soul and body' analysis of urban attractiveness
7	Zawadzka	2021	Architectural and Urban Attractiveness of Small Towns: A Case Study of Polish Coastal Cittaslow Towns on the Pomeranian Way of St. James
8	Kourtit et al.	2021	A Structural Equation Model for Place-based City Love: An Application to Swedish Cities
9	Jaroszewicz & Majewska	2021	Group Spatial Preferences of Residential Locations-Simplified Method Based on Crowdsourced Spatial Data and MCDA
10	Szaja	2021	Applying the VMCM method to assess the level of residential attractiveness of municipalities in the West Pomeranian Voivodeship
11	Stankovic et al.	2021	URBAN MAGNETISM IN THE GLOBAL CITY FRAMEWORK: EXPLORING THE LINK BETWEEN URBAN FUNCTIONS AND POPULATION GROWTH
12	Szotytsek & Otręba	2020	Attractiveness of Cities during Social Isolation: Views of Residents of the Silesian Voivodeship (Poland)
13	Lindberg et al.	2020	Co-creative place-innovation in an arctic town
14	Slavko et al.	2020	City structure shapes directional resettlement flows in Australia

Table 4. Final corpus: 53 papers

	Discipline (Authors')	Country (of the study)	Language	Type (article/ chapter/ conference)
	Urban planning & Architecture	China	En	Article
	Economics	France	Fr	Article
	Geography & Sociology	Belgium	Fr	Article
	Urban planning & Psychoacoustics	Canada	En	Article
	Urban planning	France	Fr	Article
	Economics & Social Geography	Sweden	En	Article
	Urban planning & Architecture	Poland	En	Article
	Economics & Social Geography	Sweden	En	Article
	Geography & Architecture	Poland	En	Article
	Management	Poland	En	Article
	Economics	Multiple (>5)	En	Article
	Economics	Poland	En	Article
	Management & Design & Human labour sciences & Architecture	Sweden	En	Article
	Computer science & Physics	Australia	En	Article

N°	Authors	Year	Title
15	Starikova & Ponomarev	2020	The Marketing Potential of the Region as a Driver of Its Economic Development
16	Dyachenko & Lazareva	2020	Regional Service Potential as a Factor of Attractiveness of Rural Settlements
17	Bai et al.	2020	Exploring the Mechanism of Residential Attractiveness in Compact Urban Areas - a Case Study of Hong Kong
18	Anastasiou & Duquenne	2020	Determinants and Spatial Patterns of Counterurbanization in Times of Crisis: Evidence from Greece
19	Barbier	2019	Détruire pour mieux reconstruire ? : Sociogenèse de la friche de l'Union dans l'agglomération de Lille (1990-2006)
20	Barreira et al.	2019	Satisfied but thinking about leaving: the reasons behind residential satisfaction and residential attractiveness in shrinking Portuguese cities
21	Antonova et al.	2019	The Attractiveness of City as Place to Live: The Case of Yekaterinburg
22	Romão et al.	2018	The smart city as a common place for tourists and residents: A structural analysis of the determinants of urban attractiveness
23	Mondal & Das	2018	How residential compactness and attractiveness can be shaped by environmental amenities in an industrial city?
24	Kukovic	2018	Coping with Demographic Challenges: Case of Slovenian Local Communities
25	Walters & Insch	2018	How community event narratives contribute to place branding
26	Tamura & Masuda	2017	Effects of the distant population density on spatial patterns of demographic dynamics
27	Tarasovych & Tamuliene	2017	MARKETING AS A TOOL FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT
28	Tanaka & Kanki	2017	Attractiveness for Younger Generation of Ostrava - Jih Housing Area Developed in Socialist Era: Through Interviews with the Inhabitants (Ostrava-City, Czech Republic)
29	Daszkiewicz & Mazurek	2017	THE PERCEPTION OF WROCLAW AS A LIVEABLE CITY

Table 4. Final corpus: 53 papers

	Discipline (Authors')	Country (of the study)	Language	Type (article/ chapter/ conference)
	Marketing management	Russia	En	Conference
	Economics & Philosophy	Russia	En	Conference
	Architecture & Civil Engineering & Machine Learning & Computer science	China	En	Conference
	Social geography & Economics	Greece	En	Article
	Political science	France	Fr	Article
	Economics & Environmental sciences & Landscape architecture	Portugal	En	Article
	Sociology & Philology	Russia	En	Conference
	Tourism & Geography & Economics	Multiple (>5)	En	Article
	Urban planning & Geography	India	En	Article
	Political Science & Public Administration	Slovenia	En	Article
	Social Sciences & Tourism & Marketing	New Zealand	En	Article
	Anthropology & Mathematics & Biology	Japan	En	Article
	Management	Ukraine	En	Article
	Urban planning & Engineering	Czech Republic	En	Conference
	Marketing & Economics	Poland	En	Conference

N°	Authors	Year	Title
30	Budnikevych & Gavrysh	2017	MODERN MARKETING CONCEPTS AS THE BASIS FOR FORMATION AND INCREASE OF THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF CITIES AND TERRITORIES
31	Bontje et al.	2017	Skills and cities: knowledge workers in Northwest-European cities
32	Guimarães et al.	2016	What makes people stay in or leave shrinking cities? An empirical study from Portugal
33	Žróbek - Róžańska et al.	2016	Studies Over Characteristics Shaping Residential Attractiveness of Suburban Rural Areas
34	Dragin-Jensen et al.	2016	More options do not always create perceived variety in life: Attracting new residents with quality- vs. quantity-oriented event portfolios
35	Sunina & Rivza	2016	IMPORTANCE OF TERRITORY MARKETING AND ITS SYMBOLS: CASE STUDY OF TALSJ MUNICIPALITY
36	Faye et al.	2016	Géographie des ménages fortunés en France: Étude des déterminants de la localisation des ménages soumis à l'Impôt de Solidarité sur la Fortune
37	Ketterer & Rodriguez- Pose	2015	Local quality of government and voting with one's feet
38	Fertner et al.	2015	Small towns resisting urban decay through residential attractiveness. Findings from Denmark
39	Miot	2015	Residential Attractiveness as a Public Policy Goal for Declining Industrial Cities: Housing Renewal Strategies in Mulhouse, Roubaix and Saint-Etienne (France)
40	Litavniece	2014	RISK MANAGEMENT IN PROVISION OF CITY ATTRACTIVENESS
41	Buch et al.	2014	What Makes Cities Attractive? The Determinants of Urban Labour Migration in Germany
42	Kunze & Schramm-Klein	2014	Evaluating the Impact of Regional Marketing Projects on the Development of Regions from Different Stakeholder Perspectives
43	Talandier & Jousseume	2013	Les équipements du quotidien en France : un facteur d'attractivité résidentielle et de développement pour les territoires ?
44	Chevalier et al.	2012	Le Paris des résidences secondaires. Entre ville réelle et ville rêvée

Table 4. Final corpus: 53 papers



	Discipline (Authors')	Country (of the study)	Language	Type (article/ chapter/ conference)
	Public economics & Marketing management	Ukraine	En	Article
	Urban geography & Economic geography	Netherlands	En	Article
	Economics & Environmental Sciences & Landscape Architecture	Portugal	En	Article
	Geographical economics & Regional planning	Poland	En	Article
	Management & Managerial economics & Place branding	Denmark	En	Article
	Economics	Latvia	En	Conference
	Economics	France	Fr	Article
	Economics	Multiple (>5)	En	Article
	Urban planning & Geography	Denmark	En	Article
	Urban planning	France	En	Article
	Management	Latvia	En	Article
	Sociology & Labour Economics	Germany	En	Article
	Marketing & Management	Germany	En	Article
	Urban planning & Geography	France	Fr	Article
	Anthropology	France	Fr	Article

N°	Authors	Year	Title
45	Ezmaie	2012	Strategies for Enhancing Attractiveness of the Cities in Latgale Region
46	Rérat et al.	2010	New forms of gentrification: issues and debates: Guest Editorial
47	Haase et al.	2010	Emergent spaces of reurbanisation: exploring the demographic dimension of inner-city residential change in a European setting: Emergent Spaces of Reurbanisation
48	Sacareau et al.	2010	Attractivité touristique et attractivité résidentielle du littoral charentais: lorsque les Anglais brouillent la donne
49	Cassel	2008	Trying to be attractive: Image building and identity formation in small industrial municipalities in Sweden
50	Sencébé	2007	Le logement social dans un pays rural sous influence urbaine: une forme hybride du périurbain
51	Rérat	2006	Mutations urbaines, mutations démographiques. Contribution à l'explication de la déprise démographique des villes-centres
52	Portnov	1998	Social attractiveness of the urban physical environment: Cities of Siberia
53	Carmon & Baron	1994	REDUCING INEQUALITY BY MEANS OF NEIGHBORHOOD REHABILITATION - AN ISRAELI EXPERIMENT AND ITS LESSONS

Table 4. Final corpus: 53 papers

	Discipline (Authors')	Country (of the study)	Language	Type (article/ chapter/ conference)
	Economics	Latvia	En	Article
	Geography	Multiple (>5)	En	Article
	Urban planning & Urban sociology & Geography	Germany, Italy, Spain and Slovenia	En	Article
	Geography	France	Fr	Article
	Geography	Sweden	En	Article
	Sociology	France	Fr	Article
	Geography	Switzerland	Fr	Article
	Geography	Russia	En	Article
	Architecture & Urban Planning & Sociology	Israel	En	Article



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# Filming activity as a tool for influencing place image

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MANON CHÂTEL

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## Abstract

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This chapter proposes to investigate filming activity – that is activity of filming audio-visual content on a place – and in particular, the places' intents. Indeed, public authorities through different dedicated organizations (Film Commissions, Film Offices) try to instrumentalize films and series for different purposes, including the one we are interested in: having an impact on the place's image, notably cities. The literature related to place marketing, and especially destination marketing, includes numerous contributions on the potential impact of films and series on place image. However, research on the views and actions of public authorities is almost non-existent; consequently, we raise the question of these authorities' intents regarding filming activity and the projected image. Through a qualitative exploratory study conducted in 21 French places, at different institutional levels, we were able to highlight three major intentions related to place-image management: 1) to create, 2) to modify, and 3) to maintain their current projected image. These strategic intentions are discussed, points of attention are identified, and management recommendations are proposed. .

Keywords: Places Image, Place Marketing, Filming Activity, Film Commission

# 1 – Introduction

With the proliferation of audio-visual content available on screens – in cinemas and on online platforms – filming activity continues to increase in Europe (European Audio-visual Observatory, 2022); France has never welcomed so many films and series as it does today, and has just reached an absolute record since the first studies of the Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée (CNC)/ National Center for Cinema and Moving Image (CNC) were launched in 1994.

Thanks to various stimulus plans, the establishment of a filming guarantee fund, and a clear general public interest in the audio-visual sector, France has experienced an increase in sales of French audio-visual programs abroad, coupled with a rise in the number of approved films and an upsurge in the number of international co-productions (CNC, 2022). Public funding for approved production in 2021 reached €33.85 million for 142 films, the highest ever recorded. Thus, places are facing increasing demand from film industry for filming enquiries, funds, and subsidies. Public managers are gradually becoming aware that filming activity can leverage place attractiveness and place branding.

Furthermore, since the early 2000s and through this intense filming activity, we have observed the gradual emergence of local public and quasi-public organizations in France, aimed at welcoming film and series production. These organizations are heterogeneously structured at the national level, in terms of operations, processes, internal practices, as well as intentions. These intentions are manifold as the effects of film productions on places are suspected by these organizations; these are primarily economic spin-offs generated by the shoots, tourist spin-offs (see *film-induced tourism* following the release of a successful film or series, or spin-offs related to image. Literature about film productions is mainly descriptive, taking a specific case (e.g., *Game of Thrones*, *Lord of the Rings*) and describing the benefits or establishing causality with increased tourism. Indeed, very few studies have focused on the place authorities' intentions concerning their projected image. Therefore, we will focus here on exploring the authorities' intentions regarding place image through the filming activity with the following research question: *What are the image-related intentions of a place when hosting film productions?*

## 2 – Literature review

The literature review includes place-branding and marketing contributions, as well as articles focusing on place image and its projection through audio-visual content.

### 2.1 Place marketing and place image

Over the past few decades, as place competitiveness became increasingly central to regional-development policies (Camagni, 2017), place marketing and place branding have emerged as significant priorities for many cities and regions worldwide and have attracted much academic attention. Place marketing (Braun, 2008; Kavartzis & Ashworth, 2008; Eshuis *et al.*, 2013) and place branding (Anholt, 2008; Gertner, 2011; Vuignier, 2017) share recurring themes such as place identity, strategies, stakeholders, and place image (Vuignier, 2017). Indeed, place image is a key factor for attracting visitors, investors, or residents and enhancing a place's identity and reputation. In this context, place marketing aims to create a positive, consistent, and distinctive image of a city, leveraging its assets, values, and unique features (Eshuis, *et al.*, 2013). Researchers often specify the institutional level. Studies on the image of a country (Kotler & Gertner, 2002; Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009) or of a nation (Anholt, 2009) commonly compare it to the management of a brand or product's image, as it involves developing the place, creating or promoting a positive image using tools from private-sector marketing to meet target demands (Eshuis *et al.*, 2013).

Kotler *et al.* (1993, p.141) defined country image 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.*” These associations stem from geographical location, its history, its broader culture, possible emblematic personalities and more (Kotler & Gertner, 2002), and can be simplifications of reality, even stereotypes (Zenker & Beckmann, 2013). This is a challenge for marketers because a positive image on nation branding and the image of the nation has an impact on its economic development, tourism, or attracting foreign investment (Anholt, 2002; Gilmore, 2002; Dinnie, 2015). However, the image is intangible and, by nature, one of the least controllable elements for marketers (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003), which is explained in particular by the fact that it is composed of a multitude of impressions, beliefs, ideas, expectations, and feelings towards the place (city, region, or country) that have accumulated over time (Kim & Richardson, 2003).

Furthermore, place's image is more commonly studied under the terminology "*destination image*" (Pike, 2002, 2009; Gallarza *et al.*, 2002; Beerli & Martin, 2004; Pike & Page, 2014; Afshardoost & Eshaghi, 2020), "*an interactive system of thoughts, opinions, feelings, visualizations, and intentions toward a destination*" (Tasci & Gartner, 2007, p. 200). Place image includes the cognitive, conative, and affective dimensions (liking, recommending, satisfaction) (Gartner, 1993; San Martín & Rodríguez Del Bosque, 2008; Marques, *et al.*, 2021). It has long been recognized as an essential decision-making and motivational factor in holiday travels and has been extensively studied by authors in tourism management (Crompton, 1979; Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; Croy, 2011). Some tourist cities today possess a collective tourist memory based on a specific and maintained «cultural image» (Lenoir Anselme, 2008; instead of, Manfredini 2017). Oriented towards residents, the place image has an evaluative dimension, reflected in the way in which the place is appreciated by its inhabitants (Chamard *et al.*, 2013).

However, for some authors in place branding, research has not sufficiently explored the role of cultural products such as films in the development of the brand image or reputation of a place (Dinnie, 2004).

## 2.2 Place Image in Cinematic Production and cinematographic works

The literature reveals direct and indirect impacts of film productions on places. Thus, films and series have an impact on the image of the destination, especially if a place plays a significant role in the corresponding movie or series (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006), affecting the place (city, region) positively or negatively (Di Cesare & Salandra, 2015), and inferring a relationship between tourism and city image (D'Alessandro *et al.*, 2015; Beeton, 2016). Film productions (i.e., film crews and film production companies) can leverage direct economic benefits generated by shootings (Croy, 2011). Films and series become promotional tools, an element that literature treats independently from the intervention of public authorities (Busby & Klug, 2001; Kim & Richardson, 2003).

Also, cities have a dual interest in negotiating with film crews and production companies: being identified by the general public, or hosting a particular genre of films, such as major films studios (i.e., production and distribution companies that release a significant number of films annually, such as Universal, Paramount Pictures, Warner Bros., Disney, Columbia; see Gjorgievski & Trpkova, 2012) allows a destination to improve its image and reputation (Tooke & Baker, 1996; Hudson, 2011; D'Alessandro *et al.*, 2015). In this case, the film is seen as a cultural value of for the place that hosts the shooting. Since culture and tourism sectors are vectors of place identity (Petr *et al.*, 2022), the challenge is to bring together the city and cinema. When we mention the theme of "the city in cinema"



(Berthier, 2005), images related to fiction come to mind: buildings with spectacular architecture, balanced and contrasted atmospheres, chases through the city, and yet they appeal to a non-filmic reality (Souriau, 1951; Bui, 2018). The impacts of films and productions, in particular the positive externalities, are known to public managers (Dominguez *et al.*, 2021).

### 3 – Method

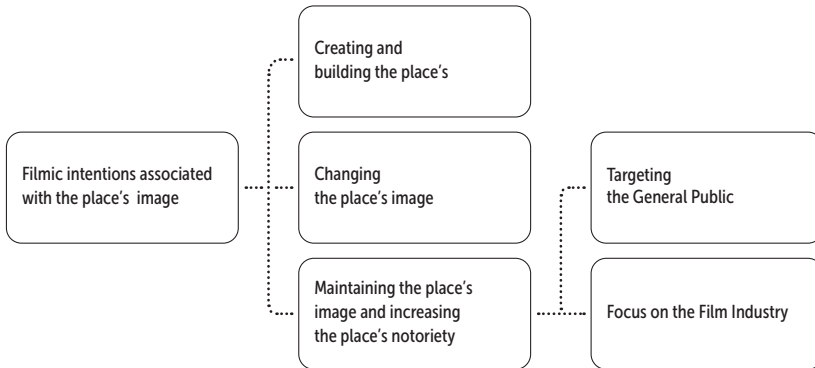
Considering the absence of academic literature on the management of place image related to filming activity, we have opted for an inductive logic. This research is part of a more general inductive approach (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991), in which an emerging phenomenon has been studied (the gradual and consistent emergence of organizations hosting productions on their city or region).

Therefore, we used the GIOIA method. We followed the research design by consulting the existing literature (Gioia *et al.*, 2013), ours mainly came from the literature on film-induced tourism and destination marketing. Based on an exploratory approach (Stebbins, 2001), we conduct a qualitative study at the national level (France) based on unstructured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Our respondents were managers of organizations responsible for hosting film productions whom we met at a national professional event for filming activity (“Film Paris Production Forum”). These organizations (arbitrarily named: Film Commissions, Film Offices, Cinema Missions, etc.) were either autonomous local authorities (non-profit organization with public subsidy) or local government services (communication department, place marketing department, culture department, etc.). We met with 21 organizations for our research representing different levels of public action in the administrative sense (see Appendix 1). These are organizations from 8 Régions, 6 Départements and 7 cities/metropolis; 9 of these organizations were a department of the local authorities and the others were non-profit organization subsidized in whole or in part by public funds. Regardless of age or gender, 1 to 3 people were interviewed per organizations, all from top management.

It should be noted that this study was conducted to distinguish the intentions behind the hosting and support activity for film productions, nevertheless, this book chapter only focuses on one of the intentions: that related to the image. As required by this method, coding was done a posteriori (inductive approach, inductive coding) (Gioia *et al.*, 2013) and we reached 108 codes, including 23 relating to *image*. We were able to group certain codes to develop the *second-order themes*, then the *aggregate dimensions*, creating a visual structure, the “Data structure” (appendix 2).

## 4 – Main results

Our study has revealed three sub-dimensions concerning intentions related to place's image.



### 4.1. Creating and building the image of a place

The first sub-dimension is the construction of the image of a place through the lens of a film or series. The objective is to establish an image of the city based on the principle (or observation) that the city is not known to the general public, and to show it as it is: “*When we host a film there is this idea of showing our city as it is, we do not hide the reality*” (R1).

“*We find that we have a very developed reputation in our place but not elsewhere, and that we are starting to have an image very oriented towards nature and gastronomy. And this corresponds to the films that have been made here*” (R4). For this place, very few films have been hosted, as it is a rural area whose largest city does not exceed 25,000 inhabitants. However, the films that have been shot there recently have a relationship with gastronomy, which helps to create a -positive- image linked to gastronomy for a place particularly unknown in this sense.

Other places suffer from a lack of image, even an absence of visual associations. According to R11, “*It really ties in with issues of image and perception from the outside... we are not identified as a maritime area for example. If today a director wants to make a film about sailors, well, he will turn to Brittany or Dunkirk. But here? No.*”

<sup>1</sup> All verbatims have been translated from French into English by the author.

*It's a real issue to get known for this potential as well*". Despite its largest Normandy coastlines, this place suffers from a truly clear image deficit, as it is difficult for the general public to place it on a map. Its name could prove evocative, but it is not. «*A series around the maritime that highlight the maritime nature of this area would be very much awaited here*» R11.

In general, the aim is to stick as closely as possible to reality and sometimes implicitly replace institutional communication: "*Hosting a film, we see it as one of the simplest ways to show the city without it being us who show it*" (R18). This could be likened to word of mouth or recommendation; communicators relying on word of mouth (Word of Mouth Marketing - WOMM) invariably take the messages and meanings and then modify them to make the marketing message more credible, more relevant, or more acceptable to their audience (Kozinets *et al.*, 2010).

## 4.2. Changing the place's image

While some places are fortunate enough to have a positive image and a radiance enhanced by audio-visual contents, other places tend to instrumentalize films and series to alter their image: for R1, "*hosting films is also about bringing out an image of the city that has not always been positive*". This metropolis explained that it does not want to be associated with the military base or the arsenal anymore, even if it represents a large part of its economic activities. It can be assimilated however to the disguise of reality in the eyes of the general public.

Behind the notion of image change can also hide the desire to take pride in the residents: "*I know how people look at rural areas [...] The idea is to make people look at these areas in a different way, and for the inhabitants to say, "oh look, there are things happening in my region"*" (R12). Filming activity allows to show the inhabitants the economic dynamism, and, thanks to the broadcasting of the film, to regain pride. Castings, for example, are an opportunity to actively involve residents in the film project, and to cast a positive gaze on their city.

While most places accept movie or series shootings, others allow themselves to refuse a filming that could convey an image to which the city does not want to be associated (or no longer wants to be associated): "*We systematically sign a convention [...] We condition on certain elements, of synopsis or the fact of transmitting a good image of the city... We often refuse, for example, shootings, or to film dilapidated towers*" (R18). For a city that aims to shed its negative image, such as the suburbs and insecurity, refusing to host projects with synopsis that are devaluing for the city is understandable. Moreover, if the city makes efforts elsewhere to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants and beautify its image (i.e., by undertaking urban planning, pedestrianization, etc.), there is no reason to maintain an image that would no longer resemble it.

In the same vein, if some places still host films with less than flattering synopses, they make sure not to communicate excessively about it: “*We also make films here that harm the image of the city. Typically, all the police films, drugs, crimes, all that and well, our Tourism colleagues clearly tell us that it's not that they highlight; because it's an image that doesn't make people want to come here*” (R13). This is the particular case of this large metropolis, well known for – among other things – its scores to settle and drug trafficking; although the intention is not really to change the image through film content (this would be impossible), the solution is to not communicate about the film or promote it as would have been done for a film that would extol the qualities of this city. This solution is also the one we would propose if the city were suffering from over-tourism: in addition of urban planning measures (such as regulating visitor flows through reservation systems), the city should not promote films that could exacerbate the situation. In fact, if there is no significant economic dependence, it might even be advisable to decline film shootings (legally justified in France for reasons of public interest).

#### 4.3. Maintaining the place's image or increasing the place's notoriety

The third intention is the notoriety stimulated by the broadcasting of cinematographic works. Our results highlight two sub-intentions: the instrumentalization of the filmed image for the general public, and for audio-visual professionals.

##### > Targeting the General public.

The first sub-intention is to display the city to influence its notoriety among the general public (i.e., viewers and TV audiences): “*The goal was clearly to increase our notoriety*” (R4); “*We create attractiveness when we show our place. As much as possible we put ourselves forward in the filming activities*” (R17). Without specifying the type of attractiveness, this respondent makes the link between the place's image on the screen and attractiveness.

According to R11, “*Once the film is released, it is a showcase for our region... it highlights places, sites of interest and therefore also has an interest in terms of image [...] There is a deficit in our image and that it harms our attractiveness, but films could help us; the stronger our image, the stronger the attractiveness will be*”. Obviously, if the effect of notoriety is sought, it is essential to present the name of the city (its landscapes or its material heritage), and that it is identifiable and identified as it truly is, without masking or disguising the filming locations.

“*I often say that a city that is no longer filmed is no longer in people's imagination. Have you ever been to New York? When you arrive in New York, you have this impression of knowing the city. You think you know the city, you know the sound of the city, that's all. I haven't seen a film about Rome for over 20 years... I don't know what Rome*

*looks like anymore, I don't see it in films anymore*" (R2). This respondent's example emphasizes the influence of audio-visual media, particularly movies, in crafting our shared perceptions and imaginations of cities. The recurring depiction of a city like New York, frequently represented in films, enhances its mental salience, contributing significantly to place marketing through a cognitive process akin to "mental mapping," which can play a significant role in place marketing. Conversely, the diminished presence of a city, like Rome, in films potentially risks its obsolescence in collective imagination. Therefore, place marketers should appreciate the potential benefits of collaboration with the film industry to keep their city "on the map."

Nonetheless, the film (or series) allows to show the place and get to know it when identification is possible. This sub-dimension is closely linked to the notion of imagination, also for for a very well-known and touristy city: "*A very interesting phenomenon is that of Emily in Paris, this series maintains this imagination of Paris, which sometimes makes you dream to the point of saying to yourself 'well, and if we went to Paris?'*" (R2). However, some places are lucid about the capacity of a movie or series to impact the way we perceive them: "*In terms of notoriety and image, this is what we tell all our elected officials: that films will not all be postcards of our city*" (R13). The challenge is also to make this possibility accepted, especially by elected officials.

Finally, respondents raised concerns regarding sensitive filming locations. For instance, in the case of dramatic events, precautions need to be taken to avoid filming at sites directly related to the events, as the terrorist attacks. To address this sensitivity without resorting to censorship, sensitive scenes can be shot in studios or digitally reconstructed. Another concern relates to the portrayal of reality; as expressed by one respondent: "*There is a film in which we saw people jumping from the Calanques (i.e., creeks in Southern France). But that's forbidden. It send a bad image, distorting the reality*" (R20). Controlling such elements is nearly impossible for public authorities.

### > Focus on the Film Industry

The second sub-objective targets audio-visual professionals, particularly production companies: "*First, we seek to promote our region to image professionals*" (R19). This intent aims to solidify a reputation as a "filming land" ("Terre de tournages," a term frequently used by these organizations). Cities recognize the virtuous cycle that can be established by hosting production projects: "*What we seek is to build loyalty to the projects in the region*" (R20). To do so, some organizations prefer proactive action: "*Our mission is to facilitate the experience, the inbound strategy. Then, the initiative-taking outbound strategy is to sell the place, so we have set up a dedicated metropolitan team: a service manager with 2 other public servants. They participate in trade fairs, interact with local stakeholders, create partnerships [...]*" (R1).

Additionally, unlike the general public-oriented approach, it is not necessary for the city to be shown or mentioned on screen: “*Even if we don't know, you and I, that it's filmed in our city, the other productions will know and they will come like snowballs*” (R15). This is closely related to the importance that the community places on the image it seeks to portray: “*Before, 8-9 years ago, we had to seek out location scouts to show them the city, and with all this work [spatial planning, set management] we have indeed changed their view of the city. Now it is they who come*” (R18).

Some cities emphasized the importance of hospitality quality: “*The motivation is to welcome as well as possible so that people come back. To make us known*” (R13). The film industry is a closed environment where word of mouth is very present. Social media are also favored by these organizations: “*Facebook, Instagram... aimed at professional audiences: we will post training for actors, calls for projects for major festivals, our presence at trade shows, when we are in Cannes [Festival de Cannes], we talk about releases, films we have supported*” (R13). Therefore, the arrival of production companies will depend on the reputation that the city has built within the film industry, especially whether organization have been accommodating (connecting with local stakeholders, access to sets, assistance in obtaining local subsidies).

## 5 — Discussion and conclusion

Cinematographic works, whether films or television series, immortalize a city at a particular moment in time. These images remain associated with the place in the viewers' mind, and the association is even stronger when the viewer had little or no knowledge of the place (Mathisen & Prebensen, 2013). They can impact the image of the place, its reputation, notoriety and can create, or not, a tourist attraction. The place's image given by audio-visual contents has been descriptively studied in literature, and said studies are based on films or series that have made the place famous. This research attempts to explore in detail the different intentions related to the image, implying the capacity (without necessarily involving intervention) of public authorities to act.

Therefore, we could discuss the image related intent. For if the intentions of places concerning their filming activity are real, the strategic dimension is much less so and we note the absence of a real planned strategy: “*For the process, it's simple, there isn't one*” (R1); “*It's a bit of a case-by-case basis*” (R14). Indeed, specific impacts such as tourism or economic activity generated by the filming activity seem well identified; intentions are established and formulated in this sense by

our respondents. However, strategic intents imply that the organization has an action plan, including the implementation of practices, resources, and competencies (Hernandez, 2008; Michaux 2018) and these organizations did not mention it.

Furthermore, we note that no definition of the place's image is given. It is a matter for these places to create, modify, or maintain the image without providing elements related to the image (such as associations that could be linked to the place, its positioning, etc.). A desire to create/modify the image is conceivable, but if governance has not agreed to construct it, to define it, the difficulty will be greater knowing that the image of the place is one of the least controllable elements (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003), and it is even less so when it is conveyed by a third person rather than the place (the city, the country) itself. We also point out that depending on the film genres the audience reached will not be the same, but cities have no control over that aspect.

Moreover, when the intention is to create or modify the place's image, which translates from our respondents into "*bringing a new look to the city*" or "*changing the image of the place, the gaze on it*" it is necessary for the city to appear and be recognizable: "*A city without a recognized and disseminated image remains an anonymous city*" (Raynaud, 2010, p.21). However, we noted that few respondents alluded to being able to identify the city in the films and series that had been shot there, as the visual appearance or audible mention of the city is not made. A city whose on-screen placement would not be formulated, like product placement for a city (Berneman & Meyronin, 2012), would be counterproductive to any potential efforts made.

In addition to the risk of non-identification, we observe that the risk of deception is unfamiliar or ignored by public managers. By deception, we mean that the placement of the city (city placement) in this film is disguised, and a city is filmed to represent another city, or even another country; Montreal, for example, has often been filmed to stand for Paris or New York. We could speak here of the "deterritorialization" of the city (Bigio, 2007). This mystification can sometimes harm the place: which is the case for Alan Parker's film *Midnight Express*, which depicts a very negative image of Turkey and Turkish people, shot in Malta as Ankara refused to host the filming for obvious reasons (the film is banned in Turkey); or the case of Steven Spielberg's film *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* shot in Sri Lanka but supposed to take place in India, as India also refused to host a film that presented so many negative and caricatural stereotypes of its own culture (film banned in India). Some directors enjoy caricaturing countries and cities and make it their trademark, like Larry Charles for example and his caricatural works that greatly disserve the cities they are supposed to represent (i.e., in the movie *Borat*). In other, rarer cases, places filmed to stand for others can turn it to their advantage; for example the Wes Anderson's film *The French Dispatch*, supposed to represent Paris, but shot in Angoulême (France) which has made it a point of pride; or the television series *Dexter* supposed to take place in

Miami, Florida but actually filmed in California (lower filming costs). The topic of the imaginary becomes dominant in these cases since it is a matter of an implicit confrontation between representation of mental space and a vision that would like to be objective of the filmed place. In reality, it is not a perceived space since, it is a construction in the viewer's mind (Francastel, 1983). The process is inherently biased, stemming from both the director's subjective portrayal of the place, which serves narrative cohesion by selecting certain attributes, settings, and character types, and the audience's interpretive perception, often based on the elements shown, particularly when prior knowledge of the place is scarce (Kim & Richardson, 2003). Impressions, prejudices, emotions – which are traversed by the cinematic work – constitute the image of the destination (Jenkins, 1999); creating a perceptual chasm between reality, representation, and interpretation, which inherently constrains the efficacy of public intervention. Consequently, our analysis pivots to the “cinematic memory of places,” signifying the place's evolving image rendered through cinematographic content over time, which can constitute a memory over years and evolution of the city. The broader public's perception of a place is often shaped by films and series, allowing both the place and the viewer the agency to accept or reject these visual depictions.

In practical terms, cities and metropolis are most interested in image management, and this is mainly explained by the fact that in France filming authorization is mandatory and only delivered by the City Hall, which gives more latitude to this level. In this sense, it is often the small and medium-sized places that are likely to suffer the most from an image deficit (Alaux et al. 2015). In France, municipalities and metropolises are the local authorities whose expenditures dedicated to culture increase the most (Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles, 2019); culture allows for reconnecting with a favorable image for the city, the “reactivation image” (Taliano Des Garts, 2007, p. 209). In addition, the city often represents itself more easily in a story in cinema than a region, and this is especially true for foreign viewers: for example, a North American will certainly know the name “Paris” but perhaps not the “Ile-de-France” region, or “Rome” and not “Latium” (Rome's administrative region). Some film directors consciously choose special cities, in this regard, Woody Allen is famous for paying tribute to cities through his films (*Midnight in Paris*, *Manhattan*, *To Rome with Love*, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*): “*European cities, have a personality that can't be left out of the equation. You want to figure them in the story in some way*” says Woody Allen, “*otherwise it is just a film that it is there*” (Vulture, 2011; cited by Gkritzali et al., 2016). Of course, the limit exists: directors like Woody Allen are rare and production companies are guided above all by the possibility of obtaining public subsidies, or tax credits.

Regarding image-oriented ambitions, depending on the objective, we offer cities some advises with modes of action and types of mechanisms in this sense, in order to move from a passive to a proactive character:



## Recommendations for cities

To facilitate our recommendations, we will focus on the intentions as a local level, i.e., the city, or the metropolis.

### Creating or Building the Place's Image

*Prerequisite:* The place's notoriety must be relatively low.

*Who is it for?* Most often, it is small places, cities, villages, but it can also be cities that do not have features known to the general public (weak associations).

*Key Steps:* Define the vision, and what image the city would like to project. Define a welcoming strategy; Create a unit dedicated to welcoming and supporting film shoots (Film Office), dedicated human resources and financial resources. Preferably, this unit is attached to the Attractiveness- Place Marketing (or Economic) Department, in order to benefit from the strengths and knowledge of this department.

*Tools:* **Create a film locations database/film location guide:** the aim is to identify and list public places that can be made available, on the principle that the infrastructure can reflect the image that the city would like to project (possibility to integrate settings owned by private owners if the demand comes from them and their property matches the desired image), while enhancing existing heritage. **Identify resource persons** (also called «relay persons») in the numerous services of the local authorities; these people are aware of the stakes of hosting a film crew and they are facilitators (example: opening premises outside of public opening hours, closing a street, making equipment available, etc.). **Establish a roadmap** for the stages of welcoming a production. **Define a standard agreement for production companies/film crews:** briefly, this agreement sets the rules around film activity, between the intervention of public authorities and the counterparts of the production. This agreement can, for example, mention the instruction deadlines, a pricing grid for space rentals,... some cities at this point include their **conditions related to the given**

<sup>2</sup> We would like to draw attention to the fact that there is currently no compulsory competence linked to this filming activity, and that the operators of this hosting mission are randomly found in the Culture Department / Communication Department / Place Marketing- Attractiveness Department / Economic Development / Events Departments... Regarding the local level (city, metropolis), we believe that the department in charge of Place Marketing / Attractiveness (or Marketing-Communication) would be the most appropriate department.

**image of the city:** extract 1) "standard agreement of a large agglomeration (350 000 inhabitants): «Obligation of the production company [...] the production company commits to contribute to the city's radiance»; extract 2) standard shooting agreement of a medium-sized city (65 000 inhabitants): «The Municipality authorizes the Production only for the needs of the present convention, to reproduce and represent in the Work [...] all or part of the shots and sound recordings made for the needs of the shooting and including the names and/or the coat of arms, the logos of the Municipality, provided that this does not in any way harm, directly or indirectly, the notoriety and image of the Municipality». However, often, this condition is tacit to avoid any legal frictions.

**Points of vigilance:** Production companies can contact the city/metropolis at any stage of the creation of the film (development, pre-production – i.e., before filming – production, post-production). The service delivery that we qualify as «basic», such as facilitating contact with the various stakeholders and filming enquiry system are free of charge (cannot be subject to a fee conditioned to the filmed images of the place).

## Modifying the Place's Image

**Prerequisite:** The place's image and its notoriety must be sufficiently explored by public managers and elected officials.

**Who is it for?** All types of place whose managers have identified that the city's image and the associations made to it are detrimental (damaging to its economic development, or residential attractiveness).

**Key Steps:** Define the desired image, which associations to keep and which ones to shed. Define a welcoming strategy; Create a unit dedicated to welcoming and supporting film shoots (Film Office) with dedicated human resources and financial resources.

**Tools:** If it hasn't already been done, create a **film locations database/film location guide** (cf. previous paragraph), or modify it to select only appropriate locations (for example: the city's image is associated with squalid suburbs > remove film sets and locations as towers, council estates, renowned for their (poor) frequented areas). As for the construction of a place's image, **identifying resource persons**, setting up an **internal roadmap** and a **standard agreement** for film productions are required. However, the difficulty is higher if the

city is already well known, even if it is for the wrong reasons. Thus, selective film sets and synopsis cannot be the only way to change a place's image through the camera (a film director will find the opportunity to have negative images of a city if he really wishes to); and changing a place's image also involves urban planning, as some of our interviewed organizations have pointed out. Creative industries, of which the film industry is a part, are often seen as agents of urban regeneration (Visser, 2014), a virtuous circle for public authorities that have the opportunity to develop their city for film activity.

*Points of Vigilance:* Regarding the filmed sets (exteriors, interiors), a visibility paradox can sometimes set in (Chalvon-Demersay, 2012). On one hand, the hope and anticipation of image benefits, notoriety or even touristic attraction repercussions inherently linked to the identification of a place; and on the other hand, the risk of too easy identification of a place leading to the loss of its interchangeable character, its malleability, which limits its re-employability (for example, it will be difficult - and currently is - to re-employ the village and especially the Highclere Castle (Hampshire, UK) for a new film set, as the *Downton Abbey* series has made this castle a full-fledged character of the series).

### **Maintaining the Place's Image or Increasing the Place's Notoriety**

*Prerequisite:* The place's image and notoriety must be sufficiently explored and exploited by territorial managers and elected officials. The perceived image is identical to the desired image.

*Who is it for?* All types of places that have an image as desired, and sufficiently notorious (known to the general public and film professionals).

*Key Steps:* The establishment of a unit dedicated to film activity is a prerequisite.

*Tools:* Again, a **film locations database**, **resource persons**, **roadmap**, and **standard agreements** are essential. The main challenge for the city is to become known and recognized, and two mechanisms are possible. First, to increase its notoriety among the general public, the community can demand that its name appears in the credits (to be specified in the shooting agreement). If the **city-placement** in the film/series is not hidden or disguised (the city appears under its «real» name), the city can negotiate with production companies (against free of charge services usually paid for, for example) for its name to be mentioned verbally or to appear in a recognizable manner (i.e.

*Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* by Jean-Pierre Jeunet or the series *Emily in Paris* in Paris, or *Lost in Translation* by Sofia Coppola for Tokyo) when the synopsis is favourable. Post-broadcast (upon the release of the film), the city can enhance the filming locations through tourist circuits.

Second, to develop its notoriety among film professionals, it is preferable for the city, through the intermediaries in charge of film activity (Film Offices), to integrate their **ecosystem**, particularly by approaching the supra level (Regional Film Commissions) that can redirect filming requests when they cannot be satisfied. Participation in **dedicated professional meetings** (via a stand) such as the Cannes Film Festival (International Film Market), the Berlinale, Venice Film Festival, Toronto Film Festival, etc., offers the opportunity to become known, to promote the global offer, and to attend professional conferences often dedicated to the issues these professionals encounter and how public authorities can meet their expectations.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by cities, it would be fallacious to presume that only their proposal of “locations deemed valuable” would be unequivocally accepted. In the majority of instances, location scouts conduct preliminary investigations, leveraging their extensive field experience and the networks they have developed over time. The search for a filming location is not solely about aesthetic considerations; it also involves technical criteria (what equipment will be needed?), temporal (how long before this place can be accessed?), logistical (what administrative procedures?) and financial (can a subsidy be granted?) which are specific to each film production. Aspects such as volumes (size of filming crews) or distances (how many km from head office? What accessibility?), parking facilities for vehicles (does the local authority offer parking?) and storage of equipment (are there storage places provided by the city?), as well as urban nuisances (conditions with the neighborhood?), are all criteria that come into play in this process.

### Future research

This research initiates a deeper investigation into film productions’ effects on place image, and highlights several dynamics (creation, maintain, change) that are essential, yet challenging for public managers to control regarding place development.

Future research must focus on the fact that filming activity goes beyond the visual production to include technical, logistical, and financial aspects of the film industry.

Research can be steered towards assessments of films in terms of place image, through the establishment of indicators and the undertaking of studies both pre- and post-distribution, using a longitudinal study, for instance (Singer & Willett, 2003). The aim would be to conduct market research/opinion polls before and after the release of the film or series likely to feature the city, in order to measure the impact on the place image. These studies could use methods such as content analysis (Harwood & Garry, 2003), or netnography (Kozinets, 2015).

Moreover, Key Performance Indicators (KPI) could be used in this organization as they are in some public sector’s organizations (Jørgensen, 2016), and would encompass not only economic measures (e.g. return on investment for costs incurred by the local authorities, direct revenues through monetization of filming activity, indirect tourism revenues), but also socio-cultural measures (public perception or sense of belonging through surveys of residents or tourists).

A typology of films and target audiences could also be carried out. Although complex in its realization, a taxonomic analysis of film genres and their intended audiences could help orient place marketing strategies according to target population segments. Additionally, a study on place image within a broader strategy of attractiveness, linking the types of films produced and the target audiences, could be an avenue of investigation worth exploring.

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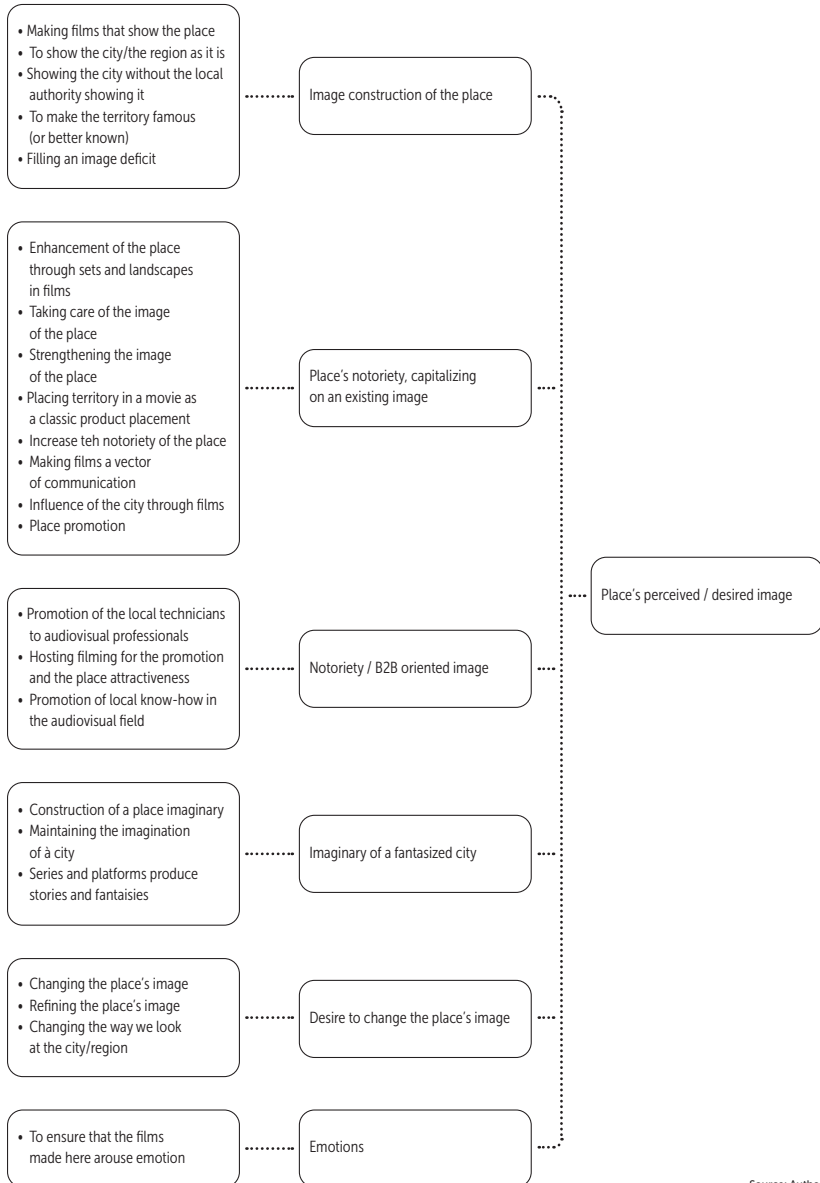
## Appendix 1

### Respondents table

N.	Legal status	Scope of action	Respondents
R1	Department of the metropolis (Economic)	Metropolitan	Head of the Film Commission + Executive Director
R2	Department of the city (Culture)	City	Head of the Film Commission
R3	Not-for-profit organization / Business growth and destination agency	Région	Institutional Relations and Ecosystems Manager of the Film Commission
R4	Department of the Département (Communication)	Département	Communication Executive Director
R5	Department of the Metropolis (Culture)	Metropolitan	Head of the Film Commission + Culture Executive Director
R6	Not-for-profit organization	Région	Coordination Manager of the Film Commission
R7	Not-for-profit organization	Région	Head of the Film Commission
R8	Not-for-profit organization / Business growth and destination agency	Région	Production support manager of the Film Commission
R9	Not-for-profit organization	Région	Head of the Film Commission
R10	Department of the city (Culture)	City	Head of the Film Commission + Culture Executive Director
R11	Not-for-profit organization / Business growth and destination agency	Département	Head of the Business growth and destination agency
R12	Not-for-profit organization	Département	Head of the Film Commission
R13	Department of the Région (Culture)	Région	Promotion and communication Manager of the Film Commission
R14	Not-for-profit organization	Département	Head of the Film Commission
R15	Not-for-profit organization / Business growth and destination agency	Metropolitan	Head of the business growth and destination agency + Head of the Film Commission
R16	Not-for-profit organization	Région	Communication and funds manager of the Film Commission
R17	Not-for-profit organization	Département	Head of the Film Commission
R18	Department of the city (Communication)	City	Communication Manager + Head of the Film Commission + Production support manager of the Film Commission
R19	Department of the Région (Culture)	Département	Production support manager of the Film Commission
R20	Department of the city (Events & Protocol)	City	Events and Protocol Manager + Head of the Film Commission + Production support manager of the Film Commission
R21	Not-for-profit organization	Région	Head of the Film Commission

## Appendix 2

### Intent “IMAGE” from the DATA STRUCTURE





N°	Autoren, Titel und Datum / Auteurs, titres et date
328	<b>Weber, S</b> On the effects of the Swiss Heavy Vehicle Fee, 2024
327	<b>Eschmann, B</b> De l'indépendance des Services parlementaires en Suisse, 2024
326	<b>Giovannini, C</b> Promotion de la santé mentale au travail: empowerment émancipatoire ou gouvernementalité néolibérale? 2023
325	<b>Hajdini, D</b> L'administration publique au Kosovo sous le programme SIGMA de l'OCDE et de l'UE: analyse de quelques domaines de réformes, 2023
324	<b>Soguel N., Munier E.</b> Comparatif 2022 des finances cantonales et communales, 2023
323	<b>Vannay, C-A.</b> La conduite du changement dans le contexte de la transformation numérique et de l'agilité au sein du département fédéral des affaires étrangères, 2022
322	<b>Ladner, A.</b> Kantonale Wahlen und Parteien system, 2022
321	<b>Soguel N., Munier E.</b> Comparatif 2021 des finances cantonales et communales – Vergleich 2021 der Kantons- und Gemeindefinanzen, 2022
320	<b>Steinbrüchel F.</b> Analyse des conventions de subventionnement dans le domaine de la musique classique en Ville de Genève, 2021
319	<b>Ladner A., Haus A.</b> Aufgabenerbringung der Gemeinden in der Schweiz: Organisation, Zuständigkeiten und Auswirkungen, 2021
318	<b>Lauwerier E., Gatto L., Brunner D., Nahrath S., Bundi P.</b> Comparing European and Swiss Strategies for the Regulation of Plastics, 2021
317	<b>Soguel N., Munier E.</b> Comparatif 2020 des finances cantonales et communales – Vergleich 2020 der Kantons- und Gemeindefinanzen, 2021
316	<b>Guarato P.</b> Carbon Capture, Utilization and Storage in Switzerland. Volume 2 – The Institutional and Legal Framework, 2021
315	<b>Guarato P.</b> Carbon Capture, Utilization and Storage in Switzerland. Volume 1 – The Technological and Scientific Framework, 2021



L'institut de hautes études en administration publique idheap – est, en suisse, la plus importante structure universitaire et interdisciplinaire de formation, de recherche et d'expertise dédiée intégralement et exclusivement au secteur public et parapublic. Fondé en 1981, il est intégré depuis 2014 dans l'université de lausanne (faculté de droit, des sciences criminelles et d'administration publique-fdca).

## POURQUOI?

La réponse aux enjeux sociétaux requiert une administration publique – un secteur public, innovant, capable de constamment repenser sa manière d'agir. Y contribuer est notre raison d'être !



### Pour le secteur public

Le secteur public a besoin de connaissances, de compétences et de solutions pour répondre aux enjeux sociétaux, quel que soit le niveau institutionnel. Nous les lui apportons !



### Face aux enjeux sociétaux

Les administrations publiques doivent contribuer au bien-être de la population en relevant les enjeux sociétaux du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous adhérons à cette finalité!



### À la frontière de la connaissance

Le savoir offert par la science de l'administration publique doit être à la frontière de la connaissance. Nous cherchons à repousser cette frontière!



### De la science à la pratique

Le savoir scientifique sert à améliorer les pratiques des administrations publiques. Nous assurons ce transfert de connaissances.

## QUOI?

Nous offrons aux responsables du secteur public des formations accréditées, une recherche de pointe, des expertises étayées et des avis éclairés.



### Formations accréditées

Nos formations couvrent tout le champ de l'administration publique. Leur contenu s'adapte à l'évolution du savoir et des besoins. Leur formule est flexible et leur pédagogie interactive.



### Recherche de pointe

La recherche que nous développons est orientée vers l'innovation, qu'elle soit fondamentale ou appliquée. Nous la menons le plus souvent avec des partenaires universitaires suisses ou internationaux.



### Expertises étayées

Nous apportons notre expertise aux autorités en Suisse et à l'étranger, à tous les échelons institutionnels. Nos conseils sont fondés sur les acquis de la science administrative et sur une large expérience de terrain.



### Avis éclairés

Nous communiquons notre savoir et le résultat de nos recherches. Nous nous engageons dans les débats académiques au niveau international. Nous apportons un regard fondé sur les acquis scientifiques.

## Formations consécutives & continues spécifiques certifiantes

- Doctorat en administration publique
- Master of Advanced Studies in Public Administration (MPA)
- Master of Arts in Public Management and Policy (Master PMP)
- Diploma of Advanced Studies (DAS) en administration publique



## COMMENT?

Notre Institut cultive une approche interdisciplinaire orientée vers la satisfaction des besoins de nos parties prenantes, au niveau local, national et international.



### Interdisciplinaire

Nous cultivons une approche interdisciplinaire et un travail rigoureux. Nous relevons ce défi grâce à de solides ancrages disciplinaires couplés à une démarche collaborative.



### Centré sur les besoins

Les besoins de nos parties prenantes – administrations, étudiant-e-s en particulier – sont au centre de nos préoccupations. Le pluralisme de nos méthodes leur garantit des résultats probants.



### Local, national et international

Nous opérons au niveau local, national et international. Nos formations intègrent les acquis de l'expérience dans tous ces contextes. Nos recherches les utilisent comme champ empirique.



### Indépendant

Nos avis sont indépendants et nos résultats impartiaux, quels que soient nos partenaires, les activités que nous conduisons ou leurs bénéficiaires.

## Formations consécutives & continues spécifiques certifiantes (suite)

- Certificat exécutif en management et action publique (CEMAP)
- Certificate of Advanced Studies en administration publique (CAS) dans différents domaines
- Séminaire pour spécialistes et cadres (SSC)





The main objective of the book is to provide the readers with compelling paths for further research in place branding, emphasizing the importance of emerging trends, stakeholder and interorganizational dynamics, and strategies (with a focus on activities and target groups).

It is divided into three parts. The first part relates to a global phenomenon to which cities cannot escape: the general path towards sustainable transition in many places around the world. Numerous cities are participating in the development of a more sustainable planet. Sustainability is typically seen as a “catch-all” term, that covers many dimensions. Here, the two chapters dedicated to new trends in place branding, that accompany this transition to more sustainable places, focus on two main aspects: being “green” and “inclusive”.

The second part focuses on the main actors behind place-branding and -marketing processes. Since organizations and individuals in charge of promoting a destination are central, it remains essential to better understand how they form, structure, and implement place branding. The increasing call for more participatory approaches, and the coordination challenges faced by most places, necessitate a refined understanding of these bodies tasked with improving place image and attractiveness.

The third part concerns the design of place-development strategies that target specific groups and activities. While residents’ attraction, and retention especially, is not completely new – cities and regions faced with emigration of people and talents have already thought about this issue for decades – residential attractiveness has often been overshadowed by economic and tourism matters.