

# *Policies to Enhance City Attractiveness: Achievements and New Challenges*

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**A** major change in urban governance, particularly by old industrial cities that have experienced an unprecedented magnitude of industrial decline, has been the adoption of attempts to achieve economic regeneration by promoting cities as attractive locations for new businesses and workers that belong to the knowledge economy. This paradigm shift in urban policy has posed a formidable challenge for planners, because traditional policies, particularly redistributive measures, have either become obsolete or ineffective under current circumstances where many cities are fiercely competing for internationally mobile capital and talent. It has become clear that urban economic regeneration demands a pro-active and pro-growth approach which encourages wealth creation in the private sector. Such an approach necessitates, first, innovative mobilisation of diverse policy tools and resources, such as: flagship property developments in city centres with spectacular architectural designs; establishing new cultural facilities, hosting major cultural and sport events, festivals and fairs; promoting public art, preserving and restoring heritage; and city branding. Second, close partnership with the private sector to reflect its needs and interests in policy planning is increasingly becoming a key feature in the institutional framework for regeneration. Partnership and entrepreneurialism are the guiding principles in these coalitions. This market-led approach has also changed the role that governments (central and local) perform – as enabler and facilitator, rather than regulator and provider.

## **Measures to enhance city attractiveness**

### **City promotion by city branding**

City promotion has a long history as one of the basic tools to attract people and money, such as visitors, immigrants, firms and new investment, to cities for economic development purposes. However, the recent surge of interest in city promotion, particularly in city branding, may be ascribed to the

widely shared recognition that reconstruction of a city's image is the starting point of urban renaissance, since many cities are realising that their images as industrial cities are excluding them from the cognitive map of knowledge workers in their location decisions.

In place marketing, a city as an entity is often likened to a "product" that supplies labour market, land and premises to businesses, and housing, urban services, security and places to socialise to residents as well as the basic utilities of infrastructure. The reason for doing this is to apply the established methodology for commercial product marketing, of which the most important aspect is branding, to city promotion. A brand is defined as "a multidimensional assortment of functional, emotional, relational and strategic elements that collectively generate a unique set of associations in the public mind" (Aaker, 1996). This unique set of associations forms a "brand image" of the product, which differentiates it from other similar ones by summing up what it connotes or means in the eyes of the public (Patterson, 1999). Hence, brand images help consumers to identify a product by simplifying diverse attributes that the product possesses. Place branding tries to apply the same methodology employed in commercial product marketing to geographical locations. One of its important functions is to differentiate a place in location decisions. Similarly, the branding of a location is understood as "an attempt to create and nurture the narratives that give meaning to a place" (Julier, 2005) and differentiates it from many others in location choices by highlighting its core benefits, style and culture (Bennett and Savani, 2003). The rise of interest in place branding for marketing purposes may be partly explained by the fact that many cities can be easily substituted for others in location decisions because of the increasing mobility of people and capital and the decreasing importance of location constraints imposed by transport costs, which had decisive impacts in the industrial era. When place branding is used to fundamentally alter the prevailing perception of the place and establish a completely new brand image, it is called re-branding, which has been extensively employed by major post-industrial cities whose place images are deeply associated with a myriad of economic, environmental and social problems. These images, which are often reinforced by occasional media portrayals of crimes and public disorders in those cities, tend to be perpetuated.

On the other hand, there are limitations to applying branding methodology for commercial products to place branding to form a place-identity. One of the most serious difficulties is the "issue of multiple identities", which refers to the situation where a brand image suitable for one group of stakeholders may be inappropriate for others (*ibid.*). The attributes of a city are basically not a singular product but an agglomeration of identities and activities that are not conducive to a simple summing-up as is customary

in the branding process of commercial products. If planners try unreasonably to simplify such a complex entity into a brand image that targets corporate investors and upper-class urban professionals, the citizens may feel that it does not correctly reflect or promote their reality, and it may fail to secure their support. Experience shows that place branding only works if the values of the brand are rooted in the aspirations of the people. Hence, the brand image to be employed in a place re-branding process should reflect the local distinctiveness, characteristics and identities. Diverse local ethnicities and a range of social class groups also make it difficult to develop a brand image that appeals to the aspirations of a wide range of stakeholders. It is often said that the inconsistent attitudes of local politicians make it difficult for a clear brand image to develop.

Therefore, the challenge for policy planners is to coalesce the multiple identities of the various stakeholders into a concise and easily understood brand that appeals to the types of people and businesses they want to attract without compromising indigenous cultures, local distinctiveness and identities. Achieving this requires an institutional framework whereby various stakeholders are brought together to discuss and develop a shared version of a new brand image. However, an investigation of 22 urban regeneration units in some major cities (*ibid.*) revealed that this type of framework is not being established. In most cases, key decisions concerning brand identity were “handed down” to the regeneration units, which were then charged with the task of implementing them. Many units conducted formal and routine consultation procedures with representatives of trade, business or employers' associations, but few possessed formal and regular procedures for consulting representatives of residents' groups. In addition, the investigation found that the period of time for making decisions concerning re-branding was far too short compared to that necessary to build relationships with local residents and businesses.

The issue of multiple identities often led to “one brand, many messages” practices among local governments, by which they transmitted different messages to different stakeholders, such as businesses, property-owners, and pre-existing and potential residents (*ibid.*). This approach was in part a reaction to the fear that the uniform projection of certain messages would antagonise particular interest groups. For example, messages implying rising living costs, property prices and rents were not incorporated into materials intended for existing residents. This situation made it extremely difficult to apply integrated marketing communications, which ensures that audiences perceive a consistent set of messages.

A more fundamental question is the effectiveness of the current practice of place branding as a method of place marketing. First, branding images often appear bland and undifferentiated to the external audience. For example, a

survey on language employed in place branding among city authorities around the world revealed a substantial degree of homogeneity in their use of terms. They frequently describe their cities as dynamic, cosmopolitan, diverse, vibrant, and cultural (Julier, 2005). It is essential for “a strong sense of identity to emerge from the words and pictures if a promotional publication is to make an impact” on audiences (Burgess, 1981). However, because virtually every city tries to project a similar set of brand images in promotional publications, audiences can spot little difference between them. This would explain the weak impact of city promotion activities on their target audiences.

Second, there is a problem that information disseminated by city promotion can be assimilated by the audience only in an extremely selective way. This is because individuals tend to be more receptive to information that conforms to the beliefs and thinking they already possess, while they tend to ignore that which contradicts those beliefs (Gold, 1980). In this regard, regional stereotypes, or “negative images”, play a particularly important role, since a branding image that fails to conform to a particular stereotype is normally treated either as untrue or as an unimportant exception to the general rule (*ibid.*). For example, a survey that sought to measure the effectiveness of promotional advertising by the northern centres and areas in Britain revealed a remarkably low awareness of them among managers. Resistance to promotional information that is not in accordance with regional stereotypes widely held by the public makes it very difficult to alter them.

Although it would be possible to develop clear, easy-to-understand narratives of a city by applying the same branding method used for commercial products and communicate them to the expected audience through various media, they would sound hollow if they failed to reflect the reality and the material circumstances of the city. Therefore, the formation of place identity through place branding should be regarded as a process of nurturing the pre-existing attributes of a city. However, the adoption of place branding in city promotion creates a risk that it will be perceived merely as a tactical sales operation whereby convenient imagery is attached to messages directed towards various constituencies, rather than an important strategic framework to organise all the urban regeneration efforts based on the new brand. The latter could be called a strategic approach, while the former could be called an operational approach. Past experience clearly shows that place branding should be conceived as a strategic approach where a new brand is positioned as a guiding framework around which broad urban regeneration programmes are organised to establish the new brand image as a reality, not simply as sales talk.

At the core of this approach is strategic planning to put the various policy components in a cohesive context, with city branding playing a crucial role in producing the cohesive image that the city wants to convey. Originally

developed by large corporations, strategic planning became an intellectual approach that was widely used by urban practitioners in the 1980s. Although a great deal of variation can be found in its usage, there are some common features, such as: 1) creation of a long term strategic vision; 2) setting short-term achievable goals; and 3) involvement of a wide range of stakeholders. Although this was a major innovation in urban economic regeneration policy, some pitfalls still exist. For example, by rushing to obtain a consensus with the backing of many stakeholders, strategic visions sometimes end up being just a series of safe objectives that do not offend established interests and reflect a lowest-common-denominator, a list of projects and an institutional mechanism (Griffiths, 1995). However, a strategy that does not clearly define the content of the image that it is seeking to construct for the city does not constitute a strategy. This is most likely to occur when the institutional mechanism to involve a wide range of stakeholders is remote from any effective public or private sector power and when there is no effective leadership with adequate institutional capacity (*ibid.*).

### **Physical renovation by flagship developments**

Physical environment provides the tangible basis for city attractiveness. It not only provides the basic functionality of a city but also gives it character. Superb physical environment is in itself an important element in attractiveness while physical decay and derelict land have severely detrimental effects on it. Hence, physical renovation has been the first challenge that planners of former industrial cities faced when they attempted the economic restructuring, and physical renovation projects played the central role in city marketing by providing a material expression to the city image that city branding attempts to create. The image of a city as a “vibrant” and “cosmopolitan” place that city branding is trying to deliver can be realised in the physical form of the buildings and public places that visitors encounter in the city. The use of architecture for city branding is sometimes called “hard-branding” (Evans, 2003), and has become an important feature in city promotion.

In this context, city centres have been chosen as the most strategic locations for policy planners to concentrate their limited public resources because they serve as focal points for urban life, and often contain important social and cultural heritage, making them the most conspicuous elements in the physical attractiveness of a city. Waterfronts, where they exist, often play a major role in this, especially since in the industrial cities of the 19th and 20th centuries this was almost exclusively allocated to industrial use, with the general public being denied access.

Flagship city centre developments have some common characteristics. First of all, physically they are large scale so that they have a significant

impact on city image. They have high profiles because they feature innovative designs by internationally famed architects. The use of internationally known professionals has also been essential for securing the financing necessary for such developments. Second, they are multiple-use developments with residential, office, commercial, entertainment and leisure uses, which are strongly characterised by the consumption of the types of urban services and cultures that appeal to the highly qualified urban professionals. It is assumed that the extension of consumerism into all areas of private and social life, including art, leisure and pleasure, has brought about a situation where it constitutes an important factor in quality of urban life, particularly for knowledge workers, and that a city should be well equipped with these functions in order to present itself as an attractive place for these people to live and work. Similarly, residential developments strongly reflect the preferences of these people.

Third, private investment was eagerly sought to finance the developments, and was sometimes used, in a form of leverage ratio, as a criterion to gauge the potential of various projects. In most cases, the decision of private investors is based on the expectation of the project's potential as a property development, and, thus, the project assumes the nature of property-led development. In order to secure this, project locations were carefully chosen so that economic potential could be realised with minimum public investment in infrastructure improvements. Lastly, planning practice was often made flexible to encourage private investment.

It is undeniable that successful flagship developments have produced remarkable achievements that are demonstrated by impressive urban landscapes that have materialised on sites which used to be run-down areas with a concentration of economic, social and environmental problems. For example, Canary Wharf in the London Docklands, together with other deregulatory changes in the financial and stock market, considerably contributed to the strengthening of London's status as a world class financial centre. However, it has been pointed out that private developers, especially international developers, are not particularly interested in developments in cities at the lower end of the scale of the urban hierarchy, such as regional and provincial centres (Ward, 2002). This shows that projects are very much dependant on the economic potential of the project location or of the city where they are located.

It has also become apparent that flagship developments are neither sufficient nor adequate for urban regeneration of wider areas. It has been repeatedly pointed out in academic literature that they have failed to demonstrate effectiveness in addressing the long-standing problems that urban communities have. It has even been argued that the effect has been divisive and marginal and that many cities have become more unequal in the

last twenty years (Imrie and Thomas, 1993). It is sometimes the case that links between these projects and existing local economies are weak and that they are sometimes reduced to a closed economic enclave detached from the existing local economic fabric. For example, in spite of the remarkable success of the waterfront development in Baltimore, which was attracting 22 million visitors annually by the late 1980s and has provided the template for subsequent waterfront developments worldwide, economic and social problems persist in areas that are at a distance of just a few blocks (Ward, 2002).

### **Culture and event strategy**

Although it sometimes happened that cultural elements were included in public urban intervention, they have generally been adopted “essentially as a type of welfare service in which the main concern was to provide access to an artistic and cultural heritage” (Griffiths, 1995). Later, by linking cultural elements with city promotion, they acquired a status as a strategic tool for city promotion and are increasingly becoming an essential ingredient in urban economic regeneration policies for multiple reasons. First, they are regarded as an effective tool to boost urban tourism in the hope that a substantial number of jobs would be created indirectly by cultural investment in the form of jobs that serve visitors and audiences in restaurants, shops and hotels. The increasing dependence of the economy on tourism is driving this trend further (Griffiths, 1993). This is particularly the case in the former industrial cities, which have lost a considerable number of jobs, especially unskilled jobs, in the course of economic restructuring. It is hoped that tourism related service sectors will provide job opportunities for them.

Another reason is the widely perceived potential of cultural elements in enhancing city image and attractiveness. Behind this has been a widely shared assumption that culture possesses a strong attracting power over highly skilled and creative workers. There is some empirical evidence to support this assumption (For example, Skrodzki, 1989). Cultural investment is also thought to contribute to the diversification of the local economic base by sowing the seeds of new economic sectors that could eventually grow into major growth engines in knowledge economies. For this strategy, production, rather than consumption, of culture is emphasised.

Culture-led urban regeneration policy played a crucial role in many city centre renovation projects, where cultural facilities constitute a central part of the flagship redevelopment. A prime example is the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao. There have also been attempts to create “cultural clusters”. Although the famous cultural quarters, such as 1900s Montmartre, 1960s Rive Gauche, 1970s SoHo, were actually never planned as such and developed more or less spontaneously, it was envisaged that the planned creation of agglomerations

of cultural activities would produce a similar climate and initiate the self-reinforcing process of attracting creative people to the area. In many cases of planned cultural clusters, not only arts and cultures but also various leisure and entertainment facilities, such as bars, restaurants and health and fitness centres are also included. Although the extent to which these elements are mixed varies from project to project, many of them are distinctively consumption-oriented, which reflects the crucial role they are expected to play in place marketing, directed particularly to the knowledge workers. Cultural elements are positioned in the context of branding strategy to give prestige or spatial identity to the location.

In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of the economic potential of hosting major events for urban regeneration. Most city promoters think that an actual visit to the city is highly effective in overcoming the limitations inherent in city marketing, such as regional stereotypes and public doubt about its impartiality. Major events, particularly international events, such as Olympic Games and World EXPO, also attach prestige to the host city and raise its profile on the international stage. The concept of “event city” has come to be known to policy makers as describing the fact that an event can be used to give a special character to the city that hosts it, change its image, and thus change the local economy. Hosting a major event also has a significant impact on improvement of the physical environment. Investment in infrastructure, such as airports, public transport, road networks, hotel accommodation, water and sewage systems and urban landscaping, is necessary to ensure the effective operation of an event. Such investment leaves a considerable legacy that provides an important foundation for future economic development. Major events act as a catalyst to secure the public consensus on putting these investments on the fast-track by attaching first priority to public expenditure programmes. This has particularly been the case when such major events appealed to national aspirations.

It is noteworthy that many of these events were not intended to perform roles in urban economic regeneration when they were originally conceived, and that their potential for urban economic regeneration was astutely identified and exploited by policy planners. In some cases technological advances, notably the advent of global media coverage and transport, significantly increased their economic potential to be harnessed for urban regeneration. The most significant case is the Olympic Games. While the television coverage rights for the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome were purchased for USD 440 000, the rights for the Games in 2008 have been purchased for USD 3.6 billion (Chalkley and Essex, 1999). This surge in global media interest in the Games has strengthened significantly their influence on the economic regeneration of the city which hosts them.



Some issues have arisen in culture and event policies for urban regeneration. It has been argued that linking cultural policy to urban regeneration may sometimes have detrimental effects on local cultural development, particularly if public resources are diverted from existing cultural policies to prestigious cultural projects. For example, some such projects were made possible at the expense of substantial cuts in the budgets for education and culture. It has also been pointed out that in many cases their consumption, instead of production, oriented nature prohibited them from acting as catalysts for developing spontaneous local cultural activities that would eventually grow into new industries (Mommaas, 2004). “Functionalisation” of culture for the purpose of boosting urban tourism and consumption and exploiting its potential for city promotion may, it is argued, have negative effects on the development of local cultural activities by favouring “safe”, unchallenging works and by marginalising other, sometimes more critical, voices (Griffiths, 1995). This could have prohibitive effects on the development of local culture with a strong identity and distinctive characteristics, like those of 1960s Rive Gauche and 1970s SoHo, where cultural activities developed spontaneously.

## Crosscutting issues

### **Globalisation and local distinctiveness**

Global and local context influence urban policy planning at the same time, sometimes in a conflicting manner. Globalisation inevitably has homogenising effects on locations whereas localism demands local distinctiveness and character. City attractiveness necessarily reflects both elements; a city should meet the sort of global standards that multinational firms and internationally mobile talents demand if it is to attract them. On the other hand, place identity is an essential element in distinguishing and differentiating a city when promoting it on the global market.

However, what has emerged from past experience is an ironic situation where such policies have, in many cases, ended up undermining the local distinctiveness and uniqueness that a city originally possessed, and brought about homogeneous identities of many global cities. For instance, it is widely known that a successful model of waterfront development in Baltimore has been copied by many urban planners in various countries and has appeared in virtually every city with developable waterfront space, sharing similar features such as an aquarium, waterside promenades, festival market places, restored ships, converted warehouses and so on. This has resulted in a paradoxical situation where everywhere seems like everywhere else (*ibid.*). Similarly, museums, which played a leading role in culture-led attractiveness policies, have become a common factor to such an extent that in Britain it was

estimated that during the 1980s new museums were opening at the rate of one a fortnight (Griffiths, 1993). With virtually all major cities having museums, this type of cultural policy caused a severe oversupply of cultural facilities in major cities, and they are hardly a distinguishing factor for attractiveness anymore. In event driven policies, similar problems have arisen. In accordance with the extent to which cultural policies are integrated into place marketing, “safer” and more consumption-oriented cultural contents are selected, marginalising local indigenous cultural activities.

The degree of freedom of local government officials, who work within the framework of best practice, best value and statutory responsibilities, is considerably restricted. When these policies are not based on the backing of strong political leadership, planners tend to avoid taking risks by deviating from much acclaimed success cases, such as the Baltimore model (Chatterton and Unsworth, 2004). Local governments which are suffering from perpetual funding shortfalls are under heavy pressure to maximise the revenue from land disposals. This inevitably results in their picking up development proposals that will provide the best commercial value. This situation, which could be described as lack of effective public ownership of physical space to be used for urban regeneration, results in the inability of local governments to move beyond simply specifying what will be acceptable on the project site (*ibid.*). Similarly, property developers, who fund renovation projects from bank loans and have a responsibility to shareholders, prioritise the financial returns from the project site which they usually acquire at a high cost by open tendering. This “bottom line” profit motives make it very difficult for developers to make riskier plans. Thus, strong commonality occurs among a number of projects, which tend to consist of a similar set of architectural and land use elements.

Global standard and local distinctiveness are not mutually incompatible. With policy innovation, it is possible to integrate local character, or “signature”, with higher standards of urban environment by identifying and mobilising the potential assets that a city possesses. More diverse strategies should be developed by paying careful attention to the unique assets a city possesses, such as cultural and historical heritage, and by avoiding simple copying of a few successful cases. Strong leadership is vital to enable planners to take calculated risks and adopt innovative approaches; policy innovations cannot be obtained without their courage to experiment.

### **Market and community**

The entrepreneurial approach towards urban economic regeneration aims essentially at exploiting market forces to the maximum through such measures as encouragement of private investment, urban marketing, deregulation and new institutional mechanisms (public private partnership,

development agencies, etc.). However, despite the overall nature of such projects as market-driven and privately initiated, their success still very much depends on public investment and interventions, such as transport infrastructure provision, subsidies, tax incentives and land acquisition and assembly. This has been most evident in the development of waterfront areas, quite often equipped with poor local access for historical reasons (Gordon, 1996). Therefore, considerable investment in transport is necessary to change their image of isolation. For example, the take-off of the Canary Wharf in the London Docklands as the second financial centre in London was partially but crucially supported by the extension of London Underground to the area and the upgrading of the road connection to central London. Also, land use conversion from low-density industrial uses to higher density mixed use requires considerable public investment to upgrade basic infrastructure.

The concentration of precious public resources on a small number of selected projects has often caused strong criticism from citizens who feel they were “left out” of the process. Such locations are usually selected for their potential to initiate economic development and consequently located in the city centres. The concentration of public money on areas that already have significant economic advantage appears, in the eyes of general public, as unfair, especially where such locations were subsequently occupied by the urban rich. Deprived community groups have often gained little or nothing (Jones, 1998).

Similar criticisms have been directed against hosting major international events, which has been increasingly perceived as extravagant by the general public. For example, some cities met strong local hostility to hosting Olympic Games, because ordinary population questioned the appropriateness of the huge amount of investment required to stage the Games while severe social problems which also require public investment still remain. Strong public opposition sometimes forced governments to scale down planned investment in infrastructure, which could otherwise have provided an important foundation for a city’s long-term development. The risk of long-term indebtedness resulting from hosting major events has also fuelled opposition. Such a situation is particularly detrimental for strategic projects, because citizens’ support is the precondition for their long-term viability.

### ***A visible link with quality of life***

Efforts are being made to establish a visible link between such projects and an increase in the quality of life for citizens so that they can feel a sense of ownership in such projects. The physical urban environment being the most visible result of urban regeneration, and having significant implications for citizens’ lives, its inclusiveness and openness will provide such a link. In this regard, public space plays a crucial role. It is the physical expression of the

inclusiveness that the strategic approach for urban regeneration has. It not only contributes to social cohesion by providing a milieu for citizens' social life but also helps local cultural production by providing cultural venues accessible to local artists who have limited access to the upper-market cultural venues in the city centre. It is widely accepted that the cultural vibrancy in many continental European cities is underpinned by the existence of large public open spaces in city centres.

However, this role of public spaces is predicated on their “openness”. It has been argued that the emergence of leisure economies and the predominance of consumerism in every aspect of urban life have brought about a “privatisation of public space” (McNeill and While, 2001). This can be observed in many physical renovation projects with cultural and leisure facilities only for people with considerable disposable income, and in managed shopping environments and defensive design strategies, which exclude those who are not the envisaged target as consumers of the types of goods and services they provide. Restoring public space that is accessible, enjoyable and psychologically welcoming, is an effective measure to counteract this trend.

### ***An inclusive process***

The process of strategy planning and implementation should be inclusive in order to reflect and coordinate various and often conflicting interests in the communities, which can only be reconciled by effective and active participation. Participation is facilitated by partnership, and public private partnership has already been established as a key element in entrepreneurial metropolitan governance. The importance of representing businesses' interests in these strategies is well appreciated by most policy planners, and it should continue to be so. In some cases, as in the growth coalition model in the United States, the business sectors often take the initiative and play a predominant role throughout the policy planning and implementation process. Experience shows that in successful cases, strong leadership, which often comes from the private sector, is a key precondition for effective partnership. However, it is not always the case that such partnership reaches out to citizens and civic society, beyond the local business circle. Information dissemination to the general public is a fairly common practice, but integrating the public fully into the planning and implementation process still poses a major challenge: capacity building of local communities and an institutional framework by which their interests are truly represented are essential if their representation is not to be hijacked by pressure groups with their own policy agenda.

### **Spillover effects**

The strategic concentration of investment is expected eventually to bring wider economic benefits, known as “spill-over effects”. However, empirical evidence to support them is not particularly strong. The strongly consumption-oriented nature of such strategies often prevents their economic impacts from extending beyond service sectors immediately related to tourism. The newly generated jobs are often not of the quality that diversify and modernise local economic structures. This is particularly evident in the strategies of hosting major events that are held on one-off basis rather than on a regular basis. More generally, wider issues of regeneration, such as education and training and investment in basic infrastructure, have often not been given sufficient attention.

Similarly, indigenous sectors have not been paid sufficient attention and given adequate resources in a situation where too much preoccupation with city-promotional objectives, prompted by the urgency and sheer magnitude of rapid industrial decline, eclipsed other “sober” approaches. Policy planners’ urge for an expedient solution is understandable, but neglect of local assets will cost a city dearly in the long term. Given that internationally mobile capital limits its interest to a small number of cities, exogenous growth cannot easily be grafted from outside on to a city. In the worst cases, it simply causes various types of dislocation within the functional region where a city is located and produces no visible impact on the overall regional economy. For a city without much profile on the global market, economic success by indigenous sectors is important to achieve wider recognition as a business location. Such success is also important to fully assimilate the economic impact brought about by any inward investment that does occur, and spread the gains into the local economies. Exogenous and indigenous sectors are not an “either or” choice, but need to be fully integrated into long-term strategies so that a self-reinforcing process occurs, where indigenous sectors contribute to strengthening the city’s profile on the market and exogenous sectors, in return, contribute to an increase in their competitiveness.



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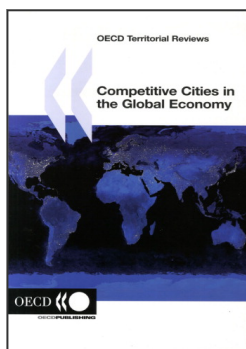
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