

Diagnosis of **Corsica'**s attractiveness in the new global environment



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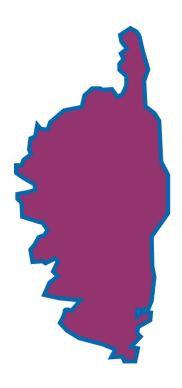
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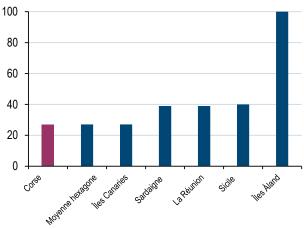
A series of recent shocks and profound structural changes are reshaping the global environment, creating both challenges and opportunities for the regions. The impact of the COVID-19 crisis, the consequences of Russia's war against Ukraine and existing megatrends (such as climate change, globalisation, digitalisation and demographic change) are producing asymmetric effects within countries, and between countries and regions. Their scope and scale depend on unique regional characteristics and call for territorialised responses.

In this context, the OECD's work to rethink regional attractiveness policies, focusing for the moment on their non-financial or fiscal dimensions, is a priority activity for the OECD's Regional Development Policy Committee (RDPC). The diagnosis of Corsica's attractiveness is part of this framework. Its aim is to contribute to the prospective work on Corsica in 2050 launched by the Assembly of Corsica, based on a tested and validated quantitative and qualitative methodology (supported by the European Union), including an international comparison with other OECD and EU regions, particularly island regions. The report provides a summary of the island's current situation, as well as the main challenges and opportunities for enhancing its attractiveness to talent, visitors and investors (and exporters), so as to ensure its inclusive and sustainable development. Considerations for public action are also proposed.

1. Corsica in the world

This section aims to provide an initial overview of Corsica's position in the world. A sample of European island regions has been drawn up in order to compare the island's performance against its peers in key areas of attractiveness, particularly in environmental, economic and socio-cultural terms. These comparisons provide an initial overview of the challenges and opportunities for Corsica's attractiveness.

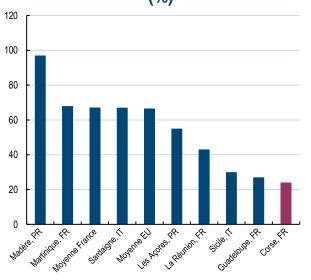
Graph 1. Share of renewables in electricity generation (%)



Source: Electricity Maps (2023)

In Corsica, local energy production includes both renewable and non-renewable energy sources. The proportion of renewable energy is lower than on other islands with comparable data. More than one-third of the energy output is generated by thermal power stations using fuel. As the island's production capacity is not sufficient to meet all of its energy demand, it imports around 30% of its electricity from mainland Italy and Sardinia, where renewable energies represent only part of the energy mix (DREAL Corse, 2022)[1]. This reality offers opportunities. The transition to non-carbon energy sources is an important lever for attracting talent, visitors, businesses and investors. What's more, the volatility of fossil fuel prices is a strong argument in favour of this transition, particularly in an island context where dependence on transport and its costs is accentuated.

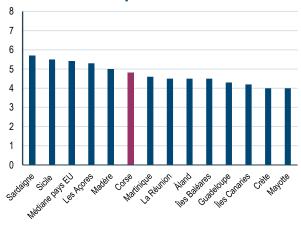
Graph 2. Share of recycled municipal waste in the European Union's islands (%)



Source: OECD (2020 or more recent)

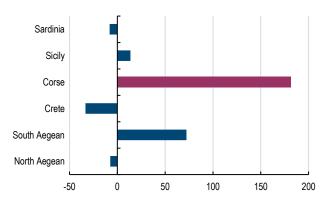
Corsica is lagging far behind in waste recovery and treatment, with the lowest municipal waste recycling rate of any European island region. The logistical and economic constraints associated with the island's insularity and low population density make it difficult to set up effective recycling systems, with deleterious health, environmental and economic consequences (uncontrolled landfill sites damaging the natural environment, additional waste management costs: +161% compared with the French average, etc.) (Autorité de la concurrence, 2020)[2]. Treatment policies have focused on landfill sites, which are no longer sufficient and require waste to be exported to the mainland, against a backdrop of rising maritime transport costs. Waste production on the island is set to increase by a further 27% between now and 2033 (Collectivité de Corse, 2022)[3]. If the new sorting and recovery centres planned for 2025 are to be put to the best possible use, the sorting offer - including in terms of territorial coverage - must be organised efficiently, and the behaviour of residents and tourists must change. At present, waste production per inhabitant is 7% higher than the average for French tourist areas (ODEM Corsica, 2021)[4]. A Territorial Plan for the Prevention and Management of Waste in Corsica is in the process of being approved.

Graph 3. Economic diversification of European islands



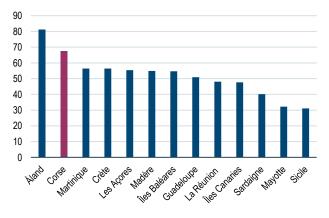
Source: OECD (2019 - 2020)

Graph 4. Change in the share of employment in the cultural and creative industries (%)



Source: Eurostat and OECD (2016 - 2021)

Graph 5. Employment rates on European islands



Source: OECD based on OECD data

This graph illustrates the level of economic diversification of European islands by examining the distribution of employment in ten economic sectors¹. Only Sardinia and Sicily exceed the European median, illustrating the traditional economic overspecialisation of the islands, often in tourism and the services sector, including public services (Ruggieri, Platania and Zarb, 2022)[5] (EPRS, 2016)[6]. Tourism activities are a lever for internationalisation and infrastructure development (Nowak and Sahli, 2010)[7]. However, the sector is particularly vulnerable to exogenous shocks - as demonstrated during the COVID-19 pandemic - and can entail economic, social and environmental costs. Planning that takes all the risks into account should enable the benefits of tourism activities to be enjoyed in the long term. It must be accompanied by development strategies for other sectors, to ensure the resilience of the local economy.

The cultural and creative industries represent a real challenge in terms of the well-being of local populations and the sustainable economic development of regions. They include the film and audio-visual industries, fashion and design, music and live performance, video games, publishing, visual arts and the art of living. In 2021, Corsica will have the second-highest proportion of jobs in these sectors in France, at 4.5%, just behind Île-de-France (7%). Corsica's cultural spending per capita is higher than that of other French local authorities, partly due to its small population and more extensive cultural remit than other regions. At a local level, the agglomeration communities of Bastia and Pays Ajaccien, where 60% of the population lives, spend relatively more on culture than the national average (Ministry of Culture, 2023)[8]. A myriad of local cultural initiatives exists, as well as collective structuring projects rooted in regional identity, such as Bastia-Corsica's bid to become European Capital of Culture 2028.

Corsica has the 2ème highest employment rate of the European islands, while at the same time boasting the 2ème lowest unemployment rate in France (6% in 2023), putting it close to structural full employment. The post-Covid economic dynamic on the island is helping to make it the most successful region in France in terms of job creation. As a result, many employers are finding it difficult to fill their labour needs. In 2019, 56% of Corsican companies reported difficulties in recruiting, compared with 50% in France as a whole (CCIHC, 2020)[9]. By 2030, almost a third of the jobs filled in 2019 will be facing recruitment difficulties - a much higher proportion than the average for mainland France - and will require the arrival of workers from outside the region (France Stratégie, 2023)[10]. Compared with the rest of France, Corsica is facing particular pressures in the construction and public works sectors, and in tourism, particularly among hotel, café and restaurant managers and executives. It should be noted that the high employment rate masks complex social issues, as the island is also the poorest region in France, with some of the highest income inequalities in the country.

¹⁾ Agriculture, 2) industry, 3) construction, 4) retail trade, repairs, transport, accommodation, food service activities, 5) information and communication, 6) financial and insurance activities, 7) real estate activities, 8) business services, 9) public administration and 10) other services (OECD, 2016)[149].

2. Attractiveness profile

Corsica is characterised by a combination of significant opportunities for attractiveness, conducive to inclusive and sustainable economic development, and pressing challenges. In the short and medium term, it is very well positioned to attract both **visitors** and **talent**, mainly from other French regions but also from abroad. The island also has a very low out-migration rate (excluding students). These population flows testify to the quality of life that Corsica's residents enjoy, helping to make Corsica the region in mainland France with the highest rate of demographic growth - despite a marked ageing of the population (INSEE, 2021)[11]. However, Corsica faces major challenges in attracting French and foreign **investment**, transforming its tourism sector, shifting from a consumption-based to a production-based economic model, and meeting the labour shortages of the future.

Before considering the policy levers used and available to meet these challenges, it is important to understand Corsica's strengths and weaknesses in its international positioning. To do this, the OECD's innovative, multi-dimensional approach assesses regional attractiveness by looking beyond economic factors alone, taking into account more than 50 indicators to develop "regional attractiveness compasses" covering 14 dimensions of attractiveness, organised into six areas (Economic Attractiveness, Connectivity, Visitor Attractiveness, Natural Environment, Residents' Well-Being, Land Use and Housing). The indicators proposed are as much a means of identifying priorities for action as they are of understanding the trade-offs to be made. This compass can be seen as a practical tool for prioritising, monitoring, adapting and evaluating regional attractiveness policies, offering a systemic rather than compartmentalised approach (OECD, 2023)[14].

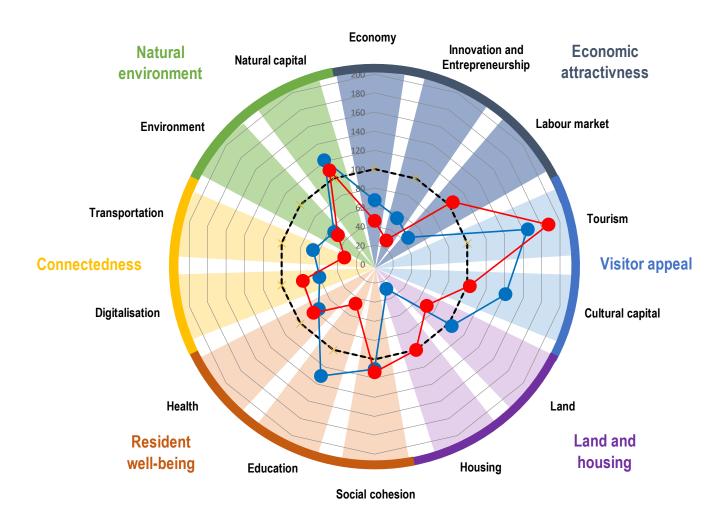


Figure.1. Corsica's attractiveness compass

Interpreting the compass:

- Scale from 0 to 200 (200 represents the region with the best performance; 100 represents the median).
- The median for the European Union and the country is represented by the same dotted black line (100).
- The composite score for each dimension is represented by a blue dot indicating performance relative to the EU median and a red dot relative to the country median.
- At least three different indicators are used to assess the island's performance in each dimension. For example, in the case of education, the results of five indicators are summarised, including the proximity of primary and secondary schools (in kilometres) and the proportion of international students in the higher education student population.

Economic attractiveness GDP per capita in Corsica has caught up significantly, with the gap in relation to the average for mainland France (excluding the Île-de-France region) falling from 18% in 1996 to 5% in 2015. In the space of two decades, Corsica has reduced its gap in terms of wealth production by 72% compared with the rest of France (Inspection générale des finances, 2018)_[15]. The island's economy is primarily characterised by the weight of the civil service, which accounts for around one salaried job in five, and by a relatively undiversified economy, like many European islands (graph 3) (INSEE, 2022)[16]. Its three key sectors are tourism, local shops and services, and construction and public works. They account for more than 50% of GDP (including 31% for tourism), and a substantial proportion of employment, with around 14% in construction and public works, and 10% in tourism (Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2021)[17]. However, other sectors are also growing, such as the digital sector and renewable energies. By comparison, in Sardinia, the proportion of jobs in the public sector is also high, and the rest of the economy is highly service-oriented: around half of all employees work in the "other services" sector, and 34% in trade and the hotel industry (CRENoS, 2022)[18]. Although only a small proportion of the Corsican population considers its locality to be conducive to business start-ups, the island is making progress, coming close to the European median for business start-ups, but remains well below the other regions of mainland France. In terms of innovation, Corsica's indicators for patent applications per inhabitant are well below the French and EU averages, and it ranks last in France for R&D expenditure (OECD, 2018)[19] (CCIHC, 2020)[9]. Nevertheless, the island has a more favourable unemployment rate than its European and OECD peers, and total employment is growing at a much faster rate than at national level (+57% compared with +19% between 1990 and 2019).

Attracting visitors

Mountain in the middle of the Mediterranean, Corsica has a rich variety of landscapes that contribute to high levels of tourism. The popularity of is reflected in the fact that the number of overnight stays and beds in tourist establishments per inhabitant is well above the French, European and OECD averages. This activity, which is essential to Corsica's economy, also poses the risk of overexploiting its non-renewable resources, and highlights the need to diversify tourism activities and rebalance the Corsican economy beyond this sector. Bastia-Corsica's bid to become European Capital of Culture 2028 - although unsuccessful - highlighted the island's rich cultural heritage and the dynamism of its players.

Housing and land use More than 85% of Corsican land is forest or semi-natural environment, compared with an average of 30% in France; artificial land covers 3% of Corsican land, compared with 5% nationally, and agricultural land covers 11% of Corsican land, compared with 51% nationally (Ministry of Culture, 2022)_[20]. Moreover, the proportion of built-up areas (0.8%), defined by the presence of covered buildings, is lower than the European (3.13%) and OECD (1.92%) medians. However, the conversion of land to artificial surfaces between 2004 and 2019 in Corsica is slightly higher than the EU median, but lower than the French median. This indicates an effect of construction on the environment and a loss of soil resources for other uses, including agriculture. The new laws governing the artificialisation of land in order to maintain biodiversity should curb this trend, which could, however, continue as a result of population growth and tourist activities (EY, 2021)_[21]. Although few internationally comparable data are available on housing, there is a lack of supply in Corsica.

Quality of life Compared to other OECD regions, Corsican residents express greater satisfaction with their quality of life (Gallup, 2021)_[22]². They feel safer and are more satisfied with the opportunities to forge links where they live, thanks in part to a strong sense of belonging to the region. However, there are major inequalities on the island. Firstly, in terms of income, with the wealthiest 10% of the population having a standard of living 3.6 times higher than the lowest 10% (compared with 3.4 in mainland France). The proportion of the population living below the poverty line (19.8%) is also higher than the averages for mainland France (17.63%) and Europe (17.26%), despite the fact that the cost of living is also higher in these areas (INSEE, 2023)_[23].

In terms of education, access to nursery and primary schools is lower than in the majority of French regions (OECD, 2021)[24]. In 2019, the island had the lowest proportion of foreign students among the regions of mainland France (9%), but higher than in the Azores and Crete (3%), Sardinia (1.6%) and Sicily (1.3%).

In terms of health, in 2022 the island had 3.18 doctors per 1,000 inhabitants, a number slightly lower than the average for mainland France (3.26) and the median for Europe (3.90) - posing the challenge of medical desertification in rural areas. In comparison, the Balearic Islands had 5.73 doctors per 1,000 inhabitants, Sardinia 5.01, Sicily 4.56 and the Azores 3.83. In addition, the island has only 4 maternity units, concentrated in Bastia, Ajaccio and Porto Vecchio, only two of which have a neonatal unit, and is the only region in France without a university hospital, forcing many of its inhabitants to travel to the mainland for treatment (Yalta Production, 2023)[25] (CCIHC, 2020)[9]. At the same time, the provision of care facilities for the elderly is twice as low as at national level (Collectivité de Corse, 2021)[26]. However, the island has a good supply of nurses, thanks to a density of self-employed nurses almost three times higher than the French average (idem).

Connections

Corsica faces structural challenges when it comes to transporting goods and people, even though this is a major lever for attracting investors and talent (OECD, 2023)_[12]. Despite the efforts made, many areas suffer from a lack of efficient and regular public transport, leading to a dependence on the car (see below). Corsica's topography and relief, as well as its low population density, partly explain the difficulties in setting up and operating a public transport network, particularly in isolated areas. The island's insularity and poor internal connections increase the need for very high-speed internet access for individuals and businesses. Currently, a smaller proportion of households have access than the average for Europe and mainland France, but very high-speed wired connectivity for the entire region, planned for 2023 thanks to the Public Service Delegation signed with SFR Collectivités, is well under way, with 82% of connections installed (Corsica Fibra, 2023)_[27]. The level of digital equipment in Corsican households is higher than the continental average, despite a lower median income (Collectivité de Corse, 2021)_[28].

Moreover, like other island regions, Corsica is characterised by a lack of direct connections with other territories. Because it is an island, Corsica is dependent on sea and air connections for trade with the outside world. It currently has seven ports and four airports, with direct flights to a growing number of cities and countries - 13 by 2023 (Cullieret, 2023)[29]. The number of daily flights accessible by car within 90 minutes remains much lower in Corsica than in mainland France (51 compared to 349 in 2016), although comparable to other European islands. A major challenge in meeting the needs of visitors and businesses is the fluctuating prices and frequency of connections. For residents, including students, the main challenge is prices, which even when capped remain high.

Environment Combining a wealth of environmental resources, which benefit from numerous protection measures, with a low population density, Corsica remains an unspoilt territory where natural areas play an important role. The proportion of wooded (51%) and protected (48%) areas in Corsica exceeds the median for the OECD (35% and 18%) and the European Union (31% and 26%). The island maintains its biodiversity in a variety of natural environments: scrubland, forests, cliffs, scree, grasslands, wetlands, rivers and the sea. Several outstanding natural areas are subject to specific regulatory protection measures. Preserving these environmental assets is essential to developing and maintaining Corsica's future appeal for all types of targets, including the local population (OECD, 2023)[12].

² The Gallup World Poll is a global opinion survey conducted by the US Gallup Institute, which aims to provide - including on a regional basis - data on people's opinions and behaviours on a variety of topics, including quality of life, well-being, governance, the economy, health, education and other key areas. This data is used by international organisations, the media and the research sector.

3. Attractiveness policies

3.1 Background and megatrends

To make a successful transition to a low-carbon economy that is resilient in the face of demographic and climate change, the island needs to overcome the obstacles posed by its small population and consequent high population density: 39 inhabitants per km² compared with 118 in mainland France and 109 in the European Union. Against this backdrop, a niche strategy is essential if a defined number of specialities are to be developed in a sustainable way, particularly upstream of the sectors via research and development activities. In addition, there are certain advantages to being a "small" territory, particularly in terms of the level of connectivity between people. It can be easier to identify key players and get in touch with them, as Ireland's economic success shows (OECD, 2023)[12]. Furthermore, the strong sense of Corsican identity and of belonging to a community, if combined with a strong desire to cooperate, can prove to be a powerful asset in encouraging residents to work together for the development of their region (Bourbousson, Furt and Iglesias, 2021)[13].

The quality of the island's environmental capital, its economic catch-up - in terms of GDP, jobs (graph 5), consolidation of sectors - and its demographic dynamism are clear to see. However, these good results will soon have to contend with climatic and demographic changes **that are** likely to accentuate existing vulnerabilities and widen inequalities between individuals, places and businesses. They therefore call for specific policies.

Climate change

As well as directly affecting the well-being of local populations, the effects of climate change are jeopardising the pillars of the Corsican economy. Firstly, the negative impact of climate change on the attractiveness of tourist destinations, particularly in southern Europe, has been highlighted by a number of studies, which point to a drop in visitor numbers linked to major variations in climate, a decline in biodiversity, an increased risk of fire, the desire to stop flying, and so on (Hein, Metzger and Moreno, 2009)[30] (Otrachshenko and Nunes, 2021)[31]. Agriculture is also very much affected since crop productivity and quality depend directly on temperature and rainfall. For example, the drought of 2017 led to significant drops in production, including of honey, clementines, olives, chestnuts and wine (Cerema, 2021)[32].

If the island's inhabitants and economic players are to be in a position to face up to these climate challenges, they must first be able to anticipate them, and then be able to adapt, turning if necessary to more resilient activities and exploiting their potential beneficial effects. For appropriate adaptation measures to be implemented, it is therefore crucial that local players have accurate data assessing the impact of climate change on the island's various activities and territories, and are able to use this data for action and communication.

The ADAPT2CLIMA project (Box 1) is a useful example. It has made it possible to develop local data on the impact of climate change on specific areas and crops, and to identify the best adaptation measures. In Corsica, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry is carrying out sustainability assessments for tourism businesses, as well as workshops to raise awareness of the various major risks, such as flooding and technological hazards. The creation of an engineering school specialising in agronomy and climate change at the Université de Corse Pasquale Paoli, as part of the UNITI investment programme, is a response to the need for the skills required to design and implement adaptation policies locally.

Box 1. Adapting the agricultural sector to new climatic conditions

An example of a risk assessment and decision-making tool

The ADAPT2CLIMA (Adaptation of Agriculture to the Impacts of Climate Change in the Mediterranean Islands) 2015 - 2020 project aimed to improve understanding of climate change and its impacts on agriculture in three pilot Mediterranean islands (Crete, Sicily and Cyprus), in order to support farmers, policy-makers and other stakeholders (agronomists, agri-food industry, academic community, NGOs) in short- and long-term adaptation planning.

The National Observatory of Athens was the project coordinator, and the Agricultural Research Institute of Cyprus, the Institute of Biometeorology of the National Research Council of Italy, the National Technical University of Athens, the Department of Agriculture, Rural Development and Mediterranean Fisheries of the Region of Sicily and the Region of Crete were its partners. The project was 60% co-financed by the European Union's LIFE programme for the environment and climate action.

The project has developed а decision-support tool that and graphs uses maps to visualise the predicted impacts of climate change on six specific crops, water availability and the agricultural sector in general. The tool makes it possible to explore certain adaptation options and assess their effectiveness and cost-effectiveness in increasing the resilience of the agricultural sector. It has helped to draw up a strategy for adapting agriculture to climate change on each island, and to roll it out.

Source: http://www.adapt2clima.eu/

The proportion of the Corsican population satisfied with efforts to preserve the environment is much lower than the average for other French, European and OECD regions regions (Gallup, 2021)_[22]. In addition to the lack of local data needed to implement effective adaptation policies, the lack of documentation and dissemination of good island practice contributes to the islands' inadequate adaptation to climate change (Leon et al., 2022)_[33]. Yet Corsica is home to a variety of innovations, such as irrigation systems and CO2 recovery systems, which could serve as models. The creation in 2010 by the University of Corsica of the Network of Excellence for Island Territories, which enables island universities to discuss issues common to their territories, could help Corsica to become more involved in international experience-sharing networks.

Finally, climate change may also represent an opportunity to attract foreign investment (FDI), particularly in the renewable energy sector. Between 2004 and 2021, the share of FDI in renewable energies as a proportion of total energy related FDI rose from less than 10% to around 90% in OECD countries (OECD, 2022)[34]. FDI also accounts for 30% of all global investment in renewable energy. For example, in the county of Norrbotten in Sweden, Europe's largest single-site onshore wind farm, due to start operations in 2024, is owned by Chinese, American and German investors (OECD, 2023)[35].

Demographic changes

In many regions, demographic decline is already a reality: 35% of Europeans live in a region where the population declined between 2011 and 2019 (OECD, 2023)_[12]. And by 2050, the population of almost all OECD regions is set to decline. Thanks to positive net migration, Corsica is currently the French metropolitan region with the fastest-growing population (INSEE, 2020)_[36]. However, due to a growing natural deficit, demographic growth is set to slow sharply and become negative from 2060 onwards (INSEE, 2022)_[37].

Population ageing is another major trend that will mark the coming decades. The proportion of elderly people (aged 65 or over) is set to increase in almost all OECD regions and will account for almost 30% of the population of European regions outside metropolitan areas by 2050. In Corsica, this trend will be very marked. By 2070, Corsica will be home to the oldest population in mainland France (36% aged 65 and over) and will see the biggest decline in the proportion of young people. These demographic changes will have far-reaching implications for regional

policy, posing challenges in terms of efficient service delivery and the availability of labour. At present, the average time taken to recruit is already longer than in mainland France (4.1 months compared with 1.7), resulting in additional costs for businesses (Goodwill, 2019)[38].

Complementary strategies can help to mitigate these demographic trends and their deleterious consequences. Retaining young Corsicans and supporting their skills is another way of mitigating demographic decline. Young people from non-metropolitan regions are often forced to leave them to pursue their studies due to a variety of factors (limited academic offer, lack of diversity in courses of study, lack of professional opportunities, desire to experience culture and openness outside their home region, etc.). This is the case in Corsica, where those leaving at the age of 18 are three times more numerous than those entering at the same age, affecting the island's share of the population more than that of the other island regions in the sample (INSEE, 2020)[36]. A diversified range of training courses, adapted to the current labour market, is therefore of vital importance in retaining young people on the island, both during their studies and beyond. Good practices exist, such as the AflOkkat training organisation, which enables young people to study new subjects in Corsica (Box 2). The Université de Corse Pasquale Paoli is also adapting to the needs of the region. For example, the "management of marinas and the environment" course, run in cooperation with the island's port managers, the Corsican Environmental Office (OEC) and the University's Faculty of Science and Technology, has helped to meet local needs in terms of port management.

Box 2. Retaining young Corsicans through training and jobs

AflOkkat

Created in 2010, this training organisation, based in Ajaccio and Bastia, aims to contribute to the economic and social development of the region. It trains more than 1,600 people every year. Its approach is based on solid partnerships with local private-sector players, which enable it to design courses tailored to local skills needs, benefit from the expertise of professionals who act as teachers, and offer internship and apprenticeship opportunities to students, enhancing their immersion in the professional world and promoting their employability. This group includes two schools, supported by the Femu Quì investment fund (see Box 4), which meet the region's recruitment needs in short-staffed occupations:

- ESIA, Higher School of Computer Science, offers courses in the digital sector, which offers great job opportunities in Corsica, with around 450 vacancies to be filled by 2030. The courses include programming, web development, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, data analysis, big data, virtual reality, connected objects and web design. Corsica lacks developers and people trained in digital techniques. Strengthening training in this area is an essential lever for achieving the critical mass of know-how that will make the local ecosystem of digital businesses more resilient. This type of training makes it easier for start-ups created in Corsica to stay and grow.
- EMMA, the medico-social school, offers work-linked training in the latest technologies to support people losing their independence, such as movement sensors to detect falls, geolocation systems to facilitate safe travel and virtual assistants to facilitate communication.

By opening new outlets in island markets, improving the internal transport network would benefit these schools, which are still experiencing difficulties in filling their places.

Source: https://aflokkat.com/

The arrival of foreign-born migrants thus makes it possible to offset the natural decline in the population and may help to offset the labour shortage faced by certain professions and slow the ageing of the island's population (Burzynski et al., 2018)[39]. As a result, many OECD regions are implementing attractiveness and integration policies targeting international talent (OECD, 2023)[12]. Although Corsica is already relatively attractive to the French, it is finding it more difficult to attract foreigners, particularly skilled ones (INSEE, 2020)[36]. The reasons for this include a lack of suitable jobs and a relatively low level of international openness - as shown by some of the indicators presented in this document (FDI, volume of exports, proportion of foreign students, etc.). The strong attachment to the Corsican identity can have a dual effect on would-be settlers: either being perceived as a risk in terms of the difficulty of integrating, or on the contrary as a favourable factor due to the cultural and social dynamism of the local communities. Creative players, who generally prefer diverse communities with an international outlook, may see

this as a hindrance (Florida, 2022) $_{[40]}$. These concerns in terms of opportunities and obstacles may also be shared by outside investors. Cooperation between the public sector, particularly at local level, and economic players can be very useful in this respect, by taking part in strategies to attract and include newcomers, particularly in response to certain labour shortages, while ensuring that the local population understands the need for this (Tharaux, Shah and Mirel, forthcoming) $_{[41]}$.

Encouraging the return of members of the diaspora is also one of the strategies to be considered for areas such as Corsica, which enjoy a strong sense of belonging to a community. Currently, only 16% of new arrivals to Corsica are from the island, compared with an average of 23% in other French regions, highlighting the region's deficit in attracting members of its diaspora (INSEE, 2020)[36]. One obstacle faced by members of the diaspora is the lack of information about the jobs available on the island. Strategies exist in other countries. The island of Newfoundland in Canada, for example, has set up the "Come Home 2022" campaign, which aims to encourage local talent living abroad to return home, to remind residents of the assets of their territory and to complement ongoing efforts to attract and develop marketing activities aimed at tourists (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2022)[42]. The campaign includes a toolkit that industry partners can use to leverage the initiative. In Spain, the government of Castilla-La Mancha launched the "Return of Talent" programme in 2017. It includes a job search website, a team of mediators to facilitate the return and subsidies for employers hiring people returning to the region; subsidies for starting up an entrepreneurial activity; and a "return passport" entitling the holder to a subsidy covering the expenses associated with transferring from abroad. Between its launch and 2020, 749 people applied, 332 returned with a job and 18 with an entrepreneurial project (OECD, 2023)[12] (Volvemos, 2020)[43].

Finally, Corsica is also characterised by the low activity rate of its population (84.7% of 25–54-year-olds are in employment), which is atypical compared with other regions of mainland France (90.7% on average). As mentioned in the economic development, innovation and internationalisation plan (SRDE2I), adopted by the Assembly of Corsica in 2016, "these reservoirs of labour (female activity, activity at the end of professional careers, territories lagging behind) constitute untapped potential for initiative and growth" (Inspection générale des finances, 2018)[15].

3.2 Strengthening the levers of regional attractiveness

Although the determinants of attractiveness depend on the context and vary from one country to another, analysis of a large sample of regions has revealed certain features common to the regions that have proved most attractive to talent, investors and visitors (graph 2). How do the policies implemented to enhance Corsica's attractiveness leverage these factors, and do they also help to address some of the difficulties observed on the ground?



Figure.2. Levers of attractiveness

Source: (OECD, 2023)[12]

Transport infrastructure internal

The attractiveness of regions depends both on their ability to connect to the rest of the world, and to offer transport networks that enable the internal mobility of goods and people. On the island, there are gaps in the transport infrastructure that hamper this mobility.

In particular, the rail network suffers from a lack of frequency, service areas and adequate speeds, despite strong demand, illustrated by an increase in passenger numbers, with twice as many passengers in 2020 as in 2012 (Cerema, 2020)[44]. For example, Corsica's third largest town, Porto-Vecchio, is not served, and isolated areas are only served along the "main lines". The network is also lagging behind when it comes to integrating other modes of transport, in particular bicycles, which are not offered by train (ATC/ADEME, 2022)[45]This limits the possibilities for sustainable mobility for passengers and hampers the overall attractiveness of the network.

Due to the lack of transport alternatives and urban sprawl, residents, businesses and visitors are extremely cardependent. On average, for every 100 people of driving age, 82 own a car in Corsica, compared with 70 in France, and, by way of example, 40 in Réunion (AUE, 2019)[46]. Among the working population, 86% use their car to go to work (INSEE, 2021)[47]. This situation has harmful social, environmental, and economic effects on residents, businesses and visitors alike.

The performance of road transport, measured in terms of the proportion of the population that can be reached within a radius of 120 kilometres in 1 hour 30 minutes by land, is low (47%), and well below the averages for European regions (78%) and European islands (78%) (European Commission, 2022)[48]. Residents of landlocked areas have more difficulty accessing shops, services and employment (OECD, 2022)[49] (Geoptis, 2023)[50]with median access times to facilities higher than the average for mainland France (around 80 mins), particularly for lycées and hospitals (Collectivité de Corse, 2015)[51]. This situation poses problems of attractiveness, but also of spatial equity and well-being, which are common to regions where territorial disparities, particularly between urban and rural areas, are significant.

In addition, the island has the highest per capita greenhouse gas emissions from the transport sector in France, and higher than the European and OECD medians. What's more, despite a reduced VAT rate, fuel prices in Corsica remain higher than in mainland France (between +5% and +15% between 2015 and 2020) (DREAL Corse, 2022)[1] which penalises Corsican households, 28% of which are in a situation of energy vulnerability linked to travel (the highest rate in France) (INSEE, 2015)[52]. Dependence on road transport also weighs heavily on the development of local businesses. The largest proportion (41%) of the additional costs they face compared with mainland France is attributed to higher road transport times in Corsica (an average of 2.97 hours per week compared with 0.47 hours per week on the roads) (Goodwill, 2019)[38]. Tourist traffic, which exacerbates road congestion during the summer period, has negative repercussions that help to curb the acceptability of tourism among the Corsican population. (CCIHC, 2020)[9].

As a result, extending and improving the rail network in Corsica offers undeniable potential for social and economic development, including in terms of investment. Unlike other French regions, since 2002 the Collectivity of Corsica has owned its rail infrastructure and has control over its rail policy. The revitalisation of the Corsican rail system undertaken since then has enabled traffic to double in just a few years, to reach 1.4 million passengers today (Collectivité de Corse, 2023)[53]. To strengthen its control over the operation of the rail network and implement a new rail transport development strategy for Corsica as part of the intermodal transport policy, the Collectivity of Corsica has decided to take over the operation of the rail network through the creation in 2023 of Local Industrial and Commercial Public Establishment (EPIC) (Idem). It will be necessary to evaluate its achievements in the future, including the question of transporting waste by rail, which is one of the intentions but has not yet been implemented. (Cour des Comptes, 2021)[54].

Natural resources and environmental quality

Renewable energy

Corsica is isolated from the electricity network of mainland France, and obtains most of its electricity supply from imports and locally produced energy (Commission de Régulation de l'Energie, 2021)[55]. The island's energy

autonomy is therefore limited, and climatic fluctuations combined with high tourist numbers have already led to the risk of power cuts (DREAL Corse, 2022)[1]. In 2021, oil-fired power stations will cover 39% of electricity needs, renewable energy sources 34%, and electricity links 26%. (EDF SEI, 2022)[57]. As a result, around 80% of Corsica's greenhouse gas emissions are energy-related (European Commission, 2021)[56].

This situation presents both challenges and opportunities, insofar as the transition to renewable energies can quickly be highly effective in terms of environmental performance and price. It therefore has a direct impact on residents' quality of life, and on the attractiveness of the region to businesses and investors - who are increasingly inclined to take the environmental impact of their activities into account. As well as reducing greenhouse gas emissions, increasing local production of renewable energy would improve the island's energy self-sufficiency. This would help to alleviate the fuel poverty that affects around 15% of Corsica's population, by reducing import costs and the impact of volatile fossil fuel prices. Finally, visitors are sensitive to the quality of the environment, particularly air quality, even though peaks in tourist numbers can lead to conflicts over the use of electricity. (OECD, 2023)[12].

The island has made its mark in the production of renewable energies on both a national and European scale, thanks to its own resources and the presence of research players, as illustrated by the MYRTE and PAGLIA ORBA technology transfer platforms specialising in solar radiation. Innovative initiatives are also emerging in the private sector, such as that of the Corstyrène company in Aléria, which is using hydrogen stations powered by a photovoltaic plant to supply green energy to its vehicles, and subsequently to local authorities, hauliers and possibly the maritime sector.

Much remains to be done to extend these efforts. The Collectivity of Corsica is responsible for planning and deciding on the use of local energy resources. The recent revision of its multi-annual energy plan calls for 74% of the energy consumed on the island to come from renewable sources by 2028, thanks to an increase in local production and the import of biofuels. The aim is to achieve energy autonomy by 2050 (Corsican Assembly, 2023)[58] (EDF SEI, 2022)[57].

The measures set out in the *Energy and Climate* section of the Corsican State-Collectivity Contract of Plan (CPER) to develop and store renewable or decarbonised energies and those of the ERDF are aligned, which should guarantee good synergy between investments (European Commission, 2021)_[56] (Collectivité de Corse, 2023)_[59]. The creation of an "Energy of Tomorrow" committee bringing together businesses, associations, public authorities and academics, which is one of the recommendations of the Economic Recovery Plan for Corsica (CCIHC, 2020)_[9] could facilitate the deployment of experiments, exchanges between public and private players, and the implementation of projects and island strategies in this field, including anticipating and resolving future challenges linked to renewable energy professions by identifying needs upstream.

Geothermal energy is still under-exploited in Corsica, despite its significant advantages: it is renewable, inexhaustible and constant, and also has a minimal impact on the landscape compared with other renewable energy sources. The lack of specialised engineers and dedicated local training courses is helping to slow its development, but new facilities are coming on stream thanks to the support of ADEME's Corsica regional office and the Corsican Agency for Sustainable Development, Urban Planning and Energy (ADEME), which is part of the Collectivity of Corsica, which finance feasibility studies prior to the installation of surface geothermal or aerothermal systems, and the construction of these facilities for interested companies and local authorities (ADEME, 2023) [60].

Availability of water resources

Access to water, which is under threat from climate change, is a key factor in the quality of life and attractiveness of our regions. Corsica has the greatest water resources of all the Mediterranean islands, but seasonal and geographical variations in rainfall make certain areas vulnerable to periods of drought (CESECC, 2023)[61]. Potential conflicts of use, for example between the agricultural and tourism sectors, could increase as a result of increasingly limited availability, requiring careful management of the resource and trade-offs understood by the various stakeholders (DREAL, 2022)[62]. By way of example, the cultivation of clementines, which is emblematic of the island, could run into difficulties as it requires a lot of water after the summer, when the water tables have already been heavily used by other crops such as winegrowing, and by the local population.

In addition to the challenges posed by the effects of climate change, there is the issue of the state of water infrastructure, the performance of which varies considerably across the island. In a number of municipalities, water

losses sometimes exceed 50% of total distribution (CESECC, 2023)_[61]. Leaks in the networks coupled with faulty meters seem to explain the significant discrepancy between certain volumes of water distributed and the volumes actually billed (Chambre régionale des comptes, 2023)_[63]. Overall, investment in the renewal and development of these infrastructures remains insufficient in relation to needs (Collectivité de Corse, 2022)_[64].

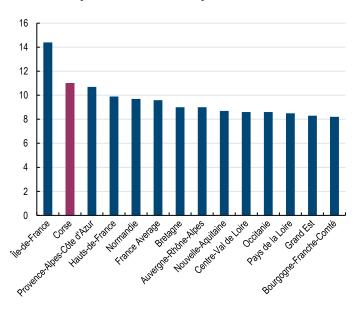
The "Acqua Nostra 2050" hydraulic development plan, prepared by the Corsican Hydraulic Equipment Office (OEHC) and adopted in 2020 by the Corsican Assembly, aims to double the storage capacity of its facilities, but is currently only partially financed (Chambre régionale des comptes, 2023)[63]. At the same time, the 2022-2027 master plan for water development and management (SDAGE) for the Corsican basin defines the policy to be implemented to halt the deterioration and improve the quality of rivers, water bodies, groundwater and coastal waters. To achieve its ambitious objectives, the plan includes measures covered by national and European regulations, as well as additional measures at local level to be implemented when the measures covered by the regulations prove insufficient. For example, it recommends that a study be carried out into the biological impact of the locks on the Prunelli river, and the actions that could be taken to mitigate this impact. This area-based approach will encourage local and regional authorities to become involved in effective local water management in consultation with all stakeholders. The Transformation and Investment Plan for Corsica (PTIC), which has led to the signing of a project contract between the State, the Collectivity of Corsica and the OEHC to improve raw water management, could provide additional solutions.

Despite progress, in addition to a lack of investment, decisions relating to water management do not always seem to involve all user sectors, such as agriculture (see preparation of the Acqua Nostra 2050 plan), tourism and construction (see SDGAE). Better coordination between these players is essential if we are to share best practice, contribute to a change in behaviour and paradigm within Corsican society, and effectively integrate water management into the island's attractiveness and development strategies. The island has technical expertise, particularly in irrigation and the choice of crops that enable water resources to be used more efficiently.

Affordable housing

Access to affordable housing conditions the well-being of local populations, and therefore the attractiveness of regions for talent (OECD, 2023)[12]. By extension, since access to talent is a key criterion for foreign investors when choosing a location, offering quality housing is a lever for attracting investment (OECD, 2023)[35].

Graph 6. Rent for a private rental flat



Source : OECD based on data from the Observatoire des Territoires 2022

In Corsica, despite an expansion in the housing stock over recent decades, access to affordable, quality housing is a major issue. Rental and sales prices are among the highest in France (chart 6), while the region has the 2ème lowest median income in the country. The average monthly rent is the 2^{ème} highest in mainland France (€10/sq m for a house; €11.36/sq m for a flat, compared with national averages of €8.20 and €9.38). These disparities pose a real challenge in terms of attracting and retaining talent in the region, against a backdrop where consumer prices are also higher than in the rest of France excluding the Paris region (+7%). (INSEE, 2023)[23]. Rural areas are no longer a safe haven in terms of prices, with rents on average above the national average. As a result, many Corsican residents say they do not have enough money for housing (Gallup, 2021)[22]. These prices can be explained in part by the island's strong appeal to tourists, its demographic dynamic and its concentration in urban areas. Nevertheless, the average price of a building plot in Corsica appears to be slightly lower than the average price in France (€152.78/m2 vs. €194.61/m2) (Solvimo, 2023)[65]. Although this figure should be seen in the context

of the low average standard of living on the island, and does not necessarily reflect the reality of access to housing, which depends for the most part on the cost of land located in the main employment and living areas.

Identified as a priority housing production remains insufficient, particularly in terms of smaller residential units and social housing (Office Foncier de Corse, 2018) [66] (Cerema Méditerranée, 2018) [67]. This situation affects young households as well as the most modest households, and threatens the island's appeal to outside talent, which the region will need more and more to make up for labour shortages. Since 2021, the number of housing starts per year has been falling, with a drop of 28.2% between 2022 and 2023 that is much more pronounced than that observed at national level (-10.5%) (INSEE, 2023)[68]. Changes in environmental and technical standards governing the construction industry, as well as uncertainties in the supply and recruitment of personnel, are among the reasons for this (in addition to the economic and cyclical uncertainties that affect all regions) (INSEE, 2023)[68]. What's more, very little new construction is taking place in the Bastia and Ajaccio conurbations, where demand is high, and a proportion is being devoted to second homes.

Renting out vacant homes or second homes is a complementary response to construction, more in line with the current issues of land consumption and land artificialisation. In 2017, 29% of homes were declared as second homes (three times more than the average for the rest of France), 37% of which belonged to island residents (INSEE, 2020)_[69]. At the same time, many properties and plots of land - in both rural and urban areas - have no official owner (36% in 2011), which leads to blockages in property transactions, identification and sharing between heirs, which can result in homes being left vacant, and prevents local authorities from recovering abandoned houses with no identified owner. The Public Interest Group for the Reconstruction of Property Titles in Corsica (GIRTEC), set up in 2007, aims to help resolve this land mess. Between 2009 and 2021, 5,614 cases were processed, with an average of 430 cases per year (Cour des Comptes, 2023)_[70]. The boom in short-term rentals in tourist areas, stimulated by the rise of the platform economy, is accentuating imbalances in local housing markets (Inspectorate of Finance, 2023)_[71]. These rentals, while bringing benefits to hosts, travellers and the tourism ecosystem, are reducing the availability of year-round accommodation and driving up property prices (European Commission, 2022)_[72].

Many local authorities have tightened up their regulations in response to this problem, with policies such as the purchase of land by the municipality of Moncale for resale at affordable prices (and subject to conditions of use) to local residents, or the requirement for owners of properties located in the historic centre of Bastia to counterbalance the number of second homes rented out for tourism by offering standard rental accommodation of equivalent size. Taxes are being introduced to redirect the income from these activities towards providing local residents with access to affordable housing. In Portland, USA, a 2% tax that applies to hosts using rental platforms, and a \$4 per night fee for the platforms, contribute \$2.5 million to the city's housing budget (City of Portland, 2018)[73]. Washington State is considering allowing municipalities to levy a tax that would fund the capital and operating costs of affordable housing programs. However, these policies can have a negative impact on the areas surrounding the regulated zones, leading, for example, to an increase in demand for this type of rental, and therefore a rise in property prices (Valentin, 2020)[74].

The property issue is one of the priorities of the Collectivity of Corsica. The fight against property speculation is included in the "territorial cohesion" section of the Plan Contract between the State and the Collectivity of Corsica, and the following actions are planned in particular: refurbishment of existing housing, in order to make social housing more attractive; development and diversification of the supply of new housing, with a view to achieving social and territorial balance in rural areas; and, undertaking of strategic studies and continuation of the management and performance plan of the Public Office for Housing (Collectivité de Corse, 2023)[59].

The University and foreign students

Hosting one or more international universities is a very important factor in the attractiveness and development of a region. First of all, regions with such universities are magnets for talent, and therefore offer investors guarantees regarding the availability of a pool of qualified workers (OECD, 2023)_[12]. This is the case, for example, of the Universities of Tromsø, in Norway, and Luleå, in Sweden, which, by attracting and training students through various initiatives such as research opportunities or partnerships with industry, have helped to make their remote regions centres of investment and innovation (OECD, 2023)_[35] ((Hintsala) Longi, Niemelä and Tervonen, 2017)_[75]. Offering educational programmes focusing on sustainable development can also enable regions to attract 'green' investment. The engineering school specialising in agronomy and climate change mentioned above is therefore good practice. The presence of foreign students has a self-reinforcing effect on a region's attractiveness to foreign students. It provides a network of contacts that foreign talent looking to settle in the region can tap into when looking for accommodation, a job, etc. Finally, a higher proportion of foreign students can also contribute to a stronger tourism

economy, as they promote the place where they live abroad, while their friends and family members often visit the town and region where they study.

Although Corsica has only one university, the range of courses on offer is varied and its research centres produce fundamental and applied knowledge geared towards the needs of the region's economic players and the objectives of sustainable development. The STELLA MARE research centre, for example, pursues scientific objectives closely linked to those of the island's fish farmers and fishermen. The transfer of knowledge from the University to the island territory is achieved in particular through Chairs, such as the multi-disciplinary Territorial Mutations & Innovations Chair. However, the University of Corsica has the lowest proportion of foreign students of any region in mainland France, even though it is involved in international exchange programmes with over 100 institutions. Policies designed to help universities stand out in a competitive international market and increase the proportion of foreign students can be based on partnerships with foreign universities, participation in international university networks, communication strategies to attract foreign students and internship opportunities in local companies.

4. Multi-level governance and cooperation mechanisms

An area's attractiveness to investors, talent and visitors, and more generally its inclusive and sustainable development, depend on the way its players and institutions work together to tackle common challenges and create synergies both locally and with the state. In this context, it is crucial to take a close look at the governance structures and cooperation mechanisms that exist in Corsica's key sectors between public institutions, private businesses and civil society organisations, and the ability of local players to overcome their differences and bring about projects for their territory.

Corsica's institutional situation

Corsica has a unique system of governance within the French Republic, with a special status that gives it more extensive powers in a number of key areas, such as economic development, housing and land policies, environmental protection, culture and transport. This specificity has been further enhanced by the creation of the Collectivity of Corsica in 2018, a single territorial authority resulting from the merger of the two pre-existing départements. The Collectivity has an executive and an Assembly. Since the 2021 election, the project for legislative and regulatory autonomy has been supported by the territorial majority and is once again the subject of enhanced dialogue with the State at the highest level. The Collectivity of Corsica believes that this change would enable it to respond more effectively to the specific challenges facing the islands, for example in terms of access to affordable housing, environmental protection and public transport.

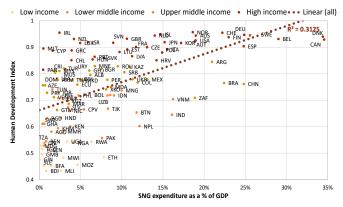
A number of islands in Europe with relatively small populations, such as Corsica, have more extensive powers (Corsican Assembly, 2023)_[76]. This is notably the case in several unitary countries which have adopted asymmetrical decentralisation arrangements by allocating more powers to their island regions (Allain-Dupré, Chatry and Moisio, 2020)_[77]. Portugal, for example, has granted autonomous status to the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, Finland to the Åland Islands, and Denmark to the Faroe Islands and Greenland (Mastor, 2021)_[78] (OECD, 2020)_[79]. The French Republic allows New Caledonia legislative autonomy. It should be noted that none of the islands and archipelagos mentioned has absolute legislative power, as autonomous legislative power remains limited.

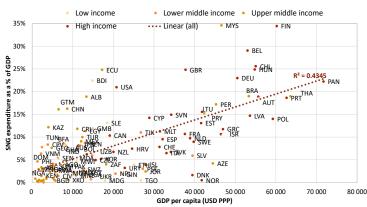
Several studies describe the positive impact of greater autonomy - understood here as "the partial or complete transfer of specific economic, social, cultural and environmental competences" - on certain aspects of people's well-being (Battestini and Faure, 2022)[80]. Decentralisation, and in particular fiscal autonomy, by enabling a better response to local preferences, would have advantages in terms of better addressing territorial disparities, supporting innovation by small firms, encouraging collaboration between firms and research centres, and providing specific responses to the issues of health, education, income and gender inequalities, and the quality of institutions. As the effects cannot be immediate, the benefits of autonomy are progressive (Collectivité de Corse, 2022)[81]

The OECD's work on financial decentralisation (the share of local authority spending in total public spending) reveals, at national level, a correlation between the level of decentralisation and the level of human development (graph 7), and between the level of decentralisation and GDP per capita (graph 8). However, as all the work carried out by the OECD's Committee for Regional Development Policy over the past 20 years and by its group of experts on multi-level governance has shown, whatever the degree of decentralisation, the decisive factor is the quality of its operation in terms of coherence between the different aspects of decentralisation (administrative, financial, political) and between the levels of government (national, regional and local) (OECD, 2019)[82].

Graph 7. Link between local authority spending and the human development index (2020)

Graph 8. Link between local authority spending and GDP/capita (2020)





Source: OECD-UCLG (2022) Synthesis Report of the World Observatory on Subnational Government Finance and Investment (SNG-WOFI) - www.sng-wofi.org

In terms of international relations, the island enjoys an advantageous geographical position but still lacks visibility and links, particularly economic links, with neighbouring Tuscany. It is, however, well integrated into a number of cooperation networks with other Mediterranean islands and regions, which have led the Collectivity of Corsica to chair the Islands Commission of the Inter-Mediterranean Commission of the Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions (CPMR) from 2017 to 2021. The island is also actively represented in the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions and the Economic, Social and Environmental Council. Since 2021, it has also had a *Europe Direct* Information Centre, which aims to bring the European Union closer to its citizens and promote local participation in debates on the future of the EU.

The following sections highlight some of the major successes and challenges of cooperation between stakeholders to enhance Corsica's international appeal.

Common challenges and synergies in the tourism sector

The tourism industry is facing a number of issues and opportunities that need to be addressed collectively.

The first challenge concerns the average length of stay, which fell by 15% between 1995 and 2015 in most countries in the world, and in Corsica from 5.7 days to 4 days between 2018 and 2021 (Gravari-Barbas, 2021)[83] (ATC, 2022)[84]. Touch-and-go" holidays mean more return trips by plane or boat, and therefore more greenhouse gas emissions, limit the exploration of local culture and worsen the spatial concentration of tourists. Conversely, longer stays can help to spread the economic benefits of tourism around the island, promote local traditions and products, and improve local acceptability of tourism. The 2023 campaign run by Atout France and its partners encourages visitors to "Dream big, take time" to encourage them to spread out across the country, and to promote environmentally-friendly ways of discovering the region (Atout France, 2023)[85]. In Indonesia, five tourist destinations selected as priorities by the government are receiving financial support to develop infrastructure, staff training and promotional activities, in order to reduce dependence on tourism in the province of Bali (Ghosh, 2023)[86]. The study conducted by the Tourism Agency for Corsica (ATC) on the accessibility of micro-territories will help to identify the best strategies for promoting the best distribution of tourists across the island.

Tourism in Corsica is characterised by a strong summer seasonality - due to the predominance of coastal tourism and a geographical concentration of visitors. By joining forces, the players in Corsican tourism should be able to encourage the gradual deseasonalisation of demand, which is already underway (ATC, 2022)[84] (Assemblée Nationale, 2023)[87]and improve the spatial distribution of flows. For example, close collaboration between suppliers of different tourist services - hotels, catering, transport, etc. - For example, close collaboration between suppliers of different tourist services - hotels, catering, transport, etc. - can help to extend the tourist season, propose grouped tariff offers, for example between coastal and mountain areas, and facilitate online access to a variety of options, as Sicily has done with a platform translated into four languages (OECD, 2023)[88]. Cultural and sporting events are important levers for achieving a more balanced spatial and seasonal distribution of visitors (Box 3). The Bank for Territories' "Alentour" platform, launched in 2021, is an effort to network local tourism offerings. It lists and distributes leisure activities - cultural, sporting, etc. - that are conducive to discovering new areas. - to help you discover new areas, particularly out of season. The ATC has also opted for a form of communication that matches this ambition, giving priority to disseminating information about little-visited sites (and less about Scandola or the GR20, for example). However, some players in the tourism sector are complaining that there has been no prior consultation on this issue.

Box 3. Spreading tourists over time and space: culture and sport

The island's cultural and heritage assets are a key factor in the sustainable economic development of the region and the well-being of the local population. They contribute to more inclusive and sustainable tourism, by making the island and its lesser-known sites more attractive out of season, at a time when climate change is likely to reduce the appeal of seaside tourism in summer.

The myriad of local cultural initiatives that exist on the island, certain collective projects such as Bastia-Corsica's bid to become European Capital of Culture 2028, and the relatively high proportion of employment in the cultural and creative industries (see graph 4), bear witness to the vitality of the sector and its gradual structuring. The opportunities they represent are increasingly recognised, and are the subject of specific sections in several development programmes (CPER 2021-2027, Corsica's Sustainable Development Plan (PADDuC), ERDF). The ATC's Living Lab project aims to integrate local tourism stakeholders, including start-ups, to develop a new cultural and sustainable tourism offering. Funded by the University's UNITI 2022 Future Investment Programme, it is supported by a strategic steering committee made up of local and international partners (institutional, academic, scientific and socio-economic). The "Creazione" festival of creation, fashion and design, initiated by the tourist offices of Bastia, Porto-Vecchio, Île-Rousse and Calvi, is another example of successful cooperation, as is the new international contemporary art biennial in Bonifacio. However, cultural tourism requires effective management of visitor movement within the island, which poses a challenge given the current state of the public transport network.

In addition to the hiking trails, which are already well known in Corsica (GR20, Mare e Monti, etc.), cycle tourism, which is booming, is another interesting way of spreading tourists out over time and space by working together. The *A Traversata Maio* cycle route, supported by the ATC and launched in 2019, offers 12 stages between the north and south of the island. The route is gradually gaining in popularity. Consideration could be given to registering it on the website of the national association France Vélo tourisme, which promotes itineraries and breaks, particularly outside the high season.

Source : (Collectivité de Corse, 2023 ;[59] Collectivité de Corse, 2015)[89] ; (Bourbousson, Furt and Iglesias, 2021)[13]

What's more, tourism makes a major contribution to global warming, even though the quality of the natural environment is a powerful factor in attracting visitors. The sector is responsible for 11% of France's greenhouse gas emissions (ADEME, 2021)[90] and intensive use of natural resources such as water. A collective review of tourism practices is therefore essential if the sector is to be sustainable. Regional tourism offices play a major role in this. In the Swedish county of Dalarna, for example, *Visit Dalarna* has drawn up a new strategy for 2030 that focuses on sustainability. Based on the *Global Sustainable Tourism Council*'s methodology, a qualified team carries out free sustainability analyses of each destination (municipality) and tourism business to provide them with concrete recommendations for improving their environmental performance (OECD, 2023)[91]. In Australia, the *Managing Local Tourism Master Class, an* inter-municipal coordination programme for sustainable tourism, *has led to* a shift in the

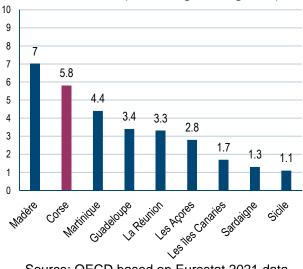
management of tourism from a purely marketing approach, the responsibility of the private sector, to a reflection on the role of the public sector as a sustainable manager of tourism. Importantly for Corsica, this initiative has encouraged local authorities, who are focused on other policies (e.g. waste management), to consider the interconnectedness of tourism and other activities, and to develop solutions accordingly (Dredge, Ford and Whitford, 2011)[92]. In Slovenia, where tourism has grown steadily over the last decade, the *Green Scheme of Slovenian Tourism* (GSST) certification programme, developed at national level, is helping to promote Slovenia as a destination committed to green and sustainable tourism. To obtain certification, tourism operators must comply with strict national and international standards for responsible tourism. A growing number of operators are being certified (OECD, 2022)[93]. The 2022-28 tourism strategy aims to achieve a moderate increase in the number of tourists and to balance the needs of tourists with those of the local population.

Finally, strengthening collaboration between players in the sector can make tourism more acceptable to the local population. There is a real need to rethink the way in which the "success" of destinations is measured, in a context in which tourism phenomena, for some Corsicans, exceed the limits of what is acceptable. We need to agree on new objectives and indicators of success in order to go beyond the objective of welcoming "more" visitors, and to take account of environmental and social issues if this sector is to evolve Many islands are experiencing similar tensions. In the Balearic Islands, for example, cruise tourism has experienced strong growth. To combat the negative effects, such as damage to the ecosystem, discontent among local residents, and the degradation of the tourist experience, the regional government has signed a five-year agreement with the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA), approved by the national authorities, limiting the number of cruise ships docking at the port of Palma de Mallorca, a unique initiative in Spain (OECD, 2023)[94].

Off-season" job security in the tourist industry is a key factor, both for the employees themselves and for their employers, as is the ambition of the "CDI Saisonnier" experiment soon to be conducted in Corsica as part of a partnership between the DREETS, the Corsican Tourism Agency, the UMIH, the outdoor activities federation and Strada Corsa. Communicating the results achieved through tourism activities also helps to improve its perception by local residents. This is the approach taken by the work begun by the Corsican Environment Office in 2019 to assess tourist flows at a number of pilot sites in order to evaluate their capacity to receive visitors (Collectivité de Corse, 2022)[95].

The potential for local production - particularly of food - based on local networks

Graph 9. Sea freight transport between the EU islands and the rest of the world (unloading/loading ratio)



Source: OECD based on Eurostat 2021 data Unit of measurement: Thousands of tonnes

Many islands have a negative trade balance, mainly due to their small size, limited natural resources, and predominant specialisation in the tourism sector, which implies less production of goods. As Figure 10 shows, in 2021, none of the islands in question had a positive maritime trade balance (calculated on the basis of the number of tonnes of goods loaded and unloaded). In particular, the quantity of goods landed in Corsica from the rest of the world (including mainland France) by sea was 5.8 times greater than that shipped from the island. Data from the customs administration, which measures the monetary value of goods, confirms the limited level of outgoing goods compared to incoming goods to Corsica. In 2021, the value of imports from abroad - and therefore excluding trade with mainland France - was 8.4 times higher than that of exports, a trend that is continuing (Directorate General of Customs, 2023)[96]. These figures show that the island's economy is more focused on consumption than production, posing particular challenges for the island's resilient development, particularly in terms of access to agri-food products (CCIHC, 2020)[9]. However, some

islands manage to maintain a more favourable trade balance by adopting economic diversification strategies,

promoting exports and improving their competitiveness. As mentioned below, in Corsica, certain production sectors, particularly in the agri-food sector, are flourishing and managing to export to mainland France, and to a lesser extent abroad. These successes point the way to a partial balance in the island's trade balance and strengthen its economic resilience.

This dependence on imports to meet the needs of their population exposes the islands to higher prices and makes them vulnerable to external shocks (INSEE, 2023)_[23] (EPRS, 2016)_[6]. In Corsica, this contributes to prices that are 7% higher than in the rest of France, with an even greater surcharge for food products (+14%, with differences of +10% to +12% for essential items such as meat, dairy products, fruit and vegetables) (INSEE, 2023)_[23]. Compared to 2015, the price gap has doubled (Collectivité de Corse, 2022)_[97]despite the fact that Corsica benefits from a very significantly reduced VAT rate on products intended for human consumption (Autorité de la Concurrence, 2020)_[98]. This situation is very worrying in terms of well-being, given that Corsica is the poorest region in mainland France, with 18.5% of the population living below the poverty line (ADEC, 2020)_[99]. There are several reasons for the disparity in prices, including the fact that sea and air transport, which are more expensive than road and rail transport, are compulsory. In addition, the absence of storage warehouses limits bulk purchases by Corsican shops, depriving them of the discounts associated with bulk purchases. In addition, strong summer demand has led to overcapacity in some shops, both in terms of space and staff, resulting in additional costs, particularly for property and labour, during the low season. In addition, certain areas are characterised by a degree of concentration of players in the sector, which can contribute to the high cost of products (Autorité de la Concurrence, 2020)_[98].

One of the solutions is to relocate part of agricultural production, in order to reduce the inflow of foodstuffs and therefore the number of intermediaries and costs. This is a challenge that needs to be tackled in a coordinated way. At a time when many areas of the Mediterranean basin will be affected by major droughts, Corsica's wealth of water resources could be better exploited and constitute an essential asset enabling the island to develop its agriculture.

The Collectivity of Corsica's objective of doubling agricultural and forestry production over the next thirty years, by correcting the observed trends in land use - artificialisation, land pressure and under-mobilisation - is a step in this direction (Collectivité de Corse, 2015)_[89]. Between 2020 and 2021, plant production on the island rose by 5% in value terms, but fell in volume (and may therefore have contributed to high prices) (ODARC, 2022)_[100]. Nevertheless, between 2010 and 2020, the number of new farmers setting up on the island rose encouragingly (+4.7%), while it fell in all other regions of mainland France (Corsican Regional Chamber of Agriculture, 2021)_[101]. The problem of access to land is an obstacle to young farmers setting up in business, despite the important tools that have been put in place or supported by the Corsican Office of Agricultural and Rural Development for many years, such as the Land Associations (ODARC, 2022)_[102]. Some land will need to be recultivated in order to boost local production and meet a growing proportion of the island's food requirements (or even boost exports).

Since 2015, the structuring of Corsican agricultural sectors has been supported by a regional support plan for 2015-2025, jointly managed by the State and the Corsican Office of Agricultural and Rural Development. The strategic objectives include food sovereignty (which also corresponds to the objective of reducing the climatic impact of consumption), with increased production and improved technical performance. The territorial analysis carried out in 2017, to serve as a basis for a future territorial food project, highlights numerous opportunities for cooperation that could boost food production on the island (DRAAF, 2017)[103].

In addition, collective short circuit projects can be used creatively to strengthen collaboration between local producers and associations working to combat food insecurity, which is a major issue in Corsica. For example, the Montagne Verte gardens in Strasbourg, which are the result of collaboration between the city of Strasbourg, local associations and agricultural producers, offer food products at reduced prices to low-income families. In addition, local production enables the associations to organise direct collections from producers to recover unsold or surplus produce. La *Tablée des Chefs* works in France and Canada with local chefs and producers to transform surplus food into meals for vulnerable people. Strengthening local agricultural production can also have a positive impact on tourism. We need to create a cross-sectoral approach, in particular by reinforcing the gastronomic dimension of Corsica and highlighting the appeal of its agricultural landscapes, which can be enjoyed in all seasons.

External investment

Corsica has received extremely little foreign direct investment (FDI) in recent years. This lack of economic attractiveness is common to peripheral and island regions (France Stratégie, 2022)[104]. OECD studies highlight the agglomeration effects that lead to FDI being highly concentrated in a few centres. The 10% of regions that attracted the most new FDI ('greenfield') between 2003 and 2021 attracted on average 700 times more investment than the 10% of the least successful regions, including Corsica (OECD, 2022)[105]

In addition to the obstacles linked to accessibility, Corsica's image has been affected by a tense political context. (MSC-ECOPA-DMI, 2006)[106]. The island also suffers from a low profile among foreign investors. The success of Corsica's economic development therefore depends on the controlled opening up of its territory and its promotion. With this in mind, the Corsican Economic Development Agency (ADEC) has set up a strategic committee for the development of the region's economic internationalisation (CODITE), which regularly brings together those involved in the attractiveness of the region and draws up a plan on this subject. Members of the export and attractiveness commissions include, for example, the Corsican Chamber of Trades and Crafts, the Corsican Transport Office, the Corsican Land Office, the University of Corsica and its Foundation, the ATC and a start-up incubator (Inizià). The diversity of the sectors represented illustrates how well the different components of attractiveness are taken into account (OECD, 2023)[12].

The island does not yet have a territorial brand aimed at outside investors, which would enable the island's economic players to identify all the region's assets that need to be developed, and to commit to a unifying project. One of these assets is the priority development zone covering the entire island, to be introduced in 2019, which will enable SMEs set up in Corsica and carrying out industrial, commercial or craft activities to benefit from specific tax exemptions. The La Réunion region, for example, has planned marketing and communication campaigns on the support services offered to French and international companies by the French customs services, illustrating the fact that island regions have a multitude of assets that can be exploited to attract investors. (OECD, 2022)[108].

In the current context, where the island attracts little outside investment, mechanisms for mobilising the savings of Corsican residents are very useful for financing Corsican businesses and enabling the island's economic development. The Femu Quì investment fund is a pioneer in this field (Box 4). By compensating for the lack of financial backing that used to affect Corsicans wishing to set up a business on the island, this type of initiative makes it possible to capitalise on the natural heritage, quality of life and solid social capital that encourage locals to stay. They fit in well with the objectives of the PADDUC, which is to put the island's identity-based resources at the service of the development project, and to encourage private initiative in order to develop employment. (Collectivité de Corse, 2015)[89].

Box 4. Femu Quì

Created in 1992, this regional company is Corsica's first investment fund. Its aim is to promote economic development, make the most of local resources and know-how, and create jobs on the island, by supporting SMEs in their seed, start-up, development or transfer phase, by providing equity capital from the investments of its 5,000 subscribers.

By supporting nearly a hundred Corsican businesses, Femu Quì has already helped to create almost a thousand jobs and consolidate 1,700. The financing of the Pietra brewery is one of the fund's emblematic successes. Since 2015, the company has enjoyed strong growth thanks to the creation of a management company, the first in Corsica, called Femu Quì Ventures. As well as financing the traditional economy, Femu Qui is now investing in digital start-ups and digital training (Box 2).

Note: Femu Quì translates as "We do it here".

Exports as a lever for local development

Corsica's domestic market is very small. Its potential market size expressed in terms of number of inhabitants is much smaller than the average for European regions, and smaller than that for non-French European islands (European Commission, 2022)[48]. Consequently, the growth of the non-tourism private sector in these regions depends on the expansion of exports, enabling local producers to expand their market and benefit from economies of scale (EPRS, 2016)[6]. However, Corsican businesses export little to third countries, and mainland France already represents a major market for island businesses, although this type of 'domestic export' is not valued as such in the economic and financial data available. Corsica is not alone in this and insularity generally affects the export performance of regions (MSC-ECOPA-DMI, 2006)[106]. In addition to the significant additional cost of transporting goods, the difficulties of exchanging information formally and informally due to insularity, the low population density and the composition of the Corsican economic fabric, which is dominated by very small businesses with few large firms to draw on, seem to act as a brake on exports.

Cooperation mechanisms are helping to give Corsican companies the tools they need to overcome some of these obstacles. The "Team France Export", created in 2019 and bringing together the Corsican Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Corsican Economic Development Agency (ADEC), Business France and BPI France, has, for example, collected the needs of companies to carry out their "Export Diagnostic" and help them develop their strategy in this area. Support tools include webinars presenting key markets, such as "the wine market in the USA", or "the wine market in Japan, Korea and Taiwan". So far, the number of participating companies is low, but encouraging. In 2020, 395 companies received support under this scheme (initial contacts and discovery meetings). At the same time, over the same period, 82 companies benefited from direct financial support from ADEC. A direct aid scheme ("Pattu Impresamondu") enables ADEC to support the internationalisation of Corsican companies, particularly in their efforts to prospect for new markets abroad. Among the actions that can be funded are participation in international trade fairs or in France, and the hiring of a trainee to carry out an assignment linked to the internationalisation of the company. To be eligible, projects must be deemed to be in line with the key objectives of the PADDUC and/or the SRDEII (Collectivité de Corse, 2021)[109]This will ensure coherent and sustainable development. To compensate for the lack of visibility of this aid, a guide developed in 2021 will bring together, in a single medium, all the schemes currently available (Idem).

Although Corsican exports are lagging far behind, a number of success stories show that it is entirely possible to develop an export business on the island, thanks to appropriate governance structures. The agricultural and agrifood sectors, the island's leading exporters, have been able to make the most of their know-how and highly distinctive products by forging fruitful partnerships between players in the sector and with research centres, and by obtaining distinctive quality and origin signs (ODARC, 2013)[110]. Indeed, Corsica is one of the French regions that has obtained the highest number of official quality labels, with one in three farms under a quality label (label, IGP, etc.) and several certification processes underway (Corsican Regional Chamber of Agriculture, 2021)[101]. Winegrowing, which exports around 65% of its production outside the island, was the first sector to obtain Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) status, thanks to cooperation between players in the sector to highlight the specific characteristics of local grape varieties and terroirs, and to gain the support of the public authorities (Inspection générale des finances, 2018)[15] (ODARC, 2021)[111]. PDOs have made it possible to raise the price and quality of wine, develop brand awareness and start exporting. Citrus growing is another example of success in terms of exports. The Corsican clementine is distinguished by a Label Rouge and a Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), obtained thanks to the creation of the Association pour la Promotion et la Défense de la Clémentine de Corse (Association for the Promotion and Defence of the Corsican Clementine), responsible for the PGI dossier, and which today covers more than 80% of production. The Corsican grapefruit sector is expanding rapidly, with a growing proportion of production covered by the PGI (79% of volumes in 2021), and 97% of production sold outside Corsica (ODARC, 2022)[100]. It is worth noting that, thanks to the collaboration of all those involved, plants have been built to recover fruit that is not suitable for marketing. Previously transported in part to the mainland for processing, these volumes will soon be transformed locally into high added-value products such as juices, jams or frozen fruit for the catering industry. The success of these sectors illustrates how grouping together companies in the same industry is a crucial factor in improving the competitiveness of the companies involved. It allows them to optimise production and management costs, benefit from various synergies including in terms of communication, improve transport and logistics costs, and benefit from public aid and the research and development efforts of centres such as INRAE.

The Campus Plex coworking space in Ajaccio was born out of a similar desire to bring Corsican digital companies together in one place, so that they can achieve the critical mass they need to work on joint projects by joining forces, sharing resources, aiming to export and accessing funding while remaining located in Corsica.

The export success of the Corsican brewery Pietra can be seen as a concrete example of how a company can prosper by capitalising on its know-how and regional identity. The brewery has distinguished itself by offering an innovative product that incorporates a key ingredient of local identity: beer made with chestnut flour, and by seeking substantial public and private funding (Box 4). This strategic choice has enabled Pietra to create a distinctive brand identity and significantly increase the volumes it sells abroad. Whereas in 2000 the company sold 75% of its beer in Corsica, sales to the mainland now account for more than 50%. The company is now diversifying by buying out old businesses such as the L.N. Mattei distillery, and by pursuing a highly active innovation strategy.

Governance of investment plans in Corsica

Directing public investment destined for Corsica towards priority territorial development objectives, on which there is a political consensus at local, regional and national level, should make it possible to ensure more balanced territorial development and more efficient use of financial resources. However, the two exceptional investment plans deployed in Corsica, subject to different modes of governance, have so far only partially produced the expected results.

The Exceptional Investment Plan (PEI) emerged with the aim of putting an end to Corsica's economic, social and infrastructural underdevelopment in the early 2000s. It was managed jointly by the State and the Collectivity of Corsica within a regional aid programming committee (Corepa). While the quality of this governance is praised by the Cour des Comptes, its effectiveness is open to debate (Cour des Comptes, 2023)[70] (Prime Minister, 2023)[1113] (President of the Corsican Executive Council, 2023)[112]. The Court of Auditors has highlighted the difficulties in reaching a consensus, resulting in the funding of less strategic projects to the detriment of more ambitious ones, particularly in the environmental field. The various players involved agree that the absence of a precise preliminary framework and clear objectives defined upstream make any rigorous evaluation difficult.

With the aim of making structuring investments, the French government has opted for national governance of the Transformation and Investment Plan for Corsica (PTIC), which will succeed the PEI from 2021. The State's failure to involve the Collectivity of Corsica in discussions with the local authorities at the start of the programme has been criticised. The argument put forward is that this exclusion limits the ability of the Collectivity of Corsica to develop and implement an overall territorial strategy for the region. The setting up of a monitoring committee, announced by the State, bringing together the Prefect, on an equal footing, the Collectivity of Corsica, the municipalities and the EPCIs benefiting from a project contract, could improve this situation.

The new 2021-2027 State-Corsican Collectivity Plan Contract (CPER), which is still under discussion, seems to take these concerns into account by seeking to coordinate the action of the different levels of government. It offers the prospect of a better articulation of commitments between the State, the Collectivity of Corsica and local authorities. Discussions on the CPER were informed by a diagnosis carried out by the Collectivity of Corsica as part of the European ERDF programme. This diagnosis was based on a documentary review of the roadmaps and sectoral plans adopted by the Corsican Assembly, as well as on contributions from local stakeholders gathered during workshops. This approach has made it easier to identify projects that are in line with the island's needs, and to mutually reinforce the results of the various actions and funding. By way of example, the CPER Corse should help to support the strategy recommended by the Corsican Tourism Agency for the promotion of sustainable tourism, encouraging the staggering of the summer season.

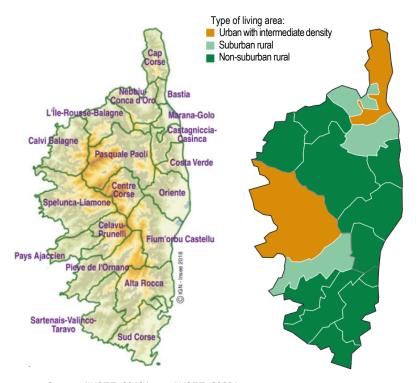
The governance of structuring investment plans, crucial to regional attractiveness, is the subject of frequent debate, as shown by various OECD case studies on regional attractiveness. The 'Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF)', the main component of the European recovery plan 'NextGenerationEU', is criticised by some European regional governments for being too centralised, favouring national governance to the detriment of existing regional programmes (OECD, 2023)[88]. In Ireland, the revision of the National Plan for 2040 suggests an opposite development. To balance the attractiveness of the Irish regions, a reconsideration of multi-level governance arrangements is advocated, placing the emphasis on dialogue and capacity-building for sub-national players at the right scale (OECD, 2023)[114].

To transform attractiveness into a shared project, reduce harmful competition between territories and mobilise significant public investment, effective coordination between levels of government and strong sub-national capacities are required. The OECD recommendation for effective public investment between levels of government offers guidance in this respect (OECD, 2014)[115]. The operational guide for implementing the recommendations of the OECD report on the internationalisation and attractiveness of French regions also offers concrete tools, such as institutional mapping and shared clarification of the challenges associated with multi-level governance (OECD, 2022)[108]. These recommendations have also inspired the OECD's comparative work and its proposal for a roadmap for the multi-level governance of regional attractiveness policies (OECD, 2023)[12].

Inadequate boundaries and lack of cooperation within intercommunal bodies

Since 2017, Corsica has been divided into 19 public establishments for inter-municipal cooperation (EPCIs), two of which are agglomeration communities (CAs) and 17 of which are communities of communes (CCs). In a number of cases, their boundaries are not aligned with the catchment areas, as defined by INSEE in order to understand the relevant territories for residents' access to everyday services and facilities, of which there will be 15 in Corsica in 2022: 2 urban, 3 peri-urban rural and 10 non-peri-urban rural. (INSEE, 2023)[116].

Figure.3. Perimeter of inter-municipalities (left) and catchment areas (right) in Corsica



Source: (INSEE, 2018)[117]; (INSEE, 2023)[116].

The Bastia Conurbation Community (Communauté d'Agglomération de Bastia - CAB) and the Ajaccio Conurbation Community (Communauté d'Agglomération Pays Ajaccien - CAPA) have catchment areas that extend beyond the boundaries of the EPCIs. In the CC Celavu-Prunelli, for example, three quarters of those in work are employed outside the EPCI, mainly in Ajaccio (INSEE, 2018)[117]. The rationality of the CAPA's perimeter is therefore in question. Similarly, in the CCs of Cap Corse, Marana-Golo and Castagniccia-Casinca, more than one working person in two works outside their area of residence (Idem) and mainly within the boundaries of Bastia and its conurbation community. In the centre of Corsica, the territory of the CC Pasquale Paoli, which is mainly rural, does not correspond to its catchment area either (Cour des Comptes, 2023)[118]. Most of its territory falls within the Corte catchment area, which is covered by the CC du Centre Corse. Now, the discrepancies between

the administrative boundaries of the EPCIs and the catchment areas can cause difficulties, particularly in terms of planning, investment, fragmentation of services, coordination of economic, social and cultural activities, undermining citizen participation in local political life, and creating competition between EPCIs with the risk of widening inequalities.

EPCIs on the right scale can reduce income inequalities between municipalities, and enable residents to benefit more from the assets of each municipality. This model reaffirms the original nature of intermunicipality as an "area of solidarity" aimed at creating a "common development and spatial planning project" (Cour des Comptes, 2005)[119]. In northern Sweden, the rural municipalities of Pajala and Övertorneå have launched the Hej Hemby project, which aims to reduce the housing shortage by building bridges between homeowners, buyers and tenants in the

area (OECD, 2023)_[35]The project is being funded by the Norrland region and is aimed at reducing the housing shortage in the region by creating bridges between homeowners, buyers and tenants. The project, funded by the Norrbotten region (Norrbotten County Council) and the local bank Sparbanken Nord, also works to promote the municipalities, and offers the opportunity to try out life in these sparsely populated areas for six months. Exploiting the complementary strengths and challenges of Bastia's neighbouring municipalities with the central municipality could, for example, make Bastia more attractive to investors (thanks, for example, to the links between available land and the existence of a port), talents (thanks, for example, to shared strategies for housing and cultural activities) and visitors (Council of Europe, 2010)_[120]. However, in a number of EPCIs, collaboration between municipalities is organised on a "minimal" basis, and no joint territorial project has been formalised (Cour des Comptes, 2023)_[118]. Incentives for cooperation between municipalities do exist, such as increased grants for EPCIs with an Intercommunal Local Planning Scheme, but they do not really work.

Despite the limitations noted, progress is being made compared with past decades when communities lived in isolation in certain valleys. For example, the CAB has been able to extend the national Territoires d'Industrie scheme, which aims to support the reindustrialisation of rural areas in particular (OECD, 2023)[12] to the neighbouring CC of Marana Golu, which is home to a large number of businesses, in order to promote overall economic development beyond the inter-communal boundary . The success of this initiative, which resulted in 16 companies receiving funding to set up their projects, illustrates that it is more effective to work together by sharing objectives and benefits . A particular feature of Corsica is the existence of "dual municipalities " linking certain inland villages to their seaside settlements. This dual "sea and mountain" character linking rural areas to more urbanised areas, particularly on the coast, is a kind of "merging of municipalities at a distance". It would be a good idea to use these links to strengthen the inter-municipal bodies comprising the "home" villages or their coastal offshoots. This is the case, for example, of Grosseto-Prugna, which, although linked to the seaside resort of Porticcio, is not included in the CAPA perimeter. However, it would be beneficial for the CAPA to cover all the areas where people live, carry out economic activities, enjoy leisure activities and engage in tourism, all of which are dependent on each other. This "dual reality" also characterises the fact that many of Corsica's coastal municipalities are divided between mountain and coastal areas. As a result, 71 of the 98 municipalities subject to the application of the "Coastal Law" are also subject to the "Mountain Law", which encourages synergies between these types of areas (for example in terms of the tourism offer), provided that the provisions do not contradict each other.

5. To sum up: considerations for public action and international examples

This final section proposes a number of priority considerations, based on the previous analyses, to feed into the forward-looking approach launched by the Assembly of Corsica. It suggests ways in which public players can adapt to the transitions underway, as proactively as possible, and enhance the island's inclusive and sustainable appeal to investors, talent and visitors. The issue of access to adequate housing, discussed above, is crucial and largely determines the attractiveness of the island, and some of the following considerations.

- The challenges of adapting to climate change, reducing emissions and destroying ecosystems must be a more structural part of regional development strategies. Numerous initiatives, both public and private, can be observed on the island. Examples include the investments made by the Pietra brewery to reduce its CO2 emissions and its water and energy consumption, as well as the support offered by the Corsican Chamber of Commerce and Industry to accommodation and restaurant operators to use the Sustainable Tourism Fund to finance actions linked to energy and water savings, waste recovery, commercial refrigeration, etc. The promotion of the European Ecolabel by the ATC to the island's tourist accommodation industry and the free support offered in collaboration with ADEME towards certification is another good practice. Nevertheless, the structuring dimension of the necessary green transition does not yet seem to encourage and support all players. It is therefore important that the forward-looking approach undertaken by the Assembly of Corsica should enable different "plausible future" scenarios to be explored in order to develop an action plan for Corsica as a whole, in conjunction with the island's territories as well as with neighbouring Mediterranean regions, the State and the EU. This "systemic" approach would make it possible to offer a one-stop shop for action in favour of the environment, providing simple, transparent access to information on ecological forecasts, available training, and all the financial aid and incentives (financial, regulatory, etc.) available so that every public or private player can make the best use of them. An evaluation and monitoring tool could be linked to this system.
- Clarifying the place that tourism should occupy in the Corsican economy. There is a certain ambivalence about tourism in Corsica. While it is imperative to guarantee the viability of the dominant economic sector, the detrimental effects of tourism activities on various socio-economic and environmental aspects are increasingly perceptible and discussed. It is therefore necessary to define the Corsican Regional Authority's tourism strategy more explicitly and to integrate the resulting decisions into regional development policy by making the necessary trade-offs in terms of access prices, diversification of tourism practices and territories, and support for existing players. This paradigm shift needs to happen now, as the effects of climate change are already threatening the sustainability of the sector. Thinking about the role of tourism goes hand in hand with the need to consider the island's economic diversification. This reflection must include local tourism players, so that they can make the transition to other activities rather than becoming obstacles to this development.

International examples: Many areas heavily dependent on tourism have decided to diversify their economies, particularly after the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted the sector's vulnerability to shocks. In the Balearic Islands, where tourism accounts for over 40% of GDP, in 2020 the regional government adopted a Pact for the Economic and Social Reactivation and Diversification of the Balearic Islands (OECD, 2023)[121]. Among the measures taken is the promotion of the audio-visual sector. The Balearic Islands Film Commission, managed by the regional government's Department of Culture, is actively working to stimulate the growth of the local film industry and help its audio-visual companies to go international. The construction of studios, for example, is currently underway. As part of its recovery strategy, Portugal's Algarve region has drawn up the "Diversifying the Algarve 2030" action plan, which aims to position the region as resilient in new areas such as wellness and health, nature tourism, technology, the creative sectors and the silver economy (OECD, 2023)[122]. Similarly, the Government of Belize has taken steps to reorient its economy and its strategy for attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) towards sectors other than tourism, including agribusiness, agricultural processing, the blue economy (fisheries and aquaculture) and business process outsourcing (BPO) (Caon, 2021)[123]. Agri-food and the processing of agricultural products are also considered to be refuge sectors by Saint Lucia's local investment promotion agency, Invest Saint Lucia (Idem). One way of promoting economic diversification is to strengthen the links between the tourism sector and other sectors, so that demand in the tourism sector has a multiplier effect. For example, to

promote the connection between tourism and agriculture, the Jamaican authorities have set up the Agri-linkages Exchange (ALEX) online platform, which enables hotels to buy produce directly from local farmers. Information and communication technologies such as these can be used to match hotel demand for local produce with local suppliers (International Monetary Fund, 2021)[124].

- Improving access to public transport, which is at the heart of the island's appeal and its inclusive and sustainable development. This objective is of paramount importance, given its pivotal role for other major objectives, including access to education and the attractiveness of training, better distribution of tourism across the territory, alleviating labour shortages, attracting investors and preserving the climate. This ambition also raises the essential question of coordination between the various communes. At present, the Collectivity of Corsica owns its rail infrastructure and has control over its rail policy. Several entities are involved in infrastructure and transport management, such as the Transport Office, the railway EPIC the General Directorate of Territorial Planning of the Collectivity of Corsica. In order to increase the effectiveness of their efforts, it is recommended that a structured approach be established to clearly define the roles and responsibilities of each entity. This approach will encourage the coordination of resources and more systemic territorial planning. Increasing the quantity of public transport must be accompanied by the greening of these services. While waiting for a substantial improvement in public transport, car-sharing initiatives, such as the one recently set up by the CAPA thanks to the Green Fund, can be supported and extended, based in particular on the evaluation that the CAPA will carry out at the end of this experiment.
- Encourage the coordination of public players at the right level. The feeling of identity is widely shared on the island, but does not seem to lead to spontaneous cooperation between players, particularly between municipalities, even if they are part of intercommunal bodies. The Collectivity of Corsica could adopt various measures to encourage this, firstly by reconsidering the boundaries of the EPCIs in order to adapt them to the realities of the catchment areas concerned. Even if the Collectivité does not have the powers to institutionalise these perimeters, it could draw on the experience of other regions with unitary countries, both to encourage cooperation between the municipalities that make up the same socio-economic territory and to ensure that this cooperation produces concrete results. The Chamber of Territories of Corsica, responsible for coordinating the initiatives of the various intercommunal bodies and local administrations, could effectively mobilise cooperation between local elected representatives in the face of shared challenges and common opportunities.

International examples: At regional level, for example, Galicia in Spain favours investment projects involving several municipalities within its territory. In Portugal, European funds are used to finance the design and implementation of joint territorial development plans covering several municipalities. In the Netherlands, the provinces are responsible for the development of their territory. Within this framework, they are responsible for dividing their region into functionally coherent territories, and for encouraging municipalities to formalise cooperation arrangements. More flexible approaches have also proved successful. These include supporting dialogue and networking between local authorities, involving businesses and communities, and setting up platforms for exchanging best practice. The Brandenburg region in Germany, for example, identifies growth clusters to target incentives for cooperation, then offers funding for projects shared by several municipalities (OECD, 2021)[125].

Continue to increase the range of training available on the island, taking into account the needs of local employers. Around a quarter of students leave the island due to a lack of educational options. The majority (around 80%) do not return once they have graduated, creating a 'brain drain' situation. For example, medical students have to leave the island in their second year of study. At the same time, local businesses are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit the labour they need. Greater and broader coordination between training bodies and local employers to develop new educational pathways should help to resolve labour shortages and retain and attract students to the region. The first step is to identify employers' needs. Then, developing the training offer also means thinking about how to welcome students from outside the region, the attractiveness of education courses, particularly those in emerging sectors, in line with the region's specific characteristics, and the attractiveness of jobs for teachers and trainers.

International examples: For example, the collaboration between companies specialising in energy production and storage, such as Northvolt and Hitachi Energy, and the University of Dalarna (DU) in Sweden, is helping to

overcome labour shortages and encouraging students to stay in the county after graduation (OECD, 2023)[91]. The University of Manchester in the UK also incorporates SMEs into the development of its academic programmes. The success of this ambition depends on the supply of affordable housing, an issue that is dealt with extensively in this report. The Autonomous Community of Valencia in Spain has launched the GenT Plan to attract and retain high-level Valencian researchers living abroad or starting their careers, although it considers that all nationalities are welcome. Researchers receive financial support to develop their research and development projects in Valencia's public universities and research centres, in addition to their salary. Since 2017, the region has succeeded in attracting and retaining more than 214 internationally renowned researchers (OECD, 2023)[126].

Adopt a selective approach to external investment, to ensure that it meets the objectives of sector diversification and sustainable development. While an attractiveness policy for external investors is now being implemented by ADEC in conjunction with various regional players, and the State is mobilised to strengthen the attractiveness of territories (Territoires d'Industrie, Team France Invest, etc.), Corsica must promote investments in sectors that have a positive impact on its regional development and continued attractiveness. In particular, investments targeting the resolution of challenges linked to climate change will strengthen its overall resilience. Investment in sustainable tourism will help to maintain long-term attractiveness for visitors and provide employment opportunities for young people. At the same time, local authorities need to work closely together to articulate shared and innovative value propositions to present to potential investors, which highlight their complementary assets, and the strong links that exist in Corsica between businesses, local elected representatives, the University and representatives of civil society.

International examples: Costa Rica and northern Sweden have become leaders in attracting "green" FDI, by creating the right conditions for impact businesses to adopt new ecological business standards. If Corsica is to capitalise on FDI in renewable energies, which is on the rise worldwide, it needs to promote its prospects for green energy production (and other sectors such as the blue economy when they are supported by local research and training) to investors through coordinated communication. A concrete example of cooperation between small towns are the innovation superclusters in Canada, which bring together players around five major sectoral areas (from the ocean to artificial intelligence and proteins), creating sectoral poles of attraction on a local scale.

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