



From Place-Marketing to Place-Making, Examining Boston's Case of Global Transformation

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FROM PLACE-MARKETING TO PLACE-MAKING, EXAMINING BOSTON'S CASE OF GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION

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Economic globalization intensified at the end of the twentieth century. This paper utilizes the City of Boston, and its late 1990s Millennium Initiative (MI), to examine the role of North American cities in the globalization of society and its economy in particular. The study is anchored in these two research questions: Is Boston's city-region knowledge economy and ensuing culture sufficiently integrated into the overall dynamics of its urban society? How did notions of social and environmental sustainability evolve with increased calls for enhancing World City status? The specific objective is to evaluate how marketplace politics can be instrumental in promoting World-Class cities in a global economy, and what strategies have been utilized for marketing and enhancing cities at the beginning of the third millennium. The key finding is that for Boston to become a truly World-Class city, it has to go beyond its short (nonetheless the most extensive in the U.S.) history, landmark buildings, socio-economic, and cultural achievements, ambiance and character, to also sustain and nurture all those who reside, work and visit the city-region appropriately and with solidarity.

Economic globalization; global competition; marketplace politics; place-making, Boston.

INTRODUCTION

Economic globalization has intensified at the end of the twentieth century. As cities and metropolitan areas gain preeminence over nation states, the enmeshed relationships responsible for these transformations are increasingly difficult to identify and to act upon. From a public policy and governance perspective, local actors impacted by urbanization forces have learned to become more self-reliant and to devise innovative asset-based place-making practices, which are rooted in what Glaeser (2018, p.16) calls the Boston Hypothesis – the notion that “cities will improve their own government through democratic revolution and peaceful reform,” and the reason which Acemoğlu and Robinson (2012) provide for why nations either succeed or fail: the man-made political and economic institutions that underlie their economic success (or lack of it).

This paper utilizes the City of Boston to examine the role of cities in the globalization of society and its economy in particular (Sassen, 1994; Knight, 1995; Florida, 2008). The paper is intended to trace out how Boston has striven to reach a World-Class status and how local leaders have proceeded

to accomplish such an ambitious goal. It pays particular attention to the late 1990s Millennium Initiative (MI) vision for greater competitiveness and inclusion, and it shows how this was accomplished by redirecting public action from place-marketing to place-making. It asks the following research questions: Is Boston's city-region knowledge economy and ensuing culture sufficiently integrated into the overall dynamics of its urban society? How did notions of social and environmental sustainability evolve with increased calls for enhancing World City status? These questions are based on the research premise that a World-Class city needs to perform global functions, which can not only assure economic vitality, but also promote local social equity and environmental health. The specific objective is to evaluate how marketplace politics and place-making transformations can be instrumental in promoting World-Class cities in a global economy, and what strategies have been utilized for marketing and enhancing cities at the beginning of the third millennium.

The Millennium Initiative (MI) demonstrated that there were three major place-marketing trends in Boston: (i) The shift from a growth-centered strategy to a more socially progressive strategy, (ii) the need to have magnets that attract a flow of external resources; and (iii) the need to work together for the common good.

The research methodology involved data collection, literature reviews, *in-loco* visits to multiple neighborhoods throughout the Greater Boston metropolitan area at various times during the last two decades, and the identification and in-depth analysis of economic development plans and strategies. Building on Abbott and Adler's (1989) suggestions, this study took on historical and public policy evaluation perspectives to the study of Urban and Regional Planning in an applied case study (Yin, 2018).

The paper is in six parts. Part One establishes the links between the increasing globalization of the economy and its spatial implications for cities and towns. Part Two presents Kanter's (1995) framework for global competition and reviews the factors responsible for Boston's competitive

advantage in a global economy at the turn of the century. Part Three explores how marketplace politics can be utilized to promote global competition. Part Four briefly explains the late 1990s Boston's Millennium Initiative (MI). Part Five assesses Boston's XXIst century efforts (2000–2020) at enhancing its competitiveness in the new millennium. Finally, Part Six gives some concluding remarks and states that for Boston to be a World-Class city, elected officials, and business and community leaders need to do more than simply market the city alone, they also need to sustain and nurture those who reside, work and visit the city appropriately and with solidarity.

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND CITIES

Globalization of the world economy

The globalization of the world economy has been the focus of the economic debate during the last half century (Sassen, 1994; Kanter, 1995; Harvey, 2016). The basis of this focus was the observed phenomenon that different spheres of society – not only trade and production, but also culture and consumption – had developed worldwide (Jayne, 2006). The new type of economy has been called the information-based economy because, as opposed to the industrial economy, this new type of economy has information and cognition as its primary elements (Castells, 1996; Scott, 2014). This change in types of economy implies a new global economic scale that is characterized by Moulaert and Shachar (1995, p.206) as the simultaneous operation of several processes that, in combination, produce the transition from an international to a global economy:

- [T]he systematic shift of industrial production from the US and Europe to the newly industrialized countries;
- the increasing role of capital, and especially the relationships between creditors and debtors, as the driving forces of the global economy;
- the steep rise in the role of knowledge, as a factor of production and a base of management of international firms and organizations;
- the acceleration of the ongoing process of expansion of global corporations and oligopolies and the parallel process of organizational restructuring;

- the search for a new balance of power between nation states and corporations, which shapes cross-national coalitions that are issue-oriented and bring together sectors of the state, branches of particular industries and even certain firms, in a world-wide network.

According to C. Minehan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (1994–2007), the three worldwide trends boosting global economy and lifting the living standards are: (i) the growth and pervasiveness of technology, (ii) the global integration of markets, and (iii) the consolidation of the financial services industry (Reynolds, 1996). If the second and third trends are relatively well accepted and consensual (Hall, 2012), the first has caused increased discussion, given its ubiquitous presence and rapid adoption throughout the developed, and increasingly developing, world(s).

Fuhrer and Little (1996) have stated that although the determinants of growth are widely agreed to be capital, labor, and a composite of intangible factors abbreviated as “technology,” the interrelationships among these variables appear to change rapidly as our work, life and recreation habits change and evolve, and therefore are not understood clearly nor completely. Even the importance of technology to growth and productivity has lately been questioned. The answer, as it is generally agreed, depends on one’s own definition of technology. The fortieth economic conference of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston was devoted to the subject of *Technology and Growth*. Among its main conclusions, it was possible to realize that to really assess the role of technology for growth, one needed to decompose technology into its constituent parts – innovation, development, and diffusion – and to include intangibles like organizational structure, management skills, and culture, generally aggregated under the same package labeled as technology (Fuhrer & Little, 1996, pp.4–5). Friedman (2009) has claimed that technology has contributed to make the world more horizontal, given that more people are able to benefit from the information revolution.

The global integration of markets has been well accepted and documented. For instance, the United Way of America’s (1991, p.6) *Changedrivers: Nine Leading Forces Reshaping American Society* claims that the movement of products, capital, technology, information, and ideas around the world is continuing to increase. It is also rather well accepted that finance is amongst the main

driving forces for the globalization of the economy (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016), as it was proven during the 2008–2009 Global Financial Crisis (Sinn, 2010). These worldwide trends boosting the global economy are increasingly affecting cities and towns in a variety of complex ways (Florida, 2008). The next section attempts to relate city dynamics with the globalization of the economy.

Why do cities matter for the wealth of nations?

Jean-Claude Paye, Secretary-General of the OECD (1984–1996), recognized that cities perform three processes critical to economic development: (i) The cultural familiarization of social groups and people to modern life with an emphasis on education, information and communication; (ii) the integration of different sectors and markets, providing more productive uses of labor and capital; and (iii) innovation in institutions and enterprises that develop new services and products (Paye, 1995, pp.4–5). Various authors have recognized that the global economy is increasingly organized around urban settlements (Sassen, 1994; Katz & Bradley, 2013). The relationship between globalization processes and urban dynamics derives, on the one hand, from the observation that institutions and corporations, which induce globalization processes, are highly concentrated in a small number of cities and urban regions^[a] (Moulaert & Shachar, 1995, p.206). And on the other, from the fact that advanced telecommunications enable firms to co-ordinate work in multiple places as well as to transfer capital among places without the friction of time^[b] (Graham & Marvin, 2001).

International capital movements appear to give cities instant access to credit worldwide. Sassen's (1994) study of Tokyo, New York and London revealed that in the late 1980s these three cities had twice as many jobs in banking, property, law and other so-called "producer services" than would have been expected from their share of total employment.^[c] The pervasive role of technology also served to decentralize access to specialized services, which nowadays is no longer the privilege of only a few cities (Janelle & Hodge, 2000). As a result, the world's networks of communication,

trade, manufacturing and finance are increasingly polycentric (Warf, 1995), and have given rise to clusters of regional or metropolitan networks, what Florida (2008) calls the rising mega-regions of the world.

The ease of relocating economic activities from one place to the other means that cities have to offer businesses something more than access to a supply of labor, resources, and markets. In the words of Konvitz (1995, p.8):

Cities want to draw attention to the high quality of life they can offer, through investment, innovation and the institutions that they contain. Innovation is increasingly associated with the knowledge-based economy, and the institutions of education and research and the facilities of large companies are predominantly in cities. The new ideas they produce are responsible for many of the productivity gains in manufacturing and for many of the new services offered by the expanding financial and communications sectors. In addition, the cultural sector, the media and the entertainment industries, all largely urban activities, generate employment for highly skilled labor.

In fact, it is also recognized that macro-economic policies and urban development are more and more interrelated. Paye (1995, p.4) even argued that: “it is important to have a clear understanding of these links (...) the property market, housing, and infrastructural investments are more and more sensitive to the behavior of a globalized economy, to foreign investment and to patterns of mobility.”

And Konvitz (1995, p.8) concluded that:

[S]uccessful cities are characterized by several common features. They have a wealth of information about current conditions, and a capacity to undertake policy-oriented research. There are strong links between business, educational and cultural institutions, and community groups. They house organizations that generate public participation in decision making. They have a sound investment plan that includes environmental criteria and goals. They contain institutions and mechanisms that improve co-ordination horizontally, across different sectorial units in government, and vertically, between different tiers of government. And, they are home to thriving local markets which enable local firms to supply one another and which respond to demand by expanding the range of goods and services available, both through imports and exports.

World-Class cities

The debate on globalization sheds an intense light on a particular kind of localities – Global Cities, also called World-Class cities (Moulaert & Shachar, 1995; Clark & Moonen, 2017). From the point of view of the globalization of the world economy and urban dynamics, these cities usually perform functions in three main areas: (i) transport and communication; (ii) finance; and (iii) the so-called superior urban functions. Although definitions of Global City vary according to institution and type of measurement, Friedmann (1995, pp.25–26) was among the first scholars to propose five characteristics that constituted the starting point of an emerging research paradigm on World Cities:

- World cities articulate regional, national, and international economies into a global economy; they serve as the organizing nodes of a global economic system;
- A space of global capital accumulation exists, but it is smaller than the world as a whole;
- World cities are large urbanized spaces of intense economic and social interaction;
- World cities can be arranged hierarchically, roughly in accord with the economic power they command. They are cities through which regional, national, and international economies are articulated with the global capitalist system of accumulation;
- The controlling world city strata constitute a social class that has been called the transnational capitalist class.

This was followed by Harvard Business School's (HBS, 1997) conceptualization of "World-Class Communities" as being centered on these five main characteristics:

- *Vision/innovation* – They create a clear vision of aspirations and reaches for innovation;
- *Common ground/collaboration* – They know how to work together for the common good;
- *Diversity/inclusion* – They celebrate and thrive on diversity;
- *Measures/benchmarking* – They have measured up to the best;
- *Communication/marketing* – They communicate their assets and accomplishments to the world.

Rising urbanization has created added pressures to urban and peri-urban areas. One of the ensuing outcomes of globalization is that more countries have seen their metropolises gain stronger links to

the global economy; they not only became hubs for commerce and industry, but also increased their visibility in R&D, startups and innovation economy, education, arts and culture, and entertainment. Many new World Cities have consolidated their leisure and tourism economies and now attract tourists, researchers, congresses and entrepreneurs, who in certain cases now bypass the most established World Cities, given their high costs and polarizing social effects.

The 2008–2009 Global Financial Crisis exposed the weaknesses of the first wave of World Cities, which gained their status based on high concentrations of employment in the banking, finance and insurance sectors (Clark & Moonen, 2017, p.5). For instance, a study of city-region governance in London, New York, Paris, and Tokyo recognized that these “struggling giants” were greatly afflicted with global pressures, a fragmented nature, decentralizing impulses, pluralism tendencies, and competing priorities, which require timely, effective, and innovative regional governance leadership at various levels (Kantor et al., 2012).

Furthermore, it has also been noted that World Cities are known to contribute to exclusionary processes, where wealth flows disproportionately to the more educated and most affluent members of society. Gentrification is often a concrete and visible outcome of urban redevelopment processes that force low-income groups to be displaced to neighborhoods with less infrastructure, which results in overall lower quality of life (Wyly & Hammel, 2005).

GLOBAL COMPETITION AND THE CITY OF BOSTON

Kanter’s (1995) framework for global competition

The City of Boston merits scrutiny because it is an example of a city with a high concentration of employment in education, health and finance. The change from an industrial economy where place mattered to companies because it gave them control over the means of production – capital, labor and materials – and access to transportation centers, to a global information economy, where power

comes not from location *per se* but from the ability to command one of the intangible assets that make customers loyal, according to Kanter (1995a) has created a completely different way of doing business.

Kanter (1995) conceptualized those assets in *Concepts, Competencies, and Connections* and defended that nowadays a place has value if it can provide companies with at least one of those resources. Kanter (1995a, p.153) also argued that places can – and do – establish linkages to World-Class companies by investing and specializing in capabilities that connect their local populations to the global economy in one of three ways: (i) Thinkers; (ii) Makers, or (iii) Traders.

(i) *Thinkers specialize in concepts*; such as magnets for brainpower, which is channeled into knowledge industries. Their competitive edge comes from continuous innovation, and they set world standards in the export of both knowledge and knowledge-based products. Thinkers count on their absolute dominance in technology creativity and intellectual superiority to ensure their position on the world stage.

(ii) *Makers are especially competent in execution*. They have superior production skills and an infrastructure that supports high-value, cost-effective production. Makers are magnets for World-Class manufacturing.

(iii) *Traders specialize in connections*. They sit at the crossroads of cultures, managing the intersections. They help make deals or transport goods and services across borders of all types (Kanter, 1995a, pp.153–154).

According to Kanter (1995), cities and regions can gain from becoming centers of globally relevant skills, which enable local businesses and people to thrive. Furthermore, World-Class businesses need *Concepts, Competencies, and Connections*, and World-Class places can help grow these global assets by offering capabilities in innovation, production, or trade; cities and regions will thrive to the extent that the businesses and people in them can develop better by being there rather than somewhere else (Kanter, 1995a, p.160).

The Boston city-region in the late 1990s

In 1996, the City of Boston was ranked the twentieth largest city and the seventh largest consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA) in the country (City of Boston, 1997). It had a population of 574,283 inhabitants, although it was the center of a metropolitan area of around 3.2 million people. In the 1980s, Boston showed the first population rise since the 1940s and the trend was for healthy population gains in subsequent years. The population of Boston was characterized as being young, and racially and ethnically diverse (Figure 1). According to O'Connor (2007, p.93), when Thomas M. Menino became mayor in 1993, "the city's population had become more than 50% non-white – with school figures indicating an even wider gap in the near future."

The city was also the economic hub of both the Commonwealth and the New England region. According to the city's website at the time, the Boston economy was undergoing a recovery following the 1988–1992 downturn (City of Boston, 1997). In 1994–1996, the city added nearly 37,000 jobs. These were more evident in construction, manufacturing, retail trade, banking, financial services, health services, educational services, social/cultural/nonprofit services, and business, professional, and personal services.

< Insert Figure 1 around here >

According to Kanter's (1995a, p.153) framework for global competition, the City of Boston had specialized in *Concepts* – in creating new ideas and technologies that commanded a premium in world markets^[d]. This had been discovered by Porter (1991, p.53), who had already identified the existence of these four clusters of competitive advantage, not only in Boston but throughout the whole state of Massachusetts: (i) Knowledge creation services; (ii) information technology; (iii) health care; and (iv) financial services.

Massachusetts' reputation as a strong, dynamic world intellectual center resulted from a cluster of industries that were usually called knowledge creation services (Rissola et al., 2019). This cluster included advanced educational institutions; research and development laboratories; institutions specializing in basic research; think-tanks, both economic and social/political; consulting firms; legal firms; engineering firms; printing and publishing companies; and advertising and market research organizations. The basis of competition in this cluster was the creation of innovative new ideas, performed by creative, entrepreneurial, and a highly skilled workforce (Porter, 1991, p.71).

The City of Boston and its metropolitan area played an important role in the rise and development of this cluster (Barron's, 1992; O'Connell, 2013). Boston had the largest number of universities and institutions of higher learning than any other city in the country, virtually all of which went out of their way to recruit international students. Boston was home to four public and twenty-six private colleges and universities and two graduate schools of universities located in adjacent communities. The City of Boston (1997) also estimated that the sixty-five colleges and universities in the greater Boston area had an overall enrollment of nearly 250,000 full-time and part-time students. It could be said that Boston was a unique market of sorts: Importing students and exporting knowledge.

According to Porter (1991, p.98), the Massachusetts information technology cluster was composed of a diverse group of industries. In addition to computer manufacturing, the cluster contained software development, peripheral manufacturing, information technology professional services, information retrieval services, telecommunications, precise instruments manufacturing, and electronic components manufacturing. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) was a significant factor in Boston's "business personality," especially in the high-tech arena (Leslie, 1993). According to Kanter (1995, p.209), 72% of the new high-technology businesses established in the Boston area since 1975 could trace their origins to an MIT affiliation.

The Massachusetts health care cluster consisted of a broad range of industries. The most visible were the hospitals, home health care agencies, and nursing and personal care facilities that delivered

health care services directly to patients. However, numerous other industries in the Commonwealth, such as biomedical technology, medical research institutes, medical instruments manufacturing, and medical laboratories, also provided crucial equipment, knowledge, and services to this cluster (Porter, 1991, p.56). As the city's website also emphasized in the late 1990s, "Boston is a world-renewed center for health care, medical education, and medical research in America. The city is home to 27 hospitals, which in 1994 served over 230,000 in-patients and at least 3.7 million out-patient visitors" (City of Boston, 1997). In addition to the medical care provided by their affiliated hospitals, these institutions provided training and produced an annual cohort of new doctors and scientists in both medicine and research.

The financial services cluster was comprised of many distinct industries, including real estate, commercial banking, savings and loans, venture capital, mutual fund management, pension fund management, and life and property/casualty insurance. These industries were not only closely interrelated but also served as an important link to other clusters (Porter, 1991, p.82). Almost a fourth of the country's fund assets were managed in Massachusetts, with the vast majority in Boston. Faircloth (1997) recognized that "altogether, Boston's financial institutions manage[d] about \$1.4 trillion and provide[d] over 80,000 jobs, 9 percent of all jobs in the city. A new \$50 million annual tax-incentive plan for mutual fund companies [would] help these industry giants stay in Boston." In the late 1990s, Boston was also a center for the arts, culture, and entertainment and was home to numerous historic sites, museums, and performing arts institutions (Kennedy, 1992). Finally, Boston was also recognized as one of the great professional sports cities in the country.

MARKETPLACE POLITICS

Growth vs. Social Progressive strategies

As urban development has attained international scope, its political and strategic features have become more accentuated. Freer trade, freer immigration, technological revolution and mobile capital have all contributed to the creation of an international system of cities whose members compete with one another in a global market. In this emerging order, city governments tend to face increasing competition from other cities to capture new capital and preserve their existing base (Savitch & Kantor, 1995; Savitch & Kantor, 2002). Table 1 synthesizes the strategies that cities have adopted to respond to this increasingly competing environment (see also Cox, 1995; Mayer, 1994; Zavattaro, 2013).

< Insert Table 1 around here >

In general, social progressive development seeks to balance economic growth against social enhancement. These two approaches also differ in how public policies are used to define and fulfill community needs. According to Savitch and Kantor (1995, pp.498–499), progressive and growth centered strategists have traditionally viewed economic enhancement differently and utilized radically different methods for bringing it about. In terms of implementation, cities tend to employ a mix of both strategies, but the proportion and predominance of progressive versus growth orientations are different for distinct cities. Glaeser (2018) has argued that higher levels of human capital enabled by urbanization and cities tend to translate into bolstered civic capacity and a more effective and pro-active governmental quality. Furthermore, cities appear to enable the creation of bonds across ethnic lines, which leads to more participated political action.

How places market themselves according to Kotler et al. (1995)

In the last sub-section, it was identified that places increasingly compete with other places to attract their share of tourists, businesses, and investment. Here it is emphasized that the marketing of

places has become a leading economic activity and, in some cases as Kotler et al. (1995) and Kavaratzis et al. (2015) have recognized, one of the dominant generators of local wealth.

Most places are interested in simply growing at any cost. Places distinguish among three groups that might be drawn to a particular place: (i) people and businesses worth attracting; (ii) people and businesses who are acceptable, but need not be specifically targeted; and (iii) people and businesses to avoid or discourage (e.g., drug dealers, “shaky” businesses). Table 2 depicts four potential target markets as being: (i) Visitors; (ii) residents and workers; (iii) business and industry; and, (iv) export markets.

< Insert Table 2 around here >

According to Kotler et al. (1995, p.23), the visitor market consists of two broad groups: business and nonbusiness visitor; every visitor to a place spends money on food and lodging, local products, and other goods and services. This spending has a multiplier effect on local income, employment, and tax revenues generated by businesses. A second important target market for places is residents and workers. When cities undertake to attract specific residents or workers, they ought to develop appropriate incentives; such as when young families that place emphasis on schools and public safety as major factors want to settle in a particular neighborhood (ibid, p.27).

Attracting business, industry, and economic investment constitutes a third category of target markets. Places typically seek to attract new businesses and industries to provide jobs for their citizens and revenues for their treasuries. Kotler et al. proposed four ways in which places are likely to maintain and strengthen their economic base: (i) the place must retain its current businesses, or at least the desirable ones; (ii) the place must devise plans and services to help existing businesses expand; (iii) the place must make it easier for entrepreneurs to start up new businesses; and (iv) a place can aggressively attract outside companies or factories to move to its location (ibid, p.27). A fourth target market is export – the ability of a city or a region to produce goods and services that

other places, people, and business firms are willing to purchase. Kotler et al. also stated that the wealth of places engaged in these marketing strategies tends to depend on aggressively exporting products to other countries, and then using the export earnings to finance the importing of raw materials and other goods that they shall require (ibid, p.32).

According to the same authors, the four main strategies which places rely on to attract visitors and residents, build their industrial base, and increase exports include: (i) image marketing, (ii) attractions marketing, (iii) infrastructure marketing, and (iv) people marketing (Kotler et al., 1995, pp.33–40). To expand on these strategies, in terms of image, the place usually hires an advertising agency or public relations firm to identify, develop, and disseminate a strong positive image for the place. Images are not easy to develop or change and also that improving the image is not enough to ensure a place's prosperity. The place needs special features to satisfy the residents and attract outsiders. Good infrastructure, such as transportation infrastructure, is also fundamental. The fourth marketing strategy is for a place to market its people (ibid, p.40). Furthermore, a commonly utilized approach is that usually places first fix their fundamentals (the infrastructure), then add attractions, raise the friendliness and skills of their people, and then broadcast their distinct images (ibid, p.40).

Place-marketing is likely to happen at different levels: Local, regional, national and international. For this research it is important to focus on local-level actors, those in the public and private sectors (Stubbs & Warnaby, 2015). Finally, Kotler et al. (1995, p.41) also argued that, typically, place-marketing activities are a major responsibility of elected officials. Under effective Mayors, cities can often succeed in dramatically improving their conditions; in other cases, leadership may come from the private sector. In conclusion, the fundamental challenge of place-marketing is not only funding but also sustained contributions as they pertain to one's own history, culture, and innate characteristics.

THE MILLENNIUM INITIATIVE (MI) AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BOSTON

The Millennium Initiative (MI) was an effort to utilize the new millennium to assess strengths and weaknesses, foster change and make the City of Boston stronger socially and economically through the development of a calendar of special events and programs leading up to the year 2000 (Spitzer, 1997; Menino, 1997). This initiative was sponsored by BankBoston, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Faculty of Harvard Business School, and Boston Mayor Thomas Menino. This initiative was launched in March 1997 at Harvard Business School in a forum that gathered diverse leaders from business, academia, government, non-profit and community organizations. The forum's main objective was to outline steps toward making Boston a more competitive World-Class City in the global economy of the XXIth century.

The March 15th launch event had the following goals (HBS, 1997): (i) Share perspectives and ideas on ways to strengthen the region's vision of being a World-Class Community for the twenty-first century; (ii) initiate the process of creating a "Master Calendar" of the year 2000 goals and events; and (iii) identify how the region's businesses, institutions, and community organizations could be implemented.

The forum consisted of a charette process that started with a short-featured film showing several activities that could be implemented until the year 2000 (Kanter, 1997). Among those activities were a techno expo trade show, an international alumni reunion, a global economic literacy program in schools, a wealthier world program, a walking city program, a liquid assets initiative, and a World-Class service awards program (Favermann, 1997). During the second part of the event the two hundred fifty participants formed brainstorming individual groups followed by a synthesis agreed-upon future initiatives (Table 3).

< Insert Table 3 around here >

The major obstacles identified at the March 1997 brainstorm charette included the city's very "real and imagined" reputation for racism; the crisis in public education in grades K–12; street violence; the negative-reporting bias of the media and under-reported role models for people of color; an overall parochialism and negative politics; and a lack of relationships between the city's neighborhoods and the power elite (Spitzer, 1997).

Community development in Boston has evolved according to distinct stages, where the early stages comprised services and organizing, and the most recent stage has been marked by institutional capacity building (Arefi, 2014, p.45). The Millennium Initiative (MI) was an attempt at bridging between the leaders' ambitions for World City status maintenance and enhancement, while strengthening the community development efforts accomplished in earlier years. Critical to the early accomplishments was the city's linkage program and the multiple neighborhood advocacy efforts in residential, commercial and historic preservation. In 1983, the City of Boston created a pioneering linkage program that evolved to require large-scale commercial real estate developments to make funding available for affordable housing and workforce training (Dreier & Ehrlich, 1991). This innovative program has enabled the city to finance the revitalization of rundown suburbs with some of the profits generated in the more central locations (Koven & Koven, 2018). This program has also enabled the award-winning non-profit organization Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) to work with the City of Boston in using eminent domain to reclaim and redevelop vacant land in the neighborhood of Roxbury (Medoff & Sklar, 1994).

Over the years, the city's social advocacy in Roxbury evolved from affordable housing to parks rehabilitation, public spaces and streetscape improvements, after school programs, sports and culture, and other civic activities (Anguelovski, 2014). DSNI's work has been feature in two documentaries: "Holding Ground: The Rebirth of Dudley Street" (Lipman, 1996), and "Gaining Ground – Building Community on Dudley Street" (Lipman, 2012). While the former traces the origins and evolution of

the neighborhood grassroots movement during the late 1980s and 1990s, the latter depicts how a new generation of advocates has worked to obviate a wave of foreclosures brought forth by the 2008–2009 Global Financial Crisis, while simultaneously creating job opportunities for the disadvantaged youth in the neighborhood.

This social sustainability initiative has been accompanied in Boston by environmental leadership attempts at greening the city in order to reduce the human impact on climate change and reduce finite resource depletion. Rose (2016) has shown how cities have been experimenting with smart materials, green infrastructure, solar and micro-grids, and other energy conservation measures; all strategies capable of helping to reduce the human footprint impact on planet earth. Boston has also advanced on this front by encouraging compact development, promoting the construction of green buildings, fostering public transportation, stimulating local production and consumption of food, cleaning the Boston harbor, and reducing the amount of solid waste deposited in landfill via higher levels of composting and recycling. The documentary film “The Greening of Southie” (Ellis & Cheney, 2008) evidences one example of how the construction industry in Boston has dealt with the exigencies (and opportunities) of a stronger environmental conscience, one which traces its roots to the Millennium Initiative (MI) of the late 1990s in its orientations for higher levels of competitiveness and social and environmental inclusion and responsiveness in the XXIst century.

In closing, the Millennium Initiative (MI) demonstrated that there were three major place-marketing trends in Boston: (i) The shift from a growth-centered strategy to a more socially progressive strategy, (ii) the need to have magnets that attract a flow of external resources; and (iii) the need to work together for the common good.

ADVANCING BOSTON'S COMPETITIVENESS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

“Today, Boston is in a uniquely powerful position to create quality jobs, strengthen our competitive economy, add the housing our city needs to become more affordable, and prepare for climate change.”

(Imagine Boston, 2016)

Boston's recent efforts (2000–2020) at improving its competitiveness since the late 1990s Millennium Initiative (MI) analyzed above have encompassed a series of strategic public works projects, of which the Big Dig is perhaps the most representative (Fein, 2012), and various neighborhood revitalization initiatives (Koven & Koven, 2018, Balsas, 2019; 2019a), a new public market (Kim, 2017), and a major place branding campaign (Zenker, 2011; Buccitelli, 2016). Burying a state highway through downtown Boston has been considered “the most expensive urban infrastructure project in history” (Tajima, 2003, p.641). However, the Big Dig was critical to not only changing the image of the city by creating a new greenway linear park where once stood an elevated highway (Ahern, 1999), increasing the city's overall green space, but also to creating a modern and truly interconnected transportation network in the core of a major North American city.

Place-making interventions such as the Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Greenway linear park (Figure 2) have helped to create a more walkable built environment, which according to Credit and Mack (2019) appear to be positively associated with business performance. The same authors consider that “design-based placemaking initiatives can be used to generate sustainable local economic development” (ibid, p.264).

< Insert Figure 2 around here >

Place-marketing politics have proved successful also in terms of innovation and global competitiveness. In the 2010s, the Boston-Cambridge's entrepreneurial innovation ecosystem has

gained increased international significance to the point that the European Commission has decided to sponsor research aimed at analyzing how the ecosystem's composition contributes to territorial place-based innovation. The key success factors for the development of the Boston innovation ecosystem have been synthesized as follows (Rissola et al., 2019, pp.8–9):

- *The quadruple helix model* (i.e., Government, University, Enterprise and Society) is properly embedded in the physical structure of the two cities (Boston and Cambridge), in which anchor Higher Education (HE) institutions continuously nurture the Entrepreneurial Environment;
- *An entrepreneurial approach emerging from the local governments*, eliciting risk taking and bottom-up civic participation in tackling key issues in the city;
- *A fully operational networking structure of some intermediary actors* supporting entrepreneurial collaboration, cross-fertilization and co-creation, who collaborate on multiple-scales thus enabling positive spillovers from the stronger to the weaker contexts;
- *Local authorities aware of the socio-economic value of the built environment as an enabler of cognitive networks*;
- *The availability of civic-led spaces enabling grassroots' collaboration and cooperation.*

In spite of two major societal incidents in Boston, one tragic – the terrorism attack at the Boston Marathon on 15 April 2013 (Keenan, 2018), and the other slightly demoralizing from a governance standpoint – the failed bid to host the 2024 Summer Olympic Games (Lauermann, 2016), and one unintended outcome of the Big Dig multimodal transportation project, i.e., the slight increase in air pollution from motorized traffic near the freeway (Brugge et al., 2014), the recent competitiveness indicators appear quite positive (Table 4). The reinvention of Boston continues with the Imagining

Boston 2030 campaign centered on understanding the residents' preferences in terms of how they want their city to grow (Figure 3).

< Insert Figure 3 around here >

CONCLUSION

This paper's objective was to evaluate how marketplace politics could be instrumental in promoting World-Class cities in a global economy, and what strategies have been used for marketing cities since the late 1990s. The Millennium Initiative (MI) demonstrated that there were three major place-marketing trends in Boston: (i) The shift from a growth-centered strategy to a more socially progressive strategy, (ii) the need to have magnets that attract a flow of external resources; and (iii) the need to work together for the common good.^[e] To a certain extent, these trends reflect the World-Class Communities' characteristics introduced before: The clear vision of aspirations and reaches for innovation; the collaboration; the diversity; the benchmarking; and the communication of assets and accomplishments to the world (HBS, 1997).

If the City of Boston has been able to remain a truly World-Class City is hardly indisputable (see Table 4) (Menzies, 1997; Savitch & Kantor, 2002; Trujillo & Parilla, 2016). To cite Glaeser (2018, p.26), "it remains a [valid] hypothesis that developing world cities can lead to democracy and government, as Boston's urbanity did in 1776." Although Boston has had to face several obstacles that proved difficult to resolve, the city's leaders at both the city-region and neighborhood levels also had valuable assets to work with (i.e., the hub of a broader three-million-person region; its academic wellspring; the region's technology base; its historical past; the region's natural and geographic resources; and its immigrant population and cultural diversity); including a renewed sense of vision and a more socially and environmentally responsive place-making orientation.

One key finding could sum up this study, that for Boston to truly become a World-Class city in the eighty remaining years of the first century of the new millennium, it has to go beyond its short (nonetheless the most extensive of U.S.) history, landmark buildings, socio-economic and cultural achievements, ambiance and character, to also sustain and nurture all those who reside, work and visit the city-region appropriately and with solidarity (Loh & Shear, 2015). Besides the traditional place-marketing orientations of the 1990s, the recent emphasis on place-making by burying the elevated highway through downtown Boston, and a greater emphasis on walkability (Leinberger & Lynch, 2015), has certainly been critical to enhancing the city's transformations to making Boston a truly World-Class city by its 400th birthday (Imagine Boston, 2016).

NOTES

^[a] Which, in turn, relate quite strongly to cities on lower levels of the urban hierarchy with a more limited scope of their economic, social and political functions (Chen & Kanna, 2013).

^[b] See Warf (1995) for a comprehensive review of the geographical repercussions of the explosion of information services, the growth of global cities and the dispersal of back offices to low wage sites across the globe.

^[c] Sassen (1994, p.4) relates the dynamics of cities to the globalization process, using three main arguments: (i) the economic and social trajectory of each city depends heavily on the level of its integration into the global economy; (ii) more cities are becoming involved in the coordination of processes and managerial activities; and (iii) the economic base and the social order of several major cities are shaped by the emerging organization of the financial sector.

^[d] Fortune Magazine ranked Boston as the third most improved city in the country for businesses (Faircloth, 1997).

[e] What Kanter (1995, p.160) called “social glue” – a way to bring people together to define the common good, create joint plans, and identify strategies that benefit a wide range of people and organizations.

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Table 1 Growth-Centered and Social Progressive policies

Adapted from Savitch and Kantor (1995, p.498).

| <i>Growth-Centered</i> | <i>Social Progressive</i> |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>a. Economic enhancement</i> | |
| – Low Taxation | – High Taxation |
| – Minimal Land-Use Regulation | – Exacting Zoning |
| – Public Capital Financing of Projects | – Private Financing of Projects |
| <i>b. Social enhancement</i> | |
| – Discount/Free Land | – Public Amenity Donations |
| – Unrestricted Planning | – Historic Preservation |
| – Training Business Employees | – Affirmative Action |
| <i>c. Political enhancement</i> | |
| – Elite Planning | – Citizen Planning Reviews |
| – Development Corporations | – Public Representation |
| – Selective Political Rewards | – Diffuse Political Rewards |

Table 2 The four main target markets

Kotler et al. (1995, p.24).

| |
|---|
| 1. Visitors |
| a. Business visitors (attending a business meeting or convention, checking out a site, coming to buy or sell something) |
| b. Nonbusiness visitors (tourists and travelers) |
| 2. Residents and workers |
| a. Professionals (scientists, physicians, and so on) |
| b. Skilled workers |
| c. Wealthy individuals |
| d. Investors |
| e. Entrepreneurs |
| d. Unskilled workers (domestic, migrants, and so on) |
| 3. Business and industry |
| a. Heavy industry |
| b. “Clean” industry (assembly, high-tech, service companies, etc.) |
| c. Entrepreneurs |
| 4. Export markets |
| a. Other localities within the domestic markets |
| b. International markets |

Table 3 Proposals announced to be carried out by 1999

Spitzer (1997).

-
- BankBoston announced a \$50,000 grant for community organizations and two grants for the Children’s Museum;
 - Mayor Thomas Menino suggested engaging kids in an action plan for economic development in Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan;
 - Job-creation across all socio-economic lines and not only during the summer;
 - Linking Roxbury with Boston waterfront via a new harbor-like parkway;
 - The development of the World’s Fair Boston: Showcase 2000;
 - A newspaper series and media broadcast featuring economic achievements by children of color;
 - Involving not only Boston but all towns of Greater Boston in the planning activities;
 - A network of trails leading into and out of the city;
 - Create awareness of the city’s competitive advantage (diversity and immigrant population);
 - More charter and pilot schools;
 - Private sector adopt-a-school program;
 - Promoting Boston more aggressively internationally;
 - A murals project to beautify the city’s walls;
 - A new convention center.
-

Table 4 Boston’s recent competitiveness indicators

Trujillo and Parilla / Brookings Institution (2016).

| | |
|--|-----------|
| • Population (ths.), 2015 | 4,774 |
| • GDP (millions PPP\$), 2015 | \$370,731 |
| • GDP per capita (PPP\$), 2015 | \$77,651 |
| • GDP per worker (PPP\$), 2015 | \$139,160 |
| • GDP growth (ann.), 2000-15 | +1.6 |
| • GDP per capita growth (ann.), 2000-15 | +1.0 |
| • GDP per worker (ann.), 2000-15 | +1.2% |
| • Trade sector productivity diff., 2015 | +21.4% |
| • FDI per capita, 2009-2015 | \$1,501 |
| • University research impact, 2010-13 | 22.3% |
| • Patents per 1,000 inhabitants, 2008-12 | 3.01 |
| • Venture capital per capita (ths.), 2006-15 | \$8.36 |
| • Higher ed. attain. (%) | 45.7 |
| • Internet speed (Mbps), 2014 | 37.1 |

Figure 1 Boston's Freedom Trail

Author's archive (2016).

Figure 2 The Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Greenway

Author's archive (2016).

Figure 3 Imagine Boston 2030 campaign

Author's archive (2016).