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PLACE IMAGE AND PLACE BRANDING: WHAT THE DATA TELLS US

Of the two co-authors of this article, the first has led a long-term research program and participated in a large number of additional studies on these issues, involving numerous co-researchers in various countries, and the second is a newer lead member of the team that is working on the next wave of research in this field. This international group has studied place images and their effects since the early 1980s, and place branding since it emerged some 15 years ago. During this period, more than 80 studies have been carried out, resulting in over 100 publications arising from both conceptual as well as field research with over 22,000 consumers, investors, tourists, and others in almost 25 countries. After highlighting the nature and importance of this area as a field of practice and study, the goal of this article is to summarize key findings, and draw implications from, this research program.

It has been known for a long time that the image of a place can have a significant influence on how buyers perceive and evaluate products associated with it. More recently, in the 1980s some governments began developing national campaigns to help their firms compete against imported products by encouraging consumers to “buy domestic”. This government involvement in place-based marketing led to the realization that place images have also played a major role for a long time in tourism, agriculture, and international politics, which are by necessity place-bound. So, starting in the early 1990s some governments also began trying to develop marketing programs to attract factors of development and promote their exports through more integrative approaches.

Combined, these developments reflect the convergence of various fields of practice and research into the notion of “country branding”, a major new development that is likely to have a significant impact, in both the short and long run, on how business and government managers think and how they perceive their roles in the domestic and global contexts. More broadly, image-based place marketing, coupled with buyers’ reactions to it, represents an important new force that is likely to affect marketing as well as political systems worldwide for some time to come.

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BACKGROUND

Research on Product-Country Images deals with the referent image that buyers conjure up when exposed to information associating a product with a place. The importance of "origin" can be traced back to much earlier times, when such notions as "silk from China", "copper from Chile", and even "Solon the Athenian", reflected countries' resource-based comparative advantages or helped to identify products and individuals and distinguish them from others. Of course, "identification" and "distinctiveness" are the two key terms in any definition of branding. As branding evolved, managers often stumbled upon the use of origin symbols as a matter of habit or inertia, resulting in simple descriptive names such as American Airlines or Norway Sardines. More recently, "made-in" labels have become a legal requirement for most products. But today's globalized world has led some observers to argue that since products can be made virtually anywhere by anyone and often include components from several countries, these distinctions no longer matter to consumers. Indeed, exactly where a product is made may no longer be as important – however, such arguments miss the point.

The issue is not necessarily the location of manufacturing, but *the origin with which the product is associated, whether directly or by inference*. For example, brand names like Ferrari or Gucci, and phrases like *Hungarian goulash* or *New Orleans jazz*, have special place-related meaning. This is recognized by brand marketers, who use place images extensively (e.g., *Clearly Canadian* bottled water, *Florida oranges*, *100% Colombian coffee*, *Armitron: America's Watch*, and made-in-Hungary Audi cars promoted in Canada engineered in Germany to capitalize on that country's stronger image). Marketers' appreciation of the power of images can be seen especially in their growing use of "borrowed" origin associations. Examples include the British flag on *Reebok* sport shoes and *Australian Hair Recipe* shampoo, both of which are American brands, and an advertisement by South Korea's *Daewoo* which claimed, "Who gives you Italian style, British handling and German engineering? Daewoo, that's who." At the same time, many firms use "Euro" branding in the European Union, and some firms promote "global" brands (e.g. United Colors of Benetton) – again place-based, albeit "worldwide" in such cases, associations.

Marketers use place images for two main reasons. The first has to do with their own needs, and can be found in a phrase used above: Since, with modern

technology, most products "can be made virtually anywhere by anyone", managers are faced with growing standardization in intrinsic product features – and, to meet the challenge of how to differentiate their brands, they increasingly rely on extrinsic identifiers such as product origin or brand name in positioning strategies. The second has to do with the needs of buyers. Intrinsic cues, such as objective quality or performance characteristics, need to be researched to yield information value and often require considerable effort to be understood (Newman – Staelin, 1972). So, faced with millions of messages, many choices, and busy lives, consumers look for shortcuts – and place image and other extrinsic cues, such as brand name or price, act as summary information carriers that enable them to save time and cope with cognitive overload through information "chunking" (Simon, 1974; Dawar – Parker, 1994). Place images affect both end-consumers and industrial buyers, among others, as shown by a Hong Kong study of tour operators who said they have positive views of made-in-Brazil tour buses, partly because a country that produced Pelé (soccer) and Senna (Formula 1 car racing) must be doing something right (Stewart – Chan, 1993).

Given the above, it is not surprising that manifestations of PCI use can be found in virtually every marketing function, including not only made-in labels but also advertising, packaging, brand or company names, and many others. Place image may comprise a brand's main USP or be used to reinforce some other marketing strategy, and is expressed through various symbols such as national flags or names (e.g., Sweden's *Ericsson* or *Argentine* steakhouses in Holland), distinctive national music, representative and recognizable landmarks, personalities, or animals (e.g., France's Eiffel Tower, actors, Australia's koala bear), or geographic characteristics (e.g., mountains or beaches in tourism promotion).

The PCI phenomenon has attracted strong research interest that reflects the pervasive presence of place cues in the market as well as in everyday life and language through education, the media, and other sources (*French panache*, *Russian roulette*, *British stiff upper lip*). A trickle of studies became a steady stream following the first systematic research (Schooler, 1965) and literature review (Bilkey – Nes, 1982) on the subject, turning into a virtual flood from the 1990s onwards. Several authors have noted that PCI is the most-researched area in international buyer behaviour (Tan – Farley, 1987; Peterson – Jolibert, 1995; Jaffe – Nebenzahl, 2001, 2006) – and this is in spite of the fact that they greatly underestimate the number of pub-

lished studies, by placing it at 200 to 300 depending on the time of the estimate. An exhaustive database of relevant research, which we maintain, showed 766 publications as of 2000 (Papadopoulos – Heslop, 2003) and slightly over 1,000 as of mid-2004 (Papadopoulos, 2004). This has now grown to almost 1,300 at end-2005, including over 400 academic journal articles and 20 books (this does not, of course, include the thousands of related articles in the public media each year).

Studies have dealt with the perceived importance of place image (e.g., Hong – Wyer, 1989), cross-national research (e.g., Papadopoulos et al., 2000a), the effects of ethnocentrism and animosity (e.g., Shimp – Sharma, 1987; Klein et al., 1998), place image effects on industrial buyers (e.g., Dzever – Quester, 1999), and structural equation models of PCI effects (e.g., Han, 1989). The influence of origin information cue varies, but often equals or exceeds that of brand name and other extrinsic cues depending on situational and other factors (Bilkey – Nes, 1982; Johansson, 1993; Papadopoulos, 1993; Jaffe – Nebenzahl, 2006). Three meta-analyses have concluded that PCI is “a dominant factor in consumer choice” (Liefeld, 1993:144), accounts for “a substantial proportion of the variance in... purchase intentions” (Peterson – Jolibert, 1995:895), and is “a substantial factor in product evaluations” (Verlegh – Steenkamp, 1999:11).

As can be seen, PCI deals primarily with the demand side of the place image equation, that is, it focuses on image effects on buyers. Turning to strategic place branding, this is a new phenomenon that evolved over the past 15 years or so and deals with the supply side of the same equation – the management of these images. This arose mainly as a result of growing concerns over promoting exports and attracting factors of development in intensely competitive global markets, such as foreign direct investment (FDI), skilled labour, tourism, and foreign students. These concerns have been exacerbated recently by the opening of emerging markets to FDI, which was sparked by the change of regime in former communist countries, the drop in international travel due to terrorism, and health scares in agriculture (e.g., mad cow, avian flu), all of which intensified place-based competition in these sectors. The result has been a large number of newer “country branding” campaigns (e.g., *Invest in Austria*, *New York Means Business*, *Deutschland Europa*, *Cool Britannia*, *Czech Made*), in addition to continuation of earlier programs (e.g., *Crafted With Pride in America*, *Swiss Timing*, *Italian Leather*, *I Love New York*).

Because place branding deals with supply-side issues and is a new field, studies in this area are most-

ly managerial in orientation and most are conceptual (e.g., see the special issue on “country branding” in the *Journal of Brand Management*, April 2002, and any issue of the new journal *Place Branding*, launched in November 2004). Empirical research is still in its infancy and numbers only a few studies most of which are very rudimentary (e.g., Cameron – Elliott, 1998; Amine – Chao, 2005; Beverland – Lindgreen, 2002; Lowengart – Menipaz, 2001).

HIGHLIGHTS OF MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS

PCI research has a history of some 40 years, and the research program in which we are involved has contributed to it for about half that time, starting in the mid-1980s. The program consists of several sub-streams that have addressed a variety of specific subjects, have involved over the years a large number of co-researchers as members of an international research group (for convenience, this is referred to as *IRG* from here on), and have used a wide array of methodologies including surveys, experiments, focus groups, in-person depth interviews, content analysis, and others. This has enabled the IRG to validate and extend the results through both triangulation and replication, the two main approaches that enable research generalizations, and, more importantly, to develop a well-rounded view of the entire place image field, through both the IRG research and the continuous cross-fertilization of ideas with virtually all of the major scholars who work in this field internationally. Considering the space limitations, in this section we only highlight key findings from selected studies, focusing somewhat more closely on a few areas of particular interest by using illustrative tables and figures. More details on the specific findings can be found in the original articles cited. We should note that the extensive citations to the work of the IRG is necessary given the objectives of this article, and that this is not of course intended to be self-serving or to reduce the value of the hundreds of studies by other researchers, such as those that were already mentioned above.

“Country” vs. “Product” Images

Traditionally, image has been conceptualized as a “halo” that affects product evaluations. However, most researchers have made the implicit assumption that country image is reflected in the image of its products, and therefore used only product measures in their studies. This, of course, resulted in a tautology: The *country image* that was supposed to *affect* product image was measured through the *product image* itself!

Starting in the late 1980s, IRG developed *distinct country and product measures* and used them in its studies since, with three beneficial effects:

- First, since until that time there had been no *country* image research in marketing, it made it necessary to draw from other cognate fields where such studies were available (e.g., social psychology, international affairs), thus beginning a tradition of cross-disciplinary integration which we have continued to this day.
- Second, these measures were of course used to better understand the images of various origins. Examples are shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3, which highlight findings from a 15-country study with a sample of over 6,000 consumers (see Papadopoulos et al., 2000a for a detailed elaboration). Table 1 shows the rank-order of 18 origins that were evaluated using 7-point scales for four key measures, two about the countries and two about their products. As can be seen, for countries about which consumers have a fair amount of information, such as Germany, Japan, the U.S., Australia, and Canada, there are significant differences between their country and product rankings. The first three countries score very highly on products but lower as countries, while the rankings are reversed for the last two – lower product scores but “first place” as countries. This can also be seen in Tables 2 and 3, which compare the U.S. and Japan and show that while they are perceived as equally strong as countries (albeit on different measures), Japan clearly has the winning edge on product images. By contrast, Table 1 shows that consumers are less able to distinguish country from product images for less-well-known origins, such as those at the lower end of the rankings including Hungary.
- Third, the distinction between country and product image constructs enabled the IRG to develop better models that help to explain the influence of origin image effects (see the “models” section below), and other researchers have also followed this route. For example, Knight and Calantone (2000) used both types of measures and were able to propose a “flexible” PCI model which challenged earlier ones (notably, those proposed by Han (1989), which have been much-cited but used only product constructs and were highly flawed).

Cross-national and temporal stability

The ability to capitalize on the IRG, and the group’s involvement in this field over a long time, made it pos-

sible to replicate several studies in multiple countries and at various times. The findings from these studies have been little short of fascinating, as can be summarized in four observations (Papadopoulos et al., 1990, 1997a, 2000a, and 2000b discuss the full results).

- Consumer views are remarkably consistent internationally, except when affected by cross-national rivalries or other factors. As can be seen in Tables 2 and 3, respondents from 15 nations rated Japan and the U.S. very similarly throughout the 36 variables shown, with the few exceptions being easy to explain using commonly known factors (e.g., Israel’s friendship with the U.S. vs. negative views toward it in Greece, Hungary, and Spain due to political differences, resulting in respectively higher and lower ratings for it as a country).
- Consumers are able to detect significant shifts in the actual producing abilities of nations, as indicated by relatively lower ratings for Japan and higher ones for the U.S. in two studies carried out in the late 1980s and late 1990s (i.e., just before the more current downturn of the U.S. image resulting from events after September 11, 2001).
- Conversely, when national abilities remain relatively stable, their images also remain remarkably stable over time.
- International developments, along with, perhaps, “buy domestic” campaigns, appear to be having a “polarizing” effect in some cases, leading consumers to express stronger preferences for domestic over foreign products over time. This was found in a comparative analysis of Canadian vs. American views of each other in the longitudinal study noted above.

Country Images Within Trade Blocs

The multi-national studies that included European nations (Papadopoulos et al., 1990, 2000a), a series of studies in the Americas (Heslop – Wall, 1993; Heslop et al., 2001, 2004a), and studies in the former Yugoslavia (Szamosi et al., 2004), Spain (Hernandez et al., 2002), and elsewhere, made it possible to examine more closely cross-national views for members of such trade blocs as the EU and NAFTA. Using both country and product measures in all cases, this research stream confirmed, on the one hand, the cross-national stability of national images, but also, on the other, helped to reveal that there are intense intra-regional rivalries which negatively affect consumers’ views and their attitudes toward their neighbours’ products.

Central and Eastern Europe

In traditional PCI research, disentangling “country” from “product” images and examining cause-and-effect relationships between them is hard, since these images are formed from multiple sources and over long periods of time. To address this, when communism collapsed in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) the IRG initiated a series of studies in Canada (1991, 1992, 1995, 2000) and the U.S. and Australia (1992, 1995) to examine PCI issues starting from a “clean” slate. That is, this stream studied the views of Western consumers at a time when they knew little about CEE countries, and virtually nothing about their products, helping to accentuate any potential halo effects. For comparison, the image of France, a much better known Western country, was used to benchmark those of four CEE nations (Russia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland). The study used scales ranging from 1 (poor) to 7 (good) to assess the origin images.

The findings (reported in Papadopoulos et al., 1997a; Szamosi et al., 1997; Gooding, 2002), are, once again, so consistent that they strongly underscore the value of the “replication” approach followed by the IRG. This consistency took two forms: the images of the five origins studied, and those of their products, were virtually identical both across the three sampled countries and throughout the time periods of the research. Given the space limitations here, Figure 1 presents the results only from the Canadian samples in 1992, 1995, and 2000 to illustrate these findings and leads to four summary observations:

- There are hardly any differences over the three time periods. This makes intuitive sense, since there was no reason to expect changes in France’s image, while, on the other hand, the hoped-for improvements of CEE product images through a highly anticipated increase in branded product exports to the West has not yet materialized. As noted, any significant shifts in the CEE origins’ actual performance have not yet “percolated” to the consumer level.
- As expected, CEE country and product images are significantly lower than those of France.
- Russia’s country image is somewhat lower than those of the smaller CEE nations, and that of its products is significantly lower, with differences of about 1 full point on the 7-point scales.
- The actual variables used to measure the origin’s images are less important in this discussion than the finding that *the shape of the curves for the four CEE nations*, and particularly for the three smaller

countries, is virtually identical in both the country and product scales. This is remarkable indeed, as it helps to underscore the “grey” image that Western consumers had, and evidently continue to have, about CEE countries. “Hidden” as they were behind the Iron Curtain for so long, these countries are essentially perceived as a part of an “amorphous mass” with little to distinguish amongst them.

Sub-national images and acculturation effects

Both PCI and country branding research initially focused on “countries” as the unit of analysis. However, this resulted in generalizing consumer views from small city-specific samples to their entire country, and also the reverse – assumptions that the image of a country could be generalized to regions within it. This approach ignores sub-national differences in terms of both the samples used and the origin images studied. As part of the research program, studies in and about different regions within countries such as Canada and Spain clearly showed that country-level images differ from those of individual regions and need to be studied separately if they are to lead to better marketing strategies (e.g., Heslop et al., 1998; Villanueva – Papadopoulos, 2003; Laroche et al., 2005).

Content of Country Images

With only a small handful of exceptions (e.g., Morello, 1993), most PCI research has been carried out in a vacuum – that is, when scholars obtain respondents’ views about “the products of country X” they do not know what products these respondents have in mind and therefore which of them help to shape their answers. Several of the group’s studies have collected “top of mind awareness” responses indicating the products, brands, or other images that consumers use in making their assessments (e.g., Seixas, 2002, also see Elliot, 2006), and the findings again are little short of fascinating. For example, Japan’s image is formed by a very narrow “band” of products falling in only two out of ten tested sectors (cars and leisure electronics), which represent fully 77% of all mentions by consumers. By contrast, the U.S. image is spread over five different sectors. Lastly, these findings make it clear that the *product* image of countries like Canada, which is a major exporter but does not produce many recognizable brands, depends almost entirely on a “halo” from the country itself – since most consumers are unable to name products or brands from it (65% of the total possible number of “mentions” were left blank).

Place Images in FDI and Other Business Decisions

IRG research supports findings by other researchers which show that industrial buyers are affected by place images just as consumers are. For example, a comparative study of Canadian consumers and retailers about NAFTA countries and their products showed great consistency between the two samples, while also serving to highlight some key differences between them (Heslop et al., 2004b). More importantly, the group pioneered the view that essentially anyone who needs to "choose a place", including tourists, investors, workers looking to relocate, immigrants, or students considering study abroad, is subject to the same place image effects as consumers making product purchase decisions (Papadopoulos, 1993). In addition to new research on the images of places as tourism destinations, and the potential interactions of these images with the same places as producers (e.g., see Elliot – Papadopoulos, 2005, 2006), of particular interest here are FDI decisions. Some key observations from four investor studies by IRG members in Canada, the U.S., Poland, and Greece (d'Souza, 1993; Kalligatsi, 1996; Papadopoulos et al., 1997b; deCecco, 1997; Czapor, 2000) include (see Figures 2 and 3):

- Overall, all four studies provided solid evidence that investors are driven by country images when making FDI decisions, particularly in generating the shortlist of alternative locations for more in-depth consideration. The relevant image components from an FDI perspective were measured through a number of variables on scales (from 1 to 5) which were summarized in the six factors shown in Figure 2.
- As Figure 2 shows, there are significant differences across countries and also significant differences in the investors' ratings of the "importance of" versus "satisfaction with" the elements of each country's investment climate. Investors generally show a positive attitude toward their host countries and people (satisfaction measures exceeding the importance ratings of this factor in all three countries), but appear to be generally disappointed in the hosts' market size. Generally, countries are rated in line with what one might expect given their relative importance on the FDI horizon (e.g., Poland is rated the highest in satisfaction, considering its potential both in itself and as a potential jump-off point for other CEE markets).
- Drawing from all four studies, Figure 3 shows that while FDI decisions are most often driven by the

objective of meeting host government requirements and regulations (38%), the *selection of an FDI location* depends most heavily on quality of life considerations (31%) – a most important findings that underscores the importance of "soft" factors in FDI decisions and helps to explain why some countries are gaining, and some losing, investments in spite of the presence of, respectively, weak or strong "objective" factors.

Integrative research: PCI Models and Other Contributions

The global scope and longitudinal nature of IRG research has enabled its members to make a number of substantive contributions that have focused not so much on reporting on individual research results but in integrating the broad knowledge gained through all the studies carried out by the group over time. Such contributions range from the first-ever book in this field (Papadopoulos – Heslop, 1993) to a variety of journal articles and book chapters (e.g., Papadopoulos et al., 1991; Papadopoulos, 1993; Papadopoulos – Heslop, 2002, 2003; and Papadopoulos, 2004). More importantly, however, the group's work has included the development of an integrative understanding of how PCI works, through research involving Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). This has taken two main approaches.

- Studies by Butt (2003) and Papadopoulos and Butt (2005) did a comprehensive review of SEM-based models that have been proposed in the PCI literature, and reached a number of interesting conclusions. For example, this research field boasts more SEM-based studies (21) than most other areas, and have used 76 different constructs measured by 438 variables, in examining cause-and-effect relationships between place images and buyer behaviour. Furthermore, in spite of the great variability across studies, close examination of the variables used showed that most studies use five basic concepts in building their models: Country image, Product Beliefs, Product Evaluation, and Familiarity as independent formative constructs, and a "purchase" (or willingness to purchase) measure as the dependent variable.
- Studies by the IRG itself, which began in the late 1980s. The initial model by Papadopoulos et al. (1988) was the first to propose the structure shown in the previous paragraph, and is shown in the "traditional model" box in Figure 4. However, subsequent IRG and other studies have been able to build

upon it, resulting in the potential “emerging” model in the same figure (e.g., Gooding, 2002; Villanueva – Papadopoulos, 2003; Heslop et al., 2004b; also see Klein et al., 1998). This represents two main extensions. First, “like/dislike” factors, such as affect, ethnocentrism, and animosity, have been confirmed to have a *direct* effect on purchase decisions rather than an indirect one through product beliefs. Second, the model has been expanded to include a more refined view of “country image”, which now distinguishes between “country” vs. “people” and “descriptive” vs. “competence” measures, and to also include a separate “business beliefs” construct to capture the views of industrial buyers. Assuming further confirmation, the emerging model would appear to be well-positioned to explain PCI-related behaviour in many, if not most, situations.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This article has attempted to portray the importance and complexity of the PCI phenomenon, and to summarize some of the main findings of research by the IRG. In a nutshell, country and product images need to be measured separately; place images affect both consumers and industrial buyers, investors, and others, and tend to be consistent internationally; the image of CEE nations has not yet caught up with any actual improvements that have been accomplished over the past 15 years; intra-national images vary and the differences are important for marketers; and a model capable of explaining PCI effects seems to be emerging. The importance of PCI effects on the demand side signals their importance to the supply side as well, that is, to place branding. In spite of the relative absence so far of empirical research on place branding itself, its importance and the proliferation of government-sponsored campaigns clearly suggest that the issue is here to stay. The growth of place branding, particularly at the country level, will likely bring about at least two substantive consequences:

- For companies and governments in the developed world, it will intensify competition among them as they try to leverage their already-strong images and market positions to gain competitive advantages in two contexts: First, competition within the developed world itself, since it still represents about three-quarters of global economic activity and therefore the bulk of presently-available market demand. And second, rivalry to establish new competitive

positions and capture larger shares in the ever-growing markets of the developing world.

- For companies and governments in smaller and less well developed countries, it may represent a significant disadvantage, again in two contexts. First, by bringing even-stronger image-based competition to their own home markets, since their own citizens typically recognize the superiority of products from developed country origins. And second, by acting as an invisible trade barrier when they market to developed countries, since their images there are much weaker. In other words, governments and firms in the developing world will now have to face not only the traditionally-stronger multinational firms from developed countries, but also the country branding campaigns of those firms’ home governments, with product, firm, and country images reinforcing each other on a common place-based platform.

Therefore, the main implication from PCI and place branding research by both the IRG and others is that governments as well as business marketers need to consider PCIs very carefully in developing their strategies. Foreign producers who enjoy a favourable country image may have an advantage over domestic manufacturers, especially in comparatively less advanced markets – and vice-versa. At the country level, developed nations presently hold enviable positions, but their manufacturers face ever-growing challenges to their dominance in markets and customers’ minds. The example of Japan, already followed by Taiwan, South Korea, and others, is likely to be duplicated soon by other nations in Asia, CEE, and elsewhere – not to mention the rising power of such giants as China and India. However, existing perceptual barriers, as reflected in PCI, are hard to overcome. Strategies focusing on a limited range of goods that offer high value may help to spearhead image improvements and establish these countries as competitors on an equal footing with the existing developed countries. Most importantly, governments in the developing and emerging world need to recognize that their country’s or region’s image may have far-reaching implications and, therefore, needs to be managed very carefully and through well-coordinated strategies that avoid the common trap of thinking that place marketing means “advertising”, which results in much wasted expense which such countries can ill-afford, and generates few of the benefits they so much need.

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Table 1.

A Summary of National Images: Ranks of Countries and Their Products

Country	Overall	Good products	Ideal country	Willing to buy	Want closer ties
Germany	1	1	9	1	3
Japan	2	2	12	2	3
U.S.	3	3	9	3	8
Holland	4	5	3	4	3
Australia	5	9	1	4	1
Canada	6	9	1	8	1
Britain	8	5	7	4	7
France	7	3	5	7	8
Sweden	9	7	4	9	3
Norway	10	8	5	9	10
Spain	11	11	7	9	11
Hong Kong	12	12	13	12	12
Greece	13	14	11	13	13
Hungary	14	15	14	14	14
Israel	15	13	17	14	18
Mexico	16	16	15	14	15
Indonesia	17	16	16	17	17
India	18	18	18	18	15

Table 2.

Views of the U.S. vs. Japan in 15 countries: Country Variables

Variables	N. America			Pacific			Europe								Other	Summary	
	US	CDN	MX	AUS	HK	INDO	GB	F	D	NO	NL	SP	GR	HU	IL	US>J	J>US
Technology	J	J	J*	J	J*		J		J	J	J	J	J*	J			
Wealth		J*			J		J*				J		US		US	2	4
Taste		J	J	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J			12
Educated	J	J	J	J	US		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J		1	12
Stable	US	US		US	US*	US			US	US			US		US	9	
Role in world	US	US	J*	US	US		US	US	US	US	US			US	US	11	1
Know a lot	US	US	US	US		US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	US	14	
Hardworking	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J		15
Trustworthy	US		J									J	J	J		1	4
Likeable	US	J	J*			US		US			US	J	J	J	US	5	5
Ideal country	US			US	US*	US	US	US	US		US		J*		US	9	1
Want to visit	na			US		US*	US	US	US		US		J*		US	7	1
Aligned	na	US	US	US		J	US	US	US	US	US	US*	J		US	10	2
More FDI	na	J*	J	US		US*		US*	US		US	J	J	J	US	6	5
More imports	na	J*	J	US			US	US	US		US*	J	J	J	US*	6	5
Closer ties	na	J	J		US							J	J	J	US	2	5
Summary:																	
US>J	6	4	2	8	5	6	6	8	8	4	8	2	3	2	11	83	-
J>US	3	9	10	4	4	2	5	3	4	4	5	9	12	9	1	-	84

* US or J in cells: country rated significantly higher than the other. Differences marked * significant at $\alpha < 0.005$, all others at 0.000. Sampled country abbreviations: United States, CDN=Canada, MeXico, AUStrolia, Hong Kong, INDOnesia, Israel, Great Britain, France, Deutschland, NORway, Holland=NetherLands, SPain, GReece, HUngary.

Table 3.

Views of the U.S. vs. Japan in 15 countries: Product Variables

Variable	N. America			Pacific			Europe								Other	Summary	
	US	CDN	MX	AUS	HK	INDO	GB	F	D	NO	NL	SP	GR	HU	IL	US>J	J>US
Workmanship	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J			13
Reliability	J	J		J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J			12
Quality	J	J		J	J		J		J	J	J	J	J	J			11
Appearance	J	J		J	J	J	J							J			7
Innovativeness		J		J	J			US			US			J		2	4
Tech. advanced	J	J	J	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J			13
Value	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J			13
Service					J	J	J		US		J		J	J	US	2	6
Good products	J	J		J	J		J		J	J	J	J	J	J			11
Price level		J	US	US	J	US		US	US	US	US	US	US	US		10	2
Variety		US		J	J	J	J							J		1	5
Recog. brands				J	J	J	J						US	J		1	5
Know a lot	US	US	US	J	J	J	J							J		3	5
Easy to find		US	US	J	J	J	J		J	J	J		J	J		2	9
Normally buy	US	US	US	J	J	J	J	US	US				US	J		6	5
Have what I like				J	J	J	J	J			J	J	J	J			9
Right for me	US	J			J	J						J	J	J		1	6
Proud to own	US	J	J		J	US			US			J	J	J		3	6
Satisfaction		J		J	J		J			J	J	J	J	J			9
Willing to buy	US				J	J						J	J	J		1	5
Summary																	
US>J	5	4	4	1		2		3	4	1	2	1	3	1	1	32	-
J>US	7	12	2	15	20	12	15	5	7	8	10	11	13	19		-	156

* US or J in cells: country rated significantly higher than the other. Differences marked * significant at $\alpha < 0.005$, all others at 0.000. Sampled country abbreviations: See notes in Table 2.

Figure 1.

Images of Central & East Europe vs. France: Countries and Their Products

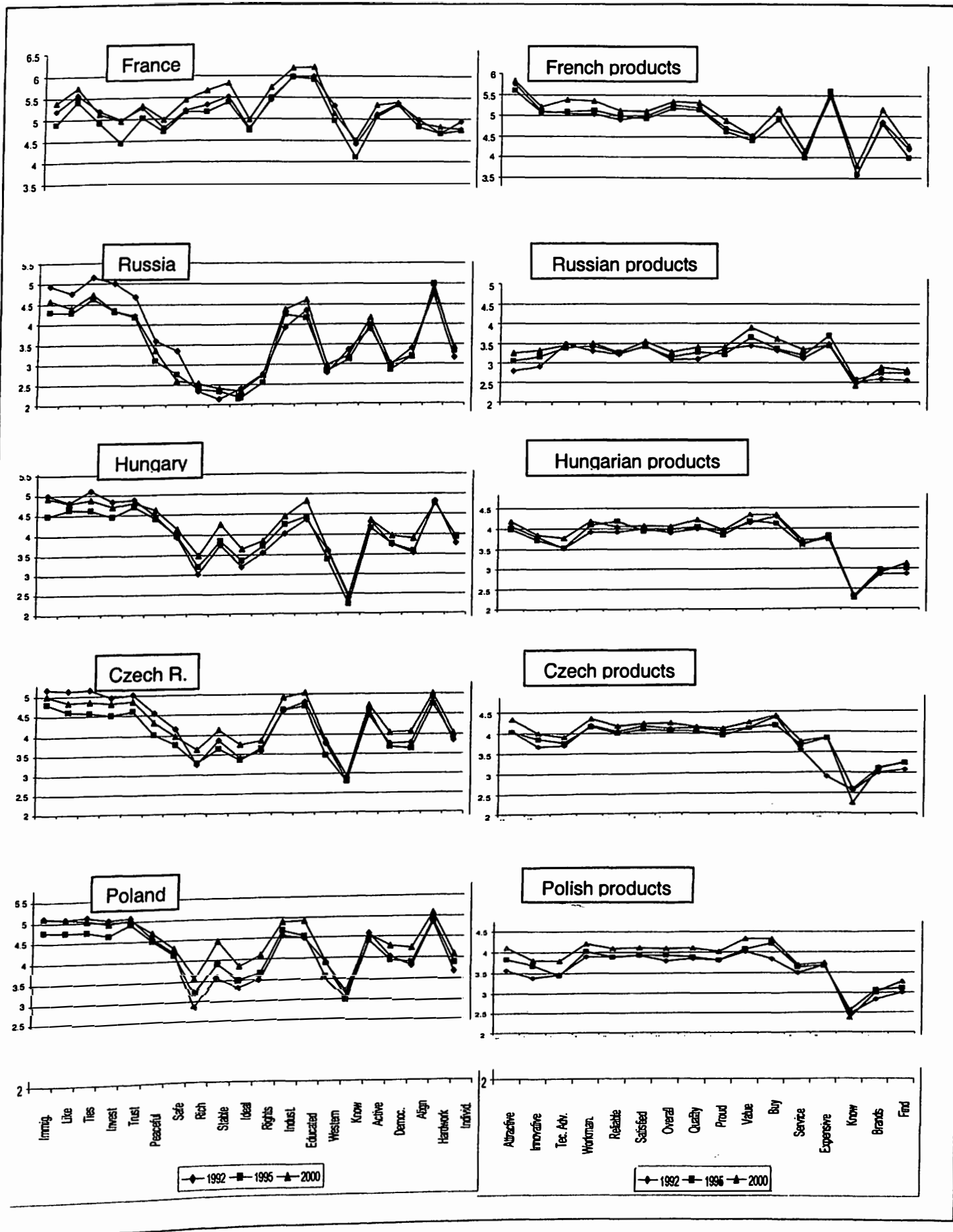


Figure 2.

Country Images for FDI

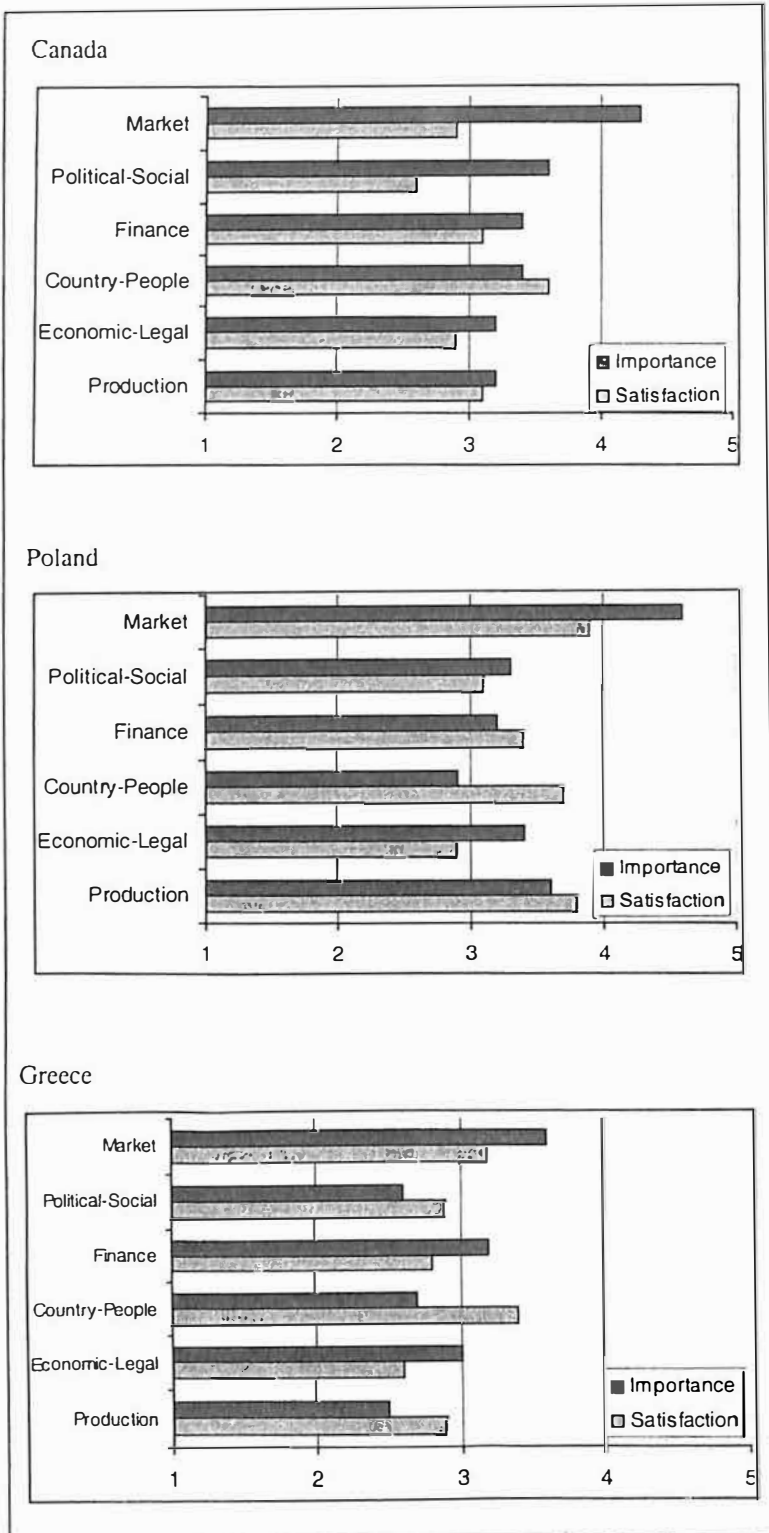


Figure 3.

Investors' Objectives and Criteria in Selecting FDI Locations

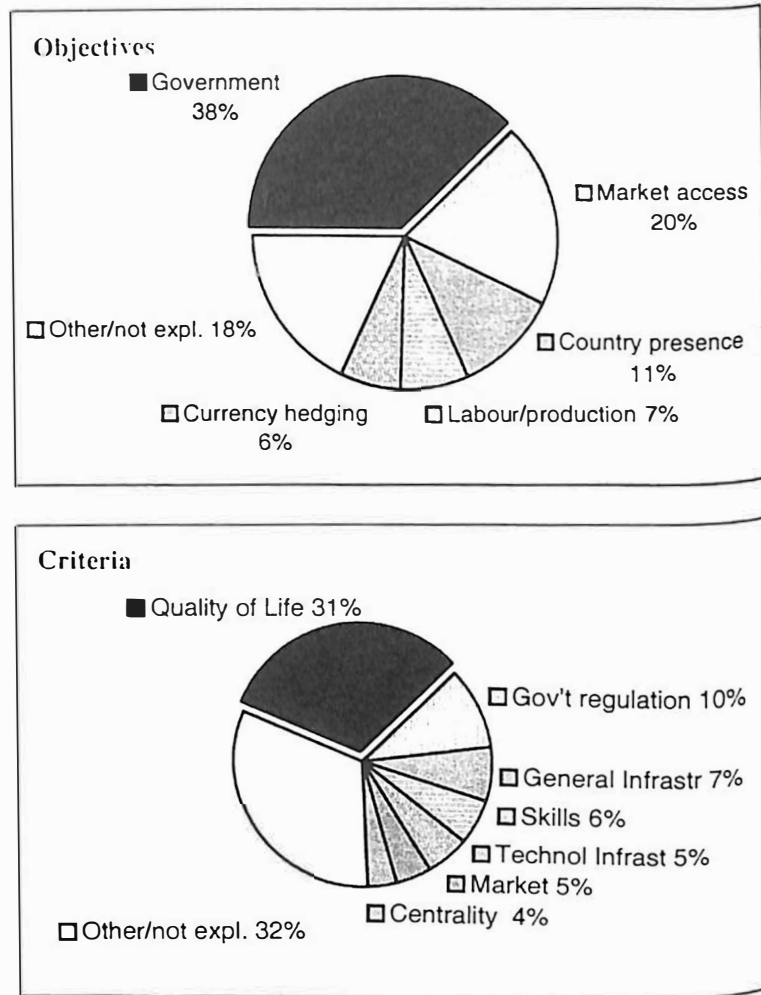


Figure 4.

Traditional and Emerging PCI Models

