



Dublin

City Branding & Placemaking

Research Report



Comhairle Cathrach
Bhaile Átha Cliath
Dublin City Council

Dublin – City Branding & Placemaking

Research Report

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1 Executive Summary

This report is on the key constructs of city branding and placemaking. It provides an overview of both city branding and placemaking after which, it identifies the position of Dublin on relevant international indices and rankings. The report and associated research were produced as part of the Dublin Regional Enterprise Plan to 2020¹, (DREP) regarding Strategic Objective 4, Action 4:

Strategic Objective 4: Strategically build on existing activities to enhance the attractiveness of Dublin as a region to live, work, invest and visit

Action 4: Research, benchmark and monitor Dublin’s progress and position regarding place-making and city branding and seek to enhance Dublin’s position on key international rankings

Although both constructs are multifaceted, dynamic & holistic, in summary they can be described as:

City Branding is the process of communicating and differentiating the identity of a city as a destination

Placemaking is the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in

Both constructs have become increasingly important for cities regarding standing out and attracting tourists, investors, talent, students and residents within the globalised economy, and for cities to better address city challenges, support communities and encourage active citizenship. City branding and placemaking contribute directly and indirectly to various social, economic and policy benefits such as social inclusion, real estate value, revenue, health, unity and wellbeing. As cities are forecast to increase into the future, city branding and placemaking stand to become even more important.

As seen in the overview table below, Dublin is well represented on a diverse array of global indices relevant to city branding and placemaking. Of the indices identified, Dublin is generally ranked highly as it strongly competes with other global and often much larger cities.

Overview: Indices and Dublin’s Position				
General Indices				
Index	Dimension / Criteria	Dublin Position	Change	
Global Cities Index 2020	Business Activity, Human Capital, Information Exchange, Cultural Experience, Political Engagement	46/151		
Global Cities Outlook Index 2020	Personal Well-being, Economics, Innovation, Governance	10/151	↓	-10
IESE Cities in Motion Index 2020	Human Capital, Social Cohesion, Economy, Urban Planning, Governance, Environment, Mobility and Transportation, International Projection, Technology	33/174 (2019)	↑	+1
Best Cities 2021	Place, Product, Programming, People, Prosperity, Promotion	33/100	↑	+11
Global Liveability Index 2021	Stability, Healthcare, Culture and Environment, Education and Infrastructure	51/140	↓	-22
Mercer Quality of Living City Ranking 2019	Political & Social Environment (Env), Natural Env, Economic Env, Socio-Cultural Env, Medical & Health, Schools & Education, Housing, Public Services & Transportation, Recreation, Consumer Goods	33/231	↑	+1

¹ [Government of Ireland \(2019\) Dublin Regional Enterprise Plan to 2020](#)

Mercer Cost of Living City Ranking 2021	Housing, Transportation, Utilities, Food, Domestic Supplies, Services, Personal Care, Clothing/Footwear, Recreation & Entertainment, Alcohol & Tobacco	39/209	↑	+7
Numbeo Quality of Life by City Index 2021	Purchasing Power, Safety, Health Care, Cost of Living, Property Price: Income, Commute Time, Pollution and Climate	145/251	↓	-13
Numbeo Cost of Living by City Index 2021	Rent Levels, Groceries Prices, Restaurant Prices, Local Purchasing Power	39/563	↓	-3
City RepTrak 2018	Trust, Esteem, Admiration, Respect –Advanced Economy, Effective Government, Appealing Env	18/56	↓	-1
eutopia – Place Attractiveness	Invest (Celtic roar), Visit (urban energisers & cultural explorers), study (Saints/ scholars), Live (urban edge)	2		
City Brand Indices				
Anholt-Ipsos City Brands Index 2020	International Status, Physical Appeal, Amenities, Warmth of Inhabitants, Activities, Educational / Business Qualities	21-30/50 (3 rd Tier)		
Entrepreneurship and Innovation Ecosystem Indices				
Global Power City Index 2020	Economy, R&D, Cultural Interaction, Liveability, Environment, Accessibility	31/48 Overall	↑	+2
Startup Genome Global Startup Ecosystem Report 2020	Performance, Funding, Market Reach, Talent, Connectedness, Knowledge, Infrastructure	36/40	↓	-10
Global Startup Ecosystem Index 2021 (Best Cities for Startups)	Quantity, Quality, Business	51/1000	↑	+3
Global Innovation Index (Top 100 Science and Technology Clusters)	Political Environment, Education, Infrastructure and Business Sophistication	Left Top 100	↓	
Innovation Cities Index 2021 (Top 100)	Cultural Assets, Human Infrastructure and Networked Markets	92/500	↓	-40
FDI European Cities and Regions of the Future 2020/21	Economic Potential, Human Capital & Lifestyle, Cost Effectiveness, Connectivity, Business Friendliness	3/25 C 2/25 R	↓	-1
Global Financial Centres Index 29 (2021)	Business Environment, Human Capital, Infrastructure, Financial Sector Development, Reputation	48/114	↓	-14
Global Cities Talent Competitiveness Index 2020	Enable, Attract, Grow, Retain, Global Knowledge Skills	13/155	↑	+22
Smart City Index	Structures & Technology: Health and Safety, Mobility, Activities, Opportunities and Governance	34/109	↓	-4
European Digital Social Innovation Index 2021	Skills, Infrastructure, Diversity and Inclusion, Collaboration, Funding, Civil Society.	18/60		
European Digital City Index 2016	Skills, Access to Capital, Business Environment, Digital Infrastructure, Entrepreneurial Culture, Knowledge Spillovers, Lifestyle, Market, Mentoring, Non-Digital Infrastructure	8/60 Start Up 9/60 Scale Up		
Green / Sustainability Indices				
Citizen Centric Cities – Sustainable Cities Index 2018	People, Planet, Profit	20/100		
European Green City Index 2009 (Part of overall Green City Index)	Buildings, Transport, Waste and Land Use, Water, Air Quality, Environmental Governance	21/30		
Arts and Culture Indices				
Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor 2019	Cultural Vibrancy, Creative Economy, Enabling Environment	4/40 XL Group	↑	+2



2 Introduction

Dublin is an ancient city and present day national hub for trade, innovation and economic growth. It is home to leading technology companies, extensive education and research institutions and a vibrant start-up community. As the most popular location for company start-ups² in Ireland, it is a dynamic nucleus for entrepreneurship and innovation. Among the numerous global technology companies based in the city and county are leading companies such as Google, Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft, HP and Dell³. Some 554,554 residents live in the city administrative area while almost 1.4 million residents live in the county⁴. Furthermore, the population of the city and county increases significantly each day as thousands of people commute to work⁵ from the greater Dublin area or from further afield⁶.

Dublin is also a unique city which although vibrant, diverse and cosmopolitan, retains a local charm much more like a village than a city. The city and region is thus a popular destination and is internationally renowned as a dynamic place for the arts, culture and heritage. Many of the most popular free and fee-charging attractions are located in Dublin such as the Guinness Storehouse, Dublin Zoo, The Book of Kells and the various national museums⁷. Accordingly, some 6.6 million overseas tourists and 1.8 domestic tourists visited Dublin in 2019 which generated €2.2b and €296m in revenue respectively⁸. Dublin's live music and entertainment scene is famous, made up of large and small venues and a network of unique pubs⁹.

² [CRIF Vision-Net \(2021\) Business in Ireland 2021 Barometer Annual Review](#)

³ [IDA Ireland \(2021\) Dublin A Technology Hub](#)

⁴ [Central Statistics Office \(2021\) Census 2016 Small Area Population Statistics](#)

⁵ [Central Statistics Office \(2021\) Census of Population 2016, Profile 11 Employment, Occupations and Industry](#)

⁶ [DRA & MERA \(2010\) Regional Planning Guidelines for the Greater Dublin Area 2010-2022](#)

⁷ [Fáilte Ireland \(2021\) Key Tourism Facts 2019](#)

⁸ [Fáilte Ireland \(2021\) Tourism Facts 2019: Dublin](#)

⁹ [World Cities Culture Forum \(2021\) Dublin](#)

In order to ensure that Dublin continues to be an attractive hub to live, work, study in and visit, it is vital that the city and region are promoted in a coordinated and consistent manner and are comprised of quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in. A key means to promote Dublin in a coordinated and consistent manner is through city or place branding.

City or place branding is the process of communicating and differentiating the identity of a city or place as being a destination, not just a location. It involves ‘understanding, measuring, influencing and managing the way in which cities are admired and recognised by foreign, domestic and internal audiences’¹⁰. The ultimate aim is to create, develop, manage and communicate a city’s identity in a uniform way, so as to enhance attractiveness and competitiveness.

Placemaking is the process of creating and developing quality places that people, both residents and visitors want to collaboratively live, work, play and learn in. It is multifaceted and holistic and aims to encourage place attachment or connections between people and places. It thus concerns the relationships between individuals, communities, physical spaces and nature and the associated sense of community, belongingness, inclusivity and conviviality.

This report is on these key constructs, city branding and placemaking. A brief literature review was initially carried out to clarify the contexts and concepts of city branding and place-making. A desktop review was then conducted to identify relevant indices, benchmarks and rankings and to determine the position of Dublin on these. The indices, benchmarks and rankings were identified in the context of generally accepted interpretations among practitioners and within the relevant literature. The report and associated research were produced as part of the Dublin Regional Enterprise Plan to 2020¹¹, (DREP) regarding Strategic Objective 4, Action 4:

*Upon review in Qtr. 4 2020, the associated measurement for this action was amended from that stated in the original Dublin Regional Enterprise Plan to 2020.

Strategic Objective 4: Strategically build on existing activities to enhance the attractiveness of Dublin as a region to live, work, invest and visit

Action 4: Research, benchmark and monitor Dublin’s progress and position regarding place-making and city branding and seek to enhance Dublin’s position on key international rankings

Measurement: Key international rankings identified, research report completed*



This report will be used to inform the work of DREP stakeholders, the Economic Development and Enterprise Strategic Policy Committee of Dublin City Council and the strategic development of the Dublin Place Brand. The Dublin Place Brand is the marketing brand used to attract people to live, work, invest or study in the Dublin region. It provides a uniform identity, reinforced by the award winning www.dublin.ie – a central website for living, working, studying and investing in Dublin. The website features stories, articles and informational content for both national and international audiences¹².

¹⁰ [European Cities Marketing \(2016\) City Branding](#)

¹¹ [Government of Ireland \(2019\) Dublin Regional Enterprise Plan to 2020](#)

¹² [Dublin Place Brand \(2021\) About Dublin’s Place Brand](#)



3 Context

Around the world, cities have been steadily increasing in physical size, population and economic importance. They have become more important as hubs of culture, innovation and growth¹³. Notable commentators such as Place Branding expert, Bill Baker thus state how ‘cities and mega cities, rather than countries, are increasingly becoming the principal protagonists between geographical regions’¹⁴ (p.8). The importance and size of cities is forecast to increase further. An extensive report on global urbanisation by the UN highlighted that 55% of the world’s population were residing in urban areas in 2018 and that by 2050, 68% of the world’s population is forecast to reside in urban areas¹⁵.

As cities have grown, they have become more competitive in seeking to differentiate themselves amongst the many other cities that are part of the overall, interdependent and globalised economy¹⁶. Cities are thus seeking and utilising initiatives to stand out and better attract tourists, investors, talent, students and residents. City branding is one such initiative that is increasingly used by cities and regions to stand out. Also, as cities have grown, they have needed to become more suitable, inclusive, sustainable and essentially people centred¹⁷. Changing populations, demographics, trends and various other factors have meant cities and regions have needed to adapt, to be reimagined or reinvented in order to better serve and support the communities and people within them. Placemaking is a holistic initiative, approach or process used to respond to the needs of communities and people. It involves the collaborative planning, design, implementation and management of public spaces and realms.

¹³ [OECD \(2006\) Competitive Cities in the Global Economy](#)

¹⁴ [Dinnie, K. \(2010\) City Branding: Theory and Cases](#)

¹⁵ [UN \(2019\) World Urbanisation Prospects 2018 - Highlights](#)

¹⁶ [EUROCITIES \(2010\) A shared vision on city branding in Europe](#)

¹⁷ [CBRE \(2019\) What is Placemaking](#)

Both city branding and placemaking have become increasingly important constructs regarding the promotion or projection and planning or design of cities and regions as city competition and challenges abound. Although distinct, they are complementary and interlinked^{18 19}. Emphasising the complementary overlap, notable academic, Graeme Evans states that ‘placemaking and branding are arguably the public face of the city, [the] projection to its residents and other dwellers’²⁰ (p.6). As placemaking involves the creation and development of quality, authentic and person centred places and various other assets that people connect with, city or place branding involves framing, communicating and promoting these places and assets as part of a larger, unified and consistent narrative. Placemaking involves creating vibrant public spaces which contribute to various social, economic and policy benefits, as well as creating spaces that stand out and are unique. City branding communicates and amplifies the narrative around those places. In addition, it can act as an impetus to revitalising an area or city and thus to associated placemaking initiatives¹⁸. Both city branding and placemaking depend on and involve engagement, collaboration and ownership and when interlinked, they can contribute to further increased benefits²¹. Below, overviews of both city branding and placemaking are provided which highlight the nature of each, the aims and the associated benefits.

3.1 City Branding

What is city branding?

City branding is essentially the practice of presenting a city, place or urban area as a brand. It seeks to capture the spirit, characteristics or identity of a city and promote it in an integrated and holistic way. Similar to the practice of branding a product or service and developing a name, term, design, symbol or other attributes in order to differentiate that product or service from others²², city branding seeks to differentiate a city from other cities. However, it is much more complex and multifaceted than branding a typical product or service. There are many different stakeholders, layers and considerations relevant to a city, its image and brand.

City branding is both a dynamic and broad activity, involving ‘understanding, measuring, influencing and managing the way in which cities are admired and recognised by foreign, domestic and internal audiences’¹⁰. Dimensions or considerations as part of city branding include: tourism, population, export brands, foreign and domestic politics, investment and immigration, culture and heritage²³. In practice, it may involve and interlink with development, economic, community, culture and marketing plans as well as many other initiatives²⁴.

Within the context of the knowledge economy, city branding has become especially important as ‘companies, creative workers and entrepreneurs are attracted to cities which have strong brand identities as open, tolerant and dynamic places’²⁴ (p. 1). It plays a vital role in presenting a place or city as a desirable destination for those companies, creative workers and entrepreneurs. In short, when city branding is conducted successfully, it can transform a city into a place where people want to visit, work and or live²⁵.

¹⁸ [Essbai, S. \(2018\) City Branding: What Role in Placemaking](#)

¹⁹ [Meester, F. \(2017\) How placemaking influences city branding and Why it is important](#)

²⁰ [Evans, G. \(2015\) Rethinking Place Branding and Place Making Through Creative and Cultural Quarters](#)

²¹ [Place Brand Observer \(2017\) Why Placemaking and Place Branding Should Work Hand in Hand](#)

²² [The Branding Journal \(2015\) What is Branding?](#)

²³ [Alperyte, I. & Isoraitė, M. \(2019\) JIM – Developing a City Brand](#)

²⁴ [The World Bank \(2012\) Directions in Urban Development: City Brand](#)

²⁵ [Salman, S. \(2008\) Brand of Gold](#)

The process of creating and developing a place or city brand begins with defining the intrinsic place identity and then communicating this identity through the brand²⁶. It is important to note that this process should be collaborative and the identity should be co-created with local stakeholders. Various studies highlight the benefits of multi-stakeholder involvement in the formation of a place brand identity and in the subsequent communication of the brand²⁶. The actual city identity and brand is typically built on the various city strengths or assets such as the visual, economic, psychological and symbolic elements and on the characteristics that distinguish it from other cities¹⁶. By virtue of utilising the various city assets and elements, a city brand should define and champion a realistic, competitive, compelling and strategic urban vision²³.

Aim of city branding

According to planning expert, Dr. Belinda Yuen, the aim of city branding 'is often to orchestrate the totality of perceptions, experiences and feelings that people hold about that city to ensure that it is as distinctive, compelling and memorable as possible'²⁴ (pg. 1). Alternatively, acclaimed designer, Sonia Jojic states that city branding aims to 'develop new ways of communicating the city's image, achieve competitive advantages, and strengthen the reputation of a city, improving also its economic importance'²⁷ (p.150). Ultimately the aim is to create, develop, manage and communicate a city's identity in a uniform way, so as to enhance attractiveness and competitiveness.

Benefits of city branding

City branding contributes to various benefits, although chiefly it helps to improve or increase the status and desirability of a city as a tourism, arts, education, residential, talent, investment or business location²⁷. It also supports:

- Increased competitiveness, which in turn can result in a more positive impact on investment, employment, talent attraction, residents, visitors and vibrancy
- Increased investments and also returns on investment in real estate, infrastructure and events
- Coherent city development, as the physical, social, economic and cultural aspects of the city combine to deliver the brand promise and realise the vision
- Pride in the city as residents, businesses and institutions experience a new sense of unified understanding, purpose and direction
- Enhanced collaboration among city stakeholders as they become more interlinked under a unified brand and direction^{16 24 28}.

Examples of city branding

I amsterdam[®]

I amsterdam is the motto and logo used to market and communicate Amsterdam as a brand locally, nationally and internationally²⁹. Based on the core values of creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship, the brand is used to market the Amsterdam metropolitan area as a strong economic, cultural and scientific knowledge centre. The brand consistently links to people, stories, events, happenings and symbols, which has resulted in it becoming renowned and internationally recognisable.

²⁶ [Rodrigues, C & Schmidt, J. H. \(2021\) How the Creative Class Co-Creates a City's Brand Identity](#)

²⁷ [Jojic, S. \(2018\) City Branding and the Tourist Gaze](#)

²⁸ [Eutopia \(2021\) Place Branding](#)

²⁹ [I amsterdam \(2019\) Brand Manual](#)



ONLYLYON seeks to ‘shine a light on the Lyon Metropolitan area, together’³⁰. Aside from being the official brand that promotes Lyon’s international ambitions, it is also ‘a state of mind and an action plan’. It brings together all stakeholders and actors who are committed to making Lyon a ‘top-name, influential, appealing city in France and around the world’. It was developed via a partnership involving key economic and institutional stakeholders for the purpose of streamlining the city’s international marketing and communication activities¹⁶. Since 2007, the brand and campaign have led and contributed to various coordinated actions in Lyon and globally in order to raise the city’s profile.



In order to better reflect and project the City of Melbourne as a vibrant and dynamic global city, a new corporate identity was created in 2010³¹. The corporate identity is a visual representation of the brand positioning which enables a unified, positive, flexible and future focus for the city³². The striking ‘M’ is core to the identity, design and brand, which is used in different ways to communicate effectively to different audiences and for different purposes.



The City of Helsinki created a visual identity to build a uniform and recognisable image. It serves to make the city’s brand strategy visible through standardising marketing and communications activities and ultimately to make the city more desirable to international businesses, students and tourists³³.



Marketing Manchester is the agency responsible for promoting Greater Manchester (GM) nationally and internationally. It is responsible for marketing GM to visitors, promoting GM as a place to invest, do business, live and study, and other marketing and communications. As part of this role, it uses the ‘M’ brand to communicate in different ways with different audiences. The ‘M’ is the primary brand signifier to represent Manchester, it is the ‘international attack brand for GM’³⁴. The brand is often used to represent multiple partners working together promoting joint activity under a Manchester banner.



Dublin City Council is responsible for Dublin’s Place or City Brand. The brand mark represents the fusion of ideas, creativity and people that make up Dublin as a place. It does not represent a rigid experience, but a place that is constantly changing. It is used to attract people to live, work, invest or study in the Dublin region and is reinforced by the signature ‘D’ logo and the award winning, www.dublin.ie website³⁵.

³⁰ [ONLYLYON \(2021\) ONLYLYON’S Mission](#)

³¹ [Landor \(2010\) Rebranding the city of Melbourne](#)

³² [City of Melbourne \(2010\) City of Melbourne Brand Manual](#)

³³ [Helsinki \(2021\) Helsinki Brand – Visual Identity Guidelines](#)

³⁴ [Marketing Manchester \(2018\) Visit Manchester Brand Guidelines](#)

³⁵ [Dublin Place Brand \(2021\) About Dublin’s Place Brand](#)

3.2 Placemaking

What is placemaking?

Placemaking is defined as ‘the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in’³⁶. Place Agency describes it as a ‘process to increase the capacity and capability of people to invest in a place with meaning’ and as a ‘process of co-creation to work with community, for community, and to identify meaning and shared purpose’³⁷. It is both an overarching idea and tangible approach for improving communities, neighbourhoods, cities or regions, which ‘inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community’³⁸.

In practice, placemaking is a multifaceted and holistic process to create and develop places that are cherished and in which a sense of belonging or connection prevails. It concerns the relationships between individuals, communities, physical spaces and nature, and the associated sense of community, belongingness, inclusivity and conviviality³⁹. Community building, involvement and activation are central features, as it depends on broad stakeholder engagement. As the process is centred on people and their needs, aspirations, desires and visions, community and stakeholder participation and engagement are vital⁴⁰.

Stemming from effective placemaking, quality places or places with a strong sense of place are created and / or developed. Key elements of quality places include: mixed uses, quality public spaces, broadband enabled, multiple transportation options, multiple housing options, preservation of historic structures, community heritage, arts, culture, creativity, recreation and green spaces. Furthermore, quality places are those that are: safe, connected, welcoming, accessible, comfortable, quiet (unless designed to be otherwise), sociable, that allow authentic experiences and that promote and facilitate civic engagement³⁶. The actual quality places can be homes, streets, realms, recreational amenities, environmental amenities or regular events such as Sunday markets³⁹. According to The Project for Public Spaces (PPS), an organisation that promotes placemaking around the world, there are four key attributes that make a place ‘great’ which are:

- ‘They are accessible and well connected to other important places in the area
- They are comfortable and project a good image
- They attract people to participate in activities there
- They are sociable environments in which people want to gather and visit again and again’⁴¹ (pg. 4)

In addition, PPS has proposed a framework featuring these key attributes along with intangibles and measurements which is displayed in the figure below:

³⁶ [Wyckoff, M. \(2014\) Definition of Placemaking](#)

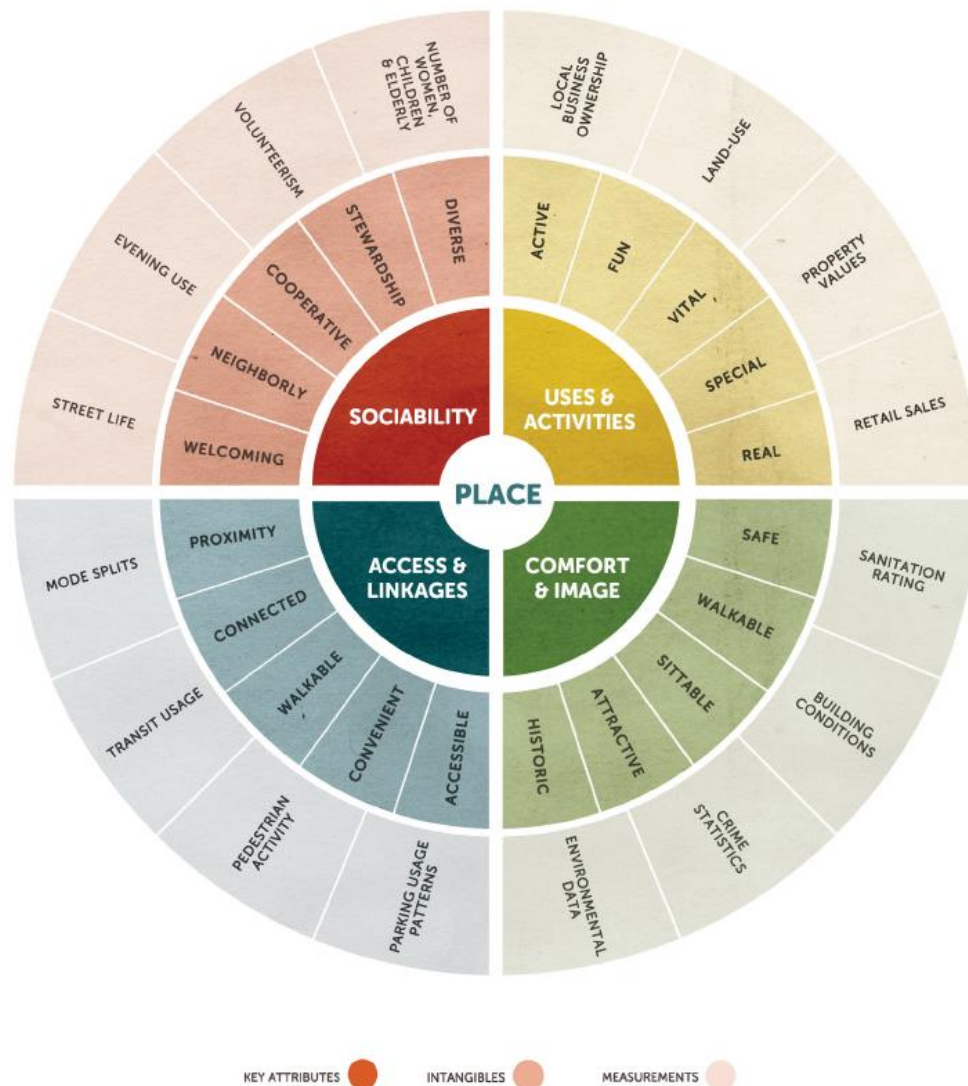
³⁷ [Place Agency \(2020\) What is Placemaking](#)

³⁸ [Project for Public Spaces \(2007\) What is Placemaking?](#)

³⁹ [Place Agency \(2018\) The four dimensions of Place](#)

⁴⁰ [Moreira, S. \(2021\) What is Placemaking? \[Arch Daily\]](#)

⁴¹ [Project for Public Spaces \(2018\) Placemaking](#)



[\(Project for Public Spaces, 2018, Placemaking, pg.5\)](#)

Aim of placemaking

The aim of placemaking is to create and / or develop quality places where people want to live, work, play, learn and visit⁴². It ultimately aims to trigger an emotional connection or attachment between people or communities, and places⁴³. The Brookings Bass Centre for Transformative Placemaking states that placemaking endeavours to:

- 'Nurture an economic ecosystem that is regionally connected, innovative, and rooted in the assets of local residents and businesses
- Support a built environment that is accessible, flexible, and advances community health & resilience
- Foster a vibrant, cohesive social environment that is reflective of community history and identity
- Encourage civic structures that are locally-organized, inclusive, and support network building⁴⁴.

⁴² [MSU Statewide \(2021\) Placemaking Assessment Tool](#)

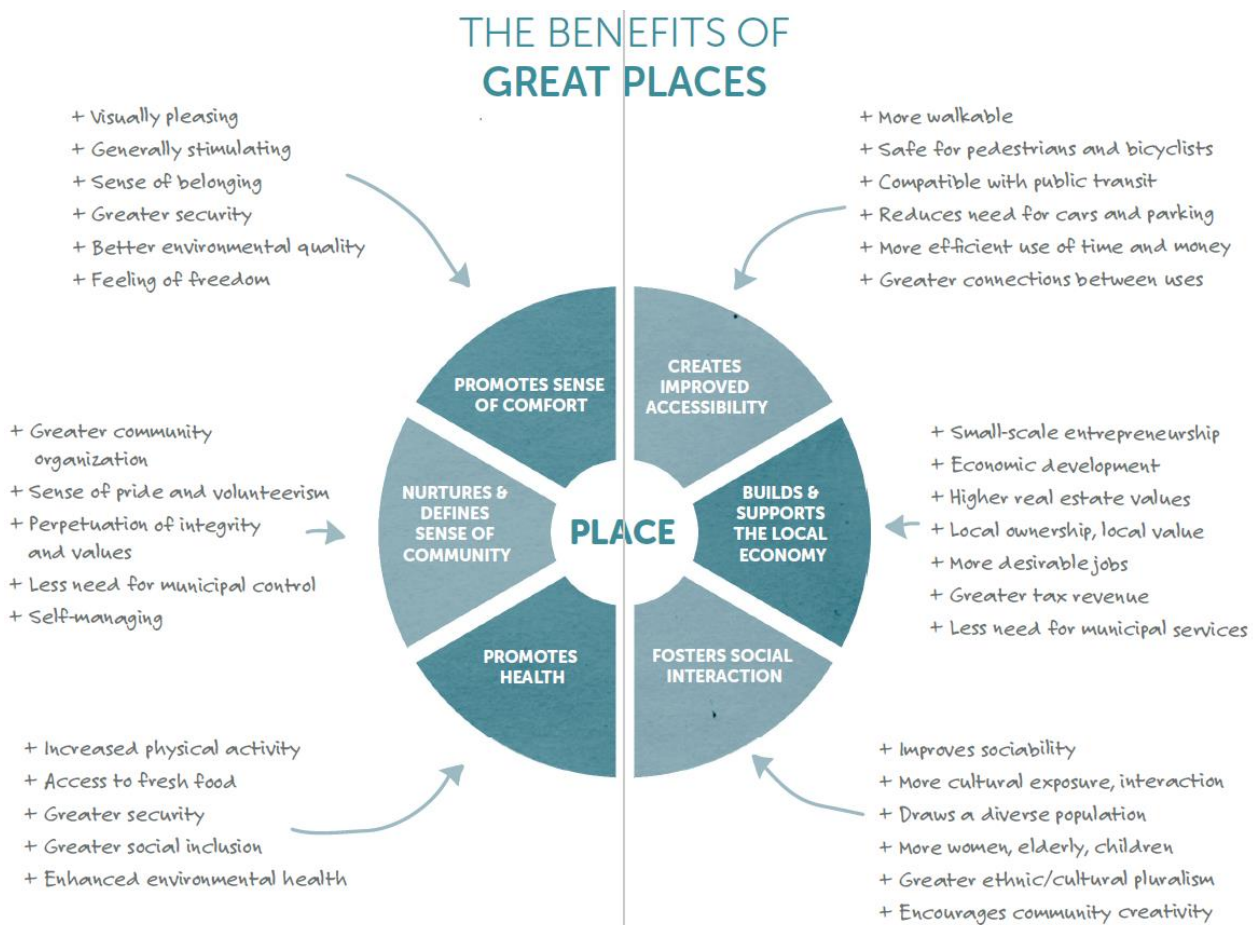
⁴³ [Hes, D. et al. \(2019\) Place Evaluation: Measuring What Matters by Prioritising Relationships](#)

⁴⁴ [Brookings \(2021\) Bass Centre for Transformative Placemaking](#)

Benefits of placemaking

When conducted effectively, placemaking creates or restores a higher quality living environment for residents, communities and visitors. It contributes to the provision of a wider range of living, transportation, entertainment, recreation and other related amenities and options^{37 43}. By virtue of the social cohesion and connections to places or place attachment that placemaking contributes to, it is linked to positive outcomes in health, community participation, civic behaviour and perceptions of safety^{38 40}. Even in dense, diverse or mobile communities, placemaking can foster place attachment and subsequent positive impacts⁴⁴. The benefits are multifaceted as well, as placemaking helps to transform or create public spaces that ‘breed engagement and economic development, and are exciting places to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit’⁴⁵. On account of effective placemaking, new or more visitors and talent are more likely to be attracted to an area which in turn will contribute to economic activity, job creation, tax revenues and vibrant communities.

A report by the international real estate and investment group CBRE concluded that placemaking and good public realm interventions improve human wellbeing and real estate values while supporting long term value resilience⁴⁶. Furthermore, the report highlighted how improvements in the public realm create wellbeing and value uplift in four key ways: improve the image of an area, create a new destination by the establishment of new commercial or recreational facilities, adds versatility to an area so that it can be used for events, and establishes the character of a newly developed area. PPS provides an overview of the benefits of placemaking and great places which are displayed below:



(Project for Public Spaces, 2018, Placemaking, pg.5)

⁴⁵ [MSU \(2016\) What are the benefits of effective placemaking in your community?](#)

⁴⁶ [CBRE \(2017\) Placemaking – Value and the Public Realm](#)

Examples of placemaking

- The Lawn on D – Boston, United States. Following a longstanding community request for outdoor open space, The Lawn on D was created as an outdoor playground for adults. It provides games, toys and activities that are scaled up in size for adults. A central feature is the collection of giant swings which can support adults and which light up at night⁴⁷. It provides a dedicated place for the community to converge, for activities to take place and for events to be hosted⁴⁸.



Image by The Lawn on D

- City of Asylum – Pittsburgh, United States. Established in 2004, it seeks to build a just community by protecting and celebrating freedom of creative expression. It provides sanctuary to endangered writers and artists through residency programmes. In order to house them, it transforms dilapidated properties into homes. It contributes to regenerating and creating places, social equity, cultural exchange and integrated community and economic development⁴⁹.



Image by City of Asylum

⁴⁷ [Only in your state \(2021\) This Epic Adult Playground in Massachusetts has giant glowing swings](#)

⁴⁸ [Peach, J. \(2017\) Five of the best placemaking initiatives in the US](#)

⁴⁹ [City of Asylum \(2021\) About Us, Our Mission](#)

Another approach to placemaking is the ‘lighter, quicker, cheaper’ approach as highlighted by Project for Public Spaces⁵⁰. This approach involves making temporary and or inexpensive alterations to a public space. Relevant examples include:

- Umbrella Sky Project – Agueda, Portugal. Each year since 2011, during the hot summer months, narrow streets of Agueda are transformed by colourful umbrella canopies that provide shade for pedestrians and that create a place for various uses such as outdoor exercise classes, events and community gatherings. Since it began, it has been replicated in other Portuguese cities and around the world.

Image by Umbrella Sky Project



- Intersection Repair – Portland Oregon. The City Repair Project transforms ordinary traffic intersections and car centred roadways into vibrant public spaces. The project brings together local communities and volunteers to paint giant murals onto selected intersections. The murals turn the intersection into a community gathering place, a point of community pride and help to calm traffic and thus improve safety.

Image by City Repair Project



⁵⁰ [Project for Public Spaces \(2016\) Light, Quick and Cheap: 5 Placemaking Projects That Inspire Us](#)

4 Review: Indices and Dublin’s Position

In recent years, numerous indices, benchmarks and rankings relevant to city branding and place-making have been developed. Many have been developed by consultancies, think tanks and research institutions as interest in both constructs has increased. The indices are typically based on market research, opinion polls and / or city related data analysis⁵¹.

Given the extensive and broad nature of city branding and place making, the indices are diverse. Following a desktop review, relevant indices, benchmarks and rankings were identified and the position of Dublin on these was determined. The indices, benchmarks and rankings were identified in the context of generally accepted interpretations among practitioners and within relevant literature. The rankings are categorised according to typical or relevant dimensions as part of city branding and place-making in the table below. The current or most recent rankings available, regarding Dublin’s position are listed along with the progress of Dublin’s position, where available.

Indices and Dublin’s Position		
4.1 General Indices		
Index	Description	Dublin Rank / Position
Global Cities Index 2020	<p>Global Cities Index: current performance – measures 29 different metrics across 5 dimensions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business Activity (capital flow, market dynamics, major companies present. Weight 30%) - Human Capital (education attainment levels. 30%) - Information Exchange (access to information through internet / other media sources. 15%) - Cultural Experience (access to sporting events, museums / other expos. 15%) - Political Engagement. (political events, think tanks and embassies. 10%) 	46/151 (Unchanged since 2019) ⁵²
Global Cities Outlook Index 2020	<p>Global Cities Outlook: future potential – measures 13 indicators across 4 dimensions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal Well-being (safety, healthcare, inequality, environmental performance. Weight 25%) - Economics (long term investments and GDP. 25%) - Innovation (entrepreneurship through patents, private investments, and incubators. 25%) - Governance (proxy for long-term stability through transparency, quality of bureaucracy and ease of doing business. 25%) <p>The index is operated by Kearney – Global Management Consulting Firm</p>	10/151 (Down -1 since 2019) ³⁸
IESE Cities in Motion Index 2020	<p>The Index evaluates 174 cities across the world regarding nine key dimensions and the associated metrics / indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human Capital: secondary or higher education attainment, # of schools / education institutions, # of business schools, expenditure on education, per capita expenditure on leisure and recreation, movement of students, # of museums and art galleries, # of universities, # of theatres 	33/174 (2019) (Up +1) ⁵³

⁵¹ [North, S. \(2015\) City Monitor: Do city rankings really matter?](#)

⁵² [Kearney \(2020\) Global Cities Index](#)

⁵³ [IESE \(2020\) Cities in Motion Index 2020](#)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social Cohesion: female-friendly environment, # of hospitals, crime rate, slavery index, happiness index, Gini index (equality), peace index, health index, price of property, homicide rate, death rate, female employment ratio, suicide rate, unemployment rate, terrorism rate - Economy: collaborative economy, ease of starting a business, mortgage as % of income, motivation that people have to undertake early-stage entrepreneurial activity, number of headquarters of publicly traded companies, purchasing power, productivity, hourly wage, time required to start a business, GDP, GDP per capita, estimated GDP - Governance: # of Government buildings, E Government Development Index, # of embassies, employment in public administration, strength of legal rights index, corruption perceptions index, ISO 37120 certification, # of research / technology centres, open data platform, democracy ranking, financial reserves, financial reserves per capita - Environment: amount of solid waste per person, future climate forecasting, CO2 emission level, methane emission level, environmental performance index, CO2 emission index, pollution index, # of particles with a diameter less than 10 / 2.5 µm, % of population with water supply access, renewable water resources - Mobility and Transportation: bicycle rental, moped rental, scooter rental, # bicycles per household, bike sharing, traffic inefficiency index, exponential index, traffic index, length of metro system, # of metro stations, high speed train, # of commercial vehicles in the city, # of incoming flights in a city - Urban Planning: # bicycles for rent, # completed buildings, # people per household, % the urban population with adequate sanitation services, # buildings over 35 meters high - International projection: # passengers per airport, # hotels per capita, restaurant index, # McDonald's restaurants per city, # conferences & meetings, # photos of the city uploaded online - Technology: 3G coverage, innovation index, % of households with internet access, online banking, online video calls, LTE/WiMAX, mobile phone penetration ratio, personal computers, social networks, landline subscriptions, broadband subscriptions, telephony, mobile telephony, internet usage away from home and/or office, internet speed, web index, Wi-Fi hotspots 	
Best Cities 2021	<p>The Best Cities Index is conducted by Resonance Consultancy which scores the world's best cities using 6 metrics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Place: perceived quality of a city's natural / built environment including subcategories of weather, safety, neighbourhoods, landmarks and outdoors - Product: city's key institutions, attractions and infrastructure including subcategories of airport connectivity, attractions, museums, university rankings, convention centre, pro sports teams - Programming: arts, culture, entertainment and culinary scene including subcategories of shopping, restaurants and nightlife - People: immigration rate and diversity of a city including subcategories of foreign born and education attainment - Prosperity: city's employment and corporate head offices including the subcategories of Fortune 500 companies, household income, employment rate, income equality 	33/100 ⁵⁵ (Up +11)

⁵⁵ [Best Cities \(2021\) Rankings](#)

	- Promotion: # of stories, references and recommendations shared online about a city including the subcategories of Google Search Results, Google Trends, Facebook Check-ins, Instagram Hashtags, TripAdvisor Reviews ⁵⁴ .	
Global Liveability Index 2021	The index is conducted by The Economist Intelligence Unit – the research and analysis division of The Economist Group. The index examines 140 cities throughout the world to quantify the challenges presented to an individual's lifestyle in the past year. Each city is ranked according to 30 qualitative and quantitative factors across 5 categories: stability, healthcare, culture and environment, education and infrastructure.	51/140 (Down -22) ⁵⁶
Mercer Quality of Living City Ranking 2019	Conducted by Mercer, a global consultancy firm, the ranking evaluates local living conditions in over 450 cities across the world. 39 indicators under 10 categories are used to evaluate living conditions. The 10 categories are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political & social environment (political stability, crime, law enforcement) - Economic environment (currency exchange regulations, banking services) - Socio-cultural environment (media availability & censorship, personal freedom) - Medical and health considerations (medical supplies and services, infectious diseases, sewage, waste disposal, air pollution) - Schools and education (standards and availability of international schools) - Public services and transportation (electricity, water, public transportation, traffic congestion) - Recreation (restaurants, theatres, cinemas, sports and leisure) - Consumer goods (availability of food/daily consumption items, cars). - Housing (housing rent, household appliances, furniture, maintenance services) - Natural environment (climate, record of natural disasters) 	33/231 ⁵⁷ (Up +1) ⁵⁸
Mercer Cost of Living City Ranking 2021	The ranking is based on the findings from an annual cost of living survey which evaluates more than 200 items under the following categories: housing, transportation, utilities, food, domestic supplies, home services, personal care, clothing and footwear, recreation and entertainment, alcohol & tobacco	39/209 (Up +7) ⁵⁹
Numbeo Quality of Life by City Index 2021	Numbeo is a collaborative online database which compiles data and also enables users to share information in order to rank cities and countries on different indices. The Quality of Life Index is constructed via ranking cities regarding: purchasing power, safety, health care, cost of living, property price to income ratio, traffic commute time, pollution and climate.	145/251 ⁶⁰ (Down -13)
Numbeo Cost of Living by City Index 2021	The Numbeo Cost of Living Index is constructed via ranking cities regarding: rent levels, groceries prices, restaurant prices and local purchasing power.	39/563 ⁶¹ (Down -3)
City RepTrak 2018 ⁶²	City RepTrak is a global survey based on 12,000 ratings which are collected from the G8 countries. The Index ranks the world's 56 most reputable cities based on levels of: trust, esteem, admiration and respect. Perceptions	18/56 ⁶³ (Down -1) ⁶⁴

⁵⁴ [Best Cities \(2021\) Methodology](#)

⁵⁶ [The Economist Intelligence Unit \(2021\) Global Liveability Index 2021](#)

⁵⁷ [Mercer \(2019\) Quality of Living City Ranking 2019](#)

⁵⁸ [Mercer \(2019\) Dublin Ranks 33rd in Mercer's 21st Quality of Living Ranking](#)

⁵⁹ [Mercer \(2021\) Cost of Living City Ranking 2021](#)

⁶⁰ [Numbeo \(2021\) Quality of Life Index by City 2021](#)

⁶¹ [Numbeo \(2021\) Cost of Living Index by City 2021](#)

⁶² [City RepTrak \(2018\) Most Reputable Cities](#)

⁶³ [Vickey Valet \(2018\) Forbes – The World's Most Reputable Cities 2018](#)

⁶⁴ [City RepTrak \(2017\) The Most Reputable Cities in the World](#)

	regarding 13 different attributes are also grouped into three dimensions: Advanced Economy, Effective Government and Appealing Environment. The index is operated by Kearney – Global Management Consulting Firm	
eutopia – Place Attractiveness (Ireland, by County)	eutopia developed a place attractiveness diagnostic tool which was used to benchmark all the counties in Ireland regarding 4 core pillars: invest (Celtic roar), live (urban edge), visit (urban energisers and cultural explorers) and study (Saints and scholars).	2 ⁶⁵

4.2 City Brand Indices

Index	Description	Dublin Rank / Position
Anholt-Ipsos City Brands Index 2020	<p>The index, managed by Ipsos (multinational market research and consulting firm) is constructed following interviews of 5,000 people in 10 panel countries (Australia, Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Russia, South Korea, UK, and USA). 50 global cities are evaluated regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International status (Presence: the city’s status and global contribution in science, culture and governance) - Physical appeal (Place: perceptions of the city’s physical appeal including climate, environment cleanliness and attractiveness of buildings / parks) - Amenities (Prerequisites: perceptions of basic qualities and whether they are satisfactory, affordable and accommodating. Standards of public amenities such as schools, hospitals, transportation and sports facilities) - Warmth of inhabitants (People: reveals if city inhabitants would be warm / welcoming, if respondents think it would be easy to fit in / feel safe) - Activities (Pulse: determines if there are interesting activities to do and how exciting the city is regarding new things to discover) - Educational and business qualities (Potential: measures economic and educational opportunities, if the city is a good location to do business and / or pursue a higher education)⁶⁶ <p>Conducted every two years and published by Ipsos.</p>	21-30/50 (3 rd Tier) ⁶⁷

4.3 Entrepreneurship and Innovation Ecosystem Indices

Index	Description	Dublin Rank / Position
Global Power City Index 2020	<p>The index evaluates cities regarding their ‘magnetism’ or power to attract people, capital and enterprises from around the world. 70 different indicators across 6 dimensions are used to evaluate cities. The dimensions and indicator groups are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economy: market size, market attractiveness, economic vitality, human capital, business environment, ease of doing business - R&D: academic resources, research environment, innovation - Cultural Interaction: trendsetting potential, tourism resources, cultural facilities, visitor amenities, international interaction - Liveability: working environment, cost of living, security and safety, well-being, ease of living - Environment: sustainability, air quality and comfort, urban environment 	<p>31/48 Overall (Up +2)</p> <p>7/48</p> <p>36/48</p> <p>40/48</p> <p>25/48</p> <p>30/48</p>

⁶⁵ [O’Doherty, J. \(2021\) Rediscovering & Reinventing Dublin Post-Pandemic \[DEM\]](#)

⁶⁶ [Ipsos \(2020\) City Brand Index](#)

⁶⁷ [Ipsos \(2020\) City Brands 2020 Press Release](#)

	- Accessibility: international network, air transport capacity, inner-city transportation, transport comfortability	37/48 ⁶⁸
Startup Genome Global Startup Ecosystem Report 2020	The index produced by Startup Genome and Global Entrepreneurship Network ranks startup ecosystems regarding 7 success factors or dimensions and associated indicators: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Performance: ecosystem value, exits, startup success - Funding: access, quality and activity - Market Reach: global leading companies, local reach, IP commercialisation - Connectedness: local connectedness, infrastructure - Talent: (Tech: access, quality, cost) (Life sciences: STEM access, quality) (Experience: scaling experience, startup experience) - Knowledge: research, patents - Infrastructure 	36/40 ⁶⁹ (Down -10)
Global Startup Ecosystem Index 2021 (Best Cities for Startups 2021)	StartupBlink is a think tank that aims to give all stakeholders in the global ecosystem accurate information to help inform location based decisions. Each year, it ranks the startup ecosystems of 1,000 cities and 100 countries regarding: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quantity: # of startups, # of coworking spaces, # of accelerators - Quality: traction of ecosystems top startups, unicorns, exits, pantheons - Business: various economic indicators 	51/1000 (Up +3) ⁷⁰
Global Innovation Index (Top 100 Science and Technology Clusters)	The index, developed by Cornell University, INSEAD and the World Intellectual Property Organisation provides metrics on innovation performance of 131 countries and economies. It uses 80 indicators under a range of dimensions, including: political environment, education, infrastructure and business sophistication. As part of it, it identifies and ranks the world's most vibrant / top 100 clusters of science and technology activity.	Dublin Dropped out of top 100 (Down) ⁷¹
Innovation Cities Index 2021 (Top 100)	Conducted by the Data Innovation Agency: 2thinknow, the index is constructed using 162 indicators under 3 dimensions which are: cultural assets, human infrastructure and networked markets.	92/500 (Down -40) ⁷²
FDI European Cities and Regions of the Future 2020/21	Each year, FDI Intelligence, a service of The Financial Times collects various data to rank cities and regions in Europe. This year, data was collected for 505 locations (319 cities, 148 regions and 38 LEPs). The locations are then shortlisted under 5 categories: economic potential, human capital and lifestyle, cost effectiveness, connectivity and business friendliness and ranked in different benchmarks. Aside from the overall rankings (displayed in the column to the right), cities and regions are also ranked in various subcategories. Those in which Dublin was ranked are: 3/10 Major E. Cities OTF 4/10 M.E. Cities OTF: Economic Potential 2/10 Major E. Cities OTF: FDI 3/10 M.E. Cities OTF: Business Friendliness 1/10 Northern E. Region OTF 2/10 Northern E. Cities OTF 1/10 Small E. Region OTF 8/10 SER OTF: Human Capital & Lifestyle 1/10 SER OTF: Economic Potential 1/10 SER OTF: Business Friendliness	3/25 E. Cities OTF: Overall (Down -1) ⁷³ 2/25 E. Region OTF: Overall ⁷⁴ (Down -1)

⁶⁸ [Global Power City Index \(2020\)](#)

⁶⁹ [Startup Genome \(2020\) Global Startup Ecosystem Report 2020](#)

⁷⁰ [StartupBlink \(2021\) Global Startup Ecosystem Index \(Best Cities for Startups\)](#)

⁷¹ [Global Innovation Index \(2020\)](#)

⁷² [Innovation Cities \(2021\) Index 2021: Top 100 World's Most Innovative Cities](#)

⁷³ [FDI \(2018\) fDi's European Cities and Regions of the Future 2018/19 – Winners](#)

⁷⁴ [FDI \(2020\) European Cities and Regions of the Future 2020/2021](#)

Global Financial Centres Index 29 (2021)	<p>The index is published bi-annually by the think-tank: Z/Yen Group to evaluate the world's leading financial centres. The index evaluates regarding 5 areas of competitiveness which are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business Environment (E): political stability & rule of law, institutional & regulatory E, macroeconomic E, tax & cost competitiveness. - Human Capital: availability of skilled personnel, flexible labour market, education and development, quality of life - Infrastructure (I): built I, ICTI, transport I, sustainable development - Financial Sector Development: depth and breadth of industry clusters, availability of capital, market liquidity, economic output - Reputation: city brand and appeal, level of innovation, attractiveness and cultural diversity, comparative positioning with other centres 	<p>48/114 Overall Rank (Down -14)</p> <p>40/105 FinTech Rank (Up +2)⁷⁵</p>
Global Cities Talent Competitiveness Index	<p>The Global Talent Competitiveness Index is an annual benchmarking tool which ranks countries and cities regarding their ability to develop, attract and retain talent. As part of the overall index, a specific index to rank cities is included. The cities index uses 16 indicators under 5 pillars, which are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enable: GDP per capita, internet speed, ease of doing business - Attract: presence of Forbes Global 2000 companies (HQ presence), foreign born population, FDI projects - Grow: major universities, tertiary enrolment, FDI jobs created - Retain: safety, environmental quality, traffic travel times, affordability - Global Knowledge Skills: population with tertiary education, patent applications, airport connectivity 	<p>13/155 Overall (Up +22)</p> <p>2/155 GCTCI Pillar: Enable⁷⁶</p>
Smart City Index	<p>The index is conducted by The Institute for Management Development and Singapore University for Technology and Design. It assesses the perceptions of residents on issues related to 2 pillars: structures (existing infrastructure) and technology (technological provisions and services) available to them in their city. Each pillar is evaluated regarding 5 key areas: health and safety, mobility, activities, opportunities and governance⁷⁷.</p>	<p>34/109 (Down -4)⁷⁸</p>
European Digital Social Innovation Index 2021	<p>The index was developed as part of DSI4EU, an EU funded project. It uses 32 indicators within the following 6 dimensions or themes: skills, infrastructure, diversity and inclusion, collaboration, funding, civil society.</p>	<p>18/60⁷⁹</p>
European Digital City Index 2016	<p>Although out of date now, this index used a variety of interesting indicators to describe how well different European cities supported digital entrepreneurship. 40 indicators grouped into 10 overlying dimensions were used. The 10 dimensions were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Skills: labour costs, graduates access, business training, ICT employees, support employees, English language skills - Access to Capital: early / late stage, business angel – funding, crowdfunding - Business Environment: data openness, office space cost, doing business ease - Digital Infrastructure: fibre internet, mobile/internet speed, broadband cost - Entrepreneurial Culture: willingness to take on risk, multicultural diversity, online collaboration, new-business density, perception of entrepreneurs, trust, ecosystem engagement, history of unicorns - Knowledge Spillovers: quality of universities, R&D intensity 	<p>8/60 Start Up (Ranks cities for start up - i.e. early stage companies / entrepreneurs – readiness)</p> <p>9/60 Scale Up (Ranks cities for scale up – i.e. rapidly growing)</p>

⁷⁵ [Global Financial Centres Index 29 \(2021\)](#)

⁷⁶ [Global Cities Talent Competitiveness Index 2020 \(p. 97 in Global Talent Competitiveness Index 2020\)](#)

⁷⁷ [Smart City Index \(2021\) Methodology](#)

⁷⁸ [Smart Cities Index \(2020\)](#)

⁷⁹ [European Digital Social Innovation Index \(2021\)](#)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lifestyle: standard of living, culture and recreation - Market: local online sales growth, mobile / digital market size, digital services demand, local online sales - Mentoring: networking events, access to accelerators, early stage assistance - Non-Digital Infrastructure: train and airport connectivity, commute⁸⁰. 	companies with 1-10 employees – readiness) ⁸¹
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4.4 Green / Sustainability Indices

Index	Description	Dublin Rank / Position
Citizen Centric Cities – Sustainable Cities Index 2018	<p>The index is conducted by ARCADIS, a global design and consultancy organisation that focuses on natural and built assets. The index is aligned to the UN Sustainable Development Goals and ranks 100 global cities on 3 pillars regarding sustainability:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People (Social: reflects social mobility and quality of opportunity and life. It considers quality of life in the present and prospects for improvement for future generations) - Planet (Environmental: describes management of energy use, pollution and emissions. It measures sustainable attributes of a city such as green space and pollution as well as leading indicators of environmental mitigation) - Profit (Economic: assess business environment and economic performance. It considers the presence of infrastructure and regulatory enablers that support growth and prosperity in the present and future) 	<p>20/100 Overall Index</p> <p>18/100 People Sub Index</p> <p>31/100 Planet Sub Index</p> <p>19/100 Profit Sub Index⁸²</p>
European Green City Index 2009 (Part of overall Green City Index)	<p>Although out of date now, the Green City Index, developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit in cooperation with Siemens used a variety of interesting indicators to rank European cities. The index evaluates 16 quantitative and 14 qualitative indicators across 8 dimensions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Buildings: energy consumption of residential buildings, energy-efficient buildings standards, energy-efficient buildings initiatives - Transport: use of non-car transport, size of non-car transport network, green transport promotion, congestion reduction policies - Waste and Land Use: Municipal waste production, waste recycling, waste reduction policies, green land use policies - Water: water consumption, system leakages, wastewater system treatment, water efficiency and treatment policies - Air Quality: Nitrogen dioxide, sulphur dioxide, ozone, particulate matter, clean air policies - Environmental Governance: green action plan, green management, public participation in green policy 	21/30 ⁸³

4.5 Arts and Culture Indices

Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor 2019	<p>The monitor was developed by the Joint Research Council, the European Commission's science and knowledge service to assess the performance of cultural and creative cities in Europe. Quantitative and qualitative information is captured under 29 indicators, 9 dimensions and 3 overall facets. The facets and dimensions are:</p>	4/40 XL Group Population 500,000-1m (Up +2) ⁸⁴
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⁸⁰ [European Digital City Index \(2016\) Methodology](#)

⁸¹ [European Digital City Index \(2016\)](#)

⁸² [ARCADIS \(2018\) Citizen Centric Cities Sustainable Cities Index 2018](#)

⁸³ [Green City Index \(2009\) \(European Green City Index: p. 15\)](#)

⁸⁴ [Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor \(2019\)](#)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Cultural Vibrancy: cultural venues and facilities, cultural participation and attractiveness- Creative Economy: creative and knowledge-based jobs, intellectual property and innovation, new jobs in creative sectors- Enabling Environment: human capital and education, openness tolerance and trust, local and international connections, quality of governance	
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