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| **How Small Cities Attract and Retain Skilled People: Development of a Model**  **jANE L. cROAD**  **Thesis submitted to the Cardiff School of Management**  **in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**  **PhD**  **Director of Studies: Professor Eleri Jones**  **Second Supervisor: Dr. Claire Haven-Tang**  **Third Supervisor: Professor Nicholas Clifton**  **Date of Submission: October 23rd 2020**  **Cardiff Metropolitan University**  **Cardiff**  **Western Avenue**  **Cardiff, UK, CF5 2YB** |

DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not been previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted for any other degree.

I further declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation, except where otherwise stated (a bibliography is appended).

Finally, I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photography and inter-library loan, and for the title and abstract to be made available to outside organisations.



**Signed\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date May 18th 2020**



**Jane L. Croad**

**Acknowledgement**

I thank Professor Eleri Jones for her encouragement and support and Dr. Claire Haven-Tang and Professor Nick Clifton for their direction at pivotal points of the research.

I am very grateful to my husband, David Protheroe and my daughters, Elizabeth and Isabelle, who have been encouraging and positive and who have given me practical help and support which has been invaluable. I also thank my mother and father, Michael and Christina Croad and my mother-in-law Betty Protheroe, for all their practical support and encouragement that has helped me complete this research.

Thank you to Dr. Robert Roderick, who has been such a positive inspiration and has helped me in a practical way to be organised and meticulous in presenting the thesis, and who has motivated me throughout the process of completing the thesis. Thank you also to Dr. Adebimpe Lincoln, Dr. Trefor Lewis and Ian Avery who have encouraged me and given me their expert advice.

I thank Sue Rappell who gave me practical help with undertaking the surveys and inputting the data. I am very grateful to Amanda Davies who introduced me to many of the key informants who were central to the research. I thank Carol Whitlow for her practical help and her motivation. I thank my many friends for encouraging me and being positive about my research.

Cardiff Metropolitan University Library staff have been fantastic in helping me to access the depth of research I needed, especially Ana Luengo-Martinez, who is so talented, knowledgeable and enthusiastic and has helped me to retrieve scholarly material that was difficult to access.

Thank you to the examiners Professor Steve Millington and Dr. John Gibney for their guidance in developing this thesis to bring clarity to thesis in many areas particularly to the contribution to knowledge it makes.

**ABSTRACT**

Skilled people are generally accepted as a vital force in economic development. The executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, Klaus Schwab, has stated that skilled people will become increasingly more important than capital (Elliot, 2017). The UK is vulnerable to changes in the macro-environment because the economy is so over reliant on London which has a disproportionate level of skilled people, wealth and opportunities compared to the other cities in the UK. This imbalance is of importance particularly with the uncertainties and inevitable changes caused by BREXIT and the Covid19 pandemic. This thesis aims to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to promote economic development and contribute to addressing the imbalance between London and the other cities in the UK.

Based on adapted grounded research in case study cities Manchester, Cardiff, Newport and Bristol, the key factors that motivate skilled people to locate and remain in small cities have been identified as employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and the family. These factors have been labelled as Attraction Motivators based on an adaptation of Herzberg’s two-factor theory. Other factors, such as diversity, safety, inclusivity, accommodation, education, physical factors and shopping, are not motivators to attract and retain skilled people but need to be maintained and managed effectively to maximise economic development and not deter skilled people.

The Attraction Motivation Model was developed through combining the findings from adapted grounded research to identify the Attraction Motivators with the city branding literature and the findings from interviews with key stakeholders. The Model will assist small cities to attract and retain skilled people using finite resources.

There were some differences in the Attraction Motivators for skilled people with different characteristics of gender, life-stage and location, supporting theory that skilled people cannot be treated as a homogeneous group although they do have commonalities. Considerable communalities were found between skilled and unskilled people which is an area for further research to ensure improved inclusivity in policy making.

The transferable Attraction Motivator Model assists policy makers to attract and retain skilled people contributing to small cities achieving increased economic and social development, leading to greater prosperity and certainty for its citizens and improving economic balance between the regions of the UK.

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# Introduction

## Research Outline

I was inspired to research how to attract skilled people to small cities when I did a research project for The British Council (Clark, 2010) and was introduced to the work of Florida (2000, 2006) who espoused the increasing importance of skilled individuals in driving economic growth in cities.

Wales, where I live, has experienced unsuccessful policies for economic development that focused solely on attracting manufacturing plants such as LG, Boch, Sony and Panasonic to the area. These companies provided mainly unskilled, low wage employment and had little impact on economic development. These companies had no commitment to the area and moved to Eastern Europe for benefits of lower cost labour (BBC News, 2006; Hambleton, 2015). I was interested in researching an economic development model more appropriate for the new age of the knowledge economy that focused on skilled people.

Another issue that stimulated my interest in the research is that the UK economy is heavily biased toward London, with a population of over 8.5 million people (Kotkin, 2013). The UK is different from most countries in having only one mega city, London, where many skilled people are attracted from all parts of the country, exacerbating the economic imbalance of the UK (Gardiner et al., 2013). This research focuses on small cities with less than 1.5 million inhabitants because all the cities in the UK apart from London have less than 1.5 million inhabitants.

Most research on talent attraction is based on cities of several million inhabitants, mega-cities, which are different from small cities (Jacobs, 1961; Bell and Jayne, 2009; Florida, 2010). Bell and Jayne (2009 p683) say that the ‘development and impact’ of urban theory is inhibited because there is too much bias in research towards megacities and not enough research on small cities to give ‘a full picture’.

City leaders often base policy to attract people on city branding despite the lack of a robust academic framework in this discipline ([Kavaratzis et al., 2014](#_ENREF_86)). This research combines the theoretical frameworks of the disciplines of city branding and urban studies to direct policy makers’ strategy in attracting skilled people to drive economic development. Underpinning place branding with the discipline of urban studies improves the validity of the conceptual framework as the basis for the model.

An inductive approach was taken to research the attraction motivators for skilled people because from a draft review of the literature, I found most research on economic development focusing on skilled people is based on quantitative, secondary data and centred on American cities (Jacobs, 1961, Florida, 2006). Much of the research identifies the amenities that attract skilled people ([Florida, 2002a](#_ENREF_45), [Florida, 2002b](#_ENREF_46), [Hoyman and Faricy, 2009](#_ENREF_76), [Clifton, 2008](#_ENREF_29)) based on analysing secondary quantitative data for cities with high densities of skilled people and making the assumption that the amenities present in these cities are the reason that skilled people have been retained or attracted to the cities. There is not a theoretical framework that provides a sufficiently complete, relevant or reliable basis on which to ground further research relating to small cities in the UK ([Peck, 2005](#_ENREF_108)). In the literature there is little evidence of qualitative research, although some academics suggested that qualitative research in this discipline would make a positive contribution (Clifton, 2008).

## The Problem

The UK is too dependent on London, the one mega city in the UK, with a population of over 8.5 million people (Martin et al., 2016). The UK economy needs more balance, by growing and strengthening the economies in small cities, (i.e. those cities with a population under 1.5 million people). Small cities contribute culturally and economically to the UK especially in times of upheaval and slow-down (Camagni et al., 2015). The prospect of Brexit has brought uncertainty to the UK. To make the UK more resilient in uncertain times, small cities are important in contributing to robust economic development throughout the country (ibid).

The problem that will be addressed in this thesis is how small cities, with a population of under 1.5 million, can attract and retain skilled people, when the competition between cities for these skilled people is so fierce. Small cities, with limited resources compete for these skilled people against megacities across the globe. Megacities have higher profiles, more opportunities and greater resources than smaller cities ([Marsh and Arnett, 2014](#_ENREF_97)) therefore small cities need to be strategic about attracting and retaining skilled people. This research is a contribution towards this strategy.

It is widely acknowledged that skilled people are an essential component of economic development ([Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1, [Thompson, 1965](#_ENREF_138), [Lucas Jr, 1988](#_ENREF_94), [Malecki, 1997](#_ENREF_96), [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Liu and Vanderleeuw, 2004](#_ENREF_92), [Council, 2007](#_ENREF_33), [Abel and Gabe, 2008](#_ENREF_3), [Vanderleeuw et al., 2011](#_ENREF_143), [Leslie and Rantisi, 2012](#_ENREF_91)). It is vital that small cities attract and retain skilled people in order that they grow and prosper for the benefit of the cities’ inhabitants and for the greater good of the country.

Fig 1.1 shows the thousands of skilled people migrating to London in 2013 from all parts of the UK. This brain drain is taking valuable innovation potential from the small cities, which is a problem that is continuing (Tighe, 2016) and needs to be addressed, because without skilled people cities do not thrive. Having small cities that thrive throughout the country will make a positive contribution to the economy and the culture of the UK.

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Figure 1‑1 Brain Drain in the UK (Marsh and Arnett, 2014, page 1)

Further evidence of the brain drain to London is reported by Allen (2016, page 1),

***One in four recent university leavers chose to work in the capital (London), a brain drain harming the prospects of other cities by depriving them of the skills they need, as the economy shifts towards knowledge intensive activities***

The brain drain to London contributes to a deleterious effect on the economy of the UK outside London; Allen (2016, page 1), writes,

***GVA per head was higher in London than any other region in 2015 at £43,629. That dwarfed the figure of the lowest region, Wales, at £18,002 and was also double the level of £21,638 for the UK without London.***

## Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the economic and social development of small cities by finding the most powerful Attraction Motivators for skilled people. These Attraction Motivators developed through adapted grounded research will be incorporated into a model to contribute to more effective policy making. The model combines the disciplines of economic geography relating to skilled people with city branding theory to contribute to the strategic planning of cities.

The research applies Herzberg’s (1966), motivational theory. According to Herzberg (1966), motivation is not a continuum, therefore there are some factors that will motivate skilled people to live and work in a city and make them want to stay, which will be called Attraction Motivators. There are other factors called Hygiene Factors that are necessary to support and encourage skilled people to drive economic development but do not motivate skilled workers to move to or stay in a city (Hertzberg, 1966).

City branding will be integral to the model connecting the skilled people with the Attraction Motivators of the city, to provide practical outcomes to the research. The model, for small cities to attract and retain skilled people, constructed of the linkages between the elements identified in the research, will make a unique contribution to knowledge and to the wider debate on this issue, by identifying the connections between the disciplines.

## Background

It is acknowledged by Florida (2000), Glaeser (2005) and Smith and Waters (2015), that skilled people play a significant role in driving the successful economic development of cities, along with inward investment, the macro economy, infrastructure, etc. This thesis is focused on the attraction and retention of skilled people to small cities, on the basis that small cities with a population of less than 1.5 million people, are very different places than cities with several million inhabitants ([Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1, [Florida, 2002c](#_ENREF_51)) and therefore need to adopt different methods for increasing the population of skilled people. The global increase in travel, technology and knowledge based economic growth has made skilled people an increasingly important part of economic development of cities (Kotkin, 2000, Florida, 2010, Glaeser, 2012) As the world develops there are more skilled people globally but with the growth of the Knowledge Economy there are also more opportunities globally for skilled people, therefore cities have to be active in attracting, retaining and developing skilled people ([Knudsen et al., 2007](#_ENREF_89), Florida 2012, [Huggins and Clifton, 2011](#_ENREF_78)).

At the end of the 19th century until the late 20th century, the Industrial age in the Western world, the predominant determining factors for economic development were natural resources such as iron ore, coal and harbours ([Florida, 2002c](#_ENREF_51), [Glaeser and Kohlhase, 2003](#_ENREF_66), [Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79)). The Knowledge Revolution of the 21st century has made economic growth dependent on the availability of skilled people ([Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90)) who drive the exponential growth of technology and high value knowledge sectors, including bio-technology, finance, pharmaceuticals, media, advanced manufacturing etc.([Boix, 2012](#_ENREF_17)).

It is generally agreed that as a result of the increased importance of the knowledge economy globally there is a growing necessity for cities to retain, attract and develop skilled people who can drive the knowledge economy ([Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90)). There has been controversy as to whether cities should focus on attracting jobs which will bring skilled people to the cities or whether the focus should be on attracting skilled people which will attract business and increased employment ([Storper and Scott, 2009](#_ENREF_133)). It is acknowledged widely that this is a chicken and egg situation and both skilled people and jobs are needed to drive the economy (Florida, 2012). The focus of this research is on the skilled people.

The high level theory is pretty obvious, ‘the devil is in the detail,’ in so much as there is an overall agreement of the principle regarding the importance of knowledge and skilled people, but there is great dispute as to how to categorise skilled people, in order to identify those people who are key to driving economic development ([Glaeser, 2000](#_ENREF_63), [Florida, 2005](#_ENREF_52), [Peck, 2005](#_ENREF_118), [Hoyman and Faricy, 2009](#_ENREF_76)). Furthermore, to be of any practical use to policy makers, the skilled people that need to be attracted and retained to contribute towards the city’s economic development must be identified. This is explored in the research through a combination of primary research and literature.

This thesis recognises the importance of developing people in a city through education, work-based learning etc. but this topic will not be included in the scope of this research but is recommended for further research.

The research will focus on small cities with a population of under 1,500,000 people, because it is acknowledged that there is a vast difference in the strategic management required for the economic development of megacities, such as London, New York, Shanghai and Mumbai, than for smaller cities such as Cardiff, Manchester, Bristol, or Newport ([Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1, [Florida, 2005](#_ENREF_52), [Abel et al., 2012](#_ENREF_2), [Bell and Jayne, 2009](#_ENREF_15)). Also, this research is of relevance in the UK since, all the cities in the UK, other than London have populations less than 1,500,000. (See Table1-1)

The definition of small cities being under 1.5 million population has been determined in this research because it includes all cities in the UK apart from London. And since this research is UK-based this was chosen as the determining factor for small cities. The global cultural, political and economic differences and effects on the model will not be explored as part of this research, and therefore using the model in a global context would require further research.

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| |  |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | --- | | Table ‑ Population of Largest 11 cities in UK (2016) | | | | |  | City | Population | | 1 | London | 8.67 million | | 2 | Birmingham | 1.1 million | | 3 | Leeds | 780,000 | | 4 | Glasgow | 598,830 | | 5 | Sheffield | 569,700 | | 6 | Manchester | 530,300 | | 7 | Bradford | 528,155 | | 8 | Edinburgh | 495,360 | | 9 | Liverpool | 465,700 | | 10 | Bristol | 428,100 | | 11 | Cardiff | 341,000 | |  | Source: ONS (2017) | | |

Megacities differ from small cities because they have a vast diversity of people and organisations allowing, knowledge sharing through interactions both within and increasingly across clusters, that contributes to growth and economic development and attracts people globally with the potential opportunities afforded to them by the huge diversity of the massive city ([Huggins and Izushi, 2007, p. 153](#_ENREF_79), [Porter, 1998](#_ENREF_120)). Megacities are high profile, often in the national and international news and other media platforms, there is not a day that goes past that London is not mentioned in newspapers, electronic media, television and radio channels in the UK, and in many other parts of the world. This is as a result of being both the political and the financial centre of the UK, as well as being by far the biggest city in the UK. Smaller cities rarely have a consistently high profile and therefore must promote their locations’ positive image and the opportunities that they offer, if they want skilled people to be aware of their existence and be attracted to them. It is important, according to Anholt (2007) that cities have a competitive identity, both to attract people that will contribute to driving the economy and to retain the skilled people in the city by making them feel positive and confident about the city they live and work in.

Most research on this topic has been undertaken with a focus on the United States of America, which is very different geographically, socially and economically from Europe and the UK. In Europe smaller provincial cities with relatively high levels of knowledge economy, typically play a greater role within Europe than North America ([Clifton and Cooke, 2009](#_ENREF_30)), the American economy is more reliant on global corporations than the UK, where small and medium size enterprises are the main employers ([Lukács, 2005](#_ENREF_95)). This research is focused on the UK, because of time and resource constraints. It is also important and timely with the recent decision to leave Europe, that the predicted brain drain out of the country is addressed by attracting and retaining skilled people (Begg and Featherstone, 2016). Fundamental to the knowledge economy, the key driver for the global economy ([Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79), [Porter and Kramer, 2011](#_ENREF_121), [Smith, 2002](#_ENREF_131), [Huggins and Thompson, 2015](#_ENREF_81)) is technology and the exchange of knowledge through the interaction of skilled people ([Florida, 2005](#_ENREF_52)). Therefore, small cities need to attract and retain skilled people who can contribute to the knowledge network to innovate and apply knowledge to drive the economy.

Economies in cities are driven by networks of people with different skills and knowledge who collaborate and can be innovative, make adaptations to innovations and transform ideas into practical applications which can be successfully delivered to the right markets and contribute to economic development ([Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79), [Porter and Kramer, 2011](#_ENREF_121), [Florida, 2006](#_ENREF_47), [Florida et al., 2012](#_ENREF_50)). Silicon Valley’s success is driven by the collaborative network of skilled people with diversity of knowledge and skills in the IT cluster including IT developers, people that can promote the products produced by the innovators and all those other skilled people necessary in the process of taking an idea to becoming a financially lucrative product or service. This network has to include the financial aspect of development, such as venture capitalists, who will provide the essential financial support for development of innovative projects which abounds in Silicon Valley ([Florida, 2007](#_ENREF_48), [Huggins and Clifton, 2011](#_ENREF_78), [Huggins and Thompson, 2015](#_ENREF_81)).

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| In the UK, there is an uneven spread of knowledge industries as seen in the maps of the creative and IT industries in Fig. 1-2, with the areas around London and the South-East achieving the greatest intensity of knowledge industry and the greatest economic development where diverse clusters of skilled people have developed. |
| Figure 1‑2 UK Map of Knowledge Economy (Hadad, 2017) |

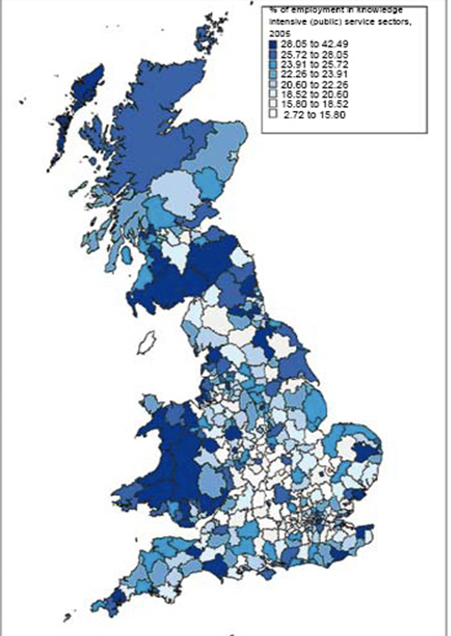


Figure 1‑2 UK Map of Knowledge Economy (Hadad, 2017) (continued)

In order to contribute to addressing the inequality of knowledge economy growth in the UK, the Attraction Motivator Model will be developed through adapted grounded theory based on four small cities, Cardiff, Newport, Bristol and Manchester. Having no control over events in the cities and with the research focuses being on a contemporary phenomenon, it has been identified that the case study is the preferred method of research ([Yin, 2009](#_ENREF_151)). Since all cities are different the case study is useful as a basis for development of the model for attracting and retaining skilled people. The model resulting from the case study will not be generalisable, but it will be transferable, it can be adapted to each city dependent on the goal, history, culture and resources of the city. The small cities in the study have been chosen because they have similarities and differences.

Cardiff is the capital of Wales and is the largest city in Wales. It has identified finance, professional services, bioscience and media as key sectors for development in the city (Cardiff City Council, 2014). Cardiff is a small city with a population of 341,000 people (ONS 2017) it is the economic driver of the South East region of Wales and is the capital city of Wales, which will make it different from other small cities, in that the Welsh government is located in Cardiff. The difference in the cities will contribute to the model resulting from this study being transferable, on the basis that all cities have multiple differences that must be considered when applying the model.

Cardiff has had considerable difficulties in reviving the economy to the growth that was being experienced in the city prior to the 2008 global recession ([Barry, 2009](#_ENREF_11)). Cardiff Council in 2014 was undertaking a review of the economic development plan and so the aims and aspirations of the city have been re-established by the leadership, one of which is to address the relatively low GVA by, ’creating and attracting more and better paid jobs’ (Cardiff City [Council, 2014](#_ENREF_34)).

Bristol is geographically close to Cardiff, but different in that it is in England and is the only city other than London with a GDP per capita higher than the national average (ONS 2017). It was one of two cities in 2012 that elected a mayor.

Manchester in the North West of England, is the fastest growing city in the UK with an increase in population of 19% between 2004 and 2014 ([UKCITIES, 2014](#_ENREF_140)). The first directly elected mayor, Andy Burnham, the labour candidate was elected on May 5th, 2017, and Greater Manchester is to take control of a multibillion-pound budget to support increased devolution of responsibility for health care and other areas from central government. Manchester is the central driving force for the much-vaunted Northern Powerhouse (Halliday and Perraudin, 2017).

Newport has been chosen because of its lack of economic success despite being located between Cardiff and Bristol on the M4 corridor; it was awarded city status in 2002 and has since then had some considerable development initiatives, hosting the Ryder Cup in 2010 and the NATO Summit in 2014, but has performed badly in the economic development indicators of GVA and population growth as seen in Table 1-2.

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| Table 1‑2 case study cities statistics | | | | | |
| Case  study city | Population  2011 | GVA  per  capita | % change in population  2001-2011 | % growth in GVA | Distance from London  ([Miles](#_ENREF_104)) |
| Cardiff | 341,000 | 22,986 | 11.6 | 9.3 | 173 |
| Manchester | 530,300 | 25,950 | 19 | 16.8 | 208 |
| Bristol | 428,100 | 27,148 | 11.8 | 8.6 | 118 |
| Newport | 145,700 | 18,800 | 5.9 | 3.5 | 137 |
| Source: ONS (2016) | | | | | |

The factors that increase loyalty and commitment of people in achieving a city’s goals will not be addressed in this research ([Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90)) but is recommended for further research.

## The Research Agenda

The problem that has been identified is that there are difficulties for small cities in attracting and retaining skilled people who are necessary for successful economic development in the knowledge economy.

Using adapted grounded theory, the research will build the conceptual framework from primary research and literature to develop the transferable Attraction Motivator Model for attracting and retaining skilled people in small cities.

Semi-structured interviews with key informants in Cardiff, Newport, South Wales, Bristol and Manchester were carried out and further semi-structured interviews with skilled people were conducted, based on continuing in each city to saturation. This was followed by surveys in all the cities based on open questions and statements from the semi-structured interviews. The primary data collection was undertaken over 32 months from September 2013 to March 2017. SPSS and NVIVO were used to support analysis of the findings. The Attraction Motivator Model for attracting skilled people and retaining them in a small city was developed from the findings.

The model’s assessment against the policies and operations of the city included a comparison of the cities’ commitment to effective city branding, through planning and application of the city branding processes. The review considered how effectively the city branding reflected the key motivational attractors according to the key informants, websites and documentation relating to the cities. The cities’ key economic indicators, (growth in GVA per capita and population growth) were compared to find out if the cities that had policies that closely mirrored the model did any better in economic development than the cities that had policies that were less close to the stages in the model.

## Aim

The aim of this thesis is to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to contribute to economic development. The findings will contribute to strategic decision-making by policy makers, involved in economic development and associated areas. The research will achieve the following objectives as steps towards achieving the aim.

### Objective 1

Literature Review

To critically evaluate the literature of Talent Attraction in Urban Studies related to the Attraction Motivators identified from the adapted grounded theory combined with the review of city branding literature linked to attract and retain skilled people. Literature relating to the different characteristics of skilled people is also reviewed. Based on this evaluation and primary data a conceptual framework will be developed (Chapter 2).

### Objective 2

Research Approach

Develop a research design from the epistemological stance of Pragmatism, to achieve the research aim and develop practical outcomes (Chapter 3).

### Objective 3

Identify Attraction Motivators

To identify the key Attraction Motivators that attracts and retains skilled people, to small cities, through analysis of the surveys in the four case study cities **(Chapter 4).**

### Objective 4

Characteristics of skilled people

Identify if Attraction Motivators are significantly different at different life- stages ([Gilly and Enis, 1982](#_ENREF_61)), for different genders, or for different cities(Chapter 5).

### Objective 5

Development of a robust policy making Model

Combine the robust theoretical framework of talent attraction in urban studies with city branding, the discipline that directs policy making in cities, to develop an Attraction Motivator Model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities. (Chapter 5)

### Objective 6

Assessment of a Model

Ascertain if there is any pattern of increased economic development in the case cities, when comparing the cities’ policies and operations against the Attraction Motivator Model. (Chapter 6).

## Research Questions

In addition to the research aim and objectives identified, the study also seeks to answer the following research questions:

### What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people in small cities?

The primary data collected from the surveys will be analysed to identify the Attraction Motivators for small cities. This will be done in conjunction with the development of the conceptual framework through primary research and literature.

### Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. life-stage, gender, geographical location, have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?

The analysis of the responses to the statements from the interviews, included in the surveys, will provide comparisons between skilled people with different characteristics of life-stages, gender or cities to Attraction Motivators, to find out if people with different characteristics have different or the same views relating to Attraction Motivators.

### Is there a model that can guide policy for attracting and retaining skilled people?

The Attraction Motivator Model in Chapter 5 developed from adapted grounded theory is a policy guide for attracting and retaining skilled people. The model is assessed in Chapter 6 reviewing economic development data against the adoption of the model in the case study cities.

## Overview of the thesis

The thesis begins with an introduction to the overall aims and objectives of the research and some background of the reasons for the research and the unique contribution that is being made by the research.

The second chapter is the literature reviewed as a part of adapted grounded research, examining the literature relating to the characteristics of skilled people, the Attraction Motivators identified through adapted grounded research and the city branding literature.

The Research Approach in Chapter 3 explains the research methods adopted to achieve a robust outcome to the thesis. It outlines the philosophical perspective adopted in the research, the strategy and details the implementation methods of the research.

The findings and discussion are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 followed by the assessment of the model in Chapter 6 and the conclusions and directions for further research in Chapter 7.



# Literature Review

## Introduction

Chapter 1 provided a background to the research into attracting and retaining skilled people in small cities to drive economic development in the Knowledge Economy and introduced the aim, objectives, and research questions of the thesis.

In this chapter Objective 1 is addressed which is to critically evaluate the literature of Talent Attraction in Urban Studies related to the Attraction Motivators identified from the adapted grounded theory combined with the review of City Branding literature linked to attract and retain skilled people. Literature relating to the different characteristics of skilled people is also reviewed. Based on this evaluation and primary data a conceptual framework that addresses the research questions is developed.

The literature relating to the five Attraction Motivators found to be the key factors that attract and retain skilled people is reviewed after they have been identified through primary research, whilst the city branding, and characteristics of skilled people literature is reviewed without prior primary research. The research strategy of Adapted Grounded Theory has been used to develop the Attraction Motivator and Hygiene factor theory combining grounded research relating to the Attraction Motivators with research based on the literature reviewed followed by Theoretical Integration of the emergent theory with theories of city branding and characteristics of skilled people (Strauss, 1987; Moore, 2010; Urquhart, 2013).

The strategy for selecting the literature is based on a staged review of the literature (Webster and Watson, 2002) starting with papers obtained from databases relating to talent attraction in Urban Studies. The literature review was given depth and breadth by reviewing the citations from these papers. Initially the keywords used to search the database were Talent, skilled people and Creative Classes to develop knowledge and understanding of the key Talent attraction Urban Studies literature; this was followed by a literature search of Urban Studies literature based on the Attraction Motivators found in the grounded theory. The city branding literature was reviewed through systematically searching databases relating to tourism, place marketing and place branding using the keyword search of ‘city branding’ and ‘attracting skilled people’ and then identifying themes based on the literature. The literature review included using Google Scholar for more recent literature.

The literature reviewed was defined by the aims and objectives of the research. The criteria used for retaining or discarding the literature yielded by the literature searches was determined by how relevant the literature was to the main ideas and themes of the emerging grounded theory to develop the conceptual framework for a new theoretical model ([Torraco, 2005](#_ENREF_139)).

The Literature review is in three parts, relating to the research questions:

* What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people in small cities?
* Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. Life-stage, gender, geographical location, have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?
* Is there a model that can guide policy for attracting and retaining skilled people?

## What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people in small cities?

The literature reviewed relates to the five Attraction Motivators identified in the grounded research in Chapter 4 as employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and family (social capital). The Hygiene factors that were also identified in the grounded research as intrinsic to providing an environment suitable for talented people to drive economic development have been included in the conceptual framework for completeness of the final model but have not been included in the literature since there has been no contribution to knowledge relating to these factors.

All cities are different, and this is considered at all stages of developing the conceptual framework and then the model. The model when applied is transferable, consideration needs to be taken of variables in each city when applying the model and to the audience using the model ([Boulenger et al., 2005](#_ENREF_18)).Each city has different leadership ([Anderton, 2017](#_ENREF_5), [Nicholds et al., 2017](#_ENREF_113), [Collinge and Gibney, 2013](#_ENREF_31)) and pathway development, depending on its history relating to industrial change, geographical position, political, social and economic history ([Eckert et al., 2010](#_ENREF_39)). The city may have specialisations on which to develop further knowledge economies ([Martin-Brelot and Kepsu, 2010](#_ENREF_100)) or other development pathways that will shape the future development of the city and the viability of cultivating growth in specialist sectors ([Stryjakiewicz et al., 2010](#_ENREF_135)).

Based on the adapted grounded research the following factors are the Attraction Motivators for small cities to concentrate on developing and make the focus for the branding the cities.

### Employment

The grounded research found the most important factor in attracting and retaining skilled people to cities relates to employment, this supports Peck (2005), Storper and Scott (2009) and Musterd and Murie (2010), who argue that the availability of employment opportunities is important to attracting skilled people to a city. It disputes the validity of Florida’s (2002) theory. Florida (2005) argued that jobs follow skilled people rather than skilled people being attracted by employment, Florida (2002c) stated that the quality of place is at the forefront of skilled people’s priorities when deciding where to live and work, employment being a less important factor than the presence of, ‘Talent, Tolerance and Technology’(Florida et al., 2008, page 5).

Musterd and Murie (2010) present a more nuanced argument that employment opportunities are important to attracting skilled people, whilst they acknowledge that other factors such as social life become increasingly important to make people stay in a city. There is a difference identified in the factors that initially attract skilled people and those that retain these people, which is an area for further research.

Brown and Meczynski (2009) found that although the size of the city and social bonding had an influence on deciding where to live, the main determining factor for skilled people when deciding where to locate was employment.

Florida (2014) conceded that the chicken and egg argument of which comes first, the skilled people or the employment is futile, since both are needed to drive economic development. It is of importance to policy makers to achieve as much clarification as possible if employment is a motivational attraction to skilled people, or if other factors are of equal or greater importance in attracting and retaining these people.

Storper and Venables (2004); Storper and Scott (2009); Brown and Meczynski (2009) and Abel and Deitz (2015) agreed that career opportunities provided by ‘thick labour markets’ attract and retain skilled people. A ‘thick labour market’ provides opportunities for skilled people with the potential to progress in a career because the labour market has levels of opportunities from entry level with minimum experience to senior management and board level. This would usually happen where headquarters are established in the city and there is a level of agglomeration ([Abel and Deitz, 2015](#_ENREF_1), [Meijers et al., 2016](#_ENREF_102)).

### Social Life

Social life defined as opportunities for skilled people to socialise out-side work ([Storper and Venables, 2004](#_ENREF_134)) has been identified in this research as the second Attraction Motivator for skilled people. This is supported by Florida (2002b) and Glaeser (2005) who agree that social life is an important feature in a city for attracting and retaining skilled people. Social life is important to economic development because skilled people when they network socially make connections and identify innovations that can contribute to economic development (Florida, 2005; Huggins and Izushi, 2007). Peck (2005) and Storper and Scott (2009), dismissed the importance of social life in attracting skilled people saying that the social activities were a consequence rather than an attraction for skilled people. Literature has been reviewed relating to the different categories of social life identified in the research.

##### 2.2.2.1 Sports and Leisure

Florida (2002b), highlighted outdoors activities such as cycle tracks that allow families and individuals to take part in outdoor exercise as one of the key attractions for skilled people. Florida (2002b) emphasised the attraction of participatory sports and there seems little dispute that the opportunity for exercise and leisure activities attracts skilled people. Rosentraub (2014), highlights the increasing use by cities of sport to attract and retain skilled people. The economic potential of cycling has been adopted wholeheartedly in many parts of the UK (McVeigh, 2014). In July 2014 the first leg of the Tour de France was hosted in Yorkshire, where over 2 million people from all over the world visited Yorkshire to see the race. Jo Theakson one of the sponsors said,

**We’re also hoping this massive TV audience, as well as the visitors here, will see Yorkshire for what it is, a hidden gem, a region of incredible quality in food and drink, that’s been under the radar, you could not hope for a better shop window for it than the millions watching the tour** (McVeigh, 2014 page 1)

Hosting ‘The Tour’ was a culmination of the success of cycling in Manchester and the North of England, where funding was made available to provide the facilities for training top athletes. This agglomeration of talented cyclists, top facilities and all the support required, resulted in world class athletes, who succeeded in winning high- profile awards, including a raft of gold medals in the 2008, 2012 and 2016 Olympics. High profile characters such as Chris Hoy, Bradley Wiggins, Jason Kenny, Victoria Pendleton and Laura Trott, representing the sport in the 2012 Olympics culminating in Bradley Wiggins winning the Tour de France, focused cycling success in the North of England and made the hosting of the Tour de France possible ([Quinn and Blair, 2014](#_ENREF_125)).

This increase in the profile of cycling has caught the imagination of many people and has resulted in the increased popularity of cycling especially with middle aged men ([Seaton, 2012](#_ENREF_128)). According to Adamo (2014) this group of skilled people who are cycling enthusiasts is growing and becoming more committed to the cycling experience. Florida (2002c) and more recently Rosentraub (2014) posited that increasingly policy makers are accepting the beneficial economic effects of participatory sports and leisure activities to cities.

Peck (2005) and Florida (2002c) disagree on the attraction value of sport stadia, Florida (2002b) posits that building a sports attraction such as a football stadium in an area does not attract skilled people, who, he argues are more attracted by the leisure activities in which they can participate rather than those that they observe such as football matches. Florida’s theory is very much focused on leisure attractions that attract skilled people which he theorises about as one homogenous group, despite their wide range of occupations, and other characteristics, this approach is criticised by Peck (2005). Peck (2005) and Herstein and Berger (2013) advocate the appeal of sports events and sports facilities for skilled people. The literature supports the findings of this research that socialising connected to sports and leisure makes a city more attractive to skilled people, although there is dispute over the attraction of sports stadia facilities an area for further research.

#### Café Culture, Bars and Restaurants

Florida (2002b) identifies the informal meeting places such as bars and coffee houses as essential to attract and retain skilled people, in order that they can meet socially to exchange ideas and create relationships.

Hoyman and Faricy (2009), argue that the social meeting places are not the attractions for the skilled people, but rather that the cafe bars are being opened in locations inhabited by skilled people, because these people have expendable income and so café culture thrives in locations with clusters of skilled people with expendable income (Markusen, 2006). Binnie and Skeggs (2004), highlight that ‘cosmopolitan’ spaces develop as a result of the growth in skilled people in the location, rather than these facilities being the attraction for these groups to come to the location.

Florida (2002b) says that skilled people are attracted to a location with social areas, whilst Peck (2005) argues that cafe culture and bars develop in areas that are inhabited by skilled people, because of the increased wealth available in those areas. The inter-dependent relationship between skilled people and the café culture and bars is acknowledged and it is generally accepted that open meeting places to socialise are important for attraction and retention of skilled people (Oakley and O’Connor, 2015; Baker, 2019).

#### Transport and Infrastructure (physical and digital technology infrastructure)

Transport and Infrastructure are found to be the third most import factor for attracting and retaining skilled people in the grounded research. Jacobs (1961), Glaeser (2005), Chourabi et al.,(2012), Kotkin (2016) Florida and Mellander (2016) and Meijers et al., (2016) support the findings from this research that transport and infrastructure that is accessible, efficient and affordable to travel and communicate around the city and to other destinations outside the city within an acceptable time is a key attractive feature of a city. The types of transport and infrastructure that are identified as important varied; it may be safe cycle paths, efficient public transport or adequate roads and parking. Kotkin (2016) emphasises the importance of devolution of transport and infrastructure planning to each city. He talks about the inefficient investment in a tram system in Los Angeles that has very little impact on the congestion in the area because, so few people use it. He recommends that different cities need to plan an effective transport system that is appropriate for the city. Chen et al. (2017) write about the benefits to economic development of regional airports and Mukherjee et al.,(2016) writes about the essential role efficient, good quality infrastructure has in supporting and attracting businesses in cities.

There may also be a life-stage aspect to the Attraction Motivators of infrastructure and transport, for example families with teenage children may be attracted by good public transport facilities to be used by their children, but also require good parking and road net-works ([Christiansen et al., 2014](#_ENREF_28)).

Dainov and Sauka (2010) found cities need to constantly change to be successful and that part of that change needs to include improved physical and technological infrastructure, which significantly decreases the impact of distance as well as reducing the costs of transportation of goods and increases the flow of skilled people to a city.

The infrastructure will include transport and travel accessibility, although the technological infrastructure such as fast accessible broadband, overlaps with the physical infrastructure and has the effect of making travelling around the city less necessary (Kotkin, 2016).

The presence of digital infrastructure to attract and retain skilled people is central to Florida’s (2002; 2005; 2012) theory. It is posited by Florida (2002c; 2005; 2009) that the presence of a technological industry, such as found in key areas of America e.g. Silicon Valley the place that is home to Intel, Apple, Google and Facebook; Seattle which is home of Microsoft and Amazon and Austin, Texas and Boston which is the essence of his vision of places are attractive to skilled people or Creative Class as he terms these people. Florida (2012, page 229) says,

Economists agree that technology is key to growth.… From new inventions like software, robotics and biotechnology to improvements in manufacturing systems and processes, technology makes economies and societies more **efficient and productive**.

Florida (2012) identifies that skilled people are increasingly positively correlated with the high-tech industries and innovation. In contrast in the UK, Clifton (2008) found no correlation with the presence of skilled people and technology. The relevance of technology in attracting and retaining skilled people, very much depends on the definition of technology. If the definition is relating to the tech. poll as identified by [Florida (2005)](#_ENREF_52), which relates to the presence of high-technology industry and the registration of patents, then there is a divergence in the literature as to the correlation between skilled people and technology. Whilst if the definition of technology is broadened to include the presence of technology, such as availability of Information technology then there is more general agreement in the literature that the availability of technology is attractive to skilled people ([Abel and Gabe, 2008](#_ENREF_3), [Braunerhjelm and Feldman, 2006](#_ENREF_19), [Florida, 1999](#_ENREF_44), [Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79), [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Malecki, 1997](#_ENREF_96), [Rooney, 2010](#_ENREF_127), [Shin and Shin, 2012](#_ENREF_129)).

Technology, as identified by Kotkin (2000), Huggins and Izushi (2007) enables many skilled people to live away from their main place of work, because of the increasing availability of technological advancement that has revolutionised methods of communication. This gives more choice of location from which they work, which Kotkin (2000, 2016) expresses as the telescoping of distance through technology, making everywhere more accessible.

Sloman (2012), identify improvements in technology as an integral part of economic growth along with investment. They say,

The development and spread of new technology and the rapid advances in science and technology have massively increased the productivity of factors of production. What is more, new innovations and inventions stimulate other people, often in other countries, to copy adapt and improve on them in order to stay competitive. Growth through technical progress stimulates more growth.

Given that technological progress allows the spectre of diminishing returns to be banished, or at least indefinitely postponed, it is no wonder that many economists are more optimistic about growth. (Sloman, 2012 p132).

The argument raised by Clifton (2008) that there is no correlation between economic development and IT in the UK, compared with the argument of Florida (2005) and Sloman (2012), reveals that there is some inconsistency in the definition of the technology that is necessary for growth in economic development. Whilst Clifton (2008) and to an extent Florida (2005; 2006; 2010) are relating technology with regard to the IT industry, relating to companies like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram; Sloman (2012) is relating the necessity for the presence of technological infrastructure for improved communication and accessibility. The availability of technological infrastructure e.g. fast Broadband connections is of increasing importance to skilled people (Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). Sloman (2012) and Hoyman and Faricy’s, definition of technology, as necessary for economic growth will be included in the contextual framework.

#### Culture

Culture identified in the research as the fourth most important Attraction Motivator, covers a broad spectrum of the arts, including museums, religious iconic buildings, opera houses, consumerisation culture (Pratt, 2008) and culture that is people based, relating to their social behaviour and customs (Smiley and Fakunle., 2016).

Florida’s (2002) theory based on making an area attractive to skilled people and therefore economically successful by developing cultural destinations such as galleries and museums in order to arrest the decline of locations has been adopted by many government bodies, (Hoyman and Faricy 2009; Asheim and Hansen, 2009) achieving varying levels of success. Hoyle (2010) reports that Tracey Emin, sponsored a sign in her home town of Margate saying, “I never Stopped Loving You” in Neon lights; Hoyle (2010) describes Margate as, ‘the dilapidated seaside resort’, and states that, ’Today the town is on its knees---a quarter of the shops on the seafront are boarded up—but Emin’s presence is part of the fight back.’

Adjacent to the building on which the Emin’s sign is attached, the local authority has invested £17million in building an Arts Centre, called the Turner Contemporary. It was hoped that the art centre when opened in 2011, based near where J.M.W Turner lived and the gallery in which Tracey Emin exhibited in 2011, would be the stimulus needed and the turning point for the arrest of the decay of Margate. The policy makers think that these developments will bring talent and economic development to the area, transforming it from an increasingly poor area to a successful location. This is a very clear adoption of Florida’s (2002) theory, that the skilled people, artists, entrepreneurs, professionals and others defined in the skilled knowledge bases (Asheim and Hansen, 2009), are attracted to locations that are creative, that have cultural venues for art and other interesting, intellectually stimulating attractions. The problem with this is, that both Florida (2002b) and Jacobs (1961) are not positive about these attractions being installed by local government. They are both more in favour of the artistic and cultural initiatives being taken by artists and musicians themselves to make the projects more accessible and organically developed. It would seem that taking this into consideration, Margate local authority have involved the artist Tracy Emin, to give the project credibility with the target market of skilled people and associated the project with a high-profile contemporary artist and a renowned artist from the past, Turner, associated with Margate, so attempting to provide some depth and authenticity to the project ([Zebracki, 2018](#_ENREF_152)).

Pomery (2013), reports that the Turner Contemporary Art Gallery has brought £21.1million to the Margate economy in the first two years of it opening, and is seen as an economic success, fulfilling the aims of the policy makers in turning the fortunes of Margate around. Ellis-Peterson (2017) reports on the changes to Margate The Turner Contemporary has made, bringing the Turner Prize Awards in 2019 to the Gallery, which it is predicted will have a huge positive impact on the further economic development of the town. It is predicted that that there will be growth in the numbers of cafes, independent galleries, boutiques, vintage shops, restaurants and hotels that have thrived since The Turner Contemporary has opened. The downside, according to Ellis-Peterson (2017) is the problems posed for local people with the rising property prices and affordability of living in the town. This example would seem to support the view that culture can contribute to economic development by attracting skilled people, but the long-term attraction and retention of the skilled people to the location because of the cultural development is a topic for further research.

#### Social Capital (Family)

Family as part of Social Capital is found in the research to be the fifth most important Attraction Motivator. Literature generally supports the theory that social networks have value to individuals, society and the economy because it increases trust between people which leads to increased innovation and reciprocity ([Putnam, 1995](#_ENREF_123)). The concept has been extended from the concept of social capital as an individual asset, to the concept of social capital as a feature of communities and even nations, although Portes (1998) questioned the validity of the extension of the social capital theory beyond the individual.

Social capital has been identified as an important component of the economic development ‘soup’ for attracting and retaining talented people ([Florida, 2002c](#_ENREF_51)). [Jacobs (1961)](#_ENREF_83), recognised the importance of social capital in expediting cooperation between people from different backgrounds, lifestyles and ages to collectively maintaining a safe and welcoming environment which allowed businesses and people to thrive. The social capital observed by Jacobs (1961) was based on the informal network that grew between people living, working or regularly visiting a location, which over time led to a familiarity between these people in the location, resulting in the location thriving, and being an attractive place to live and work. Jacobs (1961) gives the example of the positive economic effect of social capital on the shops in an area, where people know and trust each other the shops are busy, because people feel safer shopping in the areas that have a friendly, welcoming and safe ambience. The people who live in areas with less social capital, travel to shop in the areas with the social capital, contributing further to the social capital of that location and in so doing positively effecting the economic development of the location.

Brown (2015) gave the example of artists being able to form networks of colleagues in a small city such as Birmingham relatively easily in comparison with a mega-city such as London, because people meet more frequently and develop networks, which makes them more embedded in the sector more quickly. Kotkin (2016) emphasises the positive experience of increased social capital in suburbs and small cities, as opposed to the anonymity experienced in megacities.

Jacobs (1961) observed that when new communities, in America, called the social housing projects, were built and families who did not know each other were moved into these houses, they did not have any social bonds or networks and therefore there was no social capital in the form of networks between the new group of residents. The lack of social bonds often resulted in crime, isolation and other social problems, deleterious to the social and economic development of the area. This has been observed in many locations where communities have been dispersed and new social housing has been built in large numbers, without the benefit of networks to provide trust and social cohesion, often the result is ghettoization of the location ([Woolcock and Narayan, 2000](#_ENREF_150)).

Social capital, according to Putnam (1995, 2001) can be divided into subsectors of bonds and bridges. Bonds are strong family ties and close friends, resulting in high levels of trust and commitment ([Putnam, 1995](#_ENREF_123), [Putnam, 2001](#_ENREF_124)), and bridges are networks or acquaintances, based on weaker ties with people outside people’s closest groups. Bridges, or networks of acquaintances, often result in improved job prospects and opportunities (Huggins and Izushi 2007; Florida 2002b; Putnam 2001) because these contacts are people who know each other but who have interests and connections that are different from those of their family and closest groups, this often results in improved knowledge of opportunities available, that otherwise would be missed.

Not everyone agrees with the social capital theory as espoused by Putnam (1995) whilst the importance of social capital to an individual is recognised, [Portes (1998)](#_ENREF_122) states that from a sociological perspective, the role of social capital in social control, family support and wider social networks should be acknowledged, but they should not be seen with rose-coloured spectacles and the positives should be tempered with the negative consequences of social capital. Social Capital can be positive, but it can stifle innovation through the formation of exclusive groups that do not allow others to join, such practices have a negative effect on innovation and economic growth (Florida, 2000). Portes (1998 p10) supports the use of the social capital concept, ‘as a shorthand for the positive consequences of sociability.’ but warns against ‘excessive extensions’ of the concept. Portes (1998) emphasises that there are great social benefits from social capital, which include greater control over anti-social behaviour, providing safer environments and a sense of well-being in a community, but there are the down sides of social capital which include corruption, parochialism and inhibition of innovation.

[Woolcock and Narayan (2000)](#_ENREF_150), wrote about the importance of policy makers integrating social capital in the economic development strategy, in order that the benefits of social capital can be integrated into strategic planning of a city. [Woolcock (1998)](#_ENREF_149) posited that social capital needed to be developed rather than the consequences taken into consideration when planning was complete. [Woolcock and Narayan (2000)](#_ENREF_150) recognised a great benefit that social capital provides is in bridging orthodox divides.

The importance of social capital in the planning process is recognised as a major influence for effective economic development. It could be an area of advantage for smaller cities over larger mega-cities, since smaller cities have a better chance than mega-cities of providing a relatively consistent social capital ethos throughout the city than megacities can achieve ([Rooney, 2010](#_ENREF_127)). An advantage of the smaller size of Birmingham was identified, because it is easier to integrate into networks in sectors of interest than it would be in London. This is because of meeting the same groups of people in meetings and gaining familiarity quickly with the group of people in the same sector. Whilst in London there is so much going on, different people are at meetings and functions and so it is more difficult to build a network (Brown, 2015).

Social capital is the main focus of Putnam’s (2001) research, he decries the fall of the club culture in America since the 1950’s, and he theorises that the fall in the membership of clubs such as bowling clubs and Rotary clubs and workman’s clubs, points to a deterioration in the sociability in the American culture, resulting in a more dysfunctional society. Putnam (2001) reports that the decline in sociable activities makes society less attractive because there are fewer connections between people in communities, which lead to reduced trust and social cohesion.

Putnam (1995, 2001) cites statistics that do demonstrate that there is a great decrease in the number of people doing collective activities, but this is often associated with the structure and expectations of the family changing in society. In the 1950s in America, less women worked and the male in the household held a relatively commanding position, regarding the financial expenditure and activities of the family and the activities. The club membership system supported men undertaking social activities with male co-workers and other male club members. As women became more financially independent and the acceptance of equality increased, so the expectation of social activities, including the family increased, so the number of sports clubs with family members has increased over the past decade ([Inglehart and Norris, 2003](#_ENREF_82)). [Cruz and Raurich (2015](#_ENREF_36)) identify the change in the trends in leisure over the past fifty years, which supports the decline in club activities as identified by Putnam (2001), but also identifies the replacement of these activities with alternative leisure activities that are increasingly accessible to both men and women. Also, the increased availability of technology has resulted in more time spent watching TV, playing computer games and on social media etc. replacing the all-male club leisure activities (Florida 2002b) but not necessarily denigrating the social capital.

The mobility of individuals has also had an effect on the social ties (Kesselring and Vogl, 2008), the strong family bonds and lifelong friends have been replaced, in many instances, with people knowing more people, but often in a more superficial way, they see them less and do not know them as well. People tend to have more, less strong, shorter-term friendships. The increase in technology is changing social interaction and social capital, people can be in contact through mobile phone and internet, so, being able to maintain contact over any distance ([Ellison et al., 2014](#_ENREF_40)). Acquaintances are cited by Florida (2002a) and Huggins and Izushi (2007) as more beneficial networks for building bridges in communities, especially working communities, which lead to better communication, broader perspectives and increased opportunities. These networks are also more inclusive and improve openness and tolerance and therefore according to Florida and Gates (2003), make locations more inviting to skilled people.

Some people find moving away from strong bonds liberating (Florida 2002a) in some cases, it is an incentive to skilled people to relocate to a city without the strong bonds of family and long term friends, that they find inhibiting to their intellectual and social growth (Florida 2002a.), providing a place that people can ‘Do their own thing’ without judgemental, negative consequences which can make a location very attractive.

Mahroum et al., (2008) found that retention of skilled people is at least partly a cultural phenomenon, based on findings that students that study in Universities close to home for financial or social reasons, are also more likely to stay in those areas, because of the social capital links with family and friends they have.

Dainov and Sauka (2010) found that networks of family and friends were important in attracting skilled people to a city. [Pareja-Eastaway et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_117) found that skilled people are not more mobile than other people and that the level of mobility between cities is relativity low, people move around within a city more. They also found that personal trajectory is very important,

Many young talented workers stay where they have personal connections of relationships. Therefore, they do not necessarily correspond to the image of a highly mobile group who are drawn by the buzz of the city. ([Pareja-Eastaway et al. 2010)](#_ENREF_117)

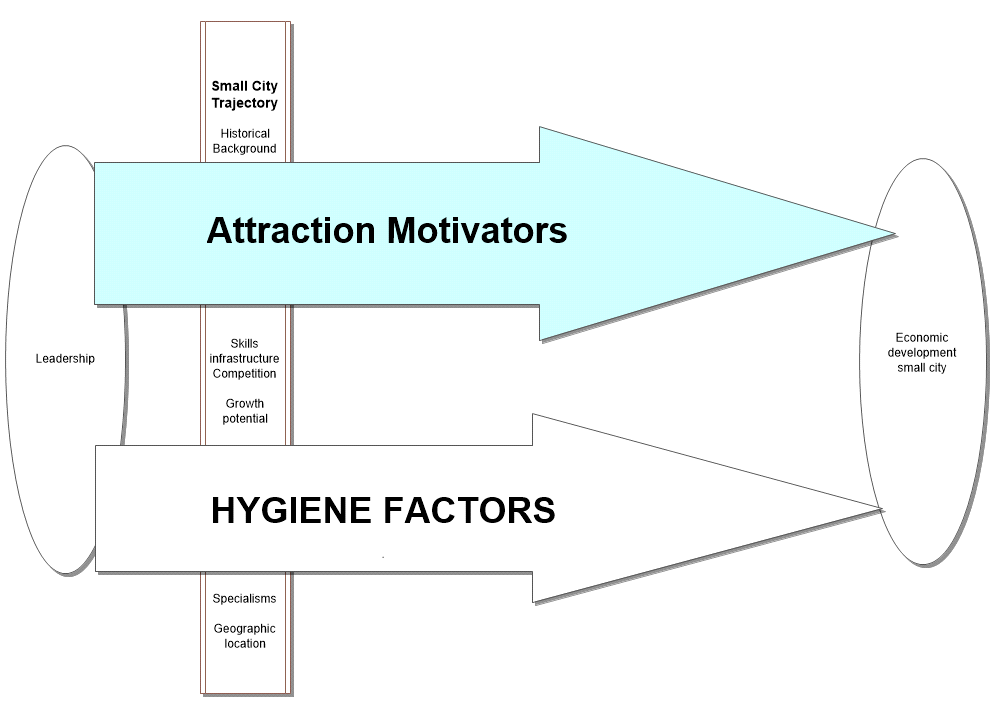
Florida (2002b) emphasises the importance of weaker bonds as being attractive to skilled people over stronger bonds, whilst Putnam (2001) sees the demise of the club culture as a negative effect on society. The importance of social capital in influencing skilled people as to where they work and live is an area for further research.

### Small City Economic Development Conceptual Framework Attraction and Retention factors for skilled people

Linking Attraction Motivators and Hygiene factors identified in the research findings with outcomes from evaluation of the literature relating to the elements necessary for the economic development of small cities through attracting and retaining skilled people has culminated in the development of the first stage of the conceptual framework. The framework will be tested and refined through further evaluation of the literature relating to the relevant characteristics of skilled people of location, gender and life stage ([Herzberg, 1966](#_ENREF_73)). Using this data, the model of economic development for small cities, through attracting and retaining skilled people will be devised.

Figure 2-1 represents diagrammatically the Stage 1 Conceptual Framework of attraction and retentions factors for skilled people in small cities

Figure 2‑1 Stage 1 Conceptual Framework of attraction and retentions factors for skilled people in small cities



## Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. Life-stage, gender, geographical location, have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?

### Skilled people

Skilled people have been identified as ‘key to growth’ of cities ([Florida, 2012 p229](#_ENREF_53)). It has been posited by theorists since the 1960’s that skilled people have a pivotal role in the success of locations ([Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1, [Becker, 1964](#_ENREF_14)). [Abel and Gabe (2008)](#_ENREF_3) calculated that the GDP increases by 2.3% for every 1% increase in the population of skilled people in a city. Skilled people are defined, in this instance, as those with a degree (Glaeser, 2000) or in an occupation based on the Knowledge Bases (Asheim and Hanson, 2009).

Repeatedly in the literature the increased importance of knowledge and therefore skilled people has been identified as being the driver for economic growth in the present era of the growing Knowledge Economy ([Thompson, 1965](#_ENREF_138), [Glaeser et al., 1991](#_ENREF_64), [Glaeser, 1994](#_ENREF_62), [Glaeser, 1995](#_ENREF_68), [Glaeser, 2000](#_ENREF_63), [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Liu and Vanderleeuw, 2004](#_ENREF_92), [Frenken et al., 2005](#_ENREF_57), [Frenken and Boschma, 2007](#_ENREF_55), [Frenken et al., 2007](#_ENREF_56), [Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79), [Van Den Berg, 2017](#_ENREF_141)). In the UK, during the Industrial Revolution natural resources were the most important component in driving the economy and the growth of cities. The coal, iron ore and other mineral deposits were the deciding factors as to where industry was located and the people followed the jobs; now, in the age of the Knowledge Economy, it is the knowledge and creativity of skilled people that drives the modern economy, replacing the natural resources. These days, the success of a location is highly dependent on attracting, retaining and developing skilled people ([Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Huggins and Izushi, 2007](#_ENREF_79), [Florida, 2005](#_ENREF_52), [Mellander and Florida, 2018](#_ENREF_103)).

Skilled people are one of several contributory factors to economic development ([Thompson, 1965](#_ENREF_138), [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Storper and Scott, 2009](#_ENREF_133)), other factors include, the macroeconomic environment, which can have a positive or negative effect on the economic development of a city, as has been witnessed since the economic downturn of 2008 (Florida, 2010). The global economic crisis has had a negative effect world-wide (Florida, 2010, Florida, 2012) other contributory factors include inward investment, highly skilled employment opportunities, technological progress and improved infrastructure ([Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Armeanu et al., 2018](#_ENREF_8)) all of which can have a profound effect on the economic development of a city. The effect of the macro environment and inward investment on economic development of small cities is acknowledged in this thesis but is not included in the scope of study.

Although the centrality of skilled people to economic development is generally accepted, there is little research into the characteristics that identify the people who will contribute to the economic development of cities, other than occupation or educational achievement ([Berry and Glaeser, 2005](#_ENREF_16), [Drucker, 1999](#_ENREF_38), [Florida, 2002c](#_ENREF_51), [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90)). If small cities are to attract and retain skilled people, then the meaningful segmentation of skilled people is needed to identify any differences in requirements that different groups have. As Peck (2005) pointed out these skilled people are not a homogenous group who will all want and need the same things from a city as is promoted by Florida (2002b).

Baker (2007) identifies that small cities have limited resources to attract and retain skilled people and therefore from the marketing perspective the most effective use of those resources is to segment the skilled people by their relevant characteristics. Specific groups of skilled people identified through segmentation, who will contribute to the socio-economic mix of the city and to the economic development of the city, can be targeted by cities meeting the requirements of these groups and so attract and retain them ([Enz, 2001](#_ENREF_41)).

Guthridge (2008) and Hansen et al. (2009) identify the need for segmentation of the skilled people in order that they can be targeted by cities to attract and retain these drivers of the economy. Segmentation criteria based on relevant common characteristics of skilled people are suggested by Hansen et al. (2009) as being, life-stage and gender, whilst Guthridge (2008) bases segmentation on generational segmentation of Generation X, Y etc.

The segmentation literature of the skilled people relating to the research question, ‘Are there different Attraction Motivators for different groups of the skilled people?’ focuses on the different bases for market segmentation ([Moscardo et al., 2001](#_ENREF_109)) and the criteria for evaluation of the segmentation ([Morrison, 1996](#_ENREF_108)). Demographic and geographic segmentation was used ([Muller, 1991](#_ENREF_111)), since it is accessible for policy makers and relevant to the group of skilled people ([Frochot and Morrison, 2000](#_ENREF_59)).

The segmentation of skilled people can also be used by policy makers as they acknowledge that the growth in the knowledge economy sector brings with it other challenges. These challenges include a higher level of temporary, project-based jobs, freelancing, contract working and self-employment, bringing increased inequality with some enjoying very high paid work, whilst others experience precarious jobs and below average incomes leading to increased levels of inequality ([Brown et al., 2010](#_ENREF_22)).

### Life-stage

Life- stages of people as a segmentation base ([Gilly and Enis, 1982](#_ENREF_61)) can be used to identify if people at different life-stages have different requirements to attract and retain them in a city. According to Fincher (2004) when people are single there are very different priorities for their lifestyle than for a person who is in a relationship with dependent children.

Clifton et al. (2013) recognise the relevance of segmenting the skilled people by life-stage or other means to interpret data relating to skilled people and their preferences for different cities. Florida et al.,(2008) also recognised that people have different needs at different life-stages. The life-stage theory of Wells and Gubar (1966) and Gilly and Enis (1982) are centred on the child-bearing age of women, the theory is centred on the socio –economic changes that occur when people move from being single to couples and then the presence or absence of children and the children’s age relating to whether or not they are in school. The age of the children is important as a determinant of the freedom of the mother to work, is the view of Gilly and Enis (1982). The contemporary view of family life-stages identified by Kvist (2015), although changed due to increased education and political and legal rights of women, identified that the child baring age of women is still a relevant method of segmentation to predict behaviour patterns. Choenni et al. (2016), pinpoints the difficulties in collecting sensitive data such as sexual orientation to add to the life-stage data, which is not considered in the Gilly and Ennis (1982) theory.

Therefore, family life-stage is a valid segmentation tool for identifying the key target groups for small cities and can be used to find out if skilled people at different life-stages have different Attraction Motivators.

In work done by Pareja-Eastaway et al. (2010) comparing the young and high-skilled workers with the older workforce, they found that the older workforce in the knowledge and creative sectors have access to more consultancy work which is highly paid but project based, this, it was suggested was because the older workers had a network to find consultancy projects and they have experience and a reputation as a basis to gain contracts, whilst the younger workers were employed but often at lower wages.

### Gender

Although there are increasingly changes to the life-stage norm of the days of Wells and Gubar (1966) and Gilly and Enis (1982), Colley, (2014) highlighted that still the norm is that women focus on the family at the expense of progress in career, emphasising that there is a considerable difference in the priorities of men and women ([Hall and Barrett, 2018](#_ENREF_70)). Gender differences have therefore been included as a segmentation method in the primary research.

Brown et al. (2010), in their research based on case studies in Birmingham, Leipzig and Poznan, found that, ‘female workers were less satisfied with their career prospects than their male counterparts.’ Brown et al. (2010) also found that women have less opportunity to network because they often take more responsibilities for looking after children and elderly parents. This decreases women’s career development because they are less able to develop the necessary networks. Brown et al. (2010) also found that women, particularly in Birmingham had the lowest level of satisfaction for their ability to achieve a satisfactory work/life balance.

### Geographic segmentation

Geographical segmentation to divide a location such as the UK into different geographical areas in order to identify the specific needs and values of the inhabitants in different locations ([Beane and Ennis, 1987](#_ENREF_13)) is used as a valid basis of comparing the responses to different motivational attractors. Skilled people can be divided into groups relating to the cities in which they live and to the location in the UK of those cities in order to compare their decisions, and the way they make choices ([Weinstein and Cahill, 2014](#_ENREF_148), [Herrera and Martens, 2015](#_ENREF_72)). It is important for effective use of the resources of small cities that the influence of location of skilled people is analysed to find if there is a difference between the motivational attractors for different cities ([Moscardo et al., 2001](#_ENREF_109)). Comparing skilled people in different geographical segments can be used to identify different characteristics, values, and preferences, on which findings the policy makers can act, taking these preferences into consideration ([Wedel and Kamakura, 2012](#_ENREF_147)).

## Is there a model that can guide policy for attracting and retaining skilled people?

In response to this question the links between the elements necessary to develop a conceptual framework have been identified through the interviews and the city branding element has been introduced as the communication vehicle to complete the framework on which the model has been developed through primary research and literature.

### City Branding

Whilst reviewing the literature and undertaking the primary research, I realised that the picture was not complete or of much use unless the city, having identified the key factors that will attract and retain skilled people, Attraction Motivators, tells the skilled people that the city has employment, social life, good infrastructure, culture and social capital. Since city branding is the method of communicating a small city’s attraction and retention factors to skilled people (Van Gelder and Allan, 2006) this must be part of the model, in order to achieve the aim of the thesis and to achieve the practical outcome to implement the Model to attract and retain skilled people to small cities.

City branding, a relatively new discipline, based on tourism ([Kavaratzis, 2004](#_ENREF_84), [Kavaratzis et al., 2014](#_ENREF_86)) is recognised as an effective method of attracting and retaining skilled people ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)). City branding takes many different forms ([Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005](#_ENREF_85)) in this instance the focus is on using city branding to attract and retain skilled people to live and work in a small city.

#### Why Branding is important

Tan Sri Llew Kee Sin, chief executive of SP Setia, the lead partner in the Asian consortium that bought the iconic London landmark, Battersea Power Station, as a multi- million-pound property development investment, clarified the importance of branding in attracting skilled people. He explained that he and his investors would not look outside London to invest in the UK, because buying in London, for Asian people gives a level of kudos that reaches world-wide, because London is so well known as a high-status city, representing success, modernity but also with a long history of commercial success. Tan Sri Llew Kee Sin, expressed that his reason for making this massive investment in buying a very well-known building such as Battersea Power station in London, was that it impressed the commercial markets world-wide because of the high-profile of London ([Quinn and Blair, 2014](#_ENREF_125)).

The branding of a city is important for attracting and retaining skilled people because it identifies the values and aspirations of the city with which the inhabitants are associated, so Manchester used to have the dour image of a dirty failing post-industrial Northern city, not an appealing image for the people that live there or for the people that the city want to attract, now the city through effective development of key attraction features and communication of the development through effective place marketing and city branding has changed the image to a successful, vibrant, growing city, leading the North of the UK ([Houghton and Stevens, 2011](#_ENREF_75)).

[Baker (2007 p42)](#_ENREF_10), identifies why branding is important to all cities,

most small and mid-sized cities find it hard to be seen and heard,

He goes on to explain that it is important for small cities to be branded to compete in the global market for skilled workers ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)). A city with a well-recognised, strong, positive reputation, built through branding, has a competitive advantage for attracting people, jobs and money over other cities with a less developed brand ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)).

[Florida (2002c)](#_ENREF_51), identified that cities with strong dynamic brands, attract businesses and talented people. Therefore large cities that are frequently seen in the media world-wide and have a strong and dynamic brand such as London, find it easier to attract business and skilled people ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)).It is becoming more difficult to stand out in an increasingly crowded, globalised market place, but to attract and retain skilled people, it is becoming more and more important, whatever the size of the city ([Kitson et al., 2004](#_ENREF_88)). The reputation of the city must connect positively with the target group, which is, in this thesis, the skilled people. Primary research has been carried out to identify the key factors that attract and retain this group, city branding can be managed to build the reputation of small cities that will attract and retain skilled people, where the economic factors may not be as great but the other Attraction Motivators are present ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)).

#### City branding clarified.

[Morgan et al. (2011 p237)](#_ENREF_107), pointed out that:

Many academics have questioned whether places can ever be brands and in a strict marketing sense they cannot, because of the lack of control of the product or the message, but in so far as a city can have a brand in the sense of a positive reputation, this provides the advantage.

City branding is not principally about logos and clever straplines ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)). It is understood that city branding can take parts of the theory from product marketing and increasingly there are overlaps with corporate branding (Van Gelder and Allan, 2006). Branding in general is increasingly influential as a differentiating factor for products, services and organisations ([Gertner and Kotler, 2004](#_ENREF_60)) and some of the principles on which branding is based are recognised as being transferable, to some extent, to branding of cities ([Gertner and Kotler, 2004](#_ENREF_60)) which can be used to differentiate small cities if applied effectively (Baker, 2007).

#### Branding of small cities

The branding of the city identifies the values of the city ([Anholt, 2007](#_ENREF_6)) and in doing so identifies the important specialist sectors or clusters of activity in the city (Boschma, 2005). A small city cannot be all things to all people, therefore it has to have specialities or clusters ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)). The city may already have developed specialist clusters or sectors because of the historical and cultural background of the city.

[Baker (2007)](#_ENREF_10) speculates that it is necessary, when focusing on destination branding as a contributor for economic development that the city’s leadership formulates strategy, based on evaluation of the opportunities for specialist clusters, researching the competitors in that area, the available resources to support the growth of the specialist sector or cluster and the long- term potential for expansion. Some cities have high levels of competence in some specialised clusters, which would be very difficult to compete against. Therefore, consideration needs to be given to the present successful clusters, building on those as appropriate and identifying newer clusters that would be practicable to expand into and would provide benefit to the strategic economic growth of the city.

#### City Branding as a part of place marketing

As part of the branding, Parker et al., (2015) explain that the place marketing needs to incorporate the meaning and lived experience of place to individuals especially residents.

Taking the real-life experiences of the people who live and work in the cities and how day –to-day experience of the cities affects their attitudes towards the city,

(Parker et al., 2015, p.1091)

Parker et al., (2015) proposes incorporating real life experience into the branding to make it less strategic and purely promotional and more grounded and operationally based.

There are many different interpretations of the relationship between place marketing and place branding, Pergelova and Ruiz (2011) identify that it is difficult to determine the exact limits between the two functions, they say that place marketing involves a whole framework, whilst place branding is part of the framework for communicating place identity and image.

Warnaby (2009) says that place marketing is like mainstream marketing in many ways, particularly the non-profit, social, relationship, service and image marketing. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) suggest that place marketing can be done effectively through selection of specific relevant characteristics of place. Another view is that place marketing considers place as brands with the aim of changing or enhancing the perception of place with a specific group ([Warnaby, 2009](#_ENREF_146)).

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It is acknowledged that place branding is dependent on realities, a study into the effect of litter on the perception of crime prevalence ([Medway et al., 2016](#_ENREF_101)) indicates the importance of city leaders’ co-ordinating the strategic aims of place marketing, with the operationational activities and the communication through branding, to provide credibility and achieve the aim of enhancing the perception of the place with skilled people ([Skinner, 2011](#_ENREF_130)).

City branding provides a clear vision of the values and direction of the city ([Anholt, 2007](#_ENREF_6)). Warnaby and Parker (2016) highlight that the uniqueness of cities is a central goal of place branding, they also identify the importance for effective place branding of co-operation between public, private and voluntary sectors as well as other relevant stakeholders.

[Millington and Ntounis, (2017](#_ENREF_105)) identify that partnerships involving the community are important in place marketing. Although this means that it is a more gradual development it is important in achieving positive outcomes.

The brand, reflecting the reality and aspirations of a city will be formulated by the city’s leadership and will be included in the strategy to attract and retain skilled people to stimulate economic growth ([Van Gelder and Allan, 2006](#_ENREF_142)) . It is important that the city branding is not too generic and focuses on matching what the skilled people want and what the city can provide, and clearly communicating this match. This is very much central to the aim of this thesis, the development of the model as a policy making tool.

Due to limited funding small cities need to focus resources to brand a small city in a very competitive environment ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)). Small cities cannot be all things to all people ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)) and different people have different experiences and different expectations and needs ([Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1, [Kotkin, 2000](#_ENREF_90), [Rooney, 2010](#_ENREF_127)). The factors that attract and retain skilled people to small cities need to be communicated to the appropriate audiences, whom the city want to attract ([Rooney, 2010](#_ENREF_127)). Since over 60% of destination branding is focused on tourism, a more holistic approach to the branding of a city is needed to attract and retain skilled people, building a strong, positive reputation and therefore an attractive brand for skilled people ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)). Segmentation of the different groups that need to be attracted to cities can be used for effective targeting of the place branding strategy for small cities ([Moscardo et al., 2001](#_ENREF_109)).

Gradually it is being recognised that the reputational identity of the places, where companies choose to operate and individuals choose to live and work is increasingly important to them ([Allen and Hollingworth, 2013](#_ENREF_4)). It is also gradually accepted that branding has a major impact on attraction and retention of skilled people ([Morgan et al., 2011](#_ENREF_107)). In an increasingly competitive global economy, where major cities recognise that they must effectively distinguish themselves from the competition to attract and retain human talent, small cities must make their brands known in order to compete (Allen, 2016).

Increasingly there is intense competition for titles such as European Capital of Culture, which is seen as providing a platform for city branding to help differentiate cities and to establish distinctive positive identities recognised worldwide (Allen, 2016). Glasgow have made huge inroads into increasing their brand and improving their image following being the European Capital of culture in 1992 ([Ponzini, 2009](#_ENREF_119)). Barcelona, after hosting the 1992 Olympic games identified itself not as a city in Spain, but a lively destination and has increased its tourism and other economic development greatly since then ([Fairfield-Sonn, 2017](#_ENREF_42)).

Trueman et al. (2008) and Kavaratzis et al, (2014), recognise that there is a significant gap in the literature relating to the process of city branding. The process of product and service branding are well documented, whilst place branding and particularly city branding are very different from product and service branding because of the significantly greater involvement of the stakeholders involved with the place or city ([d'Angella et al., 2010](#_ENREF_35)). There is also a significant difference in the level of complexity of a city in comparison with any products or services ([Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005](#_ENREF_85)) as well as the lack of control over the city, in comparison with the control over products and services (Van Gelder and Allan, 2006)

All cities have multiple objectives to achieve the goals of a city; the objectives may include the retention of skilled people, the attraction of skilled people, the attraction of tourists, attraction and retention of businesses and jobs and securing funding for projects in the city ([Gertner and Kotler, 2004](#_ENREF_60)). It is suggested that all stakeholders involved in branding have an umbrella city brand, with agreed values, but each different target group adopts a different but complimentary strategy for their target group ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)). The relevant target group in this research are skilled people, which are to be attracted and retained (Van Gelder and Allan, 2006).

Hanna and Rowley (2015), have identified the model of the,’ Place Brand Web,’ which is a web of the brands associated with the city, tangible and intangible, blended to provide a dynamic branding of the city and lead effectively

… to define some identifying values which capture the complexity of the place’s portfolio of offers.

(Hanna and Rowley, 2015. Page 102)

Branding a small city to attract and retain skilled people will be explored in the primary research by identifying the city branding of Manchester, Cardiff, Newport and Bristol, used at present. The brand efficacy of the cities in attracting and retaining skilled people will be investigated by comparing the growth of the population of skilled people between 2005-20014 and the economic development of the cities over the same period.

### Aligning City Branding and Talent Attraction in Urban studies academic framework

Aspects of city branding have been identified negatively by Soja (1995 p137) as

Concentration on spectacle and image rather than on the substance of economic and social problems can also prove deleterious in the long-run, even though political benefits can all too easily be had. ([Soja 1995](#_ENREF_132) p137)

The growing dominance of social media has changed the traditional branding communications, branding is no longer in the control of the policy makers or branding professionals, the message is increasingly in control of the people associated with the city ([Coulter et al., 2012](#_ENREF_32)).

Therefore the reliance of policy makers on the marketing framework for city branding needs to be reviewed ([Vanolo, 2018](#_ENREF_144)). Cities must develop policy to create a positive, distinctive and sustainable environment for the people in the city based on urban policy framework which will align with the city branding strategy to create a positive, differentiate image of the city in order to attract skilled people as well as government funding, and corporate inward investment (Buck et al.,, 2005; Kavaratzis, 2004). Place branding, based on core values of the destination can be used to create a positive image according to Morgan et al., (2011).

It is more and more evident that city brand can have a significant influence on attracting and retaining people, institutions, companies, investors and tourists (Van Gelder and Allan, 2006) if it has a core of credibility which can be achieved through further alignment with the talent attraction framework of urban studies ([Dinnie, 2010](#_ENREF_37))

D’Angelo et al. (2010) acknowledged that city branding is multifaceted in nature with many stakeholder groups in a complex system with many different vested interests. The importance of avoiding mechanistic branding and to avoid simplistic interpretation in developing a city brand is recognised, it is essential to develop a branding approach through in-depth research of what the target groups want and what the city can realistically provide and to base the branding on this information ([Caldwell and Freire, 2004](#_ENREF_23)). It is recognised that branding of small cities is essential but requires a complex combination of effective leadership, funding, a clear understanding of values and a realistic and sustainable image ([Anholt, 2008](#_ENREF_7)).

Aligning city branding with urban studies research can lead to powerful policy change as demonstrated in Singapore where Florida’s (2002) theory of tolerance being vital in a city to attract skilled people. The government adopted a policy that encouraged employment and acceptance of self-professed homosexuals to signal a tolerant, open and creative Singapore which was effectively communicated through the city’s branding to successfully attract skilled people, investment and tourist ([Ooi, 2008](#_ENREF_115)) .

A criticism of city branding is that it is a neoliberal concept that makes cities all compete against each other with no net gain and no positive outcome for the people of the city ([Vanolo, 2018](#_ENREF_144)) but just ‘selling’ the city without credibility or long term benefits ([Ward, 2005](#_ENREF_145)). An alternative view is that the city branding goal is generic local development to improve the lives of the people living, working and visiting the city by identifying policies to identify the improvements that these people require and highlighting these areas for improvement, whilst communicating the on-going developments achieved in the city with key stakeholders (Ashworth and Kavaratzis.,2016)

Dinnie (2010) claims that city branding is practitioner led and lacks rigorous academic underpinning as a basis to develop theory on which policy can be based (McCann, 2004).

[Lucarelli and Olof Berg (2011)](#_ENREF_93" \o "Lucarelli, 2011 #653) identify that city branding is a multi-disciplinary field which can develop by further integration with urban studies to develop valuable public policy. Van den Berg (2017) and Harvey (1989) support the integration of the urban and public policy disciplines with city branding to produce more robust theoretical framework to support policy decision making.

[Lucarelli and Olof Berg (2011 p76)](#_ENREF_93) propose that further research;

..***focus on the political, aesthetical, and ethical implications of city brands and city branding….. to reflect on the very fundamental questions on branding that we are facing, such as how do brands and space mutually constitute and shape each other, how do brands shape the soft and hard infrastructure of urban spaces, and to what extent are brands new semiotic spaces that re-organize the urban experience? In all, the very phenomenon of city branding gives us a unique opportunity to question the very concept of branding, and the theories behind it.***

In the literature reviewed it can be identified that developing associations between City Branding theory and Talent Attraction of Urban studies can increase the application of the Urban studies research whilst providing increased robust academic theoretical structure the City Branding contributing to improved policy making.

## Summary and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter Objective 1 to critically evaluate the literature that is related to the elements necessary to attract and retain skilled people is achieved. Based on this evaluation and primary data a conceptual framework has been developed.

The different characteristics of skilled people have been identified as a basis to answer the research question:

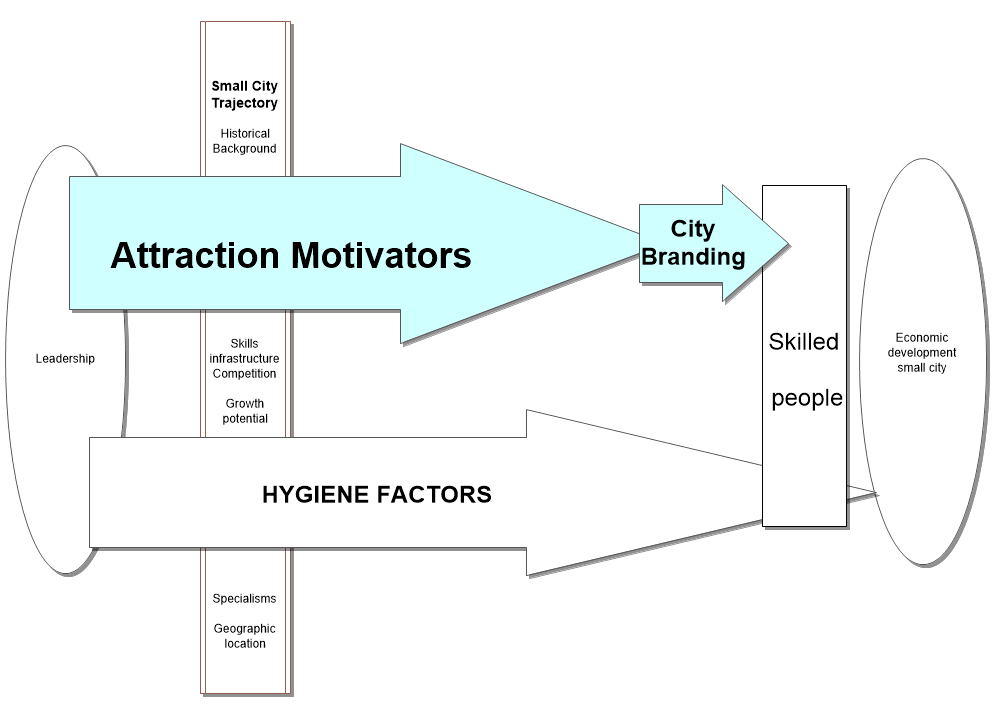
Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. life-stage, gender, geographical location, have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?

The conceptual framework Fig. 2.2 that has been developed from the primary research and literature review is the basis for the Attraction Motivator Model developed in Chapter 5 that addresses the research question:

Is there a model that can guide policy for attracting and retaining skilled people?

In chapter 3, Objective 2 will be addressed which is to develop a research approach from the epistemological stance of Pragmatism, to achieve the aim of the research of developing the model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities leading to the practical outcome of contributing to improving policy making.

Figure 2‑2 Conceptual Framework



# Research Approach

## Introduction

The focus in Chapter 2 was objective 1, to review literature related to achieving the aim of the research. In this chapter, objective 2 is addressed which is to develop a research design from the epistemological stance of Pragmatism, to achieve the research aim and develop practical outcomes.

The theoretical framework used is explained and a detailed description of the methods adopted for the collection and analysis of relevant data to meet the aim of the thesis is provided (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

The epistemological stance of Pragmatism has been adopted as the research paradigm. This research approach fulfils the philosophical stance of Pragmatism as an outcome orientated method of enquiry (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Adapted grounded theory was employed to contribute to new knowledge by finding the factors that attract skilled people to small cities which have been labelled as the Attraction Motivators. Then using Theoretical Integration (Strauss, 1987; Urquhart, 2013) the Attraction Motivator theory was linked to theory from the discipline area of City Branding to develop the Attraction Motivation Model (Urquhart, 2013). The Attraction Motivators were identified following the open coding, substantive coding structure of Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) Grounded Theory approach, the adaptation was made to the grounded theory model of Strauss and Corbin (1998) at the theoretical coding stage where literature was reviewed and combined with the emerging theory to develop the Attraction Motivators and Hygiene factors theory. The theoretical model was developed based on the theoretical coding combined with the review of pertinent literature from the disciplines of talent attraction in Urban studies, to identify the Attraction Motivators and Hygiene factors. Then using Theoretical Integration (Strauss, 1987; Urquhart, 2013) the emerging theory was combined with city branding theory to generate the Attraction Motivator Model.

Piloting of the research and the changes in the research question through iterative development and exploratory research ([Stumpf et al., 2016](#_ENREF_136), [Holton and Walsh, 2016](#_ENREF_74)) are described to clarify the adapted grounded theory strategy used, which imitates the Levina and Vaast (2008) approach, using adapted grounded theory, which Urquhart (2013 page 235) describes as,

an excellent example of how a grounded theory study can fit the criteria of a top journal and contribute to theory building in a discipline.

Urquhart (2013 page 236) goes on to say about Levina and Vaast’s (2008) approach, that it,

provides plenty of literature up front, then more to integrate with the rich findings and, finally, a theoretical model, complete with relationships between the concepts.

The iterative process of exploratory research, based on a development of grounded theory, was implemented to clarify the research question, and to then find the techniques and methods that would facilitate findings of appropriate depth to achieve the aim of the research. Documentation of the iterative approach to the research also shows the practical learning experience I have developed as a researcher, and the Pragmatic approach of linking theory with practice to formulate a reflective research structure (Levina and Vaast, 2008).

The practical approach of the strategy is explained in this chapter, which includes the rationale for the selection of the four case study cities, Cardiff, Bristol, Manchester and Newport, and the conceptual tool, ‘The Pragmatic Poppy Research Method,’ is used to show the integration of literature with the three phases of data collection; the first phase is the qualitative data collection method, using semi-structured interviews with skilled people and key informants in the case study cities; the second phase is further collection of qualitative data using a survey in all four cities, followed by the third phase of further semi-structured interviews with key informants along with the collection and analysis of secondary qualitative and quantitative data from documentation, web-sites and statistics relating to the four cities.

The use of NVivo, Excel and SPSS, the data analysis tools that assist in the analysis of the findings is outlined in this chapter.

The time horizon of the interviews and surveys is explained in the chapter, since the research has used both cross-sectional and longitudinal data collection.

‘The Pragmatist Poppy Research Method’ (Croad, 2017), the contribution to methodology made in this research with the development of a conceptual tool for the iterative research strategy adopted, illustrates how the literature review, data collection and analysis were combined in an iterative process, whilst keeping the research aim as the central focus of the study.

The Pragmatic Poppy Research Method contributes to methodology by illustrating the iterative approach used in the collection of data and developing theory, providing a primary and secondary research technique that can be followed in a methodical way, which is an alternative to the linear approach. Research that adopts the linear approach is easy to explain and present but can be restrictive, in that it does not allow findings that ‘crop-up’ or need to be re-examined to be further investigated. The Pragmatic Poppy provides an option of revisiting stages of research and integrating the review of literature which can provide opportunity to connect research to other disciplines and ideas. The Pragmatic Poppy method of continually reviewing the literature and analysing the data facilitates development of new theory, whilst always keeping the aim of the research as the central focus. This process enables research across disciplines to develop and contribute to theory. The Pragmatic Poppy Method allows for repeating stages of primary research to achieve collection of data to saturation levels that will underpin robust research outcomes.

The methods of data collection that have been used to examine views from different perspectives are explained in detail, with a discussion of the triangulation of the data. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the ethical issues associated with the research, that are addressed and finally a summary of the chapter.

## Theoretical Framework Concepts, Philosophies and Methodologies

The concepts of the theoretical framework have been adapted from the discipline of philosophy because sometimes the transfer from philosophy to social science research has not been consistent, as acknowledged by academics Saunders et al., (2007) and Crotty (2005). Also, the terms used to describe different categories of the research framework are often confusing and blurred in the literature.

The term methodology is debated by academics as to what it describes, whilst Sarantakos (2012) and Bryman and Bell (2015) defined methodology as a depiction of the overriding research approach framework, Crotty (2005) classified it as being specifically related to the practical approach. The term methodology has been avoided in this research, in order to avoid confusion and dispute. The Research Approach has been used as the term to identify the philosophy and process adopted in the research in its entirety.

These differences continue between theories of research design, with academics giving different labels for the steps included in the research design. Sarantakos’ (2012) social research design is the most simplistic with three stages; the research paradigm, which includes both epistemology and the theoretical perspective followed by the methodology and methods. Crotty (2005) adopts a similar research design but separates the epistemology and the theoretical perspective. Saunders et al. (2007) devised the ‘research onion’ with six steps; philosophies, approaches, strategies, choices, time-horizons and techniques and procedures.

The research design adopted for this thesis is based on the Crotty (2005) research design model and the Saunders et al. (2007), ‘Research Onion’. The following Table 3-1 sets out the Theoretical framework for Research Approach Adaptation of the Crotty (2007) research design model and the Saunders et al (2007) Research Onion.

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| |  |  | | --- | --- | | Table ‑ Theoretical framework for Research Approach  Adaptation of the Crotty (2005) research design model and  the Saunders et al (2007) Research Onion. | | | Philosophy | Pragmatism | | Approach | Adapted Ground Theory | |  | Theoretical Integration | | Strategy | Case Study | | Time Horizon | Cross sectional and longitudinal | | Methods/techniques | Semi-structured Interviews with key informants  Semi- Structured Interviews  with projective technique  Surveys  Data collection  relating to case study cities | | Analysis | Manual, N-Vivo,  SPSS, EXCEL | |

## Pragmatism

Pragmatism has been chosen as the philosophy that will enable collecting data to develop a theory that can be used in practice for policy making. William James philosophised that Pragmatism is a research approach for clarifying concepts ([Oppenheim, 2005](#_ENREF_116)). The main tenant of Pragmatism is that the focus is on the outcome of the research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2007), rather than the research being limited by the research philosophy.

Pragmatism, as a philosophical system originated in America with Charles Peirce and William James ([Moore, 1961](#_ENREF_106)). It is a philosophy focusing on the clarification of concepts, based on an iterative approach, linking practice to theory ([Oppenheim, 2005](#_ENREF_116)).

The important focus of Pragmatism as a research method, is that the discovery of the meaning of ideas needs to be researched with consideration taken of the consequences and implications of the conclusions of the research and how they can be used for practical benefit (Dewey,1998).

It is logical to adopt a philosophical stance of Pragmatism for this research which aims to affect the decisions of policy makers as an outcome of the research. Pragmatism allows the research to use methods that answer the research question (Tashakkori and Teddie, 2010).

***Pragmatism offers an immediate and useful middle position philosophically and methodologically, it offers a practical and outcome-orientated method of enquiry that is based on action and leads, iteratively, to further action and the elimination of doubt; and it offers a method for selecting methodological mixes that can help research better answer their research questions***.

(Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p17)

Pragmatism initially became popular in some academic circles as a philosophy in the early 20th century (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005), but declined in popularity because of the increasing battle in academic circles between the qualitativists and the quantitativists. The practicalities of using mixed methods in research and then finding a journal to publish the research was very difficult, as the members of the qualitative and quantitative ‘camps’ inhabited different academic publications and did not consider mixed methods academically credible. It deterred leading academics from the philosophy of Pragmatism, since it was impossible for Pragmatists to achieve academic credibility through published works. In the 21st century there has been increasing recognition of qualitative research, helped by the increase of academic outlets through the Internet and this has led to Pragmatism enjoying increased favour with academics as a philosophy for social research (Creswell and Poth 2017).

One of the reasons for the mounting acceptance of Pragmatism is the growing competition in academia for financial support for research, which has increased pressure on academics to adopt a research philosophy that results in outcomes that can be applied, and that make significant contributions to society. In this climate Pragmatism’s focus on outcomes makes it increasingly accepted as a research approach (Morgan et al., 2007).

The aim of this research is to provide a transferable model for small cities to attract and retain skilled people ([Boulenger et al., 2005](#_ENREF_18)). The most robust and valid way to achieve this is by adopting a Pragmatic philosophy for the research.

## Adapted Grounded Theory

Adapted Grounded Theory (Urquhart, 2013), is the strategy that has been adopted to identify the factors that attract the skilled people, the Attraction Motivators in the research. Adapted grounded theory is adapted from the Grounded Theory of Strauss and Corbin (1998), by undertaking a draft literature review, from which it was ascertained that data driven theory building (grounded research) was necessary to identify the Attraction Motivators for small cities (Urquart, 2013). Further adaptation to grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin were made by combining review of pertinent literature at the theoretical coding stage to identify the Attraction Motivators and the Hygiene factors. This adaptation to Grounded Theory is in keeping with the Pragmatism ethos of prioritising the best way of answering the research question (Holt and Walker, 2009) to develop a theory that is of practical use to policy makers.

The strategy aims to produce new theory through primary research, whilst reviewing literature throughout the research, guided initially by the exploratory research and then the primary research. The exploratory phase of the research was undertaken to define the key research questions, based on the understanding that the economic development of cities was becoming more devolved to city level ([Tewdwr-Jones and McNeill, 2000](#_ENREF_137)) and that the focus of economic development through skilled people in the cities was a growing force (Florida, 2002b).

The learning outcomes of four phases of exploratory research included in Table 3-2 lead to the development of the robust research approach providing answers to the research questions and meeting the aim of the research (Urquhart, 2013).

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 3‑2 Exploratory Research and learning outcomes | | | | | |
| **Exploratory Research** | **Research Question** | **Sampling strategy** | **Sample Frame** | **Method** | **Data collection** |
| **British Council Belfast and Cardiff** | ‘Does diversity attract creative classes?’ | Convenience | Created in field/  invitation to employees of British Council in Belfast and Cardiff, Local authority and University. | Focus Groups | Recording by lecturers from Cardiff |
| **Learning outcomes** |  | Judgement and theoretical sampling is better to make sure the non-probability sample has the people who have the characteristics identified as relevant to the research question. Also, people that do not know each other can be chosen. | Too biased to the academics and those associated with the Open cities project.  Sample frame needs to be varied | Focus groups overall say what they feel safe in saying, little depth. | The person facilitating the research has to be seen as detached with no perceived bias, otherwise the data will be biased as the interviewees may try to please the researchers. |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 3-2 Exploratory Research and learning outcomes (continued) | | | | | |
| **Exploratory Research** | **Research Question** | **Sampling strategy** | **Sample Frame** | **Method** | **Data collection** |
| **Erasmus Egypt** | ‘What attracts talented people to cities?’ | Judgemental/theoretical | Created in field/  snowball | Semi-structured one-to-one interviews |  |
| **Learning outcomes** |  | The interviewees had the appropriate characteristics, but  not varied enough  to cover all the  relevant  characteristics  e.g. life-stages, gender | The people were all very similar, men over 45 in senior positions. Need more screening to broaden sample | Very effective.  Allowed gaining  depth and breadth of data. Needs effective structure. Trust, anonymity  privacy needed. | Recording interviews on mobile phone is  convenient and unobtrusive. |
| **Businet conference** | ‘What attracts and retains talented people to cities?’ | Convenience |  | Surveys with an  incentive and focus groups | Collection of surveys. Incentive based on completing and returning surveys. Focus groups based on recording  discussion and post-it notes completed by participants |
| **Learning outcomes** |  | It was a perfect situation to collect data because the participants were all able to complete the survey and they were willing to take a considerable amount of time to complete the surveys in detail. The problem was the people were so similar in their characteristics, they were all academics, there was little of interest in the outcomes, because the survey was too closed and did not allow enough open answers. | Total population of the conference | The surveys were found to be too long and too closed.  They need to be relatively short, no more than 4 pages. The focus groups were ‘tame’ no-one  gave any depth of  information. | Survey completion and return was very high in  this circumstance.  The post-it note completion was a good way of  focusing the group and getting all the people  in the group to participate. |

The pro-forma in Figure 3-1, developed to provide more focus to the semi-structured interviews was completed during the interview by the interviewee or the researcher and reflected what was recorded in the interview.

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Figure 3‑1 Interview pro-forma, 'Where I have lived and why I moved there.’** | | | | |
|  | Where you were born | First move | Second move | Third move |
| Place, city or town |  |  |  |  |
| Reasons for moving |  |  |  |  |

The Adapted Grounded theory approach was developed from the Strauss & Corbin (1998) Grounded Theory approach as shown in Figure 3.3 with the data collected from semi-structured interviews and surveys coded to generate concepts through open coding followed by substantive coding to identify categories of factors that attract and retain skilled people to small cities and then theoretical coding to identify core categories. The theory of Attraction Motivators and Hygiene factors was generated using adapted grounded theory based on the theoretical coding combined with the review of pertinent literature from the disciplines of talent attraction in Urban studies and associated literature. Then theoretical integration of the emergent theory with the theories relating to talent attraction in city branding and other disciplines to develop the Attraction Motivator Model.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Figure ‑ A comparison between the Strauss & Corbin (1998) approach (Sarker et al., 2000) and approach taken in this thesis | | |
| Aspect of the methodology | Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) Grounded Theory approach) | Adapted Approach taken in this research |
| 1. Data sources | Interview transcripts, field observations, documents, video, etc. | Interviews and surveys |
| 2. Open coding | Involves immersion in the data and generation of concepts with dimensionalised properties using constant comparison | Immersion in the data and generation of concepts e.g. developing a career; going walking; meeting my friends for drinks |
| 3. Substantive coding | Identifying categories and mechanistically linking them with respective sub-categories using the “paradigm model” | Identifying categories and mechanistically linking them with respective sub-categories e.g. Transport, Friends, Safety, Culture, |
| 4. Theoretical coding | Selecting a core category and creating a story line about the core category. This story line links other categories to core category. Selection of the core category and linking it with other categories involve the application of the “paradigm model” at the level of categories. | Selecting a core category: Attraction Motivators  **ADAPTATION:**  ***The theoretical model was developed based on the theoretical coding combined with the review of pertinent literature from the disciplines of talent attraction in Urban studies, to identify the Attraction motivators and Hygiene factors*** |
| 5 Theoretical Integration | Relating the emergent theory to other theories in similar fields | The Attraction Motivation and Hygiene factor theory was integrated with other theories relating to attraction of skilled people from other disciplines to generate The Attraction Motivator Model. |

These adaptation have been made to the grounded theory to ensure the emerging theory was integrated with existing theory to develop a theory that would be the basis of a practical outcome that contributes to policy making to improve the lives of people living, working or visiting small cities through attracting and retaining skilled people who drive economic development.

## Strategy

A case study approach has been adopted in this research.

### Case Studies

Although, as pointed out by Gerring (2007), attempts to clarify what a case study means has resulted in further confusion, the case studies for this research have been used as a strategy, as it produces contextualised rich data for the research that is essential to develop theory and further understanding (Flyvbjerg et al , 2011).

Flyvbjerg et al. (2011) points out that the real-life situation afforded using a case study, allows researchers to achieve a meaningful understanding of human behaviour at a high level of understanding, which is what is required in this research.

Also, case study strategy provides a proximity to reality and feedback from those included in the case study, which can help to avoid, academic ‘blar’ and maintain focus on achieving useful, clear outcomes to the research (Flyvbjerg et al., 2011).

Hans Eysenk (1976, p9) realized that,

sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases—not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!

Walton (1992) and George et al., (2005) have demonstrated that case study strategy is effective for theory development, which is why it is being used in this research.

The cities of Cardiff, Manchester, Bristol and Newport were selected as the case studies for the research. The background history, population demographics and economic development of the local authority area is the frame of the case studies. Figure 3-3 reflects the cities geographical locations to each other and in the UK.

|  |
| --- |
| Figure ‑ Rail connections to case study cities.  Manchester, Bristol, Newport and Cardiff. |
|  |
| Source::https://www.crosscountrytrains.co.uk/media/76305/crosscountry\_route\_map.pdf  (accessed Dec 24th ,2015) |

Cardiff was chosen, as one of the case studies, because it is a small city, with a population of 357,160 (ONS 2017) with a relatively high creative class quotient ([Clifton, 2008](#_ENREF_29)). The high level of Creative Class quotient indicates that it is relatively successful at attracting and retaining skilled people and therefore was chosen as one of the case study cities for research. Also, Cardiff was chosen because I live in Cardiff and therefore, I am able to access contacts in Cardiff e.g. the economic development department of Cardiff City Council and other organisations as well as interviewees in Cardiff. The advantage of having contacts, is that through these contacts, access to data and personal insights can be obtained, which provides more depth to the research. Having a good knowledge of the city provides credibility for the interviews because I can contextualise the responses and discuss in depth the points made, as well as making recruitment for the interviews using the network of contacts, I have in the city achievable.

Manchester was chosen as another case study because of the recent growth in Manchester’s population and economic development ([ONS, 2014](#_ENREF_114)) as well as it being a leading part of the Northern Powerhouse announced by George Osbourne, Chancellor, in 2014. The aim of the Northern Powerhouse initiative is to devolve power from London and to provide economic balance in the UK by supporting economic growth in the North (Cox and Hunter, 2015). I have some contacts that I could approach for interviews, to facilitate the research, since I studied at Manchester University and have maintained close ties with people in Manchester.

Bristol is a city that is based on the service industries, especially the Insurance sector, which is different from the other three case study cities which are historically dependent on heavy industry; although Newport, Cardiff and Bristol were all highly reliant on the docks trade in the past and have all focused recent development on dock regeneration projects. Bristol is the only city outside London to have an average GDP per capita higher than the average GDP (ONS, 2017).

Newport is the location most recently upgraded to city status in 2002. At the time of this research the city was struggling economically and has a relatively low GVA (gross value added) level in comparison with the other cities, despite being located between Cardiff and Bristol, both of which are relatively prosperous. Table 3-3 below reflects respective city case study data comparing the growth of the case study cities between 2001 and 2011 in population and GVA, and comparing their distance from London.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 3‑3 case study cities | | | | | |
| Case study city | Population  2011 | GVA  Per  capita  £  2011 | %change  in  population  2001-2011 | % growth  in GVA  2001-2011 | Distance from  London  ([Miles](#_ENREF_104)) |
| Cardiff | 345,400 | 21,461 | 11.6 | 9.3 | 173 |
| Manchester | 503,100 | 23,852 27,174 | 19 | 16.8 | 208 |
| Bristol | 428,100 | 27,187 | 11.8 | 8.6 | 118 |
| Newport | 145,700 | 19,668 | 5.9 | 3.5 | 137 |
| Source: ONS (2017) | | | | | |

Following the research strategy of Marshall (1996), key informants, providing specialist knowledge relating to economic development were interviewed in Cardiff, Newport, Manchester and Bristol. These include economic development officers, CEOs of the councils, elected leaders, business leaders and those involved in education at high school and University level.

Interviews with skilled people, who are living and/or working in Cardiff, Newport, Manchester and Bristol were undertaken. These interviewees belong to the skilled people as classified using the three bases of the Creative Classes, Symbolists, Synthesists and Analysts (Ashiem and Hansen, 2009) or have a degree or higher academic qualification ([Glaeser, 1994](#_ENREF_62)). The cities were the units of research in the case study ([Yin, 2009](#_ENREF_151)).

A total of 65 skilled people including 19 key informants were identified to engage in semi-structured interviews, where possible the skilled people included equal numbers of men and women as well as a range of ethnicities and life-stages in order to explore the effect of these characteristics on the attraction and retention factors of these cities (Seale, 2006). Table 3‑4 identifies Interviewees categorised by city, life-stage and gender.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 3‑4 Interviewees categorised by city, life-stage and gender | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Case study cities | Single | | Couple | | Couple child  under 6years | | Couple all children  6 -20 years, living  at home | | Couple children  left home | | Other e.g. single  parents | | Key  informants | Total  interviews |
|  | male | female | male | Female | male | Female | Male | female | male | female | male | female |  |  |
| Cardiff | **xx** | **xx** | **xx** | **X** | **xx** | **X** | **xx** | **x** | **xx** | **xx** | **xx** | **xx** | **xxxxxx** | 27 |
| Manchester | **x** |  | **x** | **X** |  | **X** | **x** | **x** |  | **x** |  | **x** | **xxxxx** | 13 |
| Newport |  | **x** | **x** | **X** | **x** |  | **X** |  | **x** | **x** | **x** |  | **xxxx** | 12 |
| Bristol | **x** | **x** |  | **X** | **x** | **X** |  | **x** | **x** |  | **x** | **x** | **xxxx** | 13 |
| total | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 65 |

It is appreciated that Cardiff is a capital city; therefore, it will be different from other small cities, since it is the home to the Welsh Government. Notwithstanding this difference, Cardiff is a valid case study for the purpose of this research, since it is acknowledged that every city is different ([Florida, 2005](#_ENREF_52), [Jacobs, 196](#_ENREF_83)1) and that the distinctive pathway of each city, including economic and political history and specialist features, such as topography and location will make each city distinctive ([Musterd and Murie, 2011](#_ENREF_112)). Despite the differences in the cities, there are some communalities between small cities, such as necessity to identify and support specialist areas of expertise and the need to communicate to the inhabitants and those out-side the city the significance and distinctive values of the city to continue to prosper ([Baker, 2007](#_ENREF_10)) . The size of small cities defined in this research as those cities with under 1.5 million population provides the communality for the model to attract and retain skilled people to small cities which will be the outcome of this thesis. The model developed based on the case studies will be used for transferability rather than generalisability (Marshall 1996), since although small cities have common factors, such as size and limited financial in comparison with mega-cities, they also differ due to the different trajectories (e.g.history, specialisms, resources, topography)( Musterd and Murie 2011).

Manchester is often referred to as the capital of the North and with the increased focus and financial independence being provided to the city by the government the city has been chosen for its apparent success in attracting skilled people and therefore bucking the trend of the flow of talented people to the South of England.

Bristol also is relatively successful with high levels of skilled people; whilst Newport, by comparison is very much the victim of brain drain. The research will compare the cities with the aim of finding why some have been more effective than others in slowing the brain drain and comparing the differences in financial success since the 2007 financial crisis in the UK.

## Time Horizon

The time horizon for the interviews is a longitudinal study over 7 years from 2010-2017 but a cross-sectional time horizon for the surveys which were conducted in the same week in February 2016 to avoid macro-environmental effects on the responses, so they can be compared without the variable of macro-environmental effects such in financial or political changes. The time horizon is important as the research was undertaken after the global financial crisis of 2008 and during the on-going financial upheaval in Europe, China and America, when there was still a great deal of uncertainty. Most of the interviews and all the surveys were undertaken prior to the June 2016, Brexit vote and then some interviews with key informants to assess the model were undertaken after the Brexit vote.

The case study research was based on semi-structured interviews, surveys, documentation and interviews with policy-makers and influencers, such as academics, industrialists and politicians.

The economic and social changes that were occurring are acknowledged as relevant, in order that the macro environment of unemployment, lack of available credit and any other relevant data such as BREXIT can be analysed in context. The effect that these issues have on the model are acknowledged, since when transferring the model to other small cities these external factors need to be considered, to identify the influence of these factors on the model.

|  |
| --- |
| Table 3‑5 Time line of primary research |
| 2017 Key informant interviews on model  2016  Surveys  2010-2016  Interviews  2009- 2010  Exploratory research and review of literature |

## Mixed methods research

Qualitative data was collected from the interviews, the surveys and the evaluation of secondary sources such as documentation and web-sites. Quantitative secondary data relating to the population and economic growth of the case study cities was used as part of the assessment of the model. In keeping with the epistemological philosophy of Pragmatism Mixed Methods research, qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to achieve valid outcomes, in a reflexive, deep and rigorous research approach (Silverman, 2000). Consideration has been given to the social context in which data is collected (Gobo, 2005, Mason, 2006) and it focuses on real situations and is an interaction between the researcher and the research subjects (Flick, 2004; Marshall & Rossman, 2014), which makes the research more credible, rather than acting as though the research is taking place in an isolated bubble. Since the research aim was to propose outcomes that will be useful in the social context it was important that the research was undertaken in a vital interactive environment that is cognisant of the real-world interactions.

Qualitative research seeks to discover the new and to develop empirically grounded theories

(Flick, 2004, p.5).

Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods has resulted in new, deeper understanding that explains, defines and provides clarity (Gobo, 2005).

### The Pragmatic Poppy Research Method

The Pragmatic Poppy Research Method (Croad, 2017) has been developed as a research tool to clarify the integration of primary and secondary data and the continuous review of literature as new data is collected, along with the analysis and coding of data, all contributing to answering the research question

The Pragmatic Poppy (Figure 3-5) shows a way to combine the review of literature from different disciplines and data collection, to structure effective and robust research to contribute to the body of knowledge and to practical, valid outcomes (Walls et al., 2010).

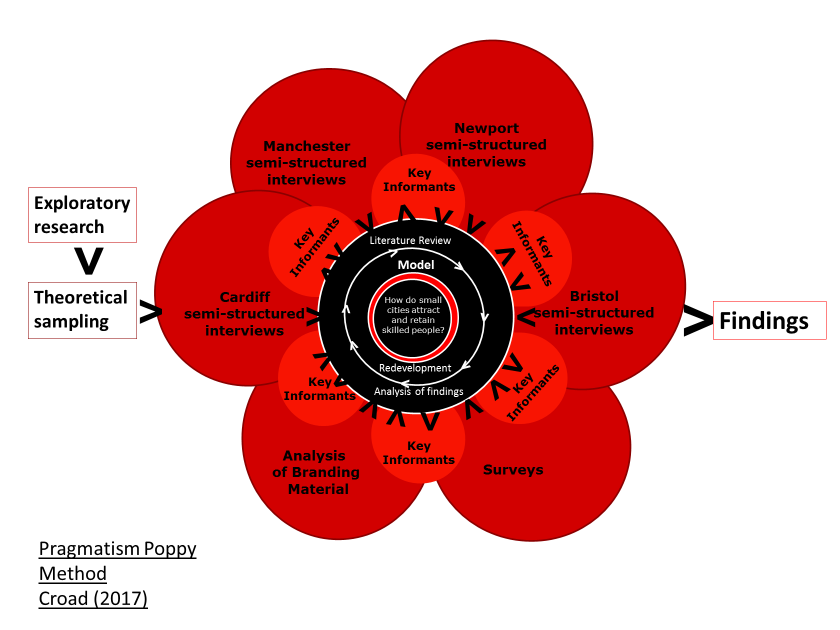


Figure 3‑4 Pragmatism Poppy Method

The Pragmatism Poppy is based on two principles, the first and the central tenet is that the research question is always central to the research methods. The second is that the research data collection methods are integrated with building on the literature and reviewing the findings, to achieve an answer to the research question, and in so doing achieving a practical outcome to the research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The iterative method has been used to develop a model based on analysing the influence of different factors on skilled people, in their decisions on where they decide to live and work. The iterative review of the literature and the model, allows an understanding of the cause-and-effect process, contextualised in the case studies (Maxwell and Delaney, 2004).

Qualitative research was undertaken in the form of semi-structured interviews with projective techniques, with individuals from the skilled classes in Manchester, Cardiff, Newport and Bristol, on which the study is based. This provided in-depth understanding of the factors that have attracted these people to these cities. This included a relatively small number of people and therefore cannot be generalised but provided an insight into the factors that are regarded as important to skilled people’s decision making. The semi-structured interviews required high researcher participation (Cooper and Schindler, 2008).

Morse (2015), ascribes the use of key informants, those people who make or influence policy, to contribute to validity in qualitative research. Key informants were used in this research to provide progress in development of the contextual framework, as well as practical experiential input to the research and then in the evaluation of the model.

The surveys were completed by a larger number of skilled people which enabled the development of the model from the conceptual framework. The responses to the open questions on the surveys were analysed to find the amenities identified by the skilled people that were of the highest importance for attracting and retaining them in the city. This allowed the amenities identified as the most important in attracting the skilled people to be categorised as Attraction Motivators in the model and the other amenities to be identified as hygiene factors. The hygiene factors based on Herzberg (1968) theory are necessary for providing the environment for skilled people to drive the economic development of the city, but not identified as attractions motivators to the city for skilled people, since they are taken for granted as being available e.g. safety (Cooper and Schindler, 2008).

The qualitative research provided more in-depth data allowing a depth of understanding of the wide variety of reasons for the decision to move to or to stay in the cities being studied, that would not be available through the use of quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Saunders et al 2009). Whilst larger numbers of people have been involved in the data collection using the surveys to collect quantitative and qualitative data, and by including greater numbers and increased data collection, a transferable model for small cities has been developed (Cooper and Schindler, 2008).

In this research 65 semi-structured Interviews with skilled people were carried out with projective techniques across the four cities and then 800 surveys were distributed, and 650 surveys were completed, which provided the data for triangulation of the research.

Assessment of the model was undertaken based on further interviews with key stakeholders providing up-to-date views, relating to Cardiff, Manchester, Bristol and Newport and through analysis of secondary sources including websites and other documentation.

### Sample strategy for mixed method research

[Marshall (1996)](#_ENREF_99), wrote about the differences in the approach to sampling between qualitative research and quantitative research. He identifies that the differences in qualitative and quantitative research is not simply in the way the data is collected, but relates to sample size and selection. He suggests that the aim of the study should dictate the appropriate method to be adopted for collection of data, and if the study, as in this case, aims to provide ‘illuminating and understanding of complex psychosocial issues,’ ([Marshall, 1996](#_ENREF_99)), then qualitative research should be used to answer the research question in this case, ‘How do small cities attract and retain skilled people?’

Positive research design needs to be open and flexible enough to allow in-depth exploration (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). With this in mind the sample strategy was designed to provide an answer to the research question in a logical, robust way within the resources available.

The sampling strategy was designed within the time, budgetary and human resources available to provide robust research findings based on well-constructed, appropriate sample size and sampling frame (Wilmot, 2005) for the multi –phase mixed method research. The outline of multi-phase sample strategy is shown in Table 3-6.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | Table ‑ The outline of multi-phase sample | | | | | | | | **Phases of**  **sample**  **strategy** | **Method** | **Sample**  **Techniques** | **Sample size** | **Sampling**  **frame** | **Data collection** | **Data Analysis** | | **1** Qualitative  research | Semi-  structured interviews with skilled  people | Non-  probability  Purposive  Theoretical | 46  Theoretical  Saturation | Constructed  frame  Snowballing | Recording interviews. Projective technique, completing a life  chart | Open coding | | 2 Qualitative  research | Key  informants | Non-  Probability  Purposive  Judgemental | 11 interviews | Constructed  frame  Snowballing | Recording interviews or taking notes Discussing their  views on the conceptual framework and city branding. | Open coding, integration  into conceptual model | | 3 Qualitative  Research | Surveys | Non  -probability  Convenience sampling | 150-200 surveys in each case study city: Manchester, Bristol, Cardiff, Newport | Constructed  frame  Geographical clusters | Face-to-face  delivering and  on-line |  | | 4 Quantitative  and Qualitative  Research | Assessment of model | Non-  Probability | undertaking reviews of the cities branding material, amenities, and interviews with key informants | Constructed frame | Branding material available for the case study cities. Information available on the web and from information collected during interviews | Comparison of the factors identified as the most attractive in the surveys with the factors highlighted in interviews, web-sites and documentation. Compare the correlation between the attraction factors identified in the surveys and those communicated in the city and in the interviews with growth in population, and GVA | |

#### Sampling Techniques

Non-probability sampling was used in this research as the aim of the research was not to produce statistical inference, but to uncover phenomenon that are relevant to answering the research question (Wilmot, 2005([Marshall and Rossman, 2014](#_ENREF_98))).

Purposive sampling was used to collect data, where the characteristics of individuals were used as the basis of selection (Marshall and Rossman, 2014)

#### Sample strategy

The sample strategy identified as appropriate for this research for the qualitative research is theoretical and judgement sampling for the interviews and convenience sampling for the surveys.

The qualitative research sample strategy follows both a judgemental sample and theoretical sample, the different gender and life stages are included in all four cities, the aim was to recruit a minimum of 50 semi structured interviews with skilled people at phase 1 to ensure the views of all theoretical categories identified are included at the qualitative stage of the research. Judgement was used in arranging interviews with people who were in occupations that fitted the skilled criteria and that were accessible to meet in the time-frame. Theoretical and judgemental sampling allows considerable flexibility according to Morse (1991).

The semi structured interviewees identified in Table 3-4 were found through recommendations using the snowball framing method of recruiting participants.

#### Sampling frame

The sampling frame has been identified in the four stages of the adapted Grounded Theory research process.

A comprehensive sample frame for the qualitative and quantitative research is not available and so had to be created (Wilmot, 2005).

The sampling frame has been constructed, recruiting potential respondents who fulfil the sample criteria and the overall sampling strategy. (Wilmot, 2005.p6)

This has been done on a geographical basis, focusing on the case study cities and using snowballing, where respondents introduce other respondents who have the characteristics of being skilled people living or working in the case study cities (Heckathorn, 2011). Although this has the disadvantage of being prone to bias because the subjects are connected, it was the most effective way of recruiting interviewees and it did have the advantage that because the interviewees were introduced to the interviewer by someone they knew or the interviewees knew the interviewer, there was trust and therefore the interviews were very open and provided a depth of information, that would not have been achieved with interviewees who did not have some knowledge and confidence in the interviewer.

#### Sample size

The sample size for the qualitative research has been identified as sixty five interviews as part of the collection of primary data; consisting of people from the six life-stages identified by Gilly and Enis (1982), of both genders and those identified as not included in these groups, such as those that identify themselves as single parents. These groups are identified in each of the four case study cities, these groups represent the main accessible characteristics identified as relevant to this research and are the theoretical sample. There are other life style characteristics that may impact on decision-making of where people choose to live, but due to ethical considerations, lifestyle choices such as sexual orientation, are not included as variables on which subjects were questioned.

Although it is appreciated that for qualitative research the representative sample can be flexible, Marshall (1996 p.523) suggests that,

in practice, the number of required subjects usually becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanation stop emerging from the data (data saturation).

Wilmot (2005) suggests 20-50 interviews for one-to-one interviews, depending on available resources. This allows depth and breadth in the research, whilst being manageable to collect and analyse.

Marshall (1996) goes further to clarify why studying relatively small samples in qualitative research is valid, because as he explains if the purpose of qualitative research is not to achieve generalisability but transferability, then the size of the sample is not as important as the richness of the information to identify the themes and variables relating to the research question. The sample size for the qualitative data collection, which in this research is in the form of semi-structured interviews, has been identified as sixty-five interviews based on the theoretical sampling, but as themes are repeated in the interviews without any new themes being voiced, it is recognised at that stage that the optimum sample size has been reached. This is identified as data saturation (Urquhart, 2013).

The sample selection criteria for the quantitative research was dictated by resources, although it is recognised that ideally a stratified random sample of all those people who have lived or worked in the case study cities, over the past 10 years would be a robust sample; (10 years being the decade when there has been considerable relevant change in the cities, both in development and facilities e.g. the development of Cardiff Bay and changes in the economy including the economic downturn of 2008). The resources are not available to undertake such a sample selection here, therefore having evaluated the success of the completion of surveys at the Businet conference as documented in part 3.4.1.3 of this document, I plan to emulate this process by identifying locations in all four cities where the people will have some time to complete the surveys, and are in a situation that they can be approached and asked to complete the surveys without any obligation. A total of 800 surveys were distributed in hard copy in the hospitals and airports of the four case study cities as set out in Table 3.7:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Location of survey distribution | | | | | |
| Case  study  city | Location  Airport | Surveys  completed in location | Location 2  Hospital | Surveys completed in location | Total number of surveys completed |
| Cardiff | Cardiff  Airport | 7 | University  of Wales  Hospital,  Cardiff | 158 | 165 |
| Newport | No  Airport |  | Royal Gwent  Hospital | 180 | 180 |
| Manchester | Manchester  Airport | 71 | Manchester  Royal  Infirmary | 87 | 158 |
| Bristol | Bristol  Airport  Airport | 31 | Bristol Royal Infirmary | 107 | 138 |
| Total  surveys |  | 109 |  | 432 | 641 |

200 surveys were taken to each case study city by the researcher and distributed over a day in each place. Hospitals and airports were chosen for distribution of the surveys because they provide places for convenience sampling of a range of people. In the airports there are travellers, airport staff and people collecting travellers from the airport and in hospitals there are staff working at the hospitals, patients and visitors, in both locations the people are from all life-stages and genders. The surveys were distributed by hand in canteens and restaurants in airports and hospitals. People were approached and asked to complete the survey, given a pen to complete the survey and the surveys were collected from the tables. The advantage of these locations is that people were often spending time in the restaurants and had time to complete the surveys, 80.12% (641) of the 800 surveys that were distributed were completed and returned which is a high level of response. These venues provide a broad spectrum of people, with no gender bias. The skill levels of the people completing the surveys was not identified until the surveys were completed. The data from skilled and unskilled participants is included in the analysis.

#### Triangulation

The data collection was in four phases, each of which will provide a different perspective on the question, therefore allowing the opportunity for triangulation between the different data collection outcomes. Data collection included the use of key informant interviews ([Marshall, 1996](#_ENREF_99)).

Key informants provided a rich information source supplementing the literature review with contemporary views from those working in senior management and policy making positions. The people chosen were in positions of leadership and responsibility within the cities of Cardiff, Newport, Manchester and Bristol; they included politicians and other policy makers, such as senior local authority officers and elected leaders, academics and business leaders from the private and public sectors.

These people were chosen because they were from the key areas highlighted in the literature of economic development, economic geography and city branding. The interviews focused on the conceptual framework of economic development of small cities with skilled people as a driver and how to attract and retain these people. The key informants were asked to comment on the conceptual framework, discuss the most attractive and retention factors of the case-study cities of which they had a depth of knowledge and comment on the policies of the cities relating to the conceptual framework and the model.

The semi-structured interviews with skilled people from different life-stages and genders in the 4 case study cities, the surveys and literature review provided the research data for triangulation.

#### Methods of recording data collection

The interviews were recorded on a digital audio recorder or an I-phone, transcribed and saved in NVivo, a data-base programme specifically to assist in qualitative research analysis.

The interviews were analysed and the main themes of the interviews were used to develop the conceptual framework and as the basis for the statements included in the surveys.

A survey (Appendix 3-2) was produced which included 5 open questions, demographic information on the participants and statements based on the findings of the interviews. The surveys provide further validity and reliability to the findings (Scapens, 2004).

The statements in the surveys use a five-point scale on which 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree adapted from the Likert scale (Albaum, 1997) to provide data to triangulate against the qualitative interviews and open questions in the survey data, literature and the web-site and documentation collected.

## Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative data was analysed using NVivo, Excel and SPSS as well as manual analysis.

### Semi-structured interviews analysis using coding methods based on grounded theory

Using Adapted Grounded theory, each interview with skilled people was coded line by line, using the open coding technique. This was followed by selective coding, finding commonalities in the open coding to identify categories. This was further analysed combining the findings with the literature reviewed to identify theoretical groupings from the selective categories, coming from the coding (Urquhart, 2013). These were used to develop the conceptual framework and as the basis for the statements in the surveys

Table 3‑8 sets out the excerpt of open coding nodes used in NVivo

|  |
| --- |
|  |

An example of the open coding, that was used initially to analyse the semi-structured interviews, was a node titled employment, which relates to all statement relating to employment. The node being a category identified in NVIVO as a topic, into which lines from the interviews, that relate to the topic of employment, are collected together to identify themes or groups. The initial node, or category is then broken into several sub-nodes as lines of the interviews are identified to have sub-topics in common, such as the sub-node, ‘job satisfaction’; a statement may be in this sub-node:

I came here because I had an opportunity to work in a speciality that I am really interested in…

Another sub-node in this Bonding category could be: ‘career development’; and a statement in this sub-node is:

I came here because I was offered a really good promotion and I have potential to develop my career….

This analysis of all the interviews line by line and then further analysis to reorder groupings of sub-nodes was undertaken to make higher level category nodes and merging nodes into themes, these themes were the basis for developing the contextual framework and identifying which statements to use in the surveys.

### Key informants Semi-structured interviews analysis using coding methods based on grounded theory

The key informants’ views on the conceptual framework and their views on the attraction and retention factors were integrated into the conceptual framework and used to inform the literature review. The interviews were analysed using coding methods and also using the notes taken during the interviews directly relating to the conceptual framework.

An example of this is the inclusion of the narrative in branding which was added after comment from a key informant and with further reference to literature, where narrative is identified as an important part of attracting people to cities (Vanola, 2008; Morgan et.al. 2011).

The key informants contributed to building the conceptual framework, and then were used to assess the model developed with further interviews asking their views on the model’s stages.

### Survey analysis using coding methods based on grounded theory

Analysing the answers from the surveys was undertaken using SPSS, NVivo and Excel. Responses to each of the five open questions in the survey were coded using SPSS. The first question in the survey is ‘What attracted you to live there?’

This question has been analysed into four columns in SPSS named 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d. The question was answered in varying levels of detail, some people giving one word answers such as born here, whilst others gave more detailed answers as seen in Table 3-9 below, which shows an example of some answers and how the qualitative data was categorised for further analysis in SPSS. A list of 87 categories have been identified by repeatedly refining the analysis of the responses to the four open questions in the survey relating to what attracts people to cities.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table 3‑9 Question 1, ‘What attracted you to live there?’ Analysis** | | | | |
| What attracted you to live there | Attraction 1a | Attraction 1b | Attraction 1c | Attraction 1d |
| family, friends, affordable housing, job opportunities | family | friends | Affordable  housing | Job  opportunities |
| near city centre,  Trafford centre,  good parks  , schools and shops | near city centre | shopping | green space | education |
| location between work and family | good location | employment | family |  |
| grew up, born, family | grew up here | born here | family |  |
| better environment, better school, can access facilities like hospital care straight away | better environment | education | facilities | hospitals and health care |
| family here | family |  |  |  |
| near to centre of Manchester | near city centre |  |  |  |
| close to work | employment |  |  |  |
| **Table 3‑9 Question 1, ‘What attracted you to live there?’ Analysis (continued)** | | | | |
| born here, however it is a fun and lively city | born here | Fun | lively city |  |
| employment, cosmopolitan, gastronomy | employment | culture | restaurants |  |
| Job | employment |  |  |  |
| I was living in Manchester as a student | university |  |  |  |
| peaceful close to the sea | calm and peaceful | physical factors mountains sea |  |  |
| moved there aged 12 with parents, studied my degree locally worked locally, kind of drifted would prefer to live in a big city but not London | grew up here | university | employment | size |
| peaceful close to the sea | calm and peaceful | physical factors mountains sea |  |  |

The data has then been further recoded into groups as the basis of building theory, Excel was used in conjunction with SPSS to analyse the data and present the findings. The number of times each coded response e.g. employment, was given throughout all the surveys and the coded responses were categorised in order of the number of times they occurred. The five factors with the highest number of responses in the survey were identified as the Attraction Motivators.

All the data was transferred to NVivo for inclusion in further analysis of the qualitative data. The data from skilled and unskilled participants was separated using SPSS, based on occupation and academic achievement data.

### **Assessment of the model**

The model components were assessed using further semi structured interviews with key informants where they were asked to comment on the model in relation to the case study cities. An example of this is an interview with one of the leaders, the head of the fire-service, who was asked if there was co-operation between leaders in the city he was stationed in and he replied there was good co-operation and so the maximum index score was achieved for that city.

In conjunction with the interviews, websites and documentation relating to the case study cities were analysed using NVivo to assess the model and compare the adherence to the model of the cities policies using an index. The findings are documented and discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

## Ethical considerations

All participants in the research were treated with respect and their information was anonymised. Each person that was interviewed was provided with an information sheet, explaining the purpose of the research and that the data they provided would be anonymous ([Kelman, 1982](#_ENREF_87)) (See Appendix 3.3). The participants were informed that they can withdraw from the research at any time with no negative repercussions ([Ritchie et al., 2013](#_ENREF_126)).

The importance of ethical considerations is an integral part of the research, the research has been undertaken ensuring that all participants, including supervisory staff and myself as researcher, have a positive experience. The research was approved by the University’s ethics committee (Appendix 3-4)

## ****Summary****

Chapter 3 has addressed Objective 2 to develop a research design from the epistemological stance of Pragmatism, to meet the aim and objectives of the research.

In the next chapter objective 3 and 4 are met which are to identify the key Attraction Motivators that attracts and retains skilled people, to small cities, through analysis of the surveys in the four case study cities and to Identify if Attraction Motivators are significantly different at different life- stages ([Gilly and Enis, 1982](#_ENREF_61)), for different genders, or for different cities.

Chapter 4 also answers the research questions, ‘What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people?’ and ‘Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. life-stage, gender, geographical location have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?’

# [Findings and analysis of survey data](#Chapter4)

## Introduction

In Chapter 3 Objective 2 was addressed to develop a research design from the epistemological stance of Pragmatism, to achieve the research aim and develop practical outcomes. This chapter delivers objectives 3 and 4 which are to identify the key Attraction Motivators that attracts and retains skilled people to small cities, through analysis of the surveys in the four case study cities and to identify if Attraction Motivators are significantly different at different life- stages ([Gilly and Enis, 1982](#_ENREF_61)), for different genders, or for different cities.

Chapter 4 also answers the research questions, ‘What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people?’ and ‘Do skilled people with different characteristics e.g. life-stage, gender, geographical location have different views on Attraction Motivators for small cities?’

This chapter presents the findings based on surveys undertaken in each of the case study cities which have been recorded and analysed to find the key motivational factors (Herzberg, 1966) that attract and retain skilled people to small cities; these have been called Attraction Motivators for brevity and clarity.

The findings are not being reported in the sequential order they were undertaken; they are organised to provide clarity in addressing the aims and objectives of the thesis.

## Findings and analysis of survey open questions and demographics

In the first part of the survey, participants were asked in different ways, using open questions, why they are attracted to a city. The different questions provide respondents’ behavioural and aspirational views and experiences. All responses were analysed to identify the key factors that attract and retain skilled people to small cities, the fourth objective.

To address the fifth objective, the skilled people’s responses for each life-stage were compared, followed by comparing the skilled men’s and skilled women’s responses for each question, and then a comparison of attraction motivator factors between the case study city was made.

Finally, the Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people were compared, using the total responses for the questions in the survey, to find the similarities and differences between skilled and unskilled peoples’ Attraction Motivators.

## Survey findings and analysis background

Survey data was collected in airports and hospitals in Cardiff, Newport, Bristol and Manchester from skilled and unskilled respondents as shown in Table 4-1.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Total number of surveys completed | | |
| Location | Frequency | Percentage |
| Cardiff airport | 11 | 1.1 |
| Cardiff UHW | 162 | 24.6 |
| Newport GRI | 184 | 28.1 |
| Bristol airport | 34 | 4.8 |
| Bristol BRI | 113 | 16.7 |
| Manchester airport | 74 | 11.1 |
| Manchester MRI | 88 | 13.6 |
| Total | 666 | 100 |
| Missing | 159 |  |
| Total | 800 |  |

The data shows the locations from which the surveys were conducted. It was planned to have 100 surveys completed in each city by skilled people, in order to achieve this number 172 survey were collected in Cardiff, 184 in Newport, 147 in Bristol and 162 in Manchester, these surveys were completed by skilled and unskilled people. This resulted in a total of 666 surveys being completed, of which 513 were completed by skilled people.

Skilled people were categorised by those who have academic qualifications of a Bachelor’s degree or higher (Glaeser, 2012), and, or are in an occupation that is recognised as skilled by Asheim et al. (2011). Unskilled people also completed the survey, because it was not possible to differentiate skilled and unskilled people prior to them completing the survey. Therefore, a higher number of surveys were completed in order to obtain enough data relating to skilled people.

A combination of definitions of skilled people was used, because whilst collecting the data it was identified that if only academic qualifications were used, many people who were skilled e.g. entrepreneur leading successful businesses, would not be included in the skilled people category, which would not make sense. Similarly, if occupation was the only basis for identifying skilled people, then highly qualified people, not working at present e.g. full-time mothers with degrees and higher qualifications, would not be included as skilled people. Therefore, a combination of occupation and qualifications, from the survey data, was used to identify if the participant in the survey was skilled or unskilled. Table 4-2 provides examples of the categorisation used in this research of skilled and unskilled participants, programmed in SPSS, based on occupation and level of education data from the survey.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑2 Skilled and unskilled categorisation | | |
| Education | Occupation | skilled/unskilled |
| Post graduate Qualification | Mother | skilled |
| professional qualification | Professional advisor in HE | skilled |
| Post-Grad qualification | Sales | skilled |
| professional qualification | retail manager | skilled |
| Degree | retired but was lecturer and homeopath | skilled |
| Degree | retired company director | skilled |
| Other | ward based pharmacy tech. | unskilled |
| Degree | clinical specialist | skilled |
| HND | Administrator | unskilled |

## Demographic information of the participant

Table 4-3 shows the findings obtained from eight age groups of respondents. Over 22% of the respondents are in the 18-24 age group. Groups of respondents aged 25-30 and 31-39 were in similar proportion of between 18% and 20% of respondents, the groups aged 40-45 were a smaller percentage at 13%. The older age group over 45 had a lower representation in the research, which should be considered when analysing the data, since over 70% are under 45 years therefore there is bias towards younger people.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Age of respondents | | |
| Age groups | Frequency | Percent |
| 18-24 | 109 | 22.2 |
| 25-30 | 91 | 18.5 |
| 31-39 | 98 | 20.0 |
| 40-45 | 64 | 13.0 |
| 46-50 | 33 | 6.7 |
| 51-55 | 30 | 6.1 |
| 56-60 | 26 | 5.3 |
| 61+ | 40 | 8.1 |
| Total | 491 | 100.0 |
| Missing | 22 |  |
|  | 513 |  |

The data collected was not in equal proportions for men and women. There is a bias towards the number of women that took part in the survey as shown in Table 4-4, 55.9% of the respondents were female and 44.1% male.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑4 Gender Response | | |
|  | Frequency | Valid Percent |
| Female | 270 | 55.9 |
| Male | 213 | 44.1 |
| Total | 483 | 100.0 |
| Missing | 30 |  |
|  | 513 |  |

Of the 513 participants identified as skilled people, 90% have achieved an educational level of a degree or higher qualification. The remaining 10% have not achieved or recorded an educational level of degree or above, but have an occupation identified in the Asheim et al., (2011), classification of skilled people qualifications and are therefore included as skilled people (see Table 4-5 below).

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Education levels of skilled respondents | | |
|  | Frequency | Valid Percent |
| Other | 24 | 4.9 |
| HND | 25 | 5.1 |
| Degree | 196 | 39.9 |
| professional qualification | 124 | 25.3 |
| post Grad qualification | 122 | 24.8 |
| Total | 491 | 100.0 |
| Not completed | 22 |  |
|  | 513 |  |

Table 4-6 shows the responses obtained from participants at different life-stages. 30.4% of participants are single, 23.3% are couples with no children. 14.5% are couples with young children under 6 years of age and 16.9% are couples with children between the ages of 7-20 years old living at home. 10.1% are couples whose children have left home. The last group called ‘other’, are 4.8% of respondents, these are people who do not identify with any of the groups, they include single parents, couples with children in age range other than those defined and couples with children over 20 years of age living at home.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Life-stages of respondents | | |
|  | Frequency | Percent |
| Single | 151 | 30.4 |
| couple no children | 116 | 23.3 |
| couple young children under 6 | 72 | 14.5 |
| couple children 7-20 living at home | 84 | 16.9 |
| couple children left home | 50 | 10.1 |
| Other | 24 | 4.8 |
| Total | 497 | 100.0 |
| Missing | 16 |  |
| Total | 513 |  |

### Findings and analysis of the responses obtained in the survey relating to the Attraction Motivators of cities

The survey findings and analysis relating to the factors identified by the participants as motivational in attracting them to a city, is based on the responses given to the open questions in the survey which are listed in Table 4-7 (Copy of survey Appendix 3-2). Participants’ survey responses to these questions have been analysed using SPSS in conjunction with Excel.

In Table 4-7 the six questions (high-lighted in red) in the survey, have been subdivided into the number of responses given by interviewees that have been coded for analysis in SPSS.

The survey questions asked the participant, what they found attractive about a city in different ways. Questions 1 and 2 in Table 4-7 are asking behavioural questions about what participants have done. Questions 3, 4 and 5 are conceptual questions about what respondents say they want and question 6 is asking for their opinions. Asking the participants about what attracts them to a city in different ways provides robust data on which to base the research.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Table 4‑7 Survey open questions and analysis structure** | |
| **1** | **What attracted you to live there?** |
| 1a | First response to, ‘What attracted you to live there?’ |
| 1b | Second response to. ‘What attracted you to live there?’ |
| 1c | Third response to. ‘What attracted you to live there?’ |
| 1d | Fourth response to. ‘What attracted you to live there?’ |
| **2** | **Will you stay in the city? if you are planning on moving, why and where are you going?** |
| 2a | First response to, ’Why are you moving?’ |
| 2b | Second response to, ’Why are you moving?’ |
| **3** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** |
| 3a | First response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3b | Second response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3c | Third response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3d | Fourth response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3e | Fifth response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3f | Sixth response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| 3g | Seventh response to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you? |
| **4** | **What would put you off living in a city?** |
| 4a | First response, ‘What would put you off living in a city? |
| 4b | Second response, ‘What would put you off living in a city? |
| **5** | **Name the city you would find most attractive to live in and explain why** |
| 5a | First attractive city |
| 5b | Second attractive city |
| 5c | First response Please name the city you would find most attractive to live in and explain why |
| 5d | Second response Please name the city you would find most attractive to live in and explain why |
| 5e | Third response Please name the city you would find most attractive to live in and explain why |
| **6 (a,b,c,d)** | **Please give any other comments to contribute to my research about what you think makes skilled people attracted to places** |

## 

## The Motivational Attractors for small cities

Employment is the priority attraction motivational factor for small cities in the research with 15% of all responses from skilled people throughout the research identifying employment as the attraction motivator for the city (Table 4-8). This confirms the theories of Peck (2005), Storper (2013), Glaeser (2002), that employment is essential to attract and retain skilled people in cities. Although employment is the first priority, Social Life is very close at 11% of responses, number two attraction motivator for small cities, making it the second most important reason for people wanting to live or work in a small city, this supports Florida’s (2010) theory that employment is important, but also the social factors, soft factors, are important to attract and retain skilled people to cities. The third attraction motivator, culture is another soft factor (Brown et al., 2010), identified as high in importance for making a small city attractive with 8% of responses, also with 8% of responses infrastructure is a key attraction motivator for small cities. Family, with 6% of responses was a key attraction motivator for small cities, which supports the findings of Dainov and Sauka (2010) that personal trajectory, where you have personal connections is an important factor in deciding where you decide to live.

These findings indicate that policy makers need to provide a thick labour market (Brown et al.,, 2010) and to take heed of the ideas of Florida et al. (2006) about making the city friendly and appealing to skilled people, providing interesting things for them to do and places for them to meet and socialise, to engage with the city and the culture. It also shows that it is very important for policy makers to invest in good public transport, roads, rail and air travel to attract and retain skilled people in small cities. The family element also needs to be addressed by policy makers providing employment opportunities and affordable accommodation to allow families to remain in the small city near family, if they want to. Table 4-8 represents the quantitative data while Figure 4-1 represents the data in diagrammatical form.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑8 Attraction Motivators for small cities | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | **What attracted you to live there** | **Why are you attracted to another city?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why is the city attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | **% of total responses** |
| 1 | Employment | 154 | 47 | 112 | 14 | 134 | 461 | 15 |
| 2 | Social life | 53 | 1 | 184 | 32 | 51 | 321 | 11 |
| 3 | Culture | 69 | 3 | 121 | 42 | 24 | 259 | 8 |
| 4 | Infrastructure | 63 |  | 125 | 12 | 42 | 242 | 8 |
| 5 | Family | 111 | 14 | 38 | 16 | 15 | 194 | 6 |
| 6 | Facilities | 24 |  | 77 | 12 | 16 | 129 | 4 |
| 7 | Physical factors mountains sea | 40 | 4 | 40 | 22 | 4 | 110 | 4 |
| 8 | Education | 31 | 11 | 38 | 2 | 25 | 107 | 4 |
| 9 | University | 73 | 7 | 16 | 4 | 5 | 105 | 3 |
| 10 | better environment | 10 |  | 75 | 11 | 5 | 101 | 3 |
| 11 | Shopping | 17 |  | 69 |  | 9 | 95 | 3 |
| 12 | Size | 23 | 5 | 23 | 37 |  | 88 | 3 |
| 13 | Grew up here | 55 |  | 7 | 14 |  | 76 | 2 |
| 14 | Born here | 72 |  | 1 |  |  | 73 | 2 |
| 15 | Safety | 7 |  | 41 | 4 | 8 | 60 | 2 |
| 16 | Friends | 25 | 2 | 22 | 4 | 2 | 55 | 2 |
| 17 | Restaurant | 8 |  | 38 |  | 3 | 49 | 2 |
| 18 | Prosperous | 1 |  | 7 | 9 | 24 | 41 | 1 |
| 19 | Affordable housing | 12 | 1 | 8 |  | 18 | 39 | 1 |
| 20 | Accommodation | 11 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 12 | 38 | 1 |
| 21 | Beautiful | 7 |  | 10 | 20 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| 22 | Quality of life | 11 | 1 | 15 |  | 8 | 35 | 1 |
| 23 | Diversity | 3 |  | 14 | 9 | 8 | 34 | 1 |
| 24 | Other | 6 | 1 | 4 | 12 | 11 | 34 | 1 |
| 25 | Cost of living | 3 |  | 11 |  | 11 | 25 | 1 |
| 26 | History | 2 |  | 12 | 9 | 2 | 25 | 1 |
| 27 | Weather | 3 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 3 | 24 | 1 |
| 28 | Affordability | 3 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 23 | 1 |
| 29 | Attractive to businesses | 5 |  | 6 |  | 10 | 21 | 1 |
| 30 | Moving to London |  | 21 |  |  |  | 21 | 1 |
| 31 | Arts |  |  | 13 | 2 | 2 | 17 | 1 |
| 32 | Near city centre | 12 |  | 4 |  | 1 | 17 | 1 |
| 33 | Lifestyle | 4 |  | 6 |  | 6 | 16 | 1 |
| 34 | Buildings |  |  | 13 | 1 |  | 14 | 0 |
| 35 | Like-minded people |  |  |  |  | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Table 4-8 Attraction Motivators for small cities (continued) | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | Reputation | 2 |  | 2 |  | 6 | 10 | 0 |
| 37 | Creativity | 2 |  | 4 |  | 3 | 9 | 0 |
| 38 | Continuous improvement | 1 |  | 4 |  | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| 39 | Retiring |  | 5 |  | 1 |  | 6 | 0 |
| 40 | Independent shops and or restaurants |  |  | 4 |  |  | 4 | 0 |
| 41 | Leadership |  |  | 2 |  | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 42 | Technology | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 42 | Down-sizing |  | 2 |  |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| 43 | Research opportunities | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 44 | Customers |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 45 | Life-work balance |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
|  | Total | 925 | 133 | 1190 | 307 | 490 | 3045 | 100 |
|  | % of total | 30 | 4 | 39 | 10 | 16 | 100 |  |

Figure 4‑1 Attraction Motivators for small cities

## Life-stage comparison of Attraction Motivators

The highest attraction motivator for the life-stages single, couples, couples with young children, couples with children between 7-20 years old living at home and couples with children who have left home is employment (Tables 4-9 and 4-10).

All life-stages have social life, culture, infrastructure and family in the highest 10 priorities, (Table 4-9) with some variations such as university being in the top Attraction Motivators for single people and some couples. This corresponds with findings by [Pareja-Eastaway et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_117) who also found that

***Higher education and research may not only contribute to attracting talented people, but also to retaining them after graduation...***

(Paraja-Eataway, Bontje et al., 2010 page 205)

Most skilled people have studied in university and have been attracted or retained to a city by university. In later life-stages other motivators are identified as important Attraction Motivators, such as education for couples with young children and history for older couples whose children have left home.

The life-stage Attraction Motivators are similar but do differ considerably with priorities changing at different life-stages, which will be important for policy makers to consider.

Tables 4-9 and 4-10 and Figure 4.2 set out Comparison of Motivational Attractors at different Life-stages Table 4-11 sets out the Comparison of life-stages’ top Attraction Motivators, measured in percentage of responses.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑9 Life-stage – Comparison of Motivational Attractors at different  Life-stages:Singles, couples no children, couples young children 6 years and younger | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **singles** | **total responses** | **% of total responses** | |  | | **couples no children** | | **total responses** | | **% of total responses** | |  | | **couple young children 6 and under** | | | **total responses** | | **% of total responses** | |
| employment | 155 | 17 | |  | | employment | | 109 | | 16 | |  | | employment | | | 55 | | 13 | |
| social life | 113 | 13 | |  | | social life | | 76 | | 11 | |  | | culture | | | 35 | | 8 | |
| culture | 100 | 11 | |  | | infrastructure | | 65 | | 9 | |  | | education | | | 34 | | 8 | |
| university | 67 | 7 | |  | | culture | | 61 | | 9 | |  | | social life | | | 33 | | 8 | |
| infrastructure | 65 | 7 | |  | | family | | 46 | | 7 | |  | | infrastructure | | | 32 | | 8 | |
| family | 42 | 5 | |  | | better environment | | 31 | | 4 | |  | | Family | | | 25 | | 6 | |
| shopping | 41 | 5 | |  | | shopping | | 29 | | 4 | |  | | facilities | | | 22 | | 5 | |
| size | 39 | 4 | |  | | facilities | | 24 | | 3 | |  | | physical factors mountains sea | | | 17 | | 4 | |
| better environment | 29 | 3 | |  | | size | | 22 | | 3 | |  | | grew up here | | | 16 | | 4 | |
| facilities | 27 | 3 | |  | | physical factors mountains sea | | 21 | | 3 | |  | | better environment | | | 15 | | 4 | |
| physical factors mountains sea | 20 | 2 | |  | | university | | 21 | | 3 | |  | | shopping | | | 15 | | 4 | |
| restaurants | 20 | 2 | |  | | friends | | 16 | | 2 | |  | | born here | | | 13 | | 3 | |
| grew up here | 18 | 2 | |  | | education | | 15 | | 2 | |  | | safety | | | 10 | | 2 | |
| friends | 16 | 2 | |  | | grew up here | | 14 | | 2 | |  | | size | | | 10 | | 2 | |
| safety | 16 | 2 | |  | | born here | | 13 | | 2 | |  | | accommodation | | | 7 | | 2 | |
| education | 14 | 2 | |  | | beautiful | | 12 | | 2 | |  | | affordable housing | | | 7 | | 2 | |
| born here | 13 | 1 | |  | | affordable housing | | 11 | | 2 | |  | | friends | | | 7 | | 2 | |
| quality of life | 12 | 1 | |  | | restaurants | | 11 | | 2 | |  | | prosperous | | | 7 | | 2 | |
| affordability | 11 | 1 | |  | | cost of living | | 10 | | 1 | |  | | quality of life | | | 6 | | 1 | |
| accommodation | 8 | 1 | |  | | safety | | 10 | | 1 | |  | | restaurants | | | 6 | | 1 | |
| cost of living | 7 | 1 | |  | | affordability | | 8 | | 1 | |  | | beautiful | | | 5 | | 1 | |
| other | 7 | 1 | |  | | diversity | | 8 | | 1 | |  | | other | | | 5 | | 1 | |
| prosperous | 7 | 1 | |  | | history | | 8 | | 1 | |  | | history | | | 4 | | 1 | |
| diversity | 6 | 1 | |  | | prosperous | | 8 | | 1 | |  | | university | | | 4 | | 1 | |
| arts | 5 | 1 | |  | | quality of life | | 7 | | 1 | |  | | arts | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| buildings | 5 | 1 | |  | | accommodation | | 5 | | 1 | |  | | attractive to businesses | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| lifestyle | 5 | 1 | |  | | other | | 5 | | 1 | |  | | continuous improvement | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| weather | 5 | 1 | |  | | attractive to businesses | | 4 | | 1 | |  | | cost of living | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| attractive to businesses | 4 | 0 | |  | | lifestyle | | 3 | | 0 | |  | | creativity | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| history | 4 | 0 | |  | | arts | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | diversity | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| beautiful | 3 | 0 | |  | | buildings | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | weather | | | 3 | | 1 | |
| affordable housing | 2 | 0 | |  | | creativity | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | lifestyle | | | 2 | | 0 | |
| creativity | 2 | 0 | |  | | like minded people | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | near city centre | | | 2 | | 0 | |
| reputation | 2 | 0 | |  | | reputation | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | affordability | | | 1 | | 0 | |
| continuous improvement | 1 | 0 | |  | | weather | | 2 | | 0 | |  | | buildings | | | 1 | | 0 | |
| independent shops and or restaurants | 1 | 0 | |  | | continuous improvement | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | like minded people | | | 1 | | 0 | |
| leadership | 1 | 0 | |  | | life work balance | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | reputation | | | 1 | | 0 | |
| life work balance | 1 | 0 | |  | | near city centre | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | research opportunities | | | 1 | | 0 | |
| near city centre | 1 | 0 | |  | | research opportunities | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | independent shops and or restaurants | | | 0 | | 0 | |
| research opportunities | 1 | 0 | |  | | technology | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | total responses | | | 420 | | 100 | |
| technology | 1 | 0 | |  | | independent shops and or restaurants | | 0 | | 0 | |  | | % of total responses | | | 100 | |  | |
| total | 897 | 100 | |  | | total responses | | 690 | | 100 | |  | |  | | |  | |  | |
| % of total | 100 |  | |  | | % total responses | | 100 | |  | |  | |  | | |  | |  | |
| Table 4‑10 Life-stage – Comparison of Motivational Attractors  at different Life-stages (continued) Couples with children 7-20 years , couples whose children have left home, other group. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Couple children 7-20** | **Total responses** | | **% of total responses** | |  | | Couples children left home | | Total responses | | % of total responses | |  | | Other | Total responses | | % total responses | |
| employment | 67 | | 15 | |  | | employment | | 45 | | 15 | |  | | culture | 17 | | 11 | |
| Family | 35 | | 8 | |  | | infrastructure | | 30 | | 10 | |  | | family | 15 | | 10 | |
| infrastructure | 35 | | 8 | |  | | Family | | 22 | | 7 | |  | | employment | 14 | | 9 | |
| social life | 28 | | 6 | |  | | culture | | 17 | | 6 | |  | | shopping | 13 | | 9 | |
| facilities | 26 | | 6 | |  | | shopping | | 17 | | 6 | |  | | social life | 13 | | 9 | |
| education | 22 | | 5 | |  | | social life | | 17 | | 6 | |  | | facilities | 11 | | 7 | |
| physical factors mountains sea | 22 | | 5 | |  | | facilities | | 16 | | 5 | |  | | infrastructure | 10 | | 7 | |
| culture | 20 | | 5 | |  | | better environment | | 11 | | 4 | |  | | born here | 6 | | 4 | |
| shopping | 17 | | 4 | |  | | born here | | 11 | | 4 | |  | | education | 6 | | 4 | |
| born here | 16 | | 4 | |  | | education | | 11 | | 4 | |  | | physical factors mountains sea | 6 | | 4 | |
| grew up here | 14 | | 3 | |  | | physical factors mountains sea | | 11 | | 4 | |  | | near city centre | 5 | | 3 | |
| better environment | 13 | | 3 | |  | | grew up here | | 9 | | 3 | |  | | grew up here | 4 | | 3 | |
| size | 11 | | 3 | |  | | safety | | 9 | | 3 | |  | | diversity | 3 | | 2 | |
| other | 10 | | 2 | |  | | accommodation | | 7 | | 2 | |  | | accommodation | 2 | | 1 | |
| safety | 10 | | 2 | |  | | history | | 7 | | 2 | |  | | affordable housing | 2 | | 1 | |
| diversity | 8 | | 2 | |  | | affordable housing | | 6 | | 2 | |  | | better environment | 2 | | 1 | |
| friends | 8 | | 2 | |  | | friends | | 6 | | 2 | |  | | quality of life | 2 | | 1 | |
| university | 8 | | 2 | |  | | size | | 6 | | 2 | |  | | retiring | 2 | | 1 | |
| near city centre | 7 | | 2 | |  | | diversity | | 4 | | 1 | |  | | safety | 2 | | 1 | |
| restaurant | 7 | | 2 | |  | | attractive to businesses | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | weather | 2 | | 1 | |
| arts | 6 | | 1 | |  | | beautiful | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | affordability | 1 | | 1 | |
| accommodation | 5 | | 1 | |  | | buildings | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | arts | 1 | | 1 | |
| affordable housing | 5 | | 1 | |  | | other | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | beautiful | 1 | | 1 | |
| quality of life | 5 | | 1 | |  | | restaurants | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | cost of living | 1 | | 1 | |
| attractive to businesses | 4 | | 1 | |  | | university | | 3 | | 1 | |  | | independent shops and or restaurants | 1 | | 1 | |
| prosperous | 4 | | 1 | |  | | affordability | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | leadership | 1 | | 1 | |
| buildings | 3 | | 1 | |  | | cost of living | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | lifestyle | 1 | | 1 | |
| lifestyle | 3 | | 1 | |  | | like minded people | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | other | 1 | | 1 | |
| like minded people | 3 | | 1 | |  | | prosperous | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | prosperous | 1 | | 1 | |
| weather | 3 | | 1 | |  | | quality of life | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | reputation | 1 | | 1 | |
| beautiful | 2 | | 0 | |  | | retiring | | 2 | | 1 | |  | | research opportunities | 1 | | 1 | |
| creativity | 2 | | 0 | |  | | customers | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | restaurants | 1 | | 1 | |
| history | 2 | | 0 | |  | | downsizing | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | size | 1 | | 1 | |
| reputation | 2 | | 0 | |  | | leadership | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | technology | 1 | | 1 | |
| affordability | 1 | | 0 | |  | | lifestyle | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | attractive to businesses | 0 | | 0 | |
| continuous improvement | 1 | | 0 | |  | | reputation | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | creativity | 0 | | 0 | |
| cost of living | 1 | | 0 | |  | | weather | | 1 | | 0 | |  | | friends | 0 | | 0 | |
| retiring | 1 | | 0 | |  | | creativity | | 0 | | 0 | |  | | history | 0 | | 0 | |
| research opportunities | 0 | | 0 | |  | | near city centre | | 0 | | 0 | |  | | university | 0 | | 0 | |
| total responses | 437 | | 100 | |  | | research opportunities | | 0 | | 0 | |  | | total responses | 151 | | 100 | |
| % total responses | 100 | |  | |  | | total responses | | 298 | | 100 | |  | | % of total responses | 100 | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | % of total responses | | 100 | |  | |  | |  |  | |  | |

Figure 4‑2 Comparison of Life-stage Attraction Motivators

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑11 Comparison of life-stages’ top Attraction Motivators, % of responses | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | Singles | Couple | Couple with children 6 and under | Couples with children 7-20 living at home | | Couples children left home | Other |
| employment | 17 | 16 | 13 | | 15 | 15 | 9 |
| social life | 13 | 11 | 8 | | 6 | 6 | 9 |
| culture | 11 | 9 | 8 | | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| university | 7 | 3 | <1 | | <1 | <1 | <1 |
| infrastructure | 7 | 9 | 8 | | 8 | 10 | 7 |
| family | 5 | 7 | 6 | | 8 | 7 | 10 |
| shopping | 5 | 4 | 4 | | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| size | 4 | 3 | 2 | | 3 | <1 | <1 |
| better environment | 3 | 4 | 4 | | 3 | 4 | <1 |
| facilities | 3 | 3 | 5 | | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 2 | 3 | 4 | | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| restaurants | 2 | <1 | <1 | | <1 | <1 | <1 |
| grew up here | 2 | 2 | 4 | | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| friends | 2 | 2 | <1 | | <1 | <1 | <1 |
| safety | 2 | <1 | 2 | | 2 | 3 | <1 |
| accommodation | <1 | <1 | 2 | | <1 | 2 | 1 |
| born here | <1 | 2 | 3 | | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| education | <1 | 2 | 8 | | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| history | <1 | <1 | <1 | | <1 | 2 | <1 |

### Single life-stage Attraction Motivators

When people are single, the findings are that employment is the overall priority as an attraction motivator for small cities with 17% of the total responses from single people. Social life is the second attraction with 13% of responses and culture, followed infrastructure and university (Table 4-12).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑12 Single Peoples’ Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | **What attracted you to live there?** | **Why are you attracted to another city?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why is city attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total Attraction Motivators** | **% of total responses** |
| employment | 47 | 29 | 40 | 5 | 34 | 155 | 17 |
| social life | 26 |  | 80 | 2 | 5 | 113 | 13 |
| culture | 32 | 3 | 48 | 14 | 3 | 100 | 11 |
| university | 50 |  | 11 | 5 | 1 | 67 | 7 |
| infrastructure | 14 | 10 | 35 | 4 | 2 | 65 | 7 |
| family | 18 | 5 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 42 | 5 |
| shopping | 4 |  | 21 | 16 |  | 41 | 5 |
| size | 9 | 2 | 11 | 17 |  | 39 | 4 |
| better environment | 3 |  | 23 | 2 | 1 | 29 | 3 |
| facilities | 7 |  | 16 | 3 | 1 | 27 | 3 |
| **physical factors mountains sea** | 6 |  | 8 | 6 |  | 20 | 2 |
| restaurants | 4 |  | 16 |  |  | 20 | 2 |
| grew up here | 13 |  | 1 | 4 |  | 18 | 2 |
| friends | 4 | 2 | 9 | 1 |  | 16 | 2 |
| safety | 2 |  | 13 | 1 |  | 16 | 2 |
| education | 5 | 1 | 7 |  | 1 | 14 | 2 |
| born here | 13 |  |  |  |  | 13 | 1 |
| quality of life | 3 |  | 8 | 1 |  | 12 | 1 |
| affordability | 3 |  | 6 | 2 |  | 11 | 1 |
| accommodation | 2 | 4 | 2 |  |  | 8 | 1 |
| cost of living | 0 |  | 7 |  |  | 7 | 1 |
| other | 2 |  | 1 | 4 |  | 7 | 1 |
| prosperous |  |  | 1 |  | 6 | 7 | 1 |
| diversity | 0 |  | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| arts |  |  | 5 |  |  | 5 | 1 |
| buildings |  |  | 5 |  |  | 5 | 1 |
| lifestyle | 2 |  | 1 |  | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| weather | 1 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 5 | 1 |
| attractive to businesses | 2 |  | 2 |  |  | 4 | 0 |
| history | 0 |  | 4 |  |  | 4 | 0 |
| beautiful | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 3 | 0 |
| affordable housing | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| creativity | 0 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| reputation | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| Continuous improvement |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| independent shops and or restaurants |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| leadership |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| Life work balance |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| near city centre | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 0 |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| technology |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| total | 276 | 59 | 406 | 94 | 62 | 897 | 100 |
| % of total | 31 | 7 | 45 | 10 | 7 | 100 |  |

### Couples with no children

Employment is the top attraction motivator for couples with no children with 16% of the total response (Table 4-13) Social life is second with 11% of responses and infrastructure and culture 3rd and 4th with 9% of responses. Family is in 5th place with 7% of responses,

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑13 Couples with no children Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | **What attracted you to live there?** | **Why are you attracted to another city?** | **what are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why do you find the city attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | **% of total responses** |
| employment | 40 | 13 | 27 | 4 | 25 | 109 | 16 |
| social life | 17 |  | 50 | 1 | 8 | 76 | 11 |
| infrastructure | 14 | 8 | 32 |  | 11 | 65 | 9 |
| culture | 16 |  | 34 | 7 | 4 | 61 | 9 |
| family | 27 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 46 | 7 |
| better environment | 3 |  | 21 | 5 | 2 | 31 | 4 |
| shopping | 7 |  | 12 | 10 |  | 29 | 4 |
| facilities | 5 |  | 13 | 2 | 4 | 24 | 3 |
| size | 4 | 3 | 10 | 5 |  | 22 | 3 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 9 |  | 11 |  | 1 | 21 | 3 |
| university | 14 | 4 | 2 | 1 |  | 21 | 3 |
| friends | 8 |  | 6 | 2 |  | 16 | 2 |
| education | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 15 | 2 |
| grew up here | 9 |  | 2 | 3 |  | 14 | 2 |
| born here | 13 |  |  |  |  | 13 | 2 |
| beautiful | 3 |  | 3 | 6 |  | 12 | 2 |
| affordable housing | 4 |  | 2 |  | 5 | 11 | 2 |
| restaurants | 1 |  | 10 |  |  | 11 | 2 |
| cost of living | 2 |  | 3 |  | 5 | 10 | 1 |
| safety | 1 |  | 8 |  | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| affordability | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| diversity | 3 |  | 1 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 1 |
| history | 1 |  | 4 | 3 |  | 8 | 1 |
| prosperous |  |  | 2 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 1 |
| quality of life | 3 |  | 1 |  | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| accommodation | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| other | 1 |  |  | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| attractive to businesses | 2 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| lifestyle | 0 |  | 3 |  |  | 3 | 0 |
| arts |  |  | 2 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| buildings |  |  | 2 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| Table ‑ Couples with no children Attraction Motivators (continued) | | | | | | | |
| creativity | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| like-minded people |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| reputation | 0 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| weather | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| continuous improvement | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| Life-work balance |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| near city centre | 0 |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| technology | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| independent shops and or restaurants |  |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| total responses | 218 | 36 | 280 | 64 | 92 | 690 | 100 |
| % total responses | 32 | 5 | 41 | 9 | 13 | 100 |  |

### Couples with young children 6 years old and under

Employment for couples with young children, 6 years old and under are attracted to small cities by employment primarily, with 13% of the total responses (Table 4-14), followed by culture, education, social life and infrastructure all with 8%, education with 8%, is higher than other life-stages which makes sense since the children of this group will be starting school and so the parents will be concerned with the provision of education in the city.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑15 Couples with young children under 6 years old Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | **What attracted you to live there?** | **Why are you attracted to another city?** | **What are the attraction key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why are you attracted to that city?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | **% of total responses** |
| employment | 19 | 3 | 16 | 2 | 15 | 55 | 13 |
| culture | 8 |  | 14 | 12 | 1 | 35 | 8 |
| education | 11 | 4 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 34 | 8 |
| social life | 5 |  | 20 |  | 8 | 33 | 8 |
| infrastructure | 7 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 32 | 8 |
| family | 18 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 25 | 6 |
| Table 4-15 Couples with young children under 6 years old Attraction Motivators (continued) | | | | | | | |
| facilities | 7 |  | 10 | 3 | 2 | 22 | 5 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 8 |  | 6 | 2 | 1 | 17 | 4 |
| grew up here | 11 |  | 1 | 4 |  | 16 | 4 |
| better environment | 1 |  | 11 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 4 |
| shopping | 2 |  | 9 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 4 |
| born here | 13 |  |  |  |  | 13 | 3 |
| safety | 2 |  | 6 |  | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| size | 2 |  | 4 | 4 |  | 10 | 2 |
| accommodation | 2 | 1 | 3 |  | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| affordable housing | 3 |  | 3 |  | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| friends | 5 |  | 2 |  |  | 7 | 2 |
| prosperous |  |  | 2 |  | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| quality of life | 2 | 1 | 2 |  | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| restaurants |  |  | 4 |  | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| beautiful | 2 |  | 1 | 2 |  | 5 | 1 |
| other | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| history | 1 |  | 3 |  |  | 4 | 1 |
| university | 3 |  | 1 |  |  | 4 | 1 |
| arts |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | 3 | 1 |
| attractive to businesses | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| continuous improvement |  |  | 3 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| cost of living | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| creativity | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| diversity | 0 |  | 3 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| weather | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 3 | 1 |
| lifestyle | 0 |  | 2 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| near city centre | 2 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| affordability |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| buildings |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| like-minded people |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| reputation | 1 |  |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 0 |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| independent shops and or restaurants |  |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| total responses | 140 | 12 | 167 | 42 | 59 | 420 | 100 |
| % of total responses | 33 | 3 | 40 | 10 | 14 | 100 |  |

### Couples with children 7-20 years old, living at home

Couples with children between the ages of 7 and 20, who are living at home, identify the highest attraction motivation as employment with 15% of the total responses (Table 4-15), but there is a change in the second placed priority as family has become a higher attraction motivator at second place with 8% of the responses, infrastructure is in 3rd place, also with 8% of responses, followed by social life and facilities with 6% of responses.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑16 Couples with young children between 7-20 years old, living at home, | | | | | | | |
| Attraction factors | **What attracted you to live here?** | **Why are you attracted to another city?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why do you find the city attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | **% of total responses** |
| Employment | 20 | 2 | 17 | 2 | 26 | 67 | 15 |
| Family | 22 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 35 | 8 |
| infrastructure | 10 |  | 16 | 2 | 7 | 35 | 8 |
| social life | 4 |  | 13 |  | 11 | 28 | 6 |
| Facilities | 3 |  | 18 | 2 | 3 | 26 | 6 |
| Education | 6 | 2 | 9 |  | 5 | 22 | 5 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 8 | 3 | 7 | 4 |  | 22 | 5 |
| Culture | 9 |  | 9 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 5 |
| Shopping | 3 |  | 9 | 3 | 2 | 17 | 4 |
| born here | 15 |  | 1 |  |  | 16 | 4 |
| grew up here | 12 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 14 | 3 |
| better environment | 1 |  | 9 | 3 |  | 13 | 3 |
| Size | 7 |  | 2 | 2 |  | 11 | 3 |
| Other | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| Safety | 2 |  | 6 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 2 |
| Diversity | 0 |  | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 2 |
| Friends | 5 |  | 3 |  |  | 8 | 2 |
| University | 3 |  |  | 4 | 1 | 8 | 2 |
| near city centre | 4 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Restaurant | 1 |  | 5 |  | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Arts |  |  | 3 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| accommodation | 2 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| affordable housing | 1 |  | 1 |  | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| quality of life | 2 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| attractive to businesses | 0 |  | 1 |  | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Prosperous | 1 |  | 1 |  | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Buildings |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | 3 | 1 |
| Lifestyle | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| likeminded people |  |  |  |  | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Weather | 0 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Beautiful | 0 |  |  | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| Creativity | 0 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| History | 0 |  |  | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| Reputation | 0 |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Affordability | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| continuous improvement |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| cost of living | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Table 4-16 Couples with young children between 7-20 years old, living at home,  (continued) | | | | | | | |
| Retiring |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 0 |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| total responses | 144 | 11 | 154 | 40 | 88 | 437 | 100 |
| % total responses | 33 | 3 | 35 | 9 | 20 | 100 |  |

### Couples whose children have left home

Employment remains the most important attraction motivator with 15% of the total responses (Table 4-16), infrastructure is important to this group, with 10% of the responses, possibly as travelling to keep in contact with children that have left home and other activities increases, or because the methods of travel are changing, if the prospect of no longer driving a car is making travel methods change and the free bus pass gives an economical option for using public transport. Family is in 3rd place with 7% of responses, followed by culture, shopping and social life all with 6% of responses.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑17 Couples, whose children have left home, Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | **What attracted you to live there?** | **Why are you attracted to move to that city?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why is the city you name attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | **% of total responses** |
| Employment | 19 |  | 7 | 1 | 18 | 45 | 15 |
| infrastructure | 4 |  | 20 | 2 | 4 | 30 | 10 |
| Family | 12 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 7 |
| Culture | 1 |  | 7 | 4 | 5 | 17 | 6 |
| Shopping | 1 |  | 9 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 6 |
| social life | 0 |  | 7 | 1 | 9 | 17 | 6 |
| Facilities | 0 |  | 13 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 5 |
| better environment | 1 |  | 9 | 1 |  | 11 | 4 |
| born here | 11 |  |  |  |  | 11 | 4 |
| Education | 2 |  | 4 |  | 5 | 11 | 4 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 5 |  | 5 | 1 |  | 11 | 4 |
| grew up here | 6 |  | 2 | 1 |  | 9 | 3 |
| Safety | 0 |  | 6 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| accommodation | 3 |  |  |  | 4 | 7 | 2 |
| History | 0 |  | 1 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| affordable housing | 3 |  | 1 |  | 2 | 6 | 2 |
| Table 4-17 Couples, whose children have left home, Attraction Motivators (continued) | | | | | | | |
| Friends | 2 |  | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| Size | 2 |  | 2 | 2 |  | 6 | 2 |
| Diversity | 0 |  | 2 |  | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| attractive to businesses | 0 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Beautiful | 0 |  |  | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| Buildings |  |  | 3 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| Other | 0 |  |  |  | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Restaurants | 1 |  | 2 |  |  | 3 | 1 |
| University | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Affordability |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| cost of living | 0 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| like-minded people |  |  |  |  | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Prosperous |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| quality of life | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 1 |
| Retiring |  | 2 |  |  |  | 2 | 1 |
| Customers |  |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Downsizing |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| Leadership |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| Lifestyle | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Reputation | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Weather | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Creativity | 0 |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| near city centre | 0 |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 0 |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
| total responses | 75 | 6 | 113 | 29 | 75 | 298 | 100 |
| % of total responses | 25 | 2 | 38 | 10 | 25 | 100 |  |

### Other (those people who do not identify with the life-stages in the survey)

The skilled people in this group are a mixture of life-stages, some are single parents with young and older children and some are couples with older children over 20 years of age living at home. The most important attraction is culture with 11% of the total responses, followed by family with 10% of responses and employment is third priority with 9% of responses, shopping and social life are 4th and 5th priority with 9% of responses. The total number of responses for this group is 151 and so it is a small number, the difference between the top ten Attraction Motivators is only 11 responses, culture the highest priority with 17 responses and physical factors (sea, mountains etc.) with 6 responses, so not too much weight can be put on the order of Attraction Motivators in this life-stage group. Also, the group is made up of people with different life-stage characteristics unlike the other life-stages. Table 4-17 below sets out the data analysis.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑18 Other life stages’ Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | | | |
| Attraction Motivators | **What attracted you to live there?** | **Why are you attracted to live in another city** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **Why is the city you named attractive?** | **Comments** | **Total responses** | | **% of total responses** | |
| Culture | 3 |  | 7 | 3 | 4 | | 17 | | 11 |
| Family | 10 | 1 | 3 |  | 1 | | 15 | | 10 |
| Employment | 4 |  | 3 |  | 7 | | 14 | | 9 |
| Shopping |  |  | 9 | 2 | 2 | | 13 | | 9 |
| social life | 1 |  | 9 |  | 3 | | 13 | | 9 |
| Facilities | 2 |  | 7 | 1 | 1 | | 11 | | 7 |
| Infrastructure | 3 |  | 3 |  | 4 | | 10 | | 7 |
| born here | 6 |  |  |  |  | | 6 | | 4 |
| Education | 2 | 1 | 1 |  | 2 | | 6 | | 4 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | | 4 |
| near city centre | 4 |  | 1 |  |  | | 5 | | 3 |
| grew up here | 3 |  |  | 1 |  | | 4 | | 3 |
| Diversity |  |  | 2 | 1 |  | | 3 | | 2 |
| accommodation |  |  |  |  | 2 | | 2 | | 1 |
| affordable housing |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | | 2 | | 1 |
| better environment |  |  | 2 |  |  | | 2 | | 1 |
| quality of life |  |  | 1 |  | 1 | | 2 | | 1 |
| Retiring |  | 2 |  |  |  | | 2 | | 1 |
| Safety |  |  | 2 |  |  | | 2 | | 1 |
| Weather |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | 1 |
| Affordability |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Arts |  |  | 1 |  |  | | 1 | | 1 |
| Beautiful |  |  |  | 1 |  | | 1 | | 1 |
| cost of living |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| independent shops and or restaurants |  |  | 1 |  |  | | 1 | | 1 |
| Leadership |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Lifestyle |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Other |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Prosperous |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Reputation |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| research opportunities |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Restaurants |  |  | 1 |  |  | | 1 | | 1 |
| Size |  |  |  | 1 |  | | 1 | | 1 |
| Technology |  |  |  |  | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| attractive to businesses |  |  |  |  |  | | 0 | | 0 |
| Creativity |  |  |  |  |  | | 0 | | 0 |
| Friends |  |  |  |  |  | | 0 | | 0 |
| History |  |  |  |  |  | | 0 | | 0 |
| University |  |  |  |  |  | | 0 | | 0 |
| total responses | 40 | 6 | 54 | 12 | 39 | | 151 | | 100 |
| % of total responses | 26 | 4 | 36 | 8 | 26 | | 100 | |  |

## Gender comparison of Attraction Motivators for small cities

Men identified employment as the most important attraction motivator with 16% of the responses in the survey (Table 4-18), social life was second with 11% of the responses and infrastructure fourth with 9% of the responses. Culture was in fourth place, family 5th with 6%; education 6th and physical factors (mountains, sea etc.) 7th with 4% of responses and better environment, facilities, university and shopping 8th, 9th 10th and 11th with 3% of responses.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑19 Male Attraction Motivators Comparison of Motivational Attractors | | | | | | | | | |
| Attraction factors | **What**  **attracted you to live there?** | | **why are you moving?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **why is a city attractive?** | **comments** | **Total** | **%**  **of total** | |
| Employment | 75 | | 19 | 53 | 4 | 52 | 203 | 16 | |
| social life | 21 | |  | 83 | 15 | 19 | 138 | 11 | |
| Infrastructure | 25 | | 12 | 62 | 7 | 14 | 120 | 9 | |
| Culture | 27 | | 2 | 50 | 11 | 7 | 97 | 8 | |
| Family | 42 | | 4 | 14 | 8 | 5 | 73 | 6 | |
| Education | 17 | | 8 | 23 | 1 | 5 | 54 | 4 | |
| physical factors mountains sea | 22 | |  | 14 | 7 | 4 | 47 | 4 | |
| better environment | 6 | |  | 35 | 3 |  | 44 | 3 | |
| Facilities | 13 | |  | 23 | 5 | 2 | 43 | 3 | |
| University | 23 | | 1 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 39 | 3 | |
| Shopping | 7 | |  | 26 | 2 | 3 | 38 | 3 | |
| born here | 32 | |  |  |  |  | 32 | 2 | |
| Size | 8 | | 2 | 6 | 16 |  | 32 | 2 | |
| grew up here | 17 | |  | 3 | 7 |  | 27 | 2 | |
| Safety | 4 | |  | 17 |  | 3 | 24 | 2 | |
| Restaurants | 5 | |  | 16 |  | 2 | 23 | 2 | |
| Prosperous | 1 | |  | 5 |  | 16 | 22 | 2 | |
| quality of life | 7 | | 1 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 22 | 2 | |
| Friends | 9 | | 2 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 20 | 2 | |
| attractive to businesses | 5 | |  | 5 |  | 7 | 17 | 1 | |
| cost of living | 2 | |  | 7 |  | 8 | 17 | 1 | |
| Diversity | 3 | |  | 5 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 1 | |
| Other | 2 | |  | 1 | 6 | 8 | 17 | 1 | |
| Weather | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 7 |  | 12 | 1 | |
| affordable housing | 3 | | 1 | 2 |  | 5 | 11 | 1 | |
| Accommodation | 3 | | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 10 | 1 | |
| Affordability | 2 | |  | 4 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 1 | |
| Beautiful | 0 | |  | 2 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 1 | |
| History | 0 | |  | 4 | 5 | 1 | 10 | 1 | |
| Table 4-19 Male Attraction Motivators Comparison of Motivational Attractors(continued) | | | | | | | | | |
| Arts |  | |  | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 0 | |
| Buildings |  | |  | 4 | 1 |  | 5 | 0 | |
| Lifestyle | 2 | |  | 2 |  | 1 | 5 | 0 | |
| near city centre | 3 | |  | 2 |  |  | 5 | 0 | |
| Reputation | 2 | |  |  |  | 3 | 5 | 0 | |
| Creativity | 1 | |  | 2 |  | 1 | 4 | 0 | |
| like-minded people |  | |  |  |  | 4 | 4 | | 0 |
| Retiring |  | 4 | |  |  |  | 4 | | 0 |
| continuous improvement | 0 |  | | 2 |  | 1 | 3 | | 0 |
| research opportunities | 1 |  | | 2 |  |  | 3 | | 0 |
| Technology | 1 |  | | 1 |  | 1 | 3 | | 0 |
| independent shops and or restaurants |  |  | | 2 |  |  | 2 | | 0 |
| Customers |  | |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | | 0 |
| down-sizing |  | | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | | 0 |
| Leadership |  | |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | | 0 |
| Restaurants |  | |  |  |  |  | 0 | | 0 |
| Total | 392 | 60 | | 509 | 128 | 192 | 1281 | | 100 |

Women identified employment as the priority attraction motivator with 16% of responses, followed by culture, infrastructure, family, facilities and social life (Table 4-20).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑20 Female Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | |
| **Attraction factors** | **What attracted you to live there?** | **why are you moving?** | **What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?** | **why is a city attractive?** | **comments** | **total** | **% of total** |
| Employment | 73 | 28 | 54 | 10 | 77 | 242 | 16 |
| Culture | 40 | 1 | 70 | 30 | 17 | 158 | 10 |
| Infrastructure | 28 | 9 | 60 | 5 | 26 | 128 | 8 |
| Family | 62 | 10 | 24 | 7 | 8 | 111 | 7 |
| Facilities | 11 |  | 49 | 7 | 12 | 79 | 5 |
| social life | 30 | 1 |  | 14 | 29 | 74 | 5 |
| Size | 15 | 3 | 22 | 21 |  | 61 | 4 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 16 | 4 | 24 | 14 |  | 58 | 4 |
| Shopping | 9 |  | 41 | 2 | 6 | 58 | 4 |
| better environment | 2 |  | 40 | 9 | 5 | 56 | 4 |
| University | 47 | 6 |  | 1 | 2 | 56 | 4 |
| Education (and so on) | 12 | 3 | 15 |  | 19 | 49 | 3 |
| grew up here | 36 |  | 4 | 6 |  | 46 | 3 |
| Table 4-20 Female Attraction Motivators (continued) | | | | | | | |
| born here | 37 |  | 1 |  |  | 38 | 2 |
| Friends | 13 |  | 14 | 2 | 1 | 30 | 2 |
| Safety | 3 |  | 22 | 1 | 3 | 29 | 2 |
| affordable housing | 8 |  | 5 |  | 12 | 25 | 2 |
| Restaurants | 2 |  | 22 |  | 1 | 25 | 2 |
| Accommodation | 5 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 24 | 2 |
| Beautiful | 5 |  | 4 | 13 |  | 22 | 1 |
| quality of life | 2 |  | 6 | 5 | 5 | 18 | 1 |
| Other | 4 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 1 |
| History | 1 |  | 8 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 1 |
| Diversity | 0 |  | 7 | 1 | 4 | 12 | 1 |
| Affordability | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 1 |
| Arts |  |  | 9 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| Prosperous | 0 |  | 2 | 1 | 8 | 11 | 1 |
| Lifestyle | 2 |  | 3 |  | 5 | 10 | 1 |
| near city centre | 7 |  | 2 |  | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| Weather | 2 |  |  | 6 | 2 | 10 | 1 |
| Buildings |  |  | 9 |  |  | 9 | 1 |
| cost of living | 1 |  | 4 |  | 3 | 8 | 1 |
| like-minded people |  |  |  |  | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| Creativity | 1 |  | 2 |  | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| attractive to businesses | 0 |  | 1 |  | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| Reputation | 0 |  | 2 |  | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| continuous improvement | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| independent shops |  |  | 2 |  |  | 2 | 0 |
| life work balance |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 | 0 |
| research opportunities | 0 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Technology | 0 |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 |
|  | 475 | 70 | 544 | 169 | 277 | 1535 | 100 |

59% to 60% of the top Attraction Motivators are common to men and women, they include, employment as a clear priority for both men and women with 16% of the total responses (Table 4-20).

Culture, social life, infrastructure, family, facilities, physical factors (mountains, sea etc.) and better environment are in the top 10 attractions for both men and women. The top 14 Attraction Motivators, 76% of the responses are the same for men and women.

Policy makers can be confident that broadly speaking it appears from the findings of this research that men and women are attracted by the same things.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑21 Gender comparison of Attraction Motivators | | | | | |
|  | Female Attraction Motivators | % of total |  | Male Attraction Motivators | % total |
| 1 | Employment | 16 |  | employment | 16 |
| 2 | Culture | 10 |  | social life | 11 |
| 3 | Infrastructure | 8 |  | infrastructure | 9 |
| 4 | Family | 7 |  | culture | 8 |
| 5 | Facilities | 5 |  | family | 6 |
| 6 | social life | 5 |  | education | 4 |
| 7 | Size | 4 |  | physical factors mountains sea | 4 |
| 8 | physical factors mountains sea | 4 |  | better environment | 3 |
| 9 | Shopping | 4 |  | facilities | 3 |
| 10 | better environment | 4 |  | university | 3 |
| 11 | University | 4 |  | shopping | 3 |
| 12 | Education | 3 |  | born here | 2 |
| 13 | grew up here | 3 |  | size | 2 |
| 14 | born here | 2 |  | grew up here | 2 |
| 15 | Friends | 2 |  | safety | 2 |
| 16 | Safety | 2 |  | restaurants | 2 |
| 17 | affordable housing | 2 |  | prosperous | 2 |
| 18 | Restaurants | 2 |  | quality of life | 2 |
| 19 | Accommodation | 2 |  | friends | 2 |
| 20 | Beautiful | 1 |  | Attractive to businesses | 1 |
| 21 | quality of life | 1 |  | cost of living | 1 |
| 22 | Other | 1 |  | diversity | 1 |
| 23 | History | 1 |  | other | 1 |
| 24 | Diversity | 1 |  | weather | 1 |
| 25 | Affordability | 1 |  | affordable housing | 1 |
| 26 | Arts | 1 |  | accommodation | 1 |
| 27 | Prosperous | 1 |  | affordability | 1 |
| 28 | Lifestyle | 1 |  | beautiful | 1 |
| 29 | near city centre | 1 |  | history | 1 |
| 30 | Weather | 1 |  | arts | 0 |
| 31 | Buildings | 1 |  | buildings | 0 |
| 32 | cost of living | 1 |  | lifestyle | 0 |
| 33 | like-minded people | 0 |  | near city centre | 0 |
| 34 | Creativity | 0 |  | reputation | 0 |
| 35 | attractive to businesses | 0 |  | creativity | 0 |
| 36 | Reputation | 0 |  | like minded people | 0 |
| 37 | continuous improvement | 0 |  | retiring | 0 |
| 38 | independent shops and or restaurants | 0 |  | continuous improvement | 0 |
| 39 | life work balance | 0 |  | research opportunities | 0 |
| 40 | research opportunities | 0 |  | technology | 0 |
| 41 | Technology | 0 |  | independent shops and or restaurants | 0 |
| 42 |  |  |  | customers | 0 |
| 43 |  |  |  | down-sizing | 0 |
| 44 |  |  |  | leadership | 0 |
| 45 |  |  |  | restaurants | 0 |
|  |  | 100 |  | total | 100 |

In Figure 4-3, it can be seen that the Attraction Motivators for men and women are very similar, the main differences are the higher priority men put on social life at 11% compared to women who identify social life at 5% of the responses. This is at odds with the theme that,’ girls just want to have fun.’ Never-the -less, generally, motivational attractions are very similar for the genders.

Figure 4‑3 Gender comparison of Attraction Motivators

## Case study city comparisons of Attraction Motivators

Employment for all four cities is the most important attraction motivator; social life, culture, family and infrastructure are in the top six priorities as Attraction Motivators for all cities, as seen in Table 4-21 where they are highlighted.

The top 16 Attraction Motivators are similar for all cities (Table 4-21 and Figure 4.4) although quality of life is only identified in Cardiff as a priority, affordable housing is in the top 16 for Newport and in the top 17 for Bristol and Manchester, but it is in 20th place for Cardiff.

There are general similarities for all cities, but there are closest similarities in the highest priorities for attraction motivation which are employment, social life and culture. Then there are considerable differences in cities with priorities such as family; Cardiff identifying family as the 6th priority, with 5% of responses, whilst family was a higher priority for Newport in second place as an attraction motivator with 10% of responses; in Manchester, family is a priority as an attraction motivator with 9% of the responses making it joint second priority with culture and in Bristol family was a high priority with 7% of responses, making it the 4th attraction motivator.

This demonstrates to policy makers that although there are similarities between cities, it is essential that the specific priorities for the cities are identified, since all cities are different and therefore have different priorities of Attraction Motivators, which is essential to understand when planning policy.

Table 4-22 sets out the 16 priority motivational attractors for case study cities in % responses while Table 4-23 sets out the ‘Comparison of motivation attractions for case study cities’ overall.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑22 The 16 priority motivational attractors for case study cities in %  Responses | | | | | |
|  | Motivational attractors | Cardiff | Manchester | Bristol | Newport |
| 1 | Employment | 19 | 15 | 20 | 14 |
| 2 | social life | 9 | 6 | 9 | 9 |
| 3 | Culture | 8 | 9 | 7 | 7 |
| 4 | University | 7 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| 5 | Infrastructure | 7 | 6 | 12 | 7 |
| 6 | Family | 5 | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| 7 | Size | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 8 | Education | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| 9 | physical factors mountains sea | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| 10 | Facilities | 3 | 8 | 3 | 5 |
| 11 | grew up here | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| 12 | better environment | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 13 | quality of life | 2 |  |  |  |
| 14 | Shopping | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 15 | Friends | 2 | 2 | 3 |  |
| 16 | born here | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑23 Comparison of Attraction Motivators for case study cities | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | Cardiff | total responses | % total responses | Manchester | total responses | % total responses | Bristol | total responses | % total responses | Newport | total responses | % total responses |
| 1 | employment | 136 | 19 | employment | 84 | 15 | employment | 93 | 20 | employment | 79 | 14 |
| 2 | social life | 62 | 9 | Culture | 52 | 9 | infrastructure | 58 | 12 | family | 55 | 10 |
| 3 | culture | 55 | 8 | family | 49 | 9 | social life | 40 | 9 | social life | 48 | 9 |
| 4 | University | 49 | 7 | facilities | 45 | 8 | culture | 35 | 7 | culture | 40 | 7 |
| 5 | infrastructure | 49 | 7 | social life | 34 | 6 | family | 32 | 7 | infrastructure | 39 | 7 |
| 6 | family | 33 | 5 | infrastructure | 32 | 6 | physical factors | 21 | 5 | born here | 29 | 5 |
| 7 | Size | 30 | 4 | education | 24 | 4 | education | 14 | 3 | facilities | 25 | 5 |
| 8 | Education | 29 | 4 | born here | 21 | 4 | facilities | 14 | 3 | shopping | 24 | 4 |
| 9 | physical factors | 27 | 4 | grew up here | 19 | 3 | university | 13 | 3 | grew up here | 24 | 4 |
| 10 | Facilities | 23 | 3 | physical factors | 17 | 3 | better environment | 12 | 3 | size | 20 | 4 |
| 11 | grew up here | 19 | 3 | university | 15 | 3 | friends | 12 | 3 | university | 20 | 4 |
| 12 | better environment | 16 | 2 | better environment | 15 | 3 | born here | 11 | 2 | physical factors | 17 | 3 |
| 13 | quality of life | 15 | 2 | size | 13 | 2 | size | 11 | 2 | better environment | 14 | 3 |
| 14 | Shopping | 14 | 2 | friends | 10 | 2 | grew up here | 10 | 2 | education | 14 | 3 |
| 15 | friends | 11 | 2 | shopping | 10 | 2 | shopping | 9 | 2 | affordable housing | 10 | 2 |
| 16 | born here | 11 | 2 | affordable housing | 9 | 2 | affordable housing | 8 | 2 | prosperous | 9 | 2 |
| 17 | Restaurants | 11 | 2 | affordability | 9 | 2 | other | 7 | 2 | safety | 9 | 2 |
| 18 | safety | 11 | 2 | lifestyle | 9 | 2 | quality of life | 7 | 2 | accommodation | 8 | 1 |
| 19 | Diversity | 10 | 1 | other | 9 | 2 | cost of living | 6 | 1 | friends | 7 | 1 |
| 20 | affordable housing | 10 | 1 | beautiful | 8 | 1 | prosperous | 6 | 1 | beautiful | 7 | 1 |
| 21 | Accommodation | 9 | 1 | quality of life | 7 | 1 | history | 5 | 1 | weather | 7 | 1 |
| 22 | Affordability | 9 | 1 | safety | 7 | 1 | accommodation | 4 | 1 | restaurant | 6 | 1 |
| 23 | Prosperous | 8 | 1 | accommodation | 7 | 1 | lifestyle | 4 | 1 | diversity | 6 | 1 |
| 24 | Beautiful | 8 | 1 | history | 6 | 1 | like-minded people | 4 | 1 | near city centre | 5 | 1 |
| 25 | cost of living | 8 | 1 | restaurants | 5 | 1 | safety | 4 | 1 | quality of life | 5 | 1 |
| 26 | attractive to businesses | 7 | 1 | arts | 5 | 1 | beautiful | 3 | 1 | cost of living | 4 | 1 |
| Table 4-23 Comparison of motivation attractions for case study cities (continued) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | other | 7 | 1 | cost of living | 5 | 1 | arts | 3 | 1 | lifestyle | 4 | 1 |
| 28 | Weather | 6 | 1 | customers | 5 | 1 | diversity | 3 | 1 | affordability | 3 | 1 |
| 29 | retiring | 4 | 1 | attractive to businesses | 4 | 1 | restaurant | 3 | 1 | attractive to businesses | 3 | 1 |
| 30 | continuous improvement | 3 | 0 | creativity | 4 | 1 | creativity | 2 | 0 | history | 3 | 1 |
| 31 | history | 3 | 0 | Like-minded people | 4 | 1 | near city centre | 2 | 0 | like-minded people | 2 | 0 |
| 32 | Like-minded people | 3 | 0 | prosperous | 4 | 1 | affordability | 2 | 0 | other | 2 | 0 |
| 33 | Reputation | 3 | 0 | weather | 4 | 1 | attractive to businesses | 2 | 0 | arts | 1 | 0 |
| 34 | near city centre | 3 | 0 | diversity | 3 | 1 | reputation | 2 | 0 | buildings | 1 | 0 |
| 35 | Arts | 2 | 0 | near city centre | 3 | 1 | buildings | 1 | 0 | downsizing | 1 | 0 |
| 36 | Building | 2 | 0 | buildings | 2 | 0 | continuous improvement | 1 | 0 | reputation | 1 | 0 |
| 37 | lifestyle | 2 | 0 | downsizing | 1 | 0 | independent shops and or restaurants | 1 | 0 | research opportunities | 1 | 0 |
| 38 | Leadership | 1 | 0 | continuous improvement | 0 | 0 | retiring | 1 | 0 | creativity | 0 | 0 |
| 39 | Technology | 1 | 0 | reputation | 0 | 0 | weather | 1 | 0 | independent shops and or restaurants | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | Creativity | 0 | 0 | technology | 0 | 0 | life work balance | 0 | 0 | total | 555 | 100 |
| 41 | independent shops and or restaurants | 0 | 0 | total | 562 | 100 | research opportunities | 0 | 0 |  |  |  |
| 42 | life work balance | 0 | 0 |  |  |  | total | 46771 | 100 |  |  |  |
| 43 | research opportunities | 0 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | total responses | 708 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Figure 4‑4 Attraction Motivators for cities

## Further Findings relating to Attraction Motivators of small cities

The findings included influences on the attraction and retention of skilled people that are considerations that would be subjects for further research projects. These include the factors that deter people from living in a city.

### Survey question, ’Will you stay in the city? If you are planning on moving, why and where are you going?

This question is to find the intentions of the participants. If there is anything that has motivated them to move to another city, the reasons they have given as to why they are moving are interpreted as the attraction factors to another city. The responses where coded to just one level, because people only gave one answer responses.

The respondents, frequency and percentage of answers to factors concerning moving because there is an attraction motivator to live in another city are set out in Table 4-24 below and diagrammatically shown in Figure 4-5.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑24 Motivational attraction factors ‘why are you moving’ | | | |
|  | Frequency | % of total respondent | % of respondents that are intending to move |
| Employment | 47 | 9.2 | 35.3 |
| moving to London | 21 | 4.1 | 15.8 |
| Family | 14 | 2.7 | 10.5 |
| Education | 11 | 2.1 | 8.3 |
| University | 7 | 1.4 | 5.3 |
| Accommodation | 6 | 1.2 | 4.5 |
| Size of city | 5 | 1.0 | 3.8 |
| Retiring | 5 | 1.0 | 3.8 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 4 | 0.8 | 3.0 |
| Culture | 3 | 0.6 | 2.3 |
| Friends | 2 | 0.4 | 1.5 |
| Downsizing | 2 | 0.4 | 1.5 |
| quality of life | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| social life | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| Other | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| Affordability | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| Weather | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| affordable housing | 1 | 0.2 | 0.8 |
| Total | 133 | 25.9 | 100.0 |
| Remaining | 380 | 74.1 |  |
| Total | 513 | 100 |  |

Figure 4‑5 Motivational attraction factors ‘why are you moving’

#### Employment

The highest motivational factor for moving was employment, 9.2% of the total respondents intend to move for employment, their comments included:

Moving to Bristol in a week. Bristol for job and friends.

I will move to Bristol for more career opportunities.

I would like to move elsewhere in the future and expect I will have to for work. Most likely another city like Manchester of Bristol.

Bristol was mentioned by 4 people as a place they are moving for more career opportunities and Manchester was also mentioned 3 times as a place to move for opportunities. This reflects well on these cities as they are being perceived as cities with career opportunities as an alternative to moving to London.

Several comments mentioned contracts, examples were;

Depends on contract.

Possible move to England at the end of contract. England, job opportunities

As fixed-term contracts become more common, and, at the end of a contract there is an opportunity to review career progress and weigh-up alternatives, so moving could become more frequent as a chance to progress in careers. Policy makers should consider this trend and address the issue of career opportunities being available to attract and retain skilled people.

These quotations from the survey illustrate those skilled people with a specific career path:

Until May 2017, depending on my contract, I will move to Geneva. In Geneva, I will work for WHO, part of my ambition.

Will move dependent on job allocations within the Wales Deanery

They want to follow a career and are willing to move to achieve their career goals. Policy makers need to have a strategy to attract skilled people, by providing a thick labour market for specific specialisms for skilled people to move to the city to pursue a career plan in the city.

#### Moving to London

Over four percent of the respondents intend to move to London the reasons given were:

London for work

London, more job opportunities

London, to work for MHRA (Medicines and Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency)

Either moving to London for higher paid jobs or to a city for a Masters course

London due to job prospects

Staying for at least the next 2 years then London for job opportunities

Most participants identify that London is a city for job opportunities, although there were other reasons given to move to London:

I'm planning on running away from Cardiff the worst city in the world, probably going back to London

There were other reasons such as family ties and having lived there before were also mentioned, which policy makers would have difficulties competing with such as:

London, husband works there

In London I have family ties, maybe I’ll move to London for work

London, I previously lived there

Some people wanted the experience of London, but longer term it may be possible to attract these people back to smaller cities.

London, experience 'London life,' for a year

I plan to move after University to London, because there is more population and more activities

Undecided, I will move to another city for variety whilst I'm young, either London or North England

This supports the data that London is a draw for skilled people away from small cities all over the country for a variety of reasons. Policy makers need to identify where their city can compete with London for the skilled people to attract and retain them in their small cities.

#### Family

Almost 3% of skilled people intended moving from the city to another city because of family ties, some of the reasons given for moving were:

partner from the States, may move there

I will be returning home after my studies

Moving on Friday 12th May. Moving back nearer family in East Sussex

Cleland, Scotland to be nearer to family

I plan to move back to Cardiff my home town

Cardiff, family live here

family

Hopefully moving, Plymouth. This was where home was before University

Moving to Ystrad Mynach, to be nearer family

move back to North (Newcastle upon Tyne) as my family are from there

Might move home again to Surrey, my family are there

Yorkshire to live with boyfriend

I love Cardiff but I have family and friends further West

This emphasises the importance of family ties to skilled people and that policy makers need to includestrategies to encourage skilled people to stay in the city and strengthen social capital to retain skilled people.

#### Education

Education was the reason why over 2% of the participants will be moving from the city. Some to move nearer good schools, said:

Rochdale, nearer to better schools

move, village nearer to school

Move to Cardiff for schools, work and family

USA to complete my education

planning to move to Hull for education and training

We must live close to good schools where our three children can go and attractive living surroundings

Others were planning on moving, but were staying until the children finished school as described by these respondents:

move to a more cosmopolitan city when kids finished school

will move in three years, at the minute we have 2 children settled at school, so we will move when they finish [school]

This indicates that some skilled people can be attracted by providing good quality education for their children. This will also build up social capital for all the members of the family with friends they make in school, and parents meeting other parents, which will build networks and make it more likely that the skilled people stay.

#### University and retiring

University and retirement are both reasons for people to move, when they graduate, they often move to find work and for opportunities and when they retire people have changing needs and often want to change accommodation. At these stages policy makers need to adopt strategies that will attract and retain skilled people.

Retirees often have a great contribution to make and provide social capital, family ties that will attract other skilled people in their family and friends network. Although aging population can be a burden on some services such as health care, the benefits of skilled retirees should be assessed in the economic development strategy.

The reasons given for retirees moving were:

Better quality of life and surroundings

May retire to Devon one day, it is such nice weather

Retirement, moving to north England for a quieter life

retiring to the country Devon or Cornwall

retiring down West

Policy makers need to attract and retain skilled people at the stages of life when they are most likely to move, which is according to ([Chen and Rosenthal, 2008](#_ENREF_26)) when they are young at University age until early 30s and again at retirement age.

#### Accommodation

Accommodation is identified as a reason for moving, one person said:

I am going to move to Newport. Buying a house. I would not be able to afford a house in Cardiff.

Availability and cost of accommodation for skilled people at all life stages needs to be included in the strategy for attracting and retaining skilled people (Ellis et al., 1984).

#### Size; physical factors, mountains sea; culture; downsizing; friends; affordable housing; weather; affordability; social life and quality of life

All these factors have been cited as reasons for participants moving and so should be included in the strategic planning for attracting and retaining skilled people.

#### Repulsion motivators

There were repulsion responses to the question, ’why are you moving? in the Table 4-24, identifying reasons they are repulsed by the city, rather than being motivated to move because they are attracted to another city, these people have identified reasons they are not staying in a city. Although there are very low numbers of responses, the reasons given for moving are useful findings. The reasons given are lack of employment, congestion, not enough to do and weather.

The equivalent Attraction Motivators are employment, infrastructure, social life and weather. Whilst weather is not included in the highest Attraction Motivators, it is mentioned throughout the research. There is a view that some parts of the country are constantly damp and cold which could be addressed in the branding of cities to reflect the more realistic weather patterns. Table 4‑25 sets out the Repulsion motivators, responses to, ‘Why are you moving?’

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑25 Repulsion motivators, responses to, ‘ Why are you moving?’ | | | |
|  | Frequency | % of all respondents | % of respondents moving |
| lack of employment | 2 | 0.4 | 25.0 |
| Congestion | 1 | 0.2 | 12.5 |
| not enough to do | 2 | 0.4 | 25.0 |
| Weather | 3 | 0.6 | 37.5 |
| Total | 8 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| Missing | 505 | 98.4 |  |
|  | 513 | 100.0 |  |

### Gender comparison for,’ Why are you moving?’

Both men and women had employment as the highest common reason for being attracted away to another city, with 39% and 32% of responses (Table 4-26). Women gave the second highest attraction motivator away from the city as family at 14% and infrastructure at 13%, whilst men gave infrastructure as the second most important reason for being attracted away to another city with 20% of men’s responses and education in third place for men. There was a total of only 131 responses to this question and so a small number of the total responses.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑26 Gender comparison of Attraction Motivators for, ‘Why are you moving?’ | | | | | | |
|  | Women's responses | % women | Men's responses | % men | Total responses | % Total responses |
| Employment | 28 | 39 | 19 | 32 | 47 | 36 |
| Family | 10 | 14 | 4 | 7 | 14 | 11 |
| Infrastructure | 9 | 13 | 12 | 20 | 21 | 16 |
| University | 6 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 5 |
| physical factors mountains sea | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| accommodation | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Education | 3 | 4 | 8 | 13 | 11 | 8 |
| Size | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Culture | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| social life | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Affordability | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Retiring | 1 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Friends | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| quality of life | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Weather | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| affordable housing | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Downsizing | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 71 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 131 | 100 |

### Survey question, ‘What would put you off living in a city?’

Table 4-27 shows the de-motivating factors that would put respondents off living in a city. The top one is congestion, followed by crime, too busy, too crowded, too expensive, noisy, pollution not clean and in 9th place lack of employment.

Infrastructure has been identified as an attraction motivator, which would be important in avoiding congestion, safety associated with crime has been identified as a hygiene factor, but as seen by these responses, hygiene factors are taken for granted if they are present, but if the hygiene factors such as safety are not to the required standard that will lead to people not being attracted and leaving cities.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑27 Factors that would put respondents off living in a city | | | | | |
|  |  | 1st | 2nd | total responses | % of total responses |
| 1 | Congestion | 72 | 21 | 93 | 15 |
| 2 | Crime | 44 | 19 | 63 | 10 |
| 3 | too busy | 33 | 11 | 44 | 7 |
| 4 | too crowded | 25 | 17 | 42 | 7 |
| 5 | too expensive | 28 | 12 | 40 | 6 |
| 6 | Noisy | 28 | 8 | 36 | 6 |
| 7 | Pollution | 18 | 16 | 34 | 5 |
| 8 | not clean | 8 | 16 | 24 | 4 |
| 9 | lack of employment | 14 | 7 | 21 | 3 |
| 10 | too big | 20 | 1 | 21 | 3 |
| 11 | Other | 13 | 7 | 20 | 3 |
| 12 | infrastructure | 10 | 9 | 19 | 3 |
| 13 | Safety | 13 | 5 | 18 | 3 |
| 14 | run down environment | 12 | 4 | 16 | 3 |
| 15 | accommodation | 3 | 9 | 12 | 2 |
| 16 | green space | 7 | 5 | 12 | 2 |
| 17 | People | 6 | 6 | 12 | 2 |
| 18 | not enough to do | 9 | 2 | 11 | 2 |
| 19 | too built up | 7 | 3 | 10 | 2 |
| 20 | physical factors mountains sea | 4 | 5 | 9 | 1 |
| 21 | Impersonal | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 |
| 22 | ant-social behaviour | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| 23 | Commuting | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 |
| 24 | poor facilities | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 |
| 25 | unattractive buildings | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| 26 | Education | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| 27 | Poverty | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| 28 | Shopping | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| 29 | Weather | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 30 | Diversity | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| 31 | Culture | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 32 | Family | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 33 | Friends | 3 |  | 3 | 0 |
| 34 | lack of community |  | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 35 | Reputation | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 36 | quality of life | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 37 | social life | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 38 | Arts | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 39 | Creativity | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 40 | have to drive everywhere | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 41 | Leadership |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 42 | poor internet technology |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 43 | Racism | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 44 | University | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 45 | Welsh language required in jobs | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |

### Survey question, ’Please name the city you would find most attractive to live in and explain why’

Some respondents gave two cities in response to this question. The responses are shown in the Table 4-28.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑28 Number of respondents and responses to Name the most attractive city | | | |
|  | Attractive city 1 | Attractive city 2 | Total |
| Responses | 367 | 20 | 387 |
| Missing | 146 | 493 | 639 |
| Number of respondents | 513 | 513 |  |

Table 4-28 shows the 72 cities named as the most attractive to live in and Figure 4-6 represents the findings in diagrammatical form.

Cardiff, Bristol and Manchester came in the top 3 cities, probably because of the bias of those who completed the survey and have chosen to live in these cities. Newport is at number 13, only 6 respondents identified it as the most attractive city. This does not reflect well on the city when comparing it with the other case-study cities, even those living in Newport do not identify it as an attractive city.

The positive sign is that most of the cities named are small cities, although London at number 4, Sidney at 7 and New York at number 10 are cities of multi-million populations with high profiles, the other cities in the top 10 are under 1.5 million population and are small cities, indicating the preference for smaller sized cities of many respondents.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑29 Responses to name the most attractive city | | | | | |
|  |  | Response 1 | Response 2 | Total responses | % of total responses |
| 1 | Cardiff | 77 | 4 | 81 | 15 |
| 2 | Bristol | 59 | 1 | 60 | 11 |
| 3 | Manchester | 33 | 3 | 36 | 7 |
| 4 | London | 34 |  | 34 | 6 |
| 5 | Bath | 15 | 1 | 16 | 3 |
| 6 | Edinburgh | 12 |  | 12 | 2 |
| 7 | Sydney | 11 | 1 | 12 | 2 |
| 8 | York | 9 | 1 | 10 | 2 |
| 9 | Chester | 7 |  | 7 | 1 |
| 10 | New York | 6 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| 11 | Liverpool | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 |
| 12 | Melbourne | 6 |  | 6 | 1 |
| 13 | Newport | 6 |  | 6 | 1 |
| 14 | Swansea | 5 |  | 5 | 1 |
| 15 | Barcelona | 4 |  | 4 | 1 |
| 16 | Bournemouth | 4 |  | 4 | 1 |
| 17 | Leeds | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| 18 | San Francisco | 4 |  | 4 | 1 |
| 19 | Vancouver | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| 20 | Boston | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| 21 | Copenhagen | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| 22 | Newcastle | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| 23 | Paris | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| 24 | Venice | 3 |  | 3 | 1 |
| 25 | Amsterdam | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 26 | Bangor | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 27 | Birmingham | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 28 | Dublin | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 29 | Durham | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 30 | Los Angeles | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 31 | Norwich | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 32 | Rio de Janeiro | 2 |  | 2 | 0 |
| 33 | Almelo | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 34 | Athens | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 35 | Auckland | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 36 | Berlin | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 37 | Blackburn | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 38 | Bradford | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 39 | Brighton | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 40 | Brussels | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 41 | Cape Town | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 42 | Chamonix | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 43 | Harrogate | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 44 | Helsinki | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 45 | Hong Kong | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 46 | Hove |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 47 | Kampala | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 48 | Klaipeda | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 50 | Kouvolo | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 51 | Lancaster | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 52 | Las Vegas | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 53 | Lincoln | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 54 | Marrakesh | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 55 | Miami | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 56 | Milton Keynes | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 57 | Monaco | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 58 | Oxford | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 59 | Plymouth | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 60 | Preston | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 61 | Rome | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 62 | Sheffield | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 63 | St. David’s | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 64 | Stavanger | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 65 | Stockholm | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 66 | Tel Aviv | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 67 | Tokyo | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 68 | Toronto | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 69 | Truro |  | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 70 | Wellington, New Zealand | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |
| 71 | Winchester | 1 |  | 1 | 0 |

Figure 4‑6 Name the most attractive city

The highest priority attraction motivator for the named city was the culture, which has been consistently high in the Attraction Motivators for all responses. Second was the size of the city, this is a positive for a small city as respondents identified the size of a city as important and therefore can be a motivational attraction, although it may be kept in mind that size is relative and some respondents identify Cardiff, Bristol and Manchester as big cities in comparison with smaller cities, towns or villages.

Social life is the 3rd priority, physical factors and beautiful, 4th and 5th with family and employment 6th and 7th. These are all important motivational attractions that policy makers need to focus attention on developing. It is important for policy makers to understand that hygiene factors such as those identified here, size, physical factors and beautiful (aesthetics) are not identified as Attraction Motivators and are therefore not included in the city branding to skilled people, but these factors need to be present in the city.

## Unskilled and skilled peoples’ Attraction Motivators compared

Responses to the survey were collected from skilled and unskilled people (Table 4-30). 513 skilled people and 153 unskilled people completed the survey. Some responses to the survey have been compared, when there are over 50 responses from the unskilled people.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Numbers of skilled and unskilled respondents | | |
| Category | No. of participants | Valid Percent |
| Unskilled | 153 | 24.1 |
| Skilled | 513 | 75.9 |
| Total | 666 | 100.0 |

There has been a lot written about the discriminatory effect of policy focusing on developing cities to attract and retain skilled people without consideration being given to those that are not skilled. The comparisons have been made of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people to identify if there are big differences in what the skilled and unskilled people are attracted by in a small city, as a basis for policy making to provide inclusive policies that do not exclude those people who are not included as skilled, due to lack of academic achievement or occupation.

### Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on, ‘What attracted you to live there?’

A considerably high proportion of unskilled people, 29% identified that they were living in a city because they were born there. This is higher than the proportion of skilled people, 14%. Family was given as the reason for living in the city by 19% of unskilled people and 13% of skilled people, “grew up here” was the third attraction motivator with 15% of the responses for unskilled people, but lower at 6% for skilled people.

Employment was the fourth attraction motivator for unskilled people with 7% of responses but it was the highest attraction motivator for skilled people with 18% of responses (Table 4-31 and Fig. 4.7).

The other major difference was the importance of University was low for unskilled people at 2%, but high for skilled people as an attraction motivator at 14%, because skilled people usually have a degree and have been to University.

Unskilled people focus on social capital, whilst skilled people focus is on employment, university and then social capital.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on, ‘What attracted you to live there?’ | | | |
|  |  | Unskilled | skilled |
| 1 | born here | 29% | 14% |
| 2 | Family | 19% | 13% |
| 3 | grew up here | 15% | 6% |
| 4 | Employment | 7% | 18% |
| 5 | physical factors mountains sea | 5% | 4% |
| 6 | Education | 3% | 2% |
| 7 | Infrastructure | 3% | 1% |
| 8 | Other | 3% | 2% |
| 9 | University | 2% | 14% |
| 10 | Size | 2% | 2% |
| 11 | calm and peaceful | 2% | 1% |
| 12 | affordable housing | 2% | 1% |
| 13 | Affordability | 1% | 0% |
| 14 | good location | 1% | 2% |
| 15 | Accommodation | 1% | 1% |
| 16 | Friends | 1% | 1% |
| 17 | Shopping | 1% | 1% |
| 18 | near city centre | 1% | 1% |
| 19 | Opportunities | 1% | 0% |
| 20 | job opportunities | 1% | 4% |
| 21 | great city | 1% | 1% |
| 22 | Culture | 0% | 1% |
| 23 | Creativity | 0% | 0% |
| 24 | quality of life | 0% | 1% |
| 25 | Safety | 0% | 1% |
| 26 | social life | 0% | 0% |
| 27 | green space | 0% | 0% |
| 28 | Beautiful | 0% | 0% |
| 29 | History | 0% | 0% |
| 30 | lots to do | 0% | 1% |
| 31 | Weather | 0% | 1% |
| 32 | Friendly | 0% | 1% |
| 33 | Reputation | 0% | 0% |
| 34 | not crowded | 0% | 0% |
| 35 | hospitals and health care | 0% | 0% |
| 36 | Lifestyle | 0% | 0% |
| 37 | Happy | 0% | 0% |
| 38 | cost of living | 0% | 0% |
| 39 | attractive to businesses | 0% | 1% |
| 40 | atmosphere | 0% | 0% |
| 41 | research opportunities | 0% | 0% |
| 42 | better environment | 0% | 1% |
| 43 | lively city | 0% | 0% |
| 44 | Facilities |  | 1% |

Figure 4‑7 Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on ,’What attracted you to live there?’

### Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?’

The Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people were very similar in answer to, ‘What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?’. Both groups identified employment as the most important attraction, then unskilled people identified shopping as their 2nd priority at 13.2% of responses, 5.8% of responses from skilled people identified shopping as a priority attraction making it 4th priority (Table 4-32; Figure 4.8).

9.6% of the responses from skilled and unskilled groups identified infrastructure as highly significant in making a city attractive and social life for unskilled people was the 4th priority with 7% of responses, skilled people gave 5.6% for social life, a little lower.

Facilities was similar for skilled and unskilled people at 6.8% and 7% of the responses. Family was higher for unskilled 6.1% and 4.7% for skilled people.

The groups are similar in their Attraction Motivators, apart from shopping featuring higher for unskilled than skilled people. Employment, infrastructure and facilities are amongst the top priorities for both groups, in responding to this question.

If the coding combined social life and ‘lots to do’, which it has in other response calculations then social life for skilled people would be 10.3% and 10.5% for unskilled people, very similar responses again and then social life would also be a main attraction motivator for both groups.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑32 Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on, ’What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?’ | | | |
|  |  | unskilled | skilled |
| 1 | employment | 14.00% | 12.10% |
| 2 | shopping | 13.20% | 5.80% |
| 3 | infrastructure | 9.60% | 9.60% |
| 4 | social life | 7.00% | 5.60% |
| 5 | facilities | 7.00% | 6.80% |
| 6 | family | 6.10% | 4.70% |
| 7 | people | 4.40% | 2.80% |
| 8 | culture | 3.50% | 3.50% |
| 9 | size | 3.50% | 4.20% |
| 10 | lots to do | 3.50% | 4.70% |
| 11 | accommodation | 2.60% | 1.60% |
| 12 | education | 2.60% | 3.50% |
| 13 | other | 2.60% | 2.10% |
| 14 | clean | 2.60% | 2.30% |
| 15 | quality of life | 1.80% | 2.80% |
| 16 | physical factors mountains sea | 1.80% | 3.50% |
| 17 | safety | 1.80% | 3.50% |
| 18 | history | 1.80% | 1.40% |
| 19 | friends | 0.90% | 1.20% |
| 20 | creativity | 0.90% | 0.70% |
| 21 | sports to participation | 0.90% | 1.20% |
| 22 | green space | 0.90% | 3.00% |
| 23 | affordability | 0.90% | 1.40% |
| 24 | beautiful | 0.90% | 0.50% |
| 25 | born here | 0.90% | 0.20% |
| 26 | near city centre | 0.90% | 0.00% |
| 27 | grew up here | 0.90% | 0.70% |
| 28 | diversity | 0.90% | 0.50% |
| 29 | friendly | 0.90% | 0.00% |
| 30 | leisure facilities | 0.90% | 0.00% |
| 31 | arts | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 32 | restaurants | 0.00% | 1.20% |
| 33 | university | 0.00% | 2.10% |
| 34 | sports to observe | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 35 | buildings | 0.00% | 1.40% |
| 36 | low pollution | 0.00% | 0.90% |
| 37 | prosperous | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 38 | not crowded | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 39 | opportunities | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 40 | hospitals and health care | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 41 | job opportunities | 0.00% | 0.70% |
| 42 | cost of living | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 43 | good public transport | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 44 | lively city | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 45 | night life | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 46 | great city | 0.00% | 0.20% |
| 47 | tourist attractions | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 48 | life work balance | 0.00% | 0.20% |
|  | Total responses | 114 | 429 |

Figure 4‑8 Comparison of Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people, based on ,’What are the attractions key to making a city attractive to you?'

### Comments from skilled and unskilled people relating to Attraction Motivators

Employment is the highest attraction motivator for unskilled people with 25.8% of the comments made relating to employment, higher than skilled people. Infrastructure is in second place as an attraction for unskilled people with 10.6% of comments, while for skilled people it is 4th as a priority with 5.6% of the comments (Table 4-33; Figure 4.9). Third attraction for unskilled people is job opportunities with 10.6%, which is the first priority for skilled people with 21.6% of comments, this reflects the ambition of skilled people who are not attracted by just employment, but by employment with opportunities to progress in their careers and add to their skills. This indicates a difference in ambition between the two groups, which needs further research.

6.10% of the comments for unskilled people identified facilities, such as hospitals, leisure centres, doctors’ surgeries, libraries etc. as the 4th most important attraction to cities, compared to skilled people who put facilities as 5th priority with 2.8% of comments. Good salaries and wages were commented on by 6.1% for both groups, it is the 5th priority for skilled people and 3rd for skilled people.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 4‑33 Comparison of unskilled and skilled people’s comments | | | |
|  |  | Unskilled | Skilled |
| 1 | Employment | 25.80% | 18.30% |
| 2 | infrastructure | 10.60% | 5.60% |
| 3 | job opportunities | 10.60% | 21.60% |
| 4 | facilities | 6.10% | 2.80% |
| 5 | good salary, wages | 6.10% | 6.10% |
| 6 | other | 4.50% | 1.90% |
| 7 | attractive to businesses | 4.50% | 2.30% |
| 8 | education | 3.00% | 2.80% |
| 9 | affordable housing | 3.00% | 2.30% |
| 10 | lifestyle | 3.00% | 1.40% |
| 11 | jobs associated with your skills | 3.00% | 1.40% |
| 12 | culture | 1.50% | 1.40% |
| 13 | shopping | 1.50% | 0.90% |
| 14 | restaurants | 1.50% | 0.00% |
| 15 | social life | 1.50% | 1.90% |
| 16 | Size | 1.50% | 0.00% |
| 17 | diversity | 1.50% | 1.90% |
| 18 | opportunities | 1.50% | 4.70% |
| 19 | happy | 1.50% | 0.00% |
| 20 | cost of living | 1.50% | 1.40% |
| 21 | like minded people | 1.50% | 2.30% |
| 22 | technology | 1.50% | 0.00% |
| 23 | good public transport | 1.50% | 0.90% |
| 24 | local feel | 1.50% | 0.00% |
| 25 | accommodation | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 26 | family | 0.00% | 3.80% |
| 27 | Arts | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 28 | creativity | 0.00% | 1.40% |
| 29 | quality of life | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 30 | university | 0.00% | 0.90% |
| 31 | green space | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 32 | affordability | 0.00% | 0.90% |
| 33 | history | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 34 | near city centre | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 35 | clean | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 36 | people | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 37 | lots to do | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 38 | calm and peaceful | 0.00% | 0.90% |
| 39 | reputation | 0.00% | 1.90% |
| 40 | entertainment | 0.00% | 1.40% |
| 41 | work satisfaction | 0.00% | 1.40% |
| 42 | nice place to raise family | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| 43 | leisure facilities | 0.00% | 0.50% |
|  | Total comments | 66 | 213 |

Figure 4‑9 Comparison of unskilled and skilled people’s comments

### Summary

In Chapter 4 objective 3 to identify Attraction Motivator for small cities was achieved by combining the responses from the survey questions to find that employment, infrastructure, social life, culture and family (social capital) are the key Attraction Motivators for small cities. This also answered the research question ‘What are the Attraction Motivators for skilled people?

Attraction motivators for men and women, life-stages, the case study cities and finally the motivational attractors for skilled and unskilled people have been compared to address Objective 4. It was found that there were some differences between genders, life-stages and locations in the Attraction Motivators, which should be noted by policy makers when devising policy, further research on each group needs to be undertaken to identify any significant differences. In this research with relatively low numbers in each group the differences were not substantial. There was a general focus by all groups on employment, social life, culture, infrastructure and family (social capital) Further analysis is undertaken relating to Objective 4 in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 5 the Attraction Motivators identified in this chapter will be further scrutinised and re-examined by revisiting the interview data and survey statements to further analyse and evaluate. The findings and analysis of the key Attraction Motivators in Chapter 5 will facilitate the development of the conceptual framework(Chapter 3) to the achievement of the aim of the research to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to contribute to economic development.

# Analysis and Discussion

## Introduction

In Chapter 4 objective 3 and 4 were met, the findings from the responses to open questions and demographic information from the surveys were presented and analysed to determine that employment, infrastructure, social life, culture and family are the key Attraction Motivators for skilled people and that there were some differences in Attraction Motivators between life-stages, gender, and cities.

In this chapter the Attraction Motivators will be further scrutinised and re-examined by revisiting the interview data and survey statements to further analyse and evaluate. The findings and analysis of the key Attraction Motivators will facilitate the development of the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) to address objective 5 to develop a robust model and to fulfil the aim of the research to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to contribute to economic development.

These findings for the Attraction Motivators are not intended to be finite for all cities but are indicative of the mixture of hard and soft factors that policy makers need to consider in a strategy to attract and retain skilled people.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 5‑1 Attraction Motivators for small cities | | | |
|  | Attraction Motivators | total responses | % of total responses |
| 1 | Employment | 461 | 15 |
| 2 | Social Life | 321 | 11 |
| 3 | Culture | 259 | 8 |
| 4 | Infrastructure | 242 | 8 |
| 5 | Family | 194 | 6 |
| 6 | Facilities | 129 | 4 |
| 7 | Physical Factors Mountains Sea | 110 | 4 |
| 8 | Education | 107 | 4 |
| 9 | University | 105 | 3 |
| 10 | Better Environment | 101 | 3 |
| 11 | Shopping | 95 | 3 |
| 12 | Size | 88 | 3 |
| 13 | Grew Up Here | 76 | 2 |
| 14 | Born Here | 73 | 2 |
| 15 | Safety | 60 | 2 |
| 16 | Friends | 55 | 2 |

Employment, social life, culture, infrastructure and family have been consistently identified as the five Attraction Motivators throughout analysis of the surveys. In Figure 5.1, the breaking point (Field, 2013) is taken at the fifth factor, family, since this takes into consideration the top Attraction Motivators. The remaining of responses are spread amongst the 40 plus factors that are identified as hygiene factors, important to the city in many cases but factors that do not motivate skilled people to move or stay in the city.

The five most popular factors are identified as motivational attractions and will be contextualised based on the data collected in interviews and the statements in the survey. This will clarify the broader functions of these Attraction Motivators and make the findings useful for policy makers.

Figure 5‑1 Attraction Motivators for small cities

## Employment

Employment throughout this research has been identified as a priority attraction motivator. This supports the theories postulated by Glaeser (2000), Storper (2013), Brown and Mczyski (2009) and Musterd and Murie (2010), that employment and income are a vital part of attracting skilled people to cities, playing a substantial role in the decision for most people on where they live.

Florida (2000b) identifies that skilled people are attracted to cities by a combination of amenities which include art, music and a lively social scene; Florida (2002b) conceives the central dynamic for economic development of cities, as being attracting the skilled people to a city and the employment will follow the skilled people to that city. The concept of jobs following the skilled people is vehemently disputed by Peck (2005) and Storper and Scott (2009). Later, Florida (2014) concedes, that both employment and employees are needed in cities and says the argument about which comes first, and which follows, is not worth arguing about. Florida, (2014) identifies that the important ingredients for a successful city is that it has both skilled people and job opportunities. Storper and Scott (2009), and Peck (2005), have maintained that employment is central as an Attraction Motivator for skilled people which is supported by the research of Musterd and Marie (2010), although the emphasis for academics such as Florida (2002b, 2006) has been on the importance of the provision of a creative environment to encourage skilled people to live in a place and drive the economy, Florida (2014) has recognised that employment is an essential element in attracting skilled people to a city.

Throughout my research there has been a clear emphasis on the importance employment plays in attracting skilled people, in the literature, the interviews with both skilled people and key informants and the surveys, employment has been central; all be it that the category of employment has many elements that need to be recognised. These different elements include providing career development, which is a very important for skilled people as seen in the findings in Table 5-2.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 5‑2 Comparison of unskilled and skilled people’s comments | | | |
|  |  | unskilled | Skilled |
| 1 | employment | 25.80% | 18.30% |
| 2 | infrastructure | 10.60% | 5.60% |
| 3 | job opportunities | 10.60% | 21.60% |

Career development provides skilled people with an opportunity to use their skills and develop them further, which according to Kotkin (2000), is the aim of skilled people who have worked hard, often both academically and through gaining experience, to develop high levels of skills. It makes sensethat skilled people want to further develop in suitable employment. Storper and Scott (2009) and Brown (2015), write about the necessity for cities to provide opportunities for skilled people to grow and succeed, which needs cities to have a ‘thick labour market’. Storper and Scott (2009) characterised the thick labour market, as providing employment at several levels, to provide career progression and job satisfaction. Employment at different levels of experience, that will provide opportunities at all levels, is needed to attract and retain skilled people at different stages of their career. In the interviews, the experts identified that without opportunities, people would have to move away or would not be attracted to the city because of lack of long-term career progression.

In the interviews, skilled people identified different circumstances they are in when they are looking for the employment that they needed, such as moving to be with their partner and needing to find employment, or taking a job to provide income in the short-term to fund further academic aims. Therefore, employment appears not only to have to provide a linear career path, but it also needs to provide opportunities for skilled people at different life-stages with different priorities. The interviews showed employment to be the most important attraction and retention factor, it encompasses highly skilled employment with a career path to a job that provides adequate income for the interviewee to pursue other goals, as well as employment that provides in the short-term for financial need, whilst fulfilling other tasks, such as caring for children or studying.

A city needs to have a thick labour market in order to meet the needs of skilled people, this is difficult for small cities, since the labour market will be restricted in comparison with megacities, such as London which has vast opportunities in all sectors. Small cities need to develop through strategic planning a thick labour markets in specific areas, based on related variety (Franken and Boschma, 2007), so the labour market builds and provides opportunities for skilled people.

In some ways, the smaller size of the city can be an advantage, Brown (2015) identified that creatives in Birmingham recognised the advantages of the smaller size of Birmingham in comparison with London because they found in a smaller network they would meet the same people more often which enables people to build relationships more easily and form networks which provide opportunities.

### Analysis of Employment related statements from the survey

Employment has been further analysed through the responses to the four statements in the surveys relating to employment. The statements were taken from interviews with skilled people and included in the surveys. The responses were made on a five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The responses have been analysed using SPSS to give more depth of understanding of the role of employment in the case study cities.

#### Statement, ‘There are not many job opportunities’

In Figure 5-2 the response to the statement in the survey, ‘*There are not many job opportunities*,’ was analysed, and it was found that over 40% of skilled people in Newport agreed with this statement, whilst less than 17% of skilled people in Bristol agreed with this statement. This is a useful guide for policy makers in cities to identify the perception of opportunities in the cities. In Manchester and Cardiff over 20% of skilled people concur with the statement that there are not many job opportunities. Peck (2007) and Storper and Scott (2016) identify employment as the main motivator for attracting skilled people, which is supported by this research. Small cities therefore need to address the perception of 17% to over 40% of skilled people that there is a lack of opportunities in the city, if they are to have any chance of attracting and retaining skilled people.

Figure 5‑2 City's responses to There are not many job opportunities

Comparing the views of men and women to this question (Fig 5.3), 24.3% of skilled women and 26.3% of skilled men perceive there are not many job opportunities, which is an average of a quarter of the workforce of skilled people. This is of considerable concern for retaining skilled people in small cities. The difference in the opinion of men and women is 2%, this means there is the perception there are less opportunities for men than women. Policy makers should address the perception of opportunities, by supporting a thicker labour market.

Figure 5‑3 Gender responses to There are not many job opportunities

The perception of lack of opportunities is highest for those in the other category of life-stages (Figure 5-4) which includes single parents, this may be due to lack of flexible working arrangements, such as working from home or only working in school term times for those with family commitments and without wider family support.

Couples with young children have the most positive perception of opportunities; this may co-inside with them adopting a change of priority from career progress on to family or it may be there are more opportunities for this age group, who are at the beginning of their career, which may signal that opportunities at higher career levels diminish in small cities, indicating a lack of opportunities higher up the career ladder.

There is generally a high level, over 20%, of skilled people throughout all life-stages that perceive a lack of opportunity in small cities, which needs to be addressed, if skilled people are to be retained and attracted.

Figure 5‑4 Life-stage responses to There are not many job opportunities

#### Statement, ‘There are good attractive job opportunities here, they are essential.’

In response to the statement, ‘*There are good attractive job opportunities here, they are essential.’* in Manchester 55.9% and Cardiff 55.7%, of skilled people perceive that there are good job opportunities in these cities. In Bristol 51.5% perceive there are good job opportunities, this indicates that over 40% of skilled people perceive that there are not good job opportunities in these cities. In Newport only 32.4% of people perceive there are good job opportunities, which indicates over 65% of skilled people in Newport do not think that there are good job opportunities. A city cannot attract and retain skilled people successfully unless there is a perception that the city provides opportunities. Improving the job opportunities is essential, also, improving the perceptions of the opportunities in these cities is important. Figure 5-5 illustrates the viewpoints.

Figure 5‑5 City's responses to There are good attractive job opportunities here, they are esssential

Figure 5‑6 Gender responses to There are good attractive job opportunities here, they are esssential

The difference in the perception of opportunities is virtually the same for men and women (see Figure 5-6). Less than half of all skilled men and women throughout the case study cities perceive that there are good job opportunities. The perception of poor job opportunities in small cities is not an Attraction Motivator for skilled people.

Figure 5‑7 Life-stage responses to.’ There are good attractive job opportunities here, they are esssential’

There is a difference in the perception of job opportunities throughout the life stages, the highest perception of opportunities at 56.9% and 52.8% is for single people and couples without children, the perception dips to 43.5% for people with young children (Figure 5-7). This may be due to lack of flexible working arrangements to support families with small children. Couples with children of school age and older are more positive about the available opportunities at 50.7%, but then there is a considerable drop in optimism for the job opportunities available for people whose children have left home, with only just over a third of people perceiving that there are good job opportunities at 34%. This could be because these people are older and have not kept up with the skills needed in the modern job market, it could be because of the lack of career development for older people, who experience a plateauing of career because of the lack of job opportunities at higher levels in small cities, this could be due to the lack of head-quarters and larger companies in small cities. It could be that they have first-hand experience of their children having to leave the city because of lack of opportunities.

The perception of lack of opportunity dips further for those in the ‘other’ group, which includes single parents, this may be due to lack of flexible working to fit in with extra family responsibilities. City leaders need to address these issues since a lack of opportunities will not attract and retain skilled people.

#### Statement, ‘I got this job because I knew that’s where I wanted to live.’

The theory of Florida (2002b) is that jobs follow skilled people and therefore if skilled people decide to move to a city because of the amenities, then the employers will follow and bring greater economic success to the city. The responses to this statement looks at how many people moved to the city, not because they could get employment there, but as Florida (2002b) suggests, because they are attracted to the city for other reasons and want to live there and then when they are there they find a job in the city.

46% of skilled people who completed the survey, in Bristol, agreed that they wanted to live in Bristol foremost and they got a job in the city they wanted to live in. This is a relatively high number of people, almost half of the skilled people who completed the survey in Bristol, made the decision to live in Bristol not because of the job primarily, but because of other factors that attracted them to the city, which to an extent supports the Florida (2002b) theory. 42.7% of skilled people in the survey in Cardiff, 36% in Manchester and 29% of skilled people in Newport are in these small cities because they want to live in the cities for reasons other than their job.

This also reflects the findings of [Pareja-Eastaway et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_117), that mobility of the population including skilled people is lower in Europe than in the USA. In Europe, it was found there was more place attachment, ‘locating where they were born or studied, establishing and caring about their social and professional networks.’ (Pareja-Eastaway, et al., 2010, page 196). Figure 5-8 reflects the responses from skilled people who completed the survey.

Figure 5‑8 City's responses to,’ I got this job because I knew that's where I want to live.’

Men and women agreed in very similar proportions to the statement, 39.3% of skilled women and 39.1% of skilled men are in the small city because of reasons other than their job. Just fewer than 40% of skilled people in both genders are attracted by Attraction Motivators other than employment. Figure 5-9 represents these findings.

Figure 5‑9 Gender responses to I got this job because I knew that's where I want to live

The Attraction Motivators other than the job is higher for single people and couples without children at 43.8% and 49.1%. Florida’s (2002) theory of attracting skilled people through a good social life and culture appears to be supported to an extent in the early life stages. At the other life-stages, when the skilled people have dependents, the job appears to be of higher importance in making the decision of where to live. Chan and Ermisch (2014, page 10) in their study of households in the UK stated that, ‘mobility peaks in young adulthood, with about one third of those in their early-to-mid 20s changing residence each year; this then drops quite sharply and stabilises at about 3 per cent per year.’ So, the movement of people when they are young is important because where they move in their 20s to early 30s, they are likely to stay. Therefore, the Attraction Motivators for the single and couples with no children and young couples is particularly important in retaining and attracting skilled people. Figure 5-10 represents these findings.

Figure 5‑10 Life-stage responses to, I got this job because I knew that's where I want to live

#### Statement, ‘Most of the moves I have made were career driven.’

In Cardiff over 65% of skilled people agree with the statement in the survey that, ‘*Most of the moves I have made have been career driven’*, indicating the importance that employment plays as an attraction motivator for skilled people. The percentage of agreement is lower for Newport with 51% and Manchester with 49%, but this represents close to half the respondents of the cities which reflects the importance of job opportunities and career progress as an attraction motivator. The lowest agreement level to this statement was in Bristol, where less than 40% of skilled people agreed that their career had driven where they lived. This emphasises the complexity of the interaction of Attraction Motivators to attract and retain skilled people. Figure below 5-11 reflects the response outcomes.

Figure 5‑11 City's responses to, Most of the moves I have made were career driven

Over 13% more skilled men than skilled women agreed with the statement, *‘Most of the moves I have made were career driven,’* indicating that there could be a gender bias in the influence career plays in attracting skilled people. This needs further research, to find if the Attraction Motivators for men and women are different in certain aspects, such as the emphasis on career as opposed to other Attraction Motivators, which is important for policy making. Figure below 5-12 reflects the response outcomes.

Figure 5‑12 Gender responses to, ‘Most of the moves I have made were career driven.’

There does not appear to be very much variation between life-stages to the attraction motivation of career progress, although the ‘other ‘group had a very low level agreement to this statement, which considering that this group includes single parents and others with caring responsibilities, could suggest that this group prioritise family over career.

Figure 5-13 illustrates the viewpoint percentages for each category of respondent.

Figure 5‑13 Life-stage responses to, ‘Most of the moves I have made were career driven.’

#### Summary for employment

The responses to the statements relating to employment, indicates the balance of the importance of employment with the other attraction and retention factors for skilled people in small cities. There was considerable variation in responses between cities to the statements and there were gender differences and similarities to responses and some differences can be identified at different life stages. This indicates that, as said by Glaeser (2005) and Peck (2005), the theory proposed by Florida (2002b) treating skilled people as a homogenous group is not valid. Skilled people have different motivational attraction factors, some of which have been identified between genders, life stages and geographic differences. Employment is an Attraction Motivator for skilled people, but in the context of other Attraction Motivators, as identified in the literature and the research.

### Analysis of Employment related quotations from the interviews

Employment has been further analysed through the quotations taken from the interviews with skilled people. The interviews reflected the responses to the statements in many instances, for example, many interviewees identifying a lack of opportunities in small cities, as did the responses to the statement in the survey, *‘There are not many job opportunities*.’

In the interviews, some skilled people studying in Cardiff said they would have to leave the city for career development opportunities. In this case for instance not only was the PhD student, studying product design, intending to leave when she graduated, but her partner who is also skilled is going to move out of the city. She explained:

(My boyfriend)…. He’s Welsh, like Cardiff born and bred and the prospect of the opportunity for my PhD. came at Cardiff, where I did my undergraduate, so I stayed in Cardiff.

The likelihood of staying is probably slim, there are not many job opportunities in my field, to get more chances you’ve got to move, there is not much option.

………we would like to stay in Cardiff, but we are going to have to move, for my career.

A skilled person from Bulgaria wanted to stay in Cardiff after she graduated but explained that she had to leave and go back home, for financial reasons, because she could not find employment, she commented also on the lack of any help or support to get a job in Cardiff saying:

If I had a job I would love to stay in Cardiff. Yes, because I search when I finished second year. I stayed this summer here and I couldn’t find a job because I was either overqualified, right or I didn’t have enough experience. So, most of the people didn’t return any of the emails that I applied for, so it is really hard to find here a job. That is one of the reasons I didn’t stay, I did not want to waste time spending my parents’ money and not finding a job.

The thing that makes a difference between whether I stay in Cardiff or go is getting a job. They (her friends from Bulgaria, also studying in Cardiff) do not say good stuff about finding a job here, a lot of them stayed for the summer and couldn’t find anything.

There is no help from the Uni. or anywhere else, so I have given up……

This is an example of a city losing a skilled person, who is bilingual, very motivated and highly qualified, who wants to stay in Cardiff but is unable to because she cannot find a job. This demonstrates the importance of employment in retaining skilled people. This graduate explained in the interview that she could have found a low paid, unskilled job in the service industry, but she could not find a job, when she graduated, that would have built on her degree and allowed her to progress in her career path. This demonstrates the point that Kotkin (2000) made that skilled people want to build on their academic skills and gain further experience to enhance their skills and therefore cities have to provide the opportunities for skilled people to achieve this goal if they are to stay in the city. She spoke of a lack of support in achieving skilled jobs, the careers support in the University being poor and there being no support from local agencies which can be addressed by policy makers.

Other reason for leaving small cities after graduating, is to experience a different, maybe bigger city, such as an artist who graduated in the 1990s from Cardiff, where her family lived. She said:

…. my degree was in fine art in those days it was called visual art and I specialised in printmaking. It was very black and white then it was all etching and aquatint, I loved it.

I loved all the tonal stuff and the shapes but when I graduated I didn’t get a job related to art immediately, I decided that I’d learn to type so I learned to type and I went to London and got a job as a temp in various secretarial positions. I wanted experience and adventure in a big city.

This highlights that recognising life-stages are central to policy making. After graduation when people are still young enough to travel around relatively unencumbered, they will often want to experience different cities, which will add to their value as skilled people (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014, Brown, 2015). They are willing to forego career development in order to fulfil other objectives. As several key informants have pointed out, young graduates wanting to travel and experience other places is not to be discouraged, but they should be encouraged to return at a later life-stage when they are ready to settle down because they have family commitments. The life-stages that include having children are also a time when education becomes important as a motivational attractor for skilled people in the city. The family life-stage of having school age families increases the attachment of the skilled people to the city through their children and therefore investing in attracting people at the life-stage they are preparing to settle and start a family or already have children, would be a fruitful way policy makers can increase numbers of skilled people in a city to drive the economy.

A key informant identified that jobs are a key driver to attract skilled people saying:

It’s access to good quality job opportunities is basically it. You come to a place, the driver has to be good, attractive job opportunities, they are absolutely essential. Who would be here without it, that’s the thing?

As he points out, ‘who would be here without it?’ meaning job opportunities. As can be seen in many cities throughout the world, if job opportunities cease to exist, this has a devastating effect on the economy as people move out of the area to find work. This has happened in America in the ‘Rust belt,’ where car manufacturing was the predominant industry for four decades until the 1990s when cities like Detroit, lost hundreds of thousands of jobs as car manufacturers left the city and jobs were no longer available. People who could move out to get a job somewhere else have done so, resulting in the city becoming increasingly impoverished (Luce, 2013). These cities were the main supporters for President Trump being elected in November 2016, on a promise that he would revive the areas by bringing back jobs.

Cities with high levels of skilled people, who can adapt quicker to change, are therefore more resilient to changes in the economic environment, this is one of the advantages to a city of having a high population of skilled workers. Skilled people are better equipped to adapt and create innovation and change, which buffers the economy against macro-environmental changes, such as the world-wide recession of 2008.

An interviewee, who moved out of Cardiff for employment reasons in 2008, demonstrates the fragility of skilled employment in some sectors in a recession and the key role employment opportunities play for skilled people who need to maintain their income. This senior manager in the construction industry, explained why he and his wife, who are at a later life-stage, their children having left home, decided to leave Cardiff based on employment saying:

We were a little bit concerned about what we saw as an economic recession in 2006 and thought we’d be able to ride out the storm in India, and fortunately it wasn’t anything to do with the economic downturn that the contract was terminated there, it was just that Laing O’Rourke’s decision to pull out of India, due to, sort of social differences on their attitudes to health and welfare and safety and of course being paid.

So, we went to Dubai, by the time we got there it was already down- hill anyway. In 2009, I moved to Qatar working for a consultancy.

……. the building industry is very much the litmus paper of the economy. In the UK, it is the first thing that goes down and it’s normally, on the plus side, it’s normally the first thing that shows the new shoots of growth …... I was very worried about it and so was (wife), so we thought we’d do something about it.

This indicates that at all life-stages up until retirement employment is a deciding factor in attracting and retaining skilled people.

In the survey 60% of men agreed with the statement, *‘most of the moves I have made were career driven,’* and this was especially prominent at the early life-stage being single. An interviewee spoke about this explaining all his moves until he was married and had a child were based on his employment opportunities and career development saying:

…… I went to Slough for training and then I went to live in Brighton for three years. Then moved from Brighton to Plymouth. Then I went from Plymouth to Bristol and another three-year stint and then I got a job in Leicester. Yes, yes I moved to Tidworth, when I was 30. I did that for a couple of years and then I moved to Cardiff for promotion and that was all driven by career moves…. Then I met (wife) and I stayed put…. I changed my job to stay in Cardiff in fact.

This identifies that cities providing employment opportunities for career development are key to attracting skilled people at all life stages, pointing to the importance of the thick labour market ([Brown and Meczynski, 2009](#_ENREF_21), [Storper and Scott, 2009](#_ENREF_133)) that needs to be developed in small cities.

Another example of career development being a driver in skilled peoples’ decisions on where to move is illustrated by a woman who is now a senior theatre nurse in Cardiff, who again made decisions on where she would live based on employment and career development opportunities in her early life-stage when she was single saying:

I did my nurse training in Royal Gwent Hospital in Newport (Gwent). It was the first hospital I applied to, got the job, so I didn’t need to plan anything else. From there I was the staff nurse for 18 months, just gaining experience.

Then there was a career opportunity for theatres in Bristol Royal, so I went there for three years and from there…..

Then other social capital, bonding issues such as boyfriends and children started to have an influence on where she was going to live, but consideration was also given to the availability of employment saying:

(My boyfriend) went to Swansea University, this job came up in the theatres in Morriston Hospital in Swansea, which was the job I was looking for anyway, so that’s the reason I went down there for the job and for him.

Then, after entering the life-stage of being a couple and having a young child under 6, her perspective changed regarding employment. The next job the interviewee took she was qualified to do, but it was to provide an income, rather than career development. The interviewee made her decision on where to live based on childcare and social capital, because her parents and close friends were in Cardiff. The interviewee decided to move back to Cardiff, this was made possible because she could find adequate employment, for income, rather than career development saying:

I wasn’t working after I had (child’s name) and then I got a job in the dental Hospital in Cardiff for a whole year as an anaesthetics nurse, because they were looking for somebody who was trained.

I got this job in Cardiff and commuted from Swansea to Cardiff via Barry, because I used to drop (child’s name) off at nursery or my mother’s in Barry, because I knew that’s where I want to live.

This example also shows the difference between America and the UK. The distance between cities in the UK is relatively small, in comparison with the US., so as an example with the interviewee, she lived in Swansea, commuted daily with her son to Cardiff, until she could move back to Cardiff. The theory that is often relied on from the US. is not always valid in other countries, such as the UK because of practical and cultural differences.

#### Summary for Employment Interview and statement responses

These are some of the many examples of how the interviewees spoke about employment. Employment is often the driving force for making the decision to live in a city but there are often other factors influencing the decision as well. The research indicates that the views of many academics, including Storper and Scott (2009), Pratt (2011) and Glaeser (2012) that employment is a major attraction and retention factor for small cities, is supported by the analysis of the semi structured interviews and the surveys in the research to an extent but also other factors have to be considered by policy makers such as social life and family, each of the motivational attractors seem not to be enough in isolation.

## Social Life

Social life is important to economic development, because it is an opportunity for skilled people from different fields to meet and exchange ideas and make connections that can produce innovation (Florida, 2002b; Glaeser, 2005). The survey data identified social life as the second most important attraction for skilled people after employment. Literature recognises social life as important for innovation and economic development (Florida, 2005; Huggins and Izushi, 2007) and it is an attraction motivator for skilled people and therefore it is essential for a small city to have a vibrant social scene.

Social life is a time that is spent socialising with others, often not close friends and family, but those people that are associates and colleagues, people with whom there are looser connections (Putnam, 2005, Florida, 2006, Huggins and Izushi, 2007). This is a chance for skilled people to mix with people outside their immediate circle and to get together with people with different interests and backgrounds from their own. These are the networks made while socialising that are identified by Florida (2006) and Huggins and Izushi (2007) as the times when skilled people produce innovative ideas, which are then translated to marketable products and services that contribute to driving the economy of the city.

### Analysis of social life related statements from the survey

Respondents were asked about their perception of social life in the case study cities and were assessed through the answers to six statements in the surveys relating to different aspects of social life. The statements were taken from interviews with skilled people and included in the surveys. The responses were given on a five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The responses have been analysed using SPSS to give more depth to the role of social life in the case study cities.

#### Statement, ‘I find it easy to meet and swap ideas and be creative, because there’s lots of places to meet fun, interesting people.’

In Manchester, Bristol and Cardiff over 67% agree with the statement, ‘*I find it easy to meet and swap ideas and be creative, because there’s lots of places to meet fun interesting people.’* This supports the theory of Florida (2002b) of the importance of having a social life to allow skilled people to get together and enjoy exchanging views and ideas. In Newport only 44% of skilled people agree with this statement, which indicates a lack of opportunities for skilled people to socialise with people they feel provide a creative environment, which needs to be addressed. Even in Bristol, the city where 67.9%, the highest percentage of people agreed that there is opportunity to meet people and exchange ideas, there are over 30% of skilled people who do not think there are opportunities to meet other people and exchange ideas. Small cities need to address this perception of the lack of a vibrant social scene and provide more opportunities for skilled people to socialise and be creative. Figure 5-14 reflects the findings.

Figure 5‑14 City's responses to, I find it easy to meet and swap ideas and to be creative, because there's lots of places to meet fun, interesting people

Over 5% more women than men identified in the survey that there were opportunities to meet interesting, fun people and exchange ideas. This may be due to the socialising opportunities being more gender appropriate for women. Figure 5-15 reflects the findings diagrammatically.

Figure 5‑15 Gender responses to, I find it easy to meet and swap ideas and to be creative, because there's lots of places to meet fun, interesting people

There is some variation in the agreement to this statement by different life-stages, although the differences are quite small (see Figure 5-16 below). The single group and the couples with no children identify the highest level of agreement at 64.6% and 61.6% that there are lots of opportunities to meet people and exchange ideas. Followed, by 60.8% agreement, from the couples with school age children and couples with older children still living at home. The people who agree least that there are socialising opportunities are those with young children at 57.4% agreement, couples whose children have left home and the ‘other’ group at 56.6% agreement

Although over half the skilled people agree there are opportunities to meet people and socialise, there are over 40% of people who do not concur that there are good social opportunities in the small cities. This needs to be addressed, since socialising is a major attraction motivator and therefore both the opportunities to socialise and the perception of the availability of socialising opportunities needs to be increased for small cities to attract and retain skilled people.

Figure 5‑16 Life-stage responses to ,’I find it easy to meet and swap ideas and to be creative, because there's lots of places to meet fun, interesting people.’

#### ‘Statement, ‘I love watching sport, so I love it here.’

For the responses to ‘I love watching sport so I love it here’ as seen in

the Figure 5-17 below over half the skilled people who completed the survey in

Figure 5‑17 City's responses to, ‘I love watching sport, so I love it here.’

Cardiff agreed that watching sport was an attraction, it is an opportunity to socialise and for skilled people to meet and network. An average of over 38% of skilled people, agreed in the attraction of a city that makes provision to watch sport. This finding does not support the view held by Florida (2005), that watching sport is not attractive to skilled people, he says that building sports stadia for watching sport is not going to attract skilled people. In Newport over 35% and in Manchester over 41% agree that they enjoy watching sport, the lowest agreement level is in Bristol, at over 20%, this maybe because there are not adequate venues there for watching sport, or that the people do not find watching sport an attractive social pastime.

Figure 5‑18 Gender responses to,’I love watching sport, so I love it here.’

As for gender views there is a considerable difference in responses to this statement between men and women as seen in Figure 5-18, over half of the men completing the survey agreed that they love watching sport and that this had an effect on their attraction to where they live. Less than 30% of women agreed, considerably less than the percentage of men, but still a considerable number of skilled women liked watching sport and it affected their view of where they lived. This contradicts the views of Florida (2005), relating to sports stadia not attracting skilled people.

Figure 5‑19 Life-stage responses to, ‘I love watching sport, so I love it here.’

From the life stages perspective (Figure 5-19) the highest agreement to this statement came from the single life-stage, 50.7% of these respondents agreed that they loved watching sport and so loved the city they lived in. The other life stages were between 34% and 40% in agreement that they loved to watch sport with the ‘other’ group lower at 21.7%.

This indicates to policy makers that facilitating watching sports is an attraction motivator in small cities and should be invested in to attract skilled people.

#### Statement, ‘Being able to play lots of sport here makes this city really great for me.’

44.8% of skilled people living in Cardiff agreed with the attraction of being able to play sport in the city, this is a considerably higher percentage than the other cities, in Manchester 38.6% agreed with the statement whilst 28.3% agreed in Newport and 28.7% in Bristol. This has implications beyond the Attraction Motivators for the city, relating to the health and well-being of the citizens of the small city. The greater the participation in sports the greater the health benefits for the inhabitants, so the policy makers strategy to improve the participation in sports in a city by investing in the sports facilities will be a Motivational Attraction for skilled people and have positive health implications. Figure 5-20 represents the view diagrammatically.

Figure 5‑20 City's responses to, ‘Being able to play lots of sport makes the city really great for me.’

Figure 5‑21 Gender responses to, Being able to play lots of sport makes the city really great for me

As regards gender views as set out in Figure 5-21 as in the previous statement relating to socialising through sport, women are less inclined to identify sport as a motivational attraction. 25.2% of women agreed that participating in sport was an attraction in comparison with 49% of men. This could be a factor with wider implications of there being less encouragement and support for females to participate in sport and maintain interest in sport, which has negative health and well-being implications and needs policy makers’ attention.

As regards ‘*being able to play lots of sport makes the city really great for me*’ Figure 5-22 reflects the respondents view from the life stages perspective.

Figure 5‑22 Life-stage responses to, ‘Being able to play lots of sport makes the city really great for me.’

Single skilled people and couples with children that have left home, are the groups with the highest levels of agreement with that, ‘*being able to play lots of sport makes the city really great for me.’* This reflects the numbers of older men attracted to cycling and other sports after the children have left home and there is more available time and money for them to engage in sports activities. 35.8% of couples with no children agreed, less agreed in the life-stage of couples with young children, reflecting the decrease in available time for leisure activities with young children to look after. The percentage of agreement increases slightly to 32.1% in the life-stage when couples have children who are in school, when there is more time for sports activities and increased time for family sports activities. The ‘other’ group again has the lowest agreement level to this statement, since sports activities may not be possible for them because of lack of support to engage in these activities.

#### Statement, ‘There is a fantastic range of restaurants.’

Figure 5-23 illustrates the response percentages from people to the statement ‘*There is a fantastic range of restaurants.’*

Figure 5‑23 City's responses to, There is a fantastic range of restaurants

Bristol, skilled people, give the highest level of agreement,79.4%, that there is a fantastic range of restaurants, followed by Cardiff with 78.6% and Manchester with 72.4 % agreeing, Newport is considerably lower with 57.3%. This reflects the problem of less affluent, smaller cities, with lower levels of skilled people, such as Newport, in comparison with Bristol, because the city with less skilled people is not able to support a vibrant restaurant sector. This response contributes to highlighting the balance between the skilled people and amenities, such as cafes, bars, restaurants and other socialising venues. Florida (2002c) identifies that skilled people are attracted to cities that have a vibrant social network of bars and cafes, whilst Peck (2005) and Glaeser (2005) argue that the social support facilities spring up to meet the demands of the skilled people. The responses to the statement shows the complex causational dynamics between skilled people and the Attraction Motivators. The skilled people are attracted to the restaurants, cafes, bars etc. and the cafes, bars and restaurants thrive when there are sufficient skilled people, who are consumers of these amenities and therefore provide financial support for the range of amenities that give skilled people choice and make the social opportunities available to support a vibrant social scene. The problem for small cities such as Newport with relatively low levels of skilled people is that intervention is needed by policy makers to make the city attractive to entrepreneur and national chains to open in the city through policies such as making space available at subsidised rates initially to get businesses to take a risk and come to the city. This has been done in Newport in Friar’s Walk, a new development in the centre of Newport of bars, cafes, a cinema and restaurants is a collaborative venture between the developer and the city council, which opened whilst the research was being undertaken, so the effects are not yet known, although from personal experience it does seem to have given a vibrant boost to the city centre.

Figure 5‑24 Gender responses to, ‘There is a fantastic range of restaurants.’

9.4% less men than women agreed that there is a fantastic range of restaurants with 66.7%, of men agreeing and 76.1% of women. This is a considerable difference in opinion and needs further investigation. Some men in the interviews were disparaging of the fact that the city did not have a Michelin star restaurant, so maybe some skilled men want more aspirational restaurants to display their wealth, which they do not find in the small cities.

Figure ‑ Life-stage responses to, There is a fantastic range of restaurants

74-75% of the life-stages single, couples with no children and couples with young children agreed that there is a fantastic range of restaurants, couples with children 7-20 years were slightly less in agreement with 67.6% agreeing, but the couples with children who had left home were the least in agreement at 60.9%. This may be because the couples with children that have left home have more time and money and want more variety and higher standard restaurants for example Michelin star restaurants. The group identified as ‘other’ were the most in agreement that there was a fantastic range of restaurants with over 77% agreeing.

Again, this identifies the problem in attracting the niche businesses in a small city with less potential market than in London. Michelin star high cost restaurants can thrive in London where there is a big enough target market for high quality, high priced restaurants, but conceive that the potential market is limited in smaller cities and therefore would struggle to make returns on their investment. This has the negative effect on small cities of having social life available in the average tier but not in the niche and high-end markets, leading to less choice. This may be perceived as less attractive; policy makers may need to implement strategies to address the lack of variety available.

#### Statement, ‘It’s great going out and meeting people, it’s a lovely place for socialising.’

*’*Figure ‑ City's responses to, It's great going out and meeting people, it's a lively place for socialising

76.9% of skilled people in Manchester agree to the statement, ‘*It’s great going out and meeting people, it’s a lively place for socialising,’*, followed by 74.6% agreement in Cardiff and 74% agreement in Bristol which reflects a majority of skilled people enjoy socialising which is an attraction motivator in these cities. Newport had agreement from only 44.6% of skilled people, which shows the lack of perceived opportunities for socialising in Newport. Since social life is an important motivational attraction, policy makers need to increase the socialising opportunities for the skilled people who did not agree with this statement. Newport has introduced a new development Friar’s Walk which includes cinemas, bars, restaurants and shops, it was opened towards the end of the data collection and so the effect of this development has not been reflected in this research.

Figure 5‑27 gender response to, It's great going out and meeting people, it's a lively place for socialising

The difference in the responses between men and women to this statement was negligible at less than 3%, so it appears from this response, that there is no discernible gender difference to their perception of social opportunities.

From the life stages perspective (Figure 5-28) the single life-stage and couples with no children have the highest agreement to this statement, with 74.7% and 75.9% agreement, this drops to 62.9% and 63.5% for the life stages with young children and children still living at home, and it drops to less than 45% for those couples whose children have left home. The ‘other’ group have reasonably high agreement level of 69.6%. This indicates that the later life stages are less happy with the offering available for socialising which needs to be addressed by policy makers in order to attract and retain skilled people at all life-stages.

Figure 5‑28 Life-stage response to, It's great going out and meeting people, it's a lively place for socialising

#### Summary for social life

The response to these statements supports Florida’s (2002) theory of social life being an attraction motivator and the importance of policy makers addressing shortfalls in amenities to support social life for men and women of all life-stages. It is identified that requirements differ in many instances and to make the cites attractive, a vibrant social life for all skilled people at different life stages is essential. Whilst in Cardiff, Bristol and Bristol, there was a high level of agreement that the social life is an attraction motivator, there is room for improvements to be made. Newport needs to make considerable improvements with the availability of amenities and the awareness and perception of the skilled people of the social life possibilities of Newport, if it is to attract and retain skilled people; the introduction of Friar’s Walk, a city centre development with socialising opportunities, is an attempt at addressing the lack of social amenities in Newport.

### Analysis of social life quotations from the interviews

Social life has been further analysed through the quotations taken from the interviews with skilled people. The survey findings are supported by the interview data, the interviewees identified many different social aspects of the city that has attracted them and retained them.

The size of the city is commented on as an advantage for socialising, because it is easy to get around the city and meet people, the, ‘dehumanising effect of London,’ comment is relevant in terms of small cities being easier to identify with, as this female interviewee says about Cardiff;

Cardiff it’s a city it’s got some great bars but it’s not massive, it is negotiable so it’s not dehumanising like London might be., even though like most cities you probably have about 30 people you know really well, and then there are different people you see just now and then, it is a good size for social life.

Another interviewee extols the virtue of the size of the city making it is easier to meet people;

The thing that I like about Cardiff is that it’s big enough to be anonymous. It’s got that city feeling when you’re walking around and nobody knows you, but it also small enough to bump into people. That’s what’s good about it and it’s small enough for people to meet on a regular basis and also to meet different people with different interests and ideas from other areas.

Someone from Newport commented;

The best thing about Newport is that everything is close to you, you’ve got the town centre close with a lot of shops, coffee shops and a few restaurants, great for meeting friends after work and catching up.

The convenience of the size of the city, making socialising easier, indicates the strength of small cities. The policy makers can focus on communicating that although there may be less socialising venues, the venues that are available are more accessible in a small city and so socialising can be easier and less expensive in time and money. This confirms the findings of Brown (2015) who found that people in Birmingham enjoyed the smaller circle of people in the art world in Birmingham in comparison with London, because they bumped into the same people at art related meetings and therefore were able to establish networks quicker in Birmingham than in London.

Not all interviewees have the same views, a female interviewee, who has a partner but has no children, is moving from Cardiff to Bristol for a better social life, she says;

I guess the worst thing about Cardiff is it’s not developing as fast as it should be and although it’s a capital city there’s not that much going on here if you compare it with Bristol. That is why I’m moving back to Bristol, there is a massive social scene, you’ve got everything. Cardiff, you don’t have things, like not enough wine bars, there are too many pubs, which are fine for students who just want to get drunk, but they should have more places to go to have a glass of wine and a chat. There are not enough restaurants, for instance, although there are some good ones and not enough independent ones, that you can go for a real occasion, when people come to visit and you want to show the city off. Bristol is much better for music, with lots of concerts, it’s a much more active social scene.

This indicates that a vibrant social life is essential to retain skilled people, at least those without children. It also indicates that different people and people at different life-stages want different things.

A male with two children under six years of age, whose wife is a medic, who works full time, talked about Cardiff being great at different stages, saying;

I graduated in Edinburgh and moved to Dublin for my first job, I didn’t enjoy Dublin, it was hugely expensive to go out. It was full of stag parties and too full-on. I came to work in Cardiff and I love it, it was great as a single person, there are loads of places to mix with other people. I met my wife in a bar in Cardiff, actually (laughter).

Now we have children, we don’t go out that much, we go to restaurants mainly, and they are really good with children. We love it here and lots of the friends we have made have stayed too.

The following two quotes are from men in the life-stage of couples whose children have left home, both of whom are disappointed by the standards of restaurants, they said;

We don’t have a Michelin star restaurant in Cardiff and it is unbelievable that we don’t have a Michelin star restaurant in Cardiff. But most of the restaurants in Cardiff are really mediocre, you can’t say to anybody that we have got this fantastic restaurant in Cardiff, like where? It doesn’t exist. So, there is loads that we need to do. I mean Raymond Blanc was meant to be opening up somewhere on Churchill Way, but for some reason decided against it.

And;

In Cardiff, it’s a shame there’s not a better choice of restaurants, then I do pine for London. London is just stacked full of places that are not Michelin, just good; to just go to a local restaurant would be really good, which ours aren’t. I blame Le Monde, that steak and bloody chips.

There is a different view of restaurants from a male interviewee, who was studying in Cardiff for his PhD; and whose priority is providing socialising opportunities for families and for specialist food, he said;

I find Cardiff a very good city, especially for families. Well I think it’s the essential things for me as I have my family, places for children to go, places for Muslim restaurants. I can give you an example, I also spent some time in Oxford, so it’s actually very hard to get very good restaurants for Muslims there in Oxford. You can get takeaway for Muslim people but it is not like restaurants. You can bring your family sitting in many restaurants in Cardiff and also the city centre of Cardiff is fantastic comparing with other cities

A male senior manager interviewee from Manchester with a different view said;

Manchester socially is improved, the variety of restaurants are fantastic, some people are on that it should have more Michelin star restaurants, but it doesn’t seem to attract them for whatever reason it struggles to break through that glass ceiling. I think we are just too smart in the North to pay a hundred quid for a scallop on a bed of nettles—you know what I mean. I’ve been to these restaurants in London; I come out starving and thanking God I didn’t have to pay the bill, because it was on expenses. It’s just not my idea of value for money.

There will be a problem in small cities with the social life that is dependent on commercial operations, such as bars, cafes and restaurants etc. because these establishments must be financially viable and so the social life will depend on the affluence and wants of the inhabitants of the city. If there is not a big enough group of people that want similar things the social life structure for that group will not be met by commercial concerns. This addresses the quandary debated by Hoyman and Faricy (2009), whether places that the skilled people use to socialise like cafés, bars and restaurants open because skilled people are living in the area and have expendable income and so the bars and cafes open to meet the needs of the skilled people, or as espoused by Florida (2002b), the bars, cafes and restaurants attract the skilled people because they are attracted by the social life. In the survey data the social life is the second highest attraction factor for skilled people to small cities, but the cafes, bars and restaurants are commercial operations and change frequently to meet the changing needs of the skilled people, so I suggest from the data, both interviews and surveys, the theories of both Florida (2002c) and Hoyman and Faricy (2009) are supported, since skilled people are attracted by a vibrant social life, which requires different services, some want cafes, some want high end restaurants, some want wine bars, but the services can only survive if they have sufficient patronage and are financially viable. Some of the quotes above are from people who want high end restaurants in Cardiff, but it would seem there is not enough call for these restaurants to be financially viable. It is important that policy makers appreciate the necessity for the services that support social life in small cities to be available. The problem with small cities is that the variety of social amenities are limited because minority tastes in megacities such as London have sufficient numbers to support alternative social amenities, but in small cities minority groups are in such small numbers as to not be a consumer group big enough to support commercial enterprises specifically for those groups, which results in less variety in small cities, which for some skilled people may be less of an attraction motivator, since there is less opportunity for trying different experiences than there are in mega-cities.

This male interviewee from Bristol, appreciates the social life of Bristol, saying;

I just think there’s so much going on, there is so much vibe, to go into the centre (Bristol) is something. There is always something on every week in the city which can only be good for the city and surrounding area. I just love popping in to meet friends for a drink to get the whole atmosphere, it is good. I wouldn’t want to live anywhere else.

The social life is a retention factor for this person, supporting the survey data of the importance of social life to skilled people. Mustard and Murie (2010) recognised that whilst in some cases skilled people were not initially attracted to the city because of the soft elements, such as social life, they were retained in the city by soft elements such as a good social life.

A female interviewee, at the later life-stage with children who had left home said;

Social life, I think, is really important. I’m living out of the city, but going out in Manchester, you’ve got the restaurants or the pubs and the nightlife, which is nice. Although I must say as I get older my social life is mainly going to friends and them coming to us, but lots of those friends we made when we were younger and used to go out to the bars and restaurants with them, dancing the night away! We do sometimes go in to the theatre and have a meal, no more dancing on tables!

She appreciates the role social life plays is important in a city, but as shown in the data social life priorities change at different life stages and the services used to support people’s social life change.

Another person at a life-stage of couple with children who were not living at home, agrees that the socialising changes at different life-stages, saying;

I don’t think I’d like to live in a city centre again, I think that’s a young person’s game and I think that for students it’s terrific. All people when they are young professionals just starting a career, want to go out every night, which we did, love living in the city centre. They can meet different people all the time and have a great laugh. Now I’m older, I’m happy to go to the local pub.

Policy makers must support services to support socialising at all life-stages in order to attract and retain skilled people.

This female interviewee has seen the development of Cardiff, they were attracted to the part of the city that had the social life and said;

We loved Cardiff, we love the fact that the Bay was just starting to be developed 22 years ago, when we came down. With all the arrogance of Londoners we thought we’d have an enormous warehouse but we found the properties we could afford in the Bay were tiny because it was like the ‘in’ place at the time, but what put us off the Bay was it didn’t have anywhere to go, nowhere to socialise. There were no pubs or shops it was just housing really and that’s before the whole of the Mermaid Key developed. Even so I think it’s still quite a transient population there is not a great atmosphere in the Bay, I prefer Cardiff centre, it is more lively and more fun.

This again supports the importance of social life for skilled people, even affecting where in a city people choose to live. Pareja-Eastaway et al., (2010) observed that in Europe people are not as mobile as in the USA and often are loyal to a city that they have connections with either through study or family, but they do often move around in the same city. The areas of a city having equal Attraction Motivators needs to be considered to avoid inequality in cities where some areas are attractive to skilled people, which makes prices of accommodation rise and makes it unaffordable to both unskilled people on lower incomes and younger people (Florida, 2017). An imbalance in Attraction Motivators in a city can lead to inequality and other social and economic problems.

The mixture of things that support a vibrant social life in Cardiff was commented on by a female interviewee with older children living at home who said;

The best thing about Cardiff is it is very diverse, there’s everything you can ever really want in Cardiff it can be quiet and a little country. You’ve got restaurants you’ve got all water sports in the Bay, you’ve got sports, like cricket, rugby, football to play and to watch at a good standard. You’ve got shopping, got nice evening cultures, got the pub scene, you’ve got the cafe scene there is also loads and loads of cinemas and there’s the theatres. Everything you need we are very, very cosseted in Cardiff, you don’t really need to go outside Cardiff for anything, because you’ve got everything here.

Another interviewee, who is single, commented positively on the Manchester social life saying;

The buzz in Manchester is just there, there are restaurants, bars, clubs and cafes for everyone. When we go out we go to Deansgate, or the Northern Quarter, all those places.

The Northern Quarter is hipsters, like everyone has got beards, or just strange bars and things like that. One restaurant is called, ‘soup kitchen’ and it’s designed like tramps, kind of (laugh) I have been there –... But it’s not really for me (laugh)… But it is really popular, like the style, hipster kind of people trying to be different.

Deansgate is kind of traditional bar trendy, blazers and smart shoes and things like that, a different side. Older people are in Deansgate, yeah definitely. More people my age in Northern Quarter but you do get some older people, varies. Deansgate mid-twenties and older.

More students are in the Northern Quarter, there’s lots of student accommodation just ‘round the corner.

Manchester has a policy of having specific zoning or quarters in the city centre for social venues which appeal to different people at different times which gives variety to the city. It also allows policy makers to make decisions such as having earlier closing times in some quarters than others to control where there is activity later in the night. A single interviewee gave his positive view of Manchester’s social facilities showing how proud he is to live in Manchester because it is known for a very lively social scene. This demonstrates how positive social facilities can make people feel about the city they live in:

The people my age they think the most important things about the city is the social life, the bars, the good mixture between them, I think. Wow factors for people that don’t live in Manchester, so they say wow, we don’t have that where we live. Manchester is the best place.

We have the football, two major teams, City and United, although it’s difficult to get to see them and there is the cricket, I go to the cricket with friends in the Summer, I love it.

Cycling has really caught on with the older group, and there are lots of runs going on, so fitness is getting to be really popular, but more with the older crowd.

Another female, with young children under 6, interviewee spoke about Bristol in glowing terms saying;

Well Bristol, I suppose it’s like London, it’s just got, you know it’s that vibrant. loads of social life, when I was in the single years I didn’t really care about the facilities and the park I just wanted there to be nice bars, a bit of buzz, fun, to be fair I had plenty of money in my pocket, it was just me to keep on a good salary, so that was all good. All good fun. I still love the night-life in Bristol, there are loads of independent restaurants and bars as well as the ones you see in all cities, but having different bars gives Bristol that extra buzz, really, it’s fantastic, even going out now I’m older I still really get it in Bristol.

People are really sociable here and there is a group of us we play tennis together and there are a few that cycle and some of us run in the winter to keep fit. It is another way of socialising, because when you get older and with the kids, going out to bars and stuff, you just can’t do it all the time like when you are young (laugh).

There is a fantastic music scene in Bristol, so we go to quite a few concerts, there’s a group of us ‘musicos’ who love to get out and jig about.

We often talk about how good Bristol is for social life, we’ve got friends who stayed in London after Uni. and they don’t do as much as us. We do go down to the local pub and have dinner stuff like that, you know.

This woman with young children, is not planning on staying in Newport because of the lack of social life, she said;

I don’t love Newport, the house is nice, the area is pretty but I think Newport as a city is just a bit disappointing. We didn’t know it very well when we got here, it probably doesn’t bother (husband’s name) because he wouldn’t care, he wouldn’t care that much about the stuff like it’s not great for cafes and that stuff. You wouldn’t kill a few hours in town particularly, just casually looking round the shops and having lunch, you would probably go in and out for what you want, I would say it’s a fairly good example of where, like, the High Street is not probably what it was and I wouldn’t say there’s much hope of it regenerating, because more empty shops appear that are going to kill off the one next door, although there is work going on, regeneration work to build a new shopping centre, so fingers crossed.

I go to Cardiff or Bristol to shop or for lunch with friends.

Newport does have its commuting run so it is accessible for work and all of that, the only thing there are traffic problems at Brynglas tunnels past the Severn Bridge, so going over to Bristol for lunch is a bit of a nightmare, because I have to get back for the children. Newport is fine for us at the moment while the children are young, so we can’t go out that much, but when they get older, I think we will move. When the children are older I want to go back to work, so I will have to get back into the swing and get out there again.

This shows how important social life is in retaining skilled people, if there is not enough to occupy them they will move. Also, it gives an example of the effect of life-stage changes on the priorities for attracting and retaining skilled people. This woman, at the moment has small children and has less time for social life, as the children get older she will have more time for socialising and so she wants to be in a city that she has the facilities to meet friends and maybe use these networks to go back to work.

A senior manager in the local authority a key informant said;

Newport has fantastic leisure facilities now, including access to good sporting facilities, we have an Olympic standard cycling velodrome that the Para -Olympians used and the Olympians will use in 2016. We have good social facilities on the leisure side especially the activities leisure side and everybody is keen to keep fit and all the rest of it, so we could be making a lot better use of that and promoting it, that’s a problem that we don’t promote those assets very well. We’ve got a fantastic bike trail and that should be promoted a lot more than it is and much more should be put into it, to make it more visible and more accessible to everybody. Yes, as a whole area, leisure is not promoted effectively and that again should be part of the branding of the city; and of course the access, the fact that you only have to go out a short distance from Newport and you’re in the countryside, so you can cycle, walk, run.

This is a problem, people in Newport have not been positive generally about the social life in Newport, in part this may be due to the Local authority not adequately communicating the social activities that are available in the city.

Adamo (2014) identified the growing numbers of skilled people that are taking up cycling as a social activity, Newport has a world class facility to support cycling, but people don’t know about it. This facility should be promoted more and used to attract and retain skilled people.

A female interviewee said;

There are lots of sports and leisure facilities in Cardiff, my family and friends love going to Cardiff yacht club, my dad’s been sailing there since the year dot and so have I and now my son sails, although he lives away at the moment, he is in University. When he comes home we go sailing and I think he will come back to Cardiff because he loves the sailing and the social life that goes with it here.

Another male interviewee said;

I’ve got lots of interests which involve cars, motorbikes and cycling. They all take up space in the garage, and to have a house in Cardiff with a garage is a must. I could never live in a big city, I can just about cope on the outskirts of Cardiff, I can get on my bike and go off riding with my friends on weekends and that keeps me happy to live here. If I couldn’t get out and ride my bike I would move.

Rosentraub (2014) and Florida (2014) identified how important it was for cities to use sports and leisure to attract skilled people, which is highlighted repeatedly in the interviews people saying:

I don’t know, I find socialising a lot easier in Bristol, because there’s lots more clubs I can join if you want to. Since I’ve moved here, since I’ve been working in Bristol, I joined the netball club and the running club and things like that have really helped me settle in and make some friends, out-side work, which is good. I feel quite settled now and I am getting out more than when I first came here and it was just work, which I couldn’t have done for very long.

Another example of how social life has retained a skilled person, showing how important social life is to keeping those skilled people in small cities and what policy makers should consider when allocating funding, is that leisure activities need to be supported.

Another woman said about Manchester social life;

When we moved to Manchester, for me in particular it was the cafes and restaurants and for my husband, he enjoys the restaurants but it was the fact that they had a football team and a rugby team that he could join when we came here, so it was different things for both of us.

Showing a mixture of social life activities is necessary to retain skilled people. This supports the findings of the surveys that women are more attracted by the restaurants whilst men are more attracted by sports. This could be because women have less opportunity to join in sporting activities which policy makers nationally are reviewing (Ikramullah et al., 2018). A further view expressed was:

I was feeling homesick and really thought about leaving, but then I also met British students who I met through the University, through the surfing club actually. They are way younger than me but they are very fun to hang out with and from there met a lot of different groups and I am happy to stay here now.

The importance of social life in retaining people is supported by this single woman who would have left without the support of people she met through leisure activities, which supports Florida’s (2002c) theory of the essential part social life plays in retaining skilled people in cities.

#### Summary for Social Life Interview and statement responses

The interviews support the survey data of social life being key to attracting and retaining skilled people (Florida, 2006). The single people and people without children are particularly enthusiastic about social life, although all life-stages refer in the interviews to aspects of social life that are important in attracting them and retaining them in the small city they are living in. It is important that policy makers support social life that allows collaboration and is not dependent on financial viability, this will enable a greater diversity of social experience that reflects what is available in mega cities and be more attractive to skilled people of different characteristics.

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## Culture

Culture has been defined for this research as both venues and events for people to engage with the culture of the cities including theatres, galleries, museums, opera houses, food fares and exhibitions (Pratt, 2008), as well as the customs and behaviour of the people of the city (Smiley et al., 2016). Culture has been identified in the research as an attraction motivator for skilled people and is identified by Florida (2002b) as a key factor for attracting skilled people to a city and retaining them.

### Analysis of culture related statements from the survey

Responses to the eight statements in the survey, relating to culture, have been analysed to identify the attraction motivation of culture to the skilled people in the case study cities, reflected by their level of agreement with the statement measured on a five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

#### Statement, ‘There is a strong regional culture that I like.’

This statement is relating to the perception of the interaction between the people living in the city and their traditions and norms. Figure 5-29 reflects the responses of people in percentage terms to the statement. There is agreement to the statement of 63.2% of participants in Cardiff, which is the highest level of agreement, closely followed by Bristol with 60.8% agreement, then Manchester with 56.6% agreement and then a considerable drop amongst skilled people in Newport with 43% agreement. Considerably more than half of skilled people in Manchester, Cardiff and Bristol, agreed that they like the strong regional culture, the skilled people that did not agree either don’t agree that there is a strong regional culture or they do not agree that they like the culture. Policy makers need to identify the positive and negatives relating to the perception of the culture in the cities, since culture has been identified in this research and by Jacobs (1961), Dillon (2007), Stone (2014) and Wesener (2017) as an attraction motivator for skilled people. Figure 5-30 reflects the gender percentage comment differences to the statement.

Figure 5‑29 City response to, There is a strong regional culture that I like

Figure 5‑30 Gender response to, There is a strong regional culture that I like

There is an 11.7% difference in the 51.4% of skilled women that agree they like the strong culture and the 63.1% of men that like the strong culture, indicating there is a gender bias. This needs to be analysed by policy makers to find why there is a preference for men to a strong regional culture over women, to maintain a gender balance in attracting skilled people to cities. It may also mean that women want a different culture, maybe they perceive the culture as more male orientated.

Figure 5‑31 Life-stage response to, There is a strong regional culture that I like

The highest level of agreement for liking the strong regional culture is among the ‘other’ group, which includes single parents and couples with older children living at home. The single people are 78.1% in agreement with the statement, followed by couples whose children have left home and then couples with no children. The life-stages of couples with young children and couples with children 7-20 years old, living at home were the least in agreement at 67.7% and 66.7%, still over two-thirds of the skilled people partaking in the survey. The range of agreement is from 81.8% to 66.7%, policy makers need to identify why there is a difference in the perception of regional culture between life-stages and what those skilled people who do not agree with the statement perceive of the culture and how to increase the cultural experience and perception in a positive way to increase the motivational attraction of culture for small cities.

#### Statement, ‘Good leadership put this city on the map in a number of areas, which makes me very positive about the future.’

Response percentages to the statement *‘Good leadership put this city on the map in a number of areas, which makes me very positive about the future.’ a*re set out in Figure 5-32. The leadership can affect the culture in providing a pride in the city and a positive confidence to the people of the city (Rooney, 2010). Manchester with over 40% agreement with the statement has a considerably higher perception of their leadership, than Cardiff at 31%, Bristol at 27.4% and Newport at 25.2%. Policy makers can do a lot of work to increase confidence in the leadership for improved cultural perceptions of the city.

Figure 5‑32 City's responses to, Good leadership put this city on the map in a number of areas, which makes me very positive about the future

Figure 5‑33 Gender response to, Good leadership put this city on the map in a number of areas, which makes me very positive about the future

The men agreed in a higher percentage that the leadership is providing good direction, although the agreement level at 27.75% for women and 34.6% for men reflects lack of confidence in leadership, which could be reflected in a lack of confidence in the cities. This needs to be addressed by policy makers to make small cities more attractive to skilled people. Hinkson (2016) identifies the necessity for leadership to rethink the adoption of policies that unquestioningly embrace hi-tech globalism without thought for the peoples’ lives and culture that are destroyed in the pursuit of constant change for economic development. He suggests the development of post neo-liberalism constructs as an alternative form of development, embracing culture and institutions precious to peoples’ lives.

Figure 5‑34 Life-stage responses to, Good leadership put this city on the map in a number of areas, which makes me very positive about the future

Across all life-stages the confidence in leadership is low, between 22.7% for couples with children under 6 years of age to a maximum of 39.1% for those in the ‘other’ group; high-lighting that the majority of skilled people in the survey did not have confidence in the leadership of the cities. This may reflect the overall malaise in confidence in the country with leadership and politics. Policy makers need to address this lack of confidence problem. This could be connected to the unexpected Brexit result in the June 2016 referendum, where many people voted for change.

#### Statement, ‘I feel safe here which is important to me.’

Although safety has been identified in the research as a hygiene factor not an attraction motivator, the safety factor can have a positive or negative effect on the culture of a city. Safety is named as a repulsion factor in the survey; it is a reason for skilled people to leave a city or not to consider a city. Therefore, having a culture that included high levels of safety allowing more freedom to socialise and make the most of the cultural aspects of the city is included in the analysis. Figure 5-35 sets out the percentage responses to the statement ‘I feel safe here which is important to me.’

Figure 5‑35 City's responses to, I feel safe here which is important to me

The perception of feeling safe is highest in Cardiff at 83.5%, it drops to 74% in Bristol and 73.3% Manchester and to a lower level of 62.8% in Newport. The reasons for the lack of perception of safety needs to be addressed by policy makers, since it could be a repulsion factor for skilled people and detract from the cultural attraction motivation of the cities.

In the riots in August 2011, Manchester and Bristol were involved, but because of better communications in Cardiff and a lower perceived gulf between the higher and lower socio-economic levels, the riots did not affect Cardiff. The reason for Newport being perceived as the least safe of all the cities is a concern. The policy makers need to address the perception of lack of safety where it exists to decrease any negative impact on the cultural perception of the small cities. The perception of litter and dereliction giving rise to a feeling of increased anxiety about levels of crime have been revealed by ([Medway et al., 2016](#_ENREF_101)), which may be contributing to the concerns around safety in some areas.

Figure 5‑36 Gender responses to, I feel safe here which is important to me

There is a slight difference between the perception of safety of men and women is slight at 2.2%, it can be assumed that there is no gender difference from these responses.

Figure 5‑37 Life-stage responses to, I feel safe here which is important to me

The perception at different life-stages ranges between 78.9% for couples with children still living at home aged between 7-20 and 66.7% for the group ‘other’ that includes single parent families. This is a concern, since it indicates that about 20-35% of people do not feel safe. The difference in perception of safety at different life-stages is over 12% although the majority of people perceive that the city is safe, if policy makers can improve the experience and perception of safety in small cities it will make them more attractive, by improving the cultural perception of the city.

#### Statement, ‘It’s a very Open city, and whoever they are, people feel welcome here.’

Response percentages to the statement *‘*‘*It’s a very Open city, and whoever they are, people feel welcome here*.’ *a*re set out in Figure 5-38 below.

Figure 5‑38 City's responses to, It's a very Open city, and whoever they are, people feel welcome here

Florida (2002b) championed the importance of an open city that was welcoming to people, although this is not identified as one on the Attraction Motivators in the research, in the interviews some people said, although they would not move to a city specifically because of its diversity, when they lived in the city they would not be comfortable if there was not tolerance and diversity. The statement on a city being open to diversity has therefore been included as a factor that impacts on the culture of a city.

Cardiff and Manchester have the highest percentage of respondents that agree the city is open and feels welcoming with over 70% of skilled people followed by Bristol with 62.1% and Newport responding with 56.1%.

Since a culture that is welcoming is an advantage as an attraction motivator to attract and retain skilled people, this is a concern for cities such as Newport where there is a perception from over 40% of skilled people that the culture is not open and welcoming. This is not conducive to growth in the number of skilled people in the city and needs to be addressed.

Figure 5-39 reflects the gender percentage comment differences to the statement with 68.7 % agreement from men and 65.7% agreement from women, that the small cities feel open and welcoming, there is not a substantial difference in the responses from men and women to this perception.

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Figure 5‑39 Gender responses to, It's a very Open city, and whoever they are, people feel welcome here

Figure 5‑40 Life-stage responses to, It's a very Open city, and whoever they are, people feel welcome here

Whilst there is a considerable difference between life-stages as to the perception that small cities are Open and feel welcoming. The percentage that agree that the cities are Open and feel welcoming are highest in the single and couples with no children life-stages, at 76.4% and 72.9%, this reduces to 63.5% for couples with children of 7-20 years of age, living at home and reduces further to 56.5% for the ‘other’ group, including single parent families and to 52.5% for couples with young children and 51.1% for couples whose children have left home. The pattern is not clear, but there is a 21% difference in the perception of openness and welcoming in cities between the life stages that policy makers need to address. Otherwise some groups of people will not feel that the city’s culture is welcoming and leave the cities or not be attracted to live in the small cities. The couples with children under 6years of age may find cities not friendly to young families. This is a life stage that is important for small cities to attract and retain and so policy makers need to improve on the perception of this group as to how welcome they feel.

#### Statement, ‘I like the diversity of people in the city’

Response percentages to the statement ‘*I like the diversity of people in the city.*’ are set out in Figure 5-41 below. Figure 5-42 reflects the gender percentage comment differences to the statement.

Figure 5‑41 City's responses to, I like the diversity of people in the city

In the survey and the interviews people did not identify diversity as an attraction motivator, but many identified in the interviews that if there was a lack of diversity they may feel uncomfortable and that a lack of diversity in a city may have a negative effect on the culture of a city. Diversity has been included in the analysis for this reason as part of the culture of a city.

The response from 69.1% of skilled people in Cardiff was that they agreed they like the diversity in the city, Bristol skilled people had a similar response, 68.3% of skilled people agreed they liked diversity, slightly less agreed in Manchester, 62.7% of skilled people liked the diversity of the city, Newport had a comparatively low response with 48.1% of skilled people agreeing that they liked diversity. Florida espouses diversity as essential to attracting skilled people. Although this has not been substantiated conclusively throughout the research, there are indications that diversity is a positive element of a culture that will support increased innovation (Huggins and Izushi, 2007).

Figure 5‑42 Gender responses to, I like the diversity of people in the city

Considerably more women were positive about diversity than men with 67.4% of women agreeing that they liked diversity in a city 11% more than the 56.4% of men who agreed that they like diversity in cities. Men like more homogeneity it would seem.

Figure 5‑43 Life-stage responses to, I like the diversity of people in the city

The life-stages differ in their responses to diversity markedly, with 69.7% of singles agreeing they like diversity in the city, reducing slightly to 66.4% for couples with no children, increasing slightly to 68.3% for couples with young children and then dropping almost 10% to 58.9% for the life-stage of couples with older children 7-20 living at home and again dropping dramatically by almost 15% to 34% of couples with children that have left home, with the ‘other’ group at 47.8%.

It seems at later life-stages there is an increasing propensity to want to have less diversity in the city. Policy makers need to adapt for the range and type of service that satisfy different life-stages, to make the city attractive to skilled people at all life-stages.

#### Statement, ‘The art scene is a big part of the city’s attractive vibe.’

Response percentages to the statement ‘*The art scene is a big part of the city’s attractive vibe.*’ *a*re set out in Figure 5-44 below.

Bristol is a long way ahead of the other cities with 61.5% of skilled people in Bristol agreeing with the statement that the art scene is a big part of the city’s attractive vibe. Manchester is next with 44.8%, then Cardiff with 28.6% and Newport with 19.8%. There is a considerable geographical difference between the cities in the emphasis on different Attraction Motivators. In the social life factors, the analysis identified Cardiff and Newport ahead of Bristol and Manchester in identifying sport as an attraction motivator; this may be due to cultural differences or lack of availability of different facilities. In small cities, it has to be accepted that all cultural and social aspects will not be accessible, as they are in the mega-cities and so policy makers need to support specialist areas for the city that reflect the culture of the city as it is and as it aspires to be. This in some ways is a useful differentiation between the cities, so if they are perceived as a city with an emphasis on art or sport they will attract and retain skilled people with difference priorities and interests, although there has to be caution that cities do not become too specialised, or too strong a reputation for an activity that will deter those who have different interests. A balance needs to be reached, which is easier said than done.

Figure 5‑44 City's responses to, The art scene is a big part of the city's attractive vibe

Men and women have a very similar response to this statement, indicating little gender difference.

Figure ‑ Gender responses to, the art scene is a big part of the city's attractive vibe

There is a considerable difference in the responses to this statement from different life-stages (see Figure 5-46). The single life stage with 48.6% agreeing that the art scene is an attraction, followed by the group identified as ‘other’ including single parents and people with older children at home, with 39.1% agreeing. There is a drop to 35.2% for couples with children and then to 33.9% for couples with children under 6 years of age. 31.3% of couples whose children have left home agree and couples with children 7-20 years of age, have the lowest level of skilled people agreeing that the art scene is a big part of the city’s attractive vibe. There may be many reasons for this that policy makers can investigate to target investment to provide the Attraction Motivators for skilled people at all life stages.

Figure 5‑46 Life-stage responses to, The art scene is a big part of the city's attractive vibe

#### Statement, ‘The culture here is massive, you’ve got everything, restaurants, cafes, arts, all kinds of music and theatre, it makes the city.’

This statement was taken from an interviewee who mixed the social and cultural amenities, both of which according to Florida (2002b) are vital to attracting and retaining skilled people in a city. It would appear from the responses that a large percentage of the skilled people in the cities support Florida’s (2002a) view of the importance of social life and culture in making a city attractive. Bristol’s skilled people responded with the highest percentage, with 74.8% agreeing that the culture in the city is massive and makes the city, 70.7% agreed in Cardiff, in Manchester 71.45% agreed and then a massive drop with only 36.7% of Newport’s skilled people agreeing that the culture of Newport is massive and that everything is there which makes the city. This appears to reflect that skilled people in Newport do not perceive the culture and amenities as positively as the other cities. Since the survey Friars’ Walk, has opened a city centre development in Newport with cinemas, bars, restaurants and other socialising facilities, which may have made a difference to responses.

Response percentages to the statement ‘*The culture here is massive, you’ve got everything, restaurants, cafes arts, all kinds of music and theatre, it makes the city*.’ *a*re set out in Figure 5-47 below. Figure 5-48 reflects the gender percentage comment differences to the statement.

Figure 5‑47 City's responses to, The culture here is massive, you've got everything, restaurants, cafes, arts, all kinds of music and theatre, it makes the city

There is less than a 3% difference in the responses to this statement from the men and women who responded, so it seems that there is no discernible gender difference.

Figure 5‑48 Gender responses to, The culture here is massive, you've got everything, restaurants, cafes, arts, all kinds of music and theatre, it makes the city

There is a life-stage difference in the responses to this statement (see Figure 5-49), with the lowest agreement to this statement at 46.8% from couples whose children have left home, rising through the life stages from 57.3% for couples with children 7-20 living at home, 59% agreement from couples with children under 6years old, 60.9% agreement form the group identified as ‘other’, 66.7% agreement from couples with no children. The highest level of agreement came from the singles at 72.4%, an indication of the importance of culture as a motivational attractor for the earlier life stages, who appear to engage more with what is going on in the city and therefore it has high levels of importance to them. Policy makers need to make sure the appropriate cultural amenities are available for all the life stages, to attract and retain skilled people at all life-stages.

Figure 5‑49 Life-stage responses to, The culture here is massive, you've got everything, restaurants, cafes, arts, all kinds of music and theatre, it makes the city

#### Statement, ‘It is frustrating that people here don’t like moving with the times because the culture is about keeping things the same, not changing.’

Response percentages to the statement *‘It is frustrating that people here don’t like moving with the times because the culture is about keeping things the same, not changing.*’ are set out in Figure 5-50.

Figure 5‑50 City's responses to, It is frustrating that people here don't like moving with the times because the culture is about keeping things the same, not changing

Less than 30% of skilled people in any city agreed with the statement that the culture resists change. Bristol had the lowest agreement for this statement, whilst Newport was the highest number of skilled people agree that there is a resistance in the culture to up-date. This could be a negative for skilled people and needs to be addressed.

Figure ‑ Gender responses to, It is frustrating that people here don't like moving with the times because the culture is about keeping things the same, not changing

A much higher percentage of men than women perceived that the culture in the small city didn’t keep up to date. This is a really negative perception for small cities and would be likely to put people off who are looking for a forward-looking culture. Only 19% % of women agreed with this statement, whilst 27.9% of men agreed with this, so there appears to be a gender difference in perception.

Figure 5‑52 Life-stage responses to, It is frustrating that people here don't like moving with the times because the culture is about keeping things the same, not changing

There is a difference in the perception of cities having a culture of resisting change in the different life-stages. 30.4% of the group ‘other’ perceived resistance to change, this may be due to their situation not being adequately accommodated in the present systems. 28.5% of skilled people at the single life- stage agreed with the statement, 25.7% of couples with children 7-20 years old, who are still living at home agreed. 22.9% of couples whose children have left home and 22.6% of couples with young children agreed and the couples with no children, are the group with lowest percentage 14.8% that agreed that there was a resistance to change. There is some difference in responses from different life-stages, but the responses do not appear to have a discernible pattern and the range is relatively small 5%.

#### Summary

The analysis of these statements relating to cultural demonstrates that Attraction Motivators such as culture are inextricably linked to other hygiene factors e.g. safety, diversity are identified in the cultural composition of small cities. The skilled people were generally positive about the regional culture, having effective leadership, feeling safe, being in an open, welcoming city, with diversity. Having art as a significant part of the culture had a mixed response geographically, but there was a clear message from the responses that culture is an attraction motivator for skilled people

### Analysis of cultural quotations from the interviews

Culture has been further analysed through the quotations taken from the interviews with skilled people. The survey findings are supported by the interview data, the interviewees identified many different cultural aspects of a city that have attracted them and retain them in the small city they are talking about. This review of the interviews is to delineate the different aspects of culture as an Attraction Motivator and how policy makers can support and encourage the cultural development of small cities.

A male key informant, living in Cardiff commented about the difference in the cultures perceived between Wales and England saying;

I did not know anybody from Cardiff when I came here. Cardiff was a bit unknown to me. I grew up in a relatively small-town Bangor (N. Ireland), about 20- 30,000 so that’s kind of small, I didn’t go to Belfast a lot, and you know I think I’m probably more comfortable in a culture that is more Welsh. I find, I married an Englishwoman, and I have got lots of English friends, you know at the same token there’s a certain sort of culture in England that I don’t like, the middle class I find quite difficult, even though I’m from the middle class, I guess, I don’t know, I think Wales is quite classless. So, it’s a culture very much for me.

This perception of a cultural difference between the people of England and Wales and between North and South England can have an influence on where people settle and so it is important that the culture of the city is communicated accurately.

A female doctor who had moved from Hungary and was working in Bristol where she intended to stay said;

I love Bristol, it is so English, everyone is so polite and proper. I didn’t consider Wales because they have different contracts in the NHS and the language is different.

This highlights the importance of communication within a city and with key groups outside a city about its culture. As Caldwell and Friere (2004) identified, it is important that people have an understanding of the contemporary reality of a city, not base their views on a clichéd image.

A man in Cardiff commented saying;

…..we are not all sort of one great homogenous mass. We are all different and we are different at different times and in different situations, so culture is a moving target really….

That is the complication with culture, when it refers to the people of a city, people are not the same and the same people are different in different circumstances. The policy makers depicting the culture of the people of the city as being warm and friendly and helpful is very risky, because if visitors or potential new comers to the city arrive expecting a heart-warming welcome, but when they arrive at their destination they are not greeted with the warmth and friendliness they expected, they will be disappointed.

The culture of people is subjective and it is not realistic to treat people and their interactions as a homogenous, predictable service, and probably not to be used by policy makers to promote the city, unless as advised by Calderwll and Friere (2004) it is based on in-depth research and is contemporary.

A key informant spoke about the importance of culture in attracting skilled people saying; The perception of the culture of the people is very important and if people identify barriers such as language or less positive working conditions, this can be a negative influence on where they decide to move.

The cultural image of a city is of paramount importance, if people perceive that they, or their family, will not be comfortable settling into the culture or will be ostracised, they will not be attracted to the city. Wales sometimes promotes the daffodil, dragons and choir culture too much, when actually we are a culturally sophisticated nation. Cardiff particularly has a very sophisticated cultural offering and that should be communicated outside Wales, if we want to attract skilled people

A male interviewee, with children 7-20 years old living at home, commenting on Newport said;

I have always lived in Newport and I wouldn’t move anywhere else, the people are really kind and friendly, they’ll always give you a hand.

This comment needs to be taken in context, this man has lived in Newport all his life, he therefore is familiar in the community and his experience is a positive one of the culture, which is a contributory factor for retaining him in the city. It is also his perspective as a male in a city in Wales, where he has lived all his life, so care must be taken when evaluating the culture of a city in relation to the sample framework, to ensure all views are provided, from people with different characteristics. [Dainov et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_36) found that previous personal links with the city is the strongest attraction motivator for managers and entrepreneurs, in their research in European cities. They found if people were born, have family or have studied in the city, they were most likely to be attracted and stay in the city, this they called the ‘individual trajectory’.

In Manchester a man, at life-stage of children left home, said;

**Manchester is really vibrant we are really confident about the future, we don’t compare ourselves with London, we don’t want to be too big and with no quality of life, we want to keep our culture of being about people, but we want to grow and keep all the good things.**

It is notable, that Manchester interviewees frequently compare Manchester with London, people in Newport compare Newport with Cardiff, this gives an indication of the aspirations of the cities, one said;

Manchester has a new confidence over the past ten, fifteen years. I think because there has been a clear vision of where we want to be, the capital of the North, everyone has a confidence in that and getting everything to make that happen. Manchester is seen as a city of science; so, I think it’s quite good that and I was also thinking Manchester Science Park is quite well known, it is attached to Manchester University so, I kind of think Manchester university is far ahead in that area. Jodrell bank of course, yes there is a real culture of science, but there is also other areas that are very cultural. While there’s no way that it’s anything like London, but it is getting much better, they are making a big effort. There’s that new building that’s just been constructed in the library, it was all recently done up and the Library Theatre has just been really refurbished with three theatres in that building where they have the Manchester arts theatre every year and it’s very good, it had the first gay community sort of the gay marches and everything so it’s very Gay Pride. Manchester has a very modern contemporary culture now, and that was started with good focus and planning a long time ago and now everyone is on board with the vision…

Manchester does seem from the interviews and the surveys to have a very positive culture of progress and that seems to instil confidence in the people living there who are very positive about the direction Manchester is taking. Manchester is the only city that has frequently referred to the effective leadership of the city. This male, key informant talks about the certainty that a strong culture of leadership has provided, he said;

Manchester is the big base in the North West, in the period of time others in Liverpool were floundering, I just saw Manchester sort of race ahead and you saw there was more partnership working within the greater Manchester region, whereas Liverpool at the time was very flat. We have had a strong culture of leadership in Manchester for over 30 years and you can see the difference now. I see the region working much more together, across everything transport, Local authority, Universities, health, and private sector, now we’ve got the devolution of health as well, it’s just different to the rest of the country.

Another key informant explained the role of leadership in the culture:

Within Manchester you’ve had Sir Howard and you’ve had Greg Stringer and now we’ve got Richard Leese. I think you’ve had Sir Howard as the backbone to it for over 30 years. It’s a culture of strong leadership that makes the direction clear and gives confidence to the city.

I think if you just look in my particular area, low carbon economy in terms of economy there has been a vision there for a long time and it actually is very easy for me to go and give a presentation to European airports and actually tell them what that vision is. There are very few regions that can actually do that, Oslo for example, they can give a very clear vision of what their region is going to do and Manchester can. There are some cities in the states that can do it, you ask me what Newport, Cardiff, Birmingham, are doing and I haven’t got a clue. In terms of low carbon economy because we recognise that it is essential to be ahead of the game for when the opportunities emerge. It’s a vibrant city region.

This demonstrates the positive attitude of so many people interviewed in Manchester, even the single, younger people commented on the strong, consistent leadership, one single male said;

People in charge of Manchester are committed to getting things going in Manchester and making Manchester a great modern city ready for the 21st century.

In Bristol people commented that the elected Mayor had made a difference to the culture of the city, one single woman said;

I’ve never really had any interest in politics, but I think having an elected Mayor has been good for Bristol, because now we know who is in charge and it makes it more, kind of real, when you know someone is trying to make things happen. Yeah, I like the mayor, he has been good. It’s a better culture having someone in charge of the city that you know and have voted for.

An interviewee commented on the culture change in the business he worked in, which was a start of change in the culture of business in Cardiff, he said;

There has been a culture change in Wales towards business, when I was on the board in the (bank’s name) we were just going through a stage of moving it from the old-fashioned and it had been an incredibly old-fashioned company and bringing in some non-execs., some new people. We brought in the marketing director for Asda at the board meeting, she was charming, very bright, came in the board meeting, it was hideous, she was very polite, but absolutely open, direct, not personal, straight to the point. It was a culture we were not familiar with, where confrontation was avoided, but she thought, my job here is to challenge and I am going to challenge hard, not personal, personally you are a great bloke, you are a great girl, but I’m going to challenge you really hard, and if that makes it uncomfortable for you, that is the way it is now going to be.

The culture change made things very confrontational, short term more efficient, but longer term the confrontational approach has been softened and it has found its own business culture, that fits better now. But it was the start I was of bringing Cardiff from the backwaters of management and business to a more competitive modern city

It has to be considered, that culture is always evolving and changing (Jacobs, 1961). The change in culture in Manchester from a post-industrial town, to a vibrant successful creative and knowledge centric city, was commented on by an interviewee who has lived in Manchester for over thirty- five years, he said;

Manchester was based on the cotton industry and the power that was provided by the coal industry, there have been lots of firsts in the north-west like the Spinning Jenny, those types of things were implanted in the north-west. Even the computer world has a rich heritage in the computer developed in Manchester, the research on atomic fission, there is a lot that has originated from Manchester and the North-West

We are proud to be Manchester now and I think the BBC coming to Salford, and all the regeneration there, is lovely and the Manchester ship Canal to Liverpool, I would quite like to do that. It is a fantastic difference from a heavy industry city all black and smoke to a modern city all media and technology, but with heart.

Commenting on the culture, one person in Cardiff observed that the culture is excellent, but without jobs people have to leave the city. This underlines the priority of Attraction Motivators found in the research and supports the writing of Storper and Scott (2009), and Brown (2015), although culture helps to attract and retain people in a city, without employment in a city, they often cannot stay, he said;

The things that attracted me 25 years ago are still the same sort of things that is here today, but I’m not sure that I would have come across them any other way than experiencing it. It’s about the culture and making friends, (laugh) quite sad really. People leave here because there’s no bloody jobs, the people who are thriving, young, dynamic people have to leave because there are no thriving dynamic jobs.

I know from my niece and nephew they are from Cardiff, they went to University College London, qualified in London, work in London and they will stay in London and they’ve even got a house now in the south-east on a commute basis, but they are in publishing and media so they need to be in the area and that’s the drain.

The numbers leaving seem to be slowing down a bit, we are starting to see some good signs in Cardiff, but we have to let the rest of the country know about it and we have to work hard to get more jobs and more opportunities, so youngsters will come back. We need young people to shape the culture, to keep it upbeat.

The importance of increasing the job opportunities as espoused by Storper and Scott (2009) and Peck (2011) has an effect on everything, including culture, as this interviewee points out, if people leave for job opportunities elsewhere, that has a negative effect on the culture of the city they left and if people are coming into the city for job opportunities that can have a positive effect on the culture making it more dynamic and more attractive (Florida,2002c).

Most people interviewed in Cardiff were very positive about the cultural experiences available in Cardiff, this single woman said;

You’ve got a bit of everything in Cardiff, that’s the art and music culture. I use all the theatres, Sherman, the New Theatre, Millennium and like going to places like Chapter, a mixture really.

In Newport, the views on the culture were more negative, one key informant said;

There is a culture in Newport of being negative about the city, so our first challenge is to get people to stop talking the city down and we’ve done a bit of that over the last few years Yes so, we have done a lot of talking to local media etc. and actually said, you know, so, simple things, like speaking to the editor of the Argus (Local paper in Newport).

Different people come to different places for different reasons, don’t they? So, some people have got an emotional attachment to a place and will base themselves in a place for that reason. So, a good example here is we have a local company called (name of company) foods Mr. (name of company owner) is from Newport and he wanted to come back to Newport, he loves Newport and loves the culture, loves the people. He’s got a business that imports and distributes maple syrup, now it’s one of the leading importers and distributors of maple syrup in the UK and beyond, right? So, this person has come back to Newport and set up a business because he has lived lots of places and never settled, he wanted to come back to Newport, because he loves the people.

So, culture can be a strong draw for some people because in some ways it is the place that is attractive. It may be the historical culture or social culture. If you’ve got a really strong culture you work as a team you’ve got a clear goal, it’s culture at several levels.

This policy maker acknowledges the role of culture in attracting skilled people (Florida, 2002) and plans on making the culture of Newport attractive to skilled people through communicating a positive branding of the city (Morgan et al., 2011). He went on to say:

Newport has its own culture which we have to build on as a local authority to make the culture attractive for you to want to live, work and play here.

So, Newport policy makers do appreciate the importance of attracting skilled people.

Another key informant in Newport, working in the redevelopment of Newport, commented on the importance of keeping the communities as part of the regeneration, which follows the principles of Jacobs (1961) and Florida (2002b), to maintain a vibrant culture that attracts skilled people but grows organically, she said;

Newport is starting to pick up now. Newport as a city is starting now. To me regeneration starts with the physical regeneration, people need to see the change in the area, that is why we have invested in Friars’ Walk to get people to see that we are investing in regenerations. That gives confidence, people will be skilled up to benefit from the work opportunities that the regeneration project brings, leading to economic monetary growth you have to have big regeneration.

You have to have the right skills for people in the place otherwise you can’t make the most of the redevelopment. You also must be careful not to destroy the culture of the city, in redeveloping. In Cardiff Bay they pushed all the locals out, so it’s lost its heart. It’s a great place now but the soul of what was Cardiff Bay has gone. In Newport we are keeping little pockets of communities, that is the way to make it really vibrant, keeping the unique selling point of the place is key to keeping the original soul, keeping the culture because that is what people perceive as being different from anywhere else.

Bristol is berated for affordability and transport by this interviewee, but these as strong negatives do not outweigh the positives Attraction Motivators of culture that keep her living in Bristol, she says;

Bristol’s got to be one of the most expensive cities in the country for everything, accommodation for everything and the bus services are terrible. But I can still say I love Bristol for things like music, culture arts, they are so good in Bristol, the culture that is why I am still here.

This demonstrates that it is important for policy makers to understand that there is a balance that has to be made to prioritise Attraction Motivators, to attract and retain skilled people. Culture is identified as one of the top five Attraction Motivators and so needs investment and support.

A man in Bristol, with children aged 7-20 living at home, commented on the role of culture in retaining him in a city, again supporting the Florida (2002a) theory of the importance of a vibrant culture to attract and retain skilled people. He said;

For me to stay in a city, suppose it has to have a cultural vibrancy that you only get with cities and that’s a combination of the performing arts and most of the art forms, including access to good sporting facilities. It is all of those elements.

Another single woman, who had moved to Cardiff from Germany commented;

I like to go to museums and theatre, I like theatres, yes if I want to stay in one city for a long time it would be great to have all those things because I cannot imagine every night sitting at home.

Again, the culture retains this person in the city, supporting the importance of culture as an attraction motivator for small cities.

This interviewee is female with young children under the age of 6 years old, she says;

The best things about Bristol, I like the cultural opportunities. I love to go on to all the tourist sightseeing places, kind of regardless of whether we have guests or not. I always go and find something new to see. So, I really like that I can drive past and see the Bristol Marina, there’s a lot of entertainment there that you can select and I like the history and cultural aspects of it. So that’s the biggest thing for me for Bristol and that’s why I wouldn’t live outside Bristol, I think that’s number one reason for me living here.

The next quotation is from an interviewee who is leaving Cardiff because they do not feel there is enough culturally to satisfy them. Also, the cultural diversity attracted this person, who is of Welsh and Egyptian extraction, they said;

I just feel like my time is done in Cardiff. I feel like I’ve experienced what I needed to experience from it. I can still visit my friends in Cardiff and I need be somewhere with more cultural variety, more depth.

You see that’s why London is the next cities on my list, because I love going to the theatre and so much does happen in London there is so much more than in Cardiff. So, I would like to go to London because I could go to the theatre every single day of the week and I wouldn’t get bored and I like to go to the museums, like the street festivals, the markets just those kinds of things. Things that they celebrate out on the street. So that would be my main attraction to London, not to work, the work is not fantastic the money is not much different, you get a London allowance, it is just about the things that the city does offer and that’s the only reason for me to go to London and also at one-point hurrah more Egyptians or Arabic people there so I’d be like halfway between being in England and being in Egypt, so it actually works out to be quite good.

This person did not find enough depth to the culture in Cardiff, a small city, also not enough cultural diversity to retain her in Cardiff.

Bristol was identified as being attractive because of independent shops and businesses, which add to the culture of the city, according to this single male;

Bristol is such a cultured and diverse city, and there’s always something different going on, there’s so many independent shops and businesses which really make the business city thrive and adds to the unique culture of the city.

A women interviewee, whose children have left home and who has had considerable experience of recruiting professionals, does not think that small cities will attract skilled people through culture, unless they have a personal connection with the city, supporting the findings of [Dainov et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_36) she says;

***Culture is not strong enough in small cities to attract people, although I’m Welsh I have lived out of Wales for years prior to 2010, I don’t think the Welsh brand is great. The French and the English see the Welsh as short spiky people. Why am I living in Cardiff? I came back because I am Welsh. If I was originally from Brighton, I’d go back to Brighton if I was originally from Bristol I would go back to Bristol***.

This is a view that small city policy makers need to keep in mind. The cultural offering for small cities is limited in comparison with megacities like London, so the offering must be appropriate for the skilled people and it must be accessible and communicated well.

A male single interviewee who came to live in Cardiff from the USA, was very pleased when Cardiff was host to events that made world-wide news, because he then felt more confidence and pride in living in Cardiff. It is important for small cities that they are seen as significant, as this reflects on the culture of confidence of the inhabitants (Buck et al., 2005; Kavaratzis, 2004), he said;

Cardiff, it was really quite cool because I was aware that a lot of my friends have not even heard of the place, but there were like three or four events that happened all in a row that got Cardiff on the map. There was the G8 summit that made the national news, right and my friends from the States(USA) said, we saw Cardiff on the news, and that kind of made me proud. I thought, okay, it’s making waves and people are hearing about Cardiff and then when I told them about the great culture, like that we have world-class opera, they listened.

What makes the city really cool I think it is quite important that they have this world-class opera that is recognised everywhere so that was quite prestigious and nice.

.... there’s a lot of things happening in Cardiff, Civic things and a lot of activities and cultural things and they’re just very badly advertised, very poorly advertised.

This interviewee illustrates the point to policy makers, it is important to support culture in a city and to tell everyone inside and outside the city about it, to provide a culture of pride in being part of the city (Allen, 2016).

The interviews support the findings of the surveys that culture is an important attraction motivator for skilled people. It has also identified the importance of the communication of the culture of the city inside and outside the city, in building the cities culture of confidence and pride.

A key informant in Manchester said;

We recognise how important the culture and social scene is to making Manchester attractive. We invest in the culture of Manchester, we are just completing The Factory, a cultural hub with art galleries, music venue and meeting places. This will build on Manchester as a cultural leader in the country.

The success of Manchester has demonstrated the importance of strong, cooperative, coordinated leadership in supporting and encouraging a positive vibrant culture in a city.

#### Summary

The interviewees identified the importance of culture from many different aspects in the interviews, talking about how leadership influences the culture of the city as well as the more straight-forward aspects of culture which include theatres, art the people. The interview data very much substantiated the findings of the surveys that culture is a strong attraction motivator for skilled people.

## Infrastructure

Infrastructure is a high priority in attracting skilled people (Florida, 2002; Glaeser, 2005; Jacobs, 1961), which is supported by the survey data, and is reinforced in the interviews by the key informants and the skilled people from all the cities.

### Analysis of infrastructure related statements from the survey

Analysis of the responses of the skilled people in the case study cities to statements from the interviews, relating to infrastructure, were included in the surveys to give further depth to the research. The statements in the survey were measured on a five point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

#### Statement, ‘Infrastructure in the city is about connectivity throughout the city and with other cities in the UK and world-wide, which we have.’

Response percentages to the statement ‘*Infrastructure in the city is about connectivity throughout the city and with other cities in the UK and world-wide, which we have*.’ are set out in Figure 5-53.

Figure 5‑53 City's responses to, Infrastructure in this city is about connectivety throughout the city and with other cities in the UK and world-wide, which we have

Manchester demonstrates the highest satisfaction with the infrastructure of the city with 63.2% of skilled people completing the survey agreeing with the statement, although this is not a case for celebration, since there is over a third of skilled people who do not agree with the statement and therefore do not agree that Manchester has an infrastructure that connects with other cities in the UK and world-wide. Since good infrastructure to travel within the city and outside is an attraction motivator (Florida, 2006) it is important for all small cities to develop good, efficient levels of infrastructure to attract and retain skilled people in the city. The other cities have lower satisfaction for the infrastructure, in Bristol 55.3%, just over half the skilled people are positive about the infrastructure, in Cardiff, 45.1% of skilled people agreed with the statement and in Newport only 36% agreed. This gives a clear indication to policy makers that to attract and retain skilled people to small cities there needs to be strategic investment in improving the infrastructure. The High-speed rail connection planned between London and Manchester via Birmingham will make a contribution to improved infrastructure in Manchester and there is investment in the electrification of the railways from London to Cardiff, which will improve the infrastructure, but there is still a lot to be done. London enjoys over twenty times the investment in infrastructure that the other UK cities have received (Arnett, 2014), which policy makers need to address.

Figure 5‑54 Gender responses to, Infrastructure in this city is about connectivety throughout the city and with other cities in the UK and world-wide, which we have

The difference in the level of agreement from men with 46.8% and women with 50.8%, to this statement is 4%, a small difference, a high level of men and women appear to agree broadly on the infrastructure in the cities.

Figure 5‑55 Life-stage responses to, Infrastructure in this city is about connectivety throughout the city and with other cities in the UK and world-wide, which we have

There is a considerable difference in agreement to this statement in the life-stage groups, the highest level of agreement is from couples with young children with 57.6% agreement, the lowest is form the ‘other ‘group, including single parents and couples with children over 20 living at home, 30.4% agreed. 52.8% of couples with no children agreed and 48.7% of couples with children 7-20 years of age, living at home agreed, 47.6% of single people agreed. Since the singles seem to be the group that are most positive about engaging in social life and cultural activities, these people are the ones that are most likely to be relying on travelling at all times of day on different forms of transport and are dissatisfied with some areas of the infrastructure, whilst couples with children are the group most likely to be walking around with a pram and in a car travelling during the day. Policy makers need to increase the satisfaction with infrastructure in small cities for all life-stages to attract and retain skilled people.

#### Statement, ‘I think they do need to think about transport links and make them better.’

Response percentages to the statement ‘*I think they do need to think about transport links and make them better*.’ are set out in Figure 5-56 below.

Figure 5‑56 City's responses to, I think they do need to think about transport links and make them better

74.3% of the skilled people in Cardiff agreed that transport links need to be improved, this is almost three-quarters of the skilled people involved in the survey in Cardiff, a similarly high level of agreement at 71.4% was given in Bristol, 67.8% in Newport and the lowest level of agreement was in Manchester with 47.7% agreeing that improvement was needed. This reflects the improvements that have been made to the infrastructure in Manchester with the investment in the airport, and the network of trams and other public transport. There is a lot of investment needed to improve infrastructure, but the strategy adopted in Manchester to improve infrastructure has been reflected in a positive response from the skilled people who completed the survey.

Figure 5‑57 Gender responses to, I think they do need to think about transport links and make them better

The response from men and women only differ by less than 3% and so there appears to be no gender difference.

As regards life stage perspectives Figure 5-58 reflects the percentage responses to the statement, ‘I think we do need to think about transport links and make them better.’

Figure 5‑58 Life-stage responses to, I think they do need to think about transport links and make them better

The life-stage responses are very similar, the ‘other’ group is the highest level of agreement for improvement of infrastructure at 78.3%. This may reflect the fact that this group includes single parents who have multiple responsibilities that are not supported by the present infrastructure. The other life-stages agreement levels are between 61.2% and 69.4% giving the indication that about two-thirds of skilled people want improved infrastructure. Policy makers need to address the dissatisfaction with infrastructure to make small cities attractive to skilled people.

#### Statement, ‘Access to fast broadband and other technology is good.’

Technology relating to communication within the city and with the out-side world is included as part of the infrastructure of the city, since it alleviates in some instances the necessity for travel, allowing people to work from home or to contact colleagues or family members on Skype, Facetime and other apps. in place of a face-to-face encounter involving travel.

Cardiff has the highest level of agreement to this statement from respondents at 75.2%, Manchester has 74.8% agreement, Bristol 68.3% agreement and Newport 60.2% agreement. Small cities can compete with mega-cities on technology and therefore investment in providing a high level of affordable, accessible technology for communication world-wide will improve the attraction and retention of skilled people in small cities (Kotkin, 2000, Friedman, 2005).

Response percentages to the statement ‘*Access to fast broadband and other technology is good.*’ are set out in Figure 5-59.

Figure 5‑59 City's responses to, Access to fast broadband and other technology is good

Figure 5‑60 Gender responses to, Access to fast broadband and other technology is good

There is less than 3% difference in responses from men and women 70.9% of women agree that access to technology is good and 68.7% of men agree.

Figure 5‑61 Life-stage responses to, Access to fast broadband and other technology is good

There is a range of responses from different life-stages with the highest level of agreement from the couples with young children under 6years of age, with 80.6% agreement that the fast broadband and other technology is good, 73.2% of singles agree, 68.5% of couples with no children agree and 66.7% of couples with children that have left home. The lowest level of agreement is from the ‘other’ group and couples with children living at home aged 7-20. This may be because of multiple users in the house, which makes the technology slower. Policy makers need to continue to improve access to high levels of state of the art technology, because this is an area that small cities could have an advantage over mega-cities.

Infrastructure in small cities is an attraction motivator (Florida, 2002) and it demonstrates how investment in the infrastructure is reflected in the satisfaction levels of skilled people with the improvements. Manchester has had high levels of investment in infrastructure and this is reflected in increased positive responses from the skilled people in the survey. Technological infrastructure is increasingly important and this is an area that small cities are well placed to compete with mega-cities, to provide a high level of technological connectivity, to allow people the freedom to live wherever they want and be attracted to and stay in small cities (Kotkin, 2000).

#### Summary

Responses to the statements relating to infrastructure identifies that this attraction motivator is very important to all life-stages and genders and in all cities. In Manchester, where there has been greatest investment in infrastructure, there has been the most positive responses. The problem with politics being associated with infrastructure is that the disruption caused by large infrastructure projects is not something that some politicians and leaders want to address for the longer-term good of the city, because there are no political short-term gains identified. This has to be acknowledged as a barrier to improved infrastructure a suggested solution is an independent transport and infrastructure body to plan and promote improvements in infrastructure as has been adopted in Manchester. This is a way of overcoming the political inertia towards large infrastructure projects that are necessary to make small cities attract and retain skilled people. Small cities can compete with mega-cities in the provision of technological infrastructure an area for focus of investment.

### Analysis of infrastructure quotations from the interviews

Infrastructure has been further analysed through the quotations taken from the interviews with skilled people. In the interviews a senior manager in Cardiff local government, a male key informant, talked about the importance of infrastructure in Cardiff and surrounding areas and the progress that is being made, he said;

(Welsh Assembly Member) pushed for it (Capital region) to be set up and it has the local authorities on it, the private sector is on it, and it has the universities on it and the aim is to get a strategic focus for the 10 local authorities that make up the capital region. And we’ve had one or two presentations but essentially what we’re trying to do is give some strategic support to the Metro principle. You are not going to get a vibrant city region until you have infrastructure. The Metro is actually vital in terms of achieving the infrastructure. We should have Cardiff capital transport authority, like Manchester, Greater Manchester transport authority, Greater Manchester Metro authority, you know. People know that things are happening in Manchester, the 10 local authorities there are working very closely together; funnily enough I had the head of Monmouth county council in here yesterday, he’s just come back from Manchester and he said it’s amazing, it’s unbelievable what they are doing with infrastructure. The delay is the cost and the lack of political will for a long-term solution to the infrastructure problems in Cardiff and surrounding areas, because the benefits of improved infrastructure will reap no short-term political rewards.

This view that politicians are not making improvements to infrastructure because there are no short-term rewards, needs to be overcome, since the data shows that cities that have good infrastructure have improved productivity and are more attractive to businesses and skilled people (Glaeser, 2005). The problem with introducing new infrastructure projects is that they are expensive, and they usually cause disruption short-term and are unpopular with some parties. The democratic process must be followed to ensure the most beneficial outcomes for the most people, which is an arduous, but a necessary process for infrastructure developments, as seen by the delays in the Heathrow runway developments, and, closer to the case cities, the delay in the M4 developments near Newport.

Making cities more attractive to business will increase employment prospects and therefore positively affect the employment opportunities, which in this research and according to Glaeser (2005); Peck (2005) and Storper and Scott (2009) is the highest priority for attracting and retaining skilled people, therefore the attraction motivational priority of infrastructure and employment are intertwined.

Policy makers therefore need to prioritise infrastructure to achieve the other goal of a thick labour market to attract and retain skilled people to small cities.

A male Interviewee who has children aged 7-20 living at home, says;

It can take over take two hours to get across London. Those are my frustrations, I like to have my friends around, I like spontaneity and like meeting them but everything was a two-hour trip in London, the traffic is bad, North circular is hideous. So that was a big driver for me to move to Cardiff. Within Cardiff nobody is more than 20 minutes away and currently where we live everybody is sort of in walking distance, people I socialise with are neighbours, they can walk round and have a barbecue and I love it. I hated being stuck in traffic. It was one issue that after time I got so fed up with spending time wasted in traffic every day, so I moved to Cardiff.

This skilled entrepreneur who has set up a business in Cardiff employing a substantial number of people in skilled jobs, moved from London to Cardiff so he didn’t have to waste time in traffic every day, which supports the findings that traffic is a high priority as an attraction motivator for skilled people, and supports the theories of Glaeser (2005).

Another business owner who identifies a problem caused to business by poor infrastructure said;

We have an office in Newport and one in Bristol. We’ve got about 40 people working here and everyone else works elsewhere, so we have about 30 to 40 people, every day, held up in traffic, so I pay people to sit in traffic jams in the Brynglas Tunnel (near Newport). It is bonkers, it is just a drag on business activity, so, I think that communication is critical and that at the minute the M4 coming into Wales is a complete pain in the neck and if something is not done soon, I’m moving the headquarters, it doesn’t make sense to stay and its getting worse.

This reflects the negative effect poor infrastructure can have on business, which policy makers need to address, to make small cities attractive to skilled people and their businesses.

A female interviewee in Manchester, who is married without children said;

So, we are outside the city centre, but yeah, you’re close enough if you want to go shopping or if you want to go out into town. You know, you are close enough to the city to be able to commute in and you know you can still be part of city life if you like.

This supports Florida’s (2005) theory of the importance of good infrastructure for attracting skilled people, as it makes them able to access social life in the city, so they can communicate and be involved with other skilled people to be innovative and make the city lively which attracts other skilled people (Jacobs, 1961).

Many people expressed the benefit of being able to walk around a small city, this interviewee said;

I love Cardiff, it is actually like a village, it is very compact and easy to get around. And once you’re in town it’s so compact and you can walk everywhere.

This is an advantage of size and should be noted by policy makers. Planning should make walking around the city safe and as easy as possible so many people use the walk ways (Jacobs, 1961. Florida, 2005). This is an advantage over mega-cities that cannot be accessed easily by walking, because they are so big.

Another person, female with children that have left home, expressed the attraction of good infrastructure, proving easy access to different activities in and around a city (Florida, 2005) saying;

We ended up living in the centre of Cardiff, we liked the fact that we can walk into town and we liked the fact that we are 15 minutes from the sea and 20 minutes from hills, and we can jump on a train and be in London in just over two hours so you have everything.

This skilled person, a male of a couple with children aged 7-20 living at home, points out the importance of maintaining good infrastructure to maintain good access throughout a city as it grows. Policy makers need to include infrastructure improvements alongside growth of the city, to maintain the attractiveness of the city to skilled people; the interviewee said;

I think the one thing which I would say about the outside sort of areas of Cardiff is they do need to think about transport links a bit better. I don’t know whether the transport is so good in Cardiff and I think as the city has grown, and will continue to grow getting around the city is getting more difficult. I’ve seen, in sort of, local development plans they’re talking about something like 40,000 houses or something in the next 10 years, so as it grows they really need to move on the new idea of the Metro line, which I’ve been reading about, and by the sounds, from the paper, the first thing they are going to do is sort out the Cardiff Bay sort of side of the transport links, and actually I don’t think that’s a huge priority because, people living Cardiff Bay can get to other parts of Cardiff. If anything, it’s either sides of the city, getting from East to West of Cardiff is a nightmare.

Safe and efficient public transport for everyone to use is an important attraction in a city, this interviewee expressed the importance of safe and reliable public transport, that allows his wife to travel into the city independently saying;

So, it’s very nice place, it safe my wife actually I didn’t expect that in my life my wife can take bus from home, she can walk then take bus and then she heading towards the city centre. She can do shopping and come back, so I never ever actually expected that. And when she talked to her family (in Oman) just to saying in Cardiff I use the bus, they cannot actually believe her. It’s something, you know, something actually, it’s not like an easy thing to do it, to do it outside the country. She can do it because it is safe.

Infrastructure that allows access for travel outside the city is important to attracting skilled people to small cities, as supported by the interviews and the surveys. This interviewee moved back from London to Bristol with her husband, before they had children, because of the good connections with other parts of the country for work and said;

I moved back to Bristol because at the time I was married to a musician, who found it was a very easily accessible place to travel back and forth to work, with good motorway access and access to airports, either Bristol or Heathrow, plus we had a lot of contacts through work and so it just made sense to come back to Bristol.

This woman with children 7-20 years old living at home commented on the good public transport in Manchester that has been an attraction for her and her family saying;

Having good public transport in Manchester adds to quality of life, because you can get to places around here more easily than you can in London. The trams are fantastic, we only have one car now, because we both can use the tram to get to work and the kids are old enough to walk to school by themselves. We just have a car for if we want to go out of town, really, or if we have something unusual crop up.

Another woman whose children have left home, compared the uncomfortable crush of London public transport with the positive view she has of the Manchester infrastructure of public transport and praises the policy makers for the benefits of the improved transport system saying;

My youngest son has gone down to London to be a lawyer, and he has been saying to get to the 9 o’clock lecture getting on the underground, you know, you can be just queuing for hours to get on the tube, and be behind the barriers. He is young and you mustn’t mind about your personal space being invaded all the time in London. Thank heavens I am away from all that in Manchester. Manchester is quite proud that we have spent a lot of money on itself and improving the city, so I do think, they (the leadership) actually do the best for Manchester. They put in the tram system, which is absolutely brilliant but the only thing is it forces people to use public transport, it makes it almost impossible to drive into Manchester because two of the main routes for the trams cut across Oxford Road and Brooks Street, it’s going to be just taxis and buses, soon. This is in the plan because they want to encourage everyone to use public transport, which is fine but it’s whether it’s terribly practical, because you know when you’ve got lots of bags to carry or papers to carry, but I suppose people don’t carry papers any more, do they? Actually, thinking about it, because these days all of those things are on your computer, I hadn’t thought about that. I think it’s very good the way they have done the transport system, they have it to Manchester airport now, just about, so I think that is quite good leadership. They do seem to have a vision, they really do.

These comments demonstrate to policy makers the appreciation of skilled people for an efficient public transport system, that meets the up-to-date needs of skilled people, to get to all parts of a city, relatively comfortably and efficiently, which attracts skilled people ( Glaeser, 2005).

A key informant, who is a senior manager in Manchester Airport, commented on the importance of infrastructure to attracting skilled people and future investment to Manchester saying;

We are in the transport business, which is of key importance to any city. We are within two hours of two thirds of the population of the UK so a significant portion. But the transport links out of the area had relatively little investment until recently, the last ten years, so huge projects going on at the moment. In terms of the northern railway infrastructure that gives everyone headaches in terms it’s a bottleneck. There is work to get more lines going down there (London), which is taking trains between Victoria (London) and Piccadilly(Manchester). There’s an electrification of the majority of the lines, once finished they will provide a much more integrated transport system. HS2 (High speed railway) is planned to have a stop at the airport, which will go straight to Piccadilly, so yeah, this kind of means, all of a sudden, we are now connected by fast rail track to London, so why not fly to Manchester?

There’s the Metro system which is absolutely amazing, within two months it carried a quarter of a million passengers.

The Northern Hub will mean the electrification of the line between Manchester and Liverpool, Manchester and Blackpool and Leeds, so it’s kind of the northern centre. So, the HS2 will come up from London to Manchester. It will make Manchester even more vibrant and it is amazing now, it’s all going on here. Infrastructure is hugely important and there’s a huge investment in infrastructure in Manchester because we know it is central to growth of the city and the North.

This policy adopted by Manchester to improve the connections throughout Manchester with the cities in the north and London, reflects the importance of infrastructure that policy makers in Manchester and central government have acknowledged and invested in to grow Manchester. This is a central policy to grow Manchester and try to rebalance the UK between the North and South. These plans focus on the importance of infrastructure to the attractiveness of the city, reflecting the theories of Florida (2002b) and Glaeser (2005).

Several other interviewees commented positively about the infrastructure in Manchester saying;

We’ve got transport sorted to an extent,

I came here from 30 miles away and it takes 30 minutes, which is great.

…..you could go for a night out in Manchester and get back yeah, the Metro is great.

……certainly, where I live transport and infrastructure is a priority and there being things to do and bars in places I can easily get to. I live in a suburb, although close to Manchester, Didsbury. We have got access to public transport, which is great for the kids, they get the tram into Manchester it is great, no problem.

Interviewees in Manchester were very keen to extol the positives of the infrastructure in the city which seems to be a positive attraction for them and adds to their enthusiasm for the city, which is clearly a retention factor for these skilled people at all life-stages and life styles.

This woman interviewee compares Manchester infrastructure with London and identifies that they would not want to live in London because of the increased travelling time to work, she says;

Things that would push me away from living in London is the sheer scale of it. I visit London a lot, I should say that, I know London quite well, I lived there for a few years year. My grandparents lived in London. My husband's family are in London, so we still visit London a lot, we go down there about three times a year. I’ve got an Oyster card; I visit London with work too. I like London I love visiting it, I think it’s a fantastic city, but as a place to live, goodness you know you live so far out, and everybody is so very spread out. You know, your journey to work, my journey to work time is 15 minutes, in London you’re looking at an hour wherever you live. Transport in London is amazing, people moan about it, but as a visitor not travelling at peak time, transport is amazing. But I wouldn’t want to live there.

This reinforces that infrastructure is an attraction, in this case this skilled person is attracted to Manchesterbecause the infrastructure is adequate and efficient for the size of the city This highlights the necessity for policy makers to consistently re-evaluate the infrastructure, as the city grows, to maintain adequate provision for skilled people to travel around the city, out of the city and into the city, within acceptable times, acceptable costs and acceptable comfort, to maintain the attraction of the city. This could be a great advantage to small cities, if the infrastructure is efficient.

A male (couple, no children) interviewee from Bristol said;

I think transport and infrastructure is very important, I love Bristol but, public transport in Bristol and the road systems at rush-hour are a complete nightmare, to be able to get in and out of Bristol. It is a real turn-off and lets the city down badly.

This does not reflect well on policy makers in Bristol and it is important that these issues are addressed to maintain the attractiveness of the city (Florida, 2002).

A female (couple, children left home) interviewee, living in Newport commented;

Newport is great, It is easy to get around by car and the bus service is OK, my children used to use it, but they drive now. I think it does not have too bad a setup in terms of some of the rail links and if that can be improved and all of that links with some of the city region stuff as well, in terms of electrification of the line. Most people I know rely on their car, I think to rely on public transport all the time would be tough. Cycling is still far too dangerous, the cycle lanes are not wide enough, people park in them and drivers are just not keyed up to respect cyclists. I love cycling but no way would I cycle in Newport.

The increased popularity of cycling with skilled people for environment and health reasons is making the importance of a cities’ infrastructure for cyclists, increasingly important as an attraction motivator, which needs to be addressed by policy makers.

Being able to access a mega-city within two hours is identified as an advantage by many interviewees, one saying;

I think it’s (Bristol) relative proximity to London is still a big plus if you could get the rail link slightly better, just over an hour away is nothing, relatively, is it? But getting to the train in Bristol is the bugbear.

And one saying;

Cardiff is just over two hours form Cardiff by train and a bit less with the new electrification of the trains, that will be a great asset for Cardiff.

A key informant recognised the importance of infrastructure to Newport in attracting skilled people, she said;

Newport is never going to be in that international category, like Edinburgh and Dublin, but we do have the physical infrastructure in terms of accessibility, so people will come and people stay, if we can attract them with good jobs and a good quality of life.

A man (couple children 7-20 years old) that commutes daily from Newport to London, says;

I get the train every morning Newport to Paddington. I have breakfast on the train and in the evening, I get all my work done on the train Monday to Friday and never have to work at home, Yes, it’s a long day, but I earn three times as much as I would working anywhere in Wales. I can enjoy myself with friends where I live and never have to come across clients or people from work, unless I want to, and I’ve got the home and lifestyle I want. It all works out very well for me and my family.

This reflects the difference in options between America and the UK, where distances are shorter and therefore communicable. Living in one city and working in another is common in the UK, whilst in America where distances between cities are greater it is less frequently an option, reflecting the difference in contextualising the theories based on American cities in the UK and the rest of Europe ([Musterd and Murie, 2011](#_ENREF_112)).

It maybe as the infrastructure improves with electrification of the railway and with improved M4 access into Wales, the option of living in Newport and Cardiff and working in other cities will be considered by more skilled people. This could have positive and negative effects on the cities.

#### Summary

All interviewees in all four case study cities appear to appreciate that infrastructure, in the city and accessing the city from outside is essential to a vibrant city that attracts and retains skilled people (Florida, 2002, Glaeser, 2005) This supports the findings of the statements and the surveys.

## Family (Social Capital)

Family, according to the surveys and interviews is one of the main attraction and retention factors for small cities. According to Putnam (1995, 2001), family is part of the Social Capital, Social Capital is divided into two subsectors of bonds and bridges. Bonds refer to people’s strong family ties and close friends, resulting in high levels of trust and commitment, whilst bridges relate to peoples’ networks of friends and acquaintances ([Putnam, 1995](#_ENREF_123), [Putnam, 2001](#_ENREF_124)). Although in the analysis of the surveys family was identified as an Attraction Motivator, whilst friends were not, the social life which is another Attraction Motivator is often dependent on socialising with a network of friends and colleagues as well as family. This makes social capital very important as an Attraction Motivator. [Dainov et al. (2010)](#_ENREF_36), found that family connections, being born in the city or studying in the city, all of which contributed to the personal connection with the city was the most important factor in deciding on where to live for a high percentage of people.

### Analysis of family related statements from the survey

Analysis of the statements from the interviews that relate to family give depth to the findings of the research. The statements in the survey, taken from the interviews, were measured on a five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

#### Statement, ‘I got involved (married, partner) to someone who was from here and so I stayed.’

Response percentages to the statement ‘*I got involved (married, partner) to someone who was from here and so I stayed*.’ are set out in Figure 5-62 below.

Figure 5‑62 City's responses to, I got involved(married, partner)to someone who was from here and so I stayed

The highest levels of agreement to this statement are in Newport, where 27.6% of skilled people agreed that they had stayed in the city because they had met someone, so due to family connections made through meeting someone they had stayed in Newport; second was Manchester where 27.5% of skilled respondents agreed with this statement, 22.9 % in Cardiff agreed and 20.6% in Bristol. This indicates that between a fifth and over a quarter of skilled people are in the city because of meeting a partner, which is a considerable number, Florida (2002b) identifies the importance of finding a mate as an attraction motivator for skilled people.

Figure 5‑63 Gender responses to, I got involved(married, partner)to someone who was from here and so I stayed

The men and women responded in very similar proportions to this statement 26% of women and 24.2% of men agreed that they had got involved with someone and stayed in the city, demonstrating the importance of close bonds in attracting and retaining skilled people in small cities.

Figure 5‑64 Life-stage responses to, ‘I got involved(married, partner)to someone who was from here and so I stayed’

The life-stages differ significantly, with the later stages of couples whose children have left home being the highest number with 40.9% agreeing, reducing to 10.9% in singles life-stage. 26.7% of couples without children agreed, over a quarter of the respondents, 30% of couples with young children under 6 and 31% of couples with children between 7 and 20 agreed.

There is a considerable difference between the life stages, this may be because people are more mobile now, more go to University and so there are more influences on making the decision of where to live. Older couples may not have travelled so much and stayed in the same city, found a partner and settled there, whilst now earlier life-stages may move for study or work and if they meet a partner may be both happy to move depending on a combination of Attraction Motivators, other than family.

There are significant proportions of skilled people attracted and retained in small cities due to meeting partners, which need to be supported and encouraged by improving the Attraction Motivators to retain these people, such as a thick labour market, social life, culture and infrastructure, which may lead to an increase in people staying in the city. Where these people meet and how they decide where they are going to live, would be valuable further research.

#### Statement, ‘Because I knew nobody, I got rid of my preconceptions and ended up doing things that I never would have done before.’

Florida (2002b) and Putnam (2001) identified that family ties can inhibit innovation by restricting the behaviour and innovation of people. In Newport 26.2% of people agreed with this statement; 25.4% of skilled people in Cardiff agreed; 21.8% of skilled people in Bristol and 13.9% in Manchester. On average over one-fifth of people found being away from family bonds, a time to be freer. The cities need to support innovation of skilled people, allowing them to fulfil their potential with job opportunities, social life and culture.

Response percentages to the statement ‘*Because I knew nobody, I got rid of my preconceptions and ended up doing things that I never would have done before*.’ are set out in Figure 5-65.

Figure 5‑65 City's responses to, Because I knew nobody, I got rid of my preconceptions and ended up doing things that I would never have done before

Responses from men and women were very similar, indicating no gender bias.

Figure 5‑66 Gender responses to, Because I knew nobody, I got rid of my preconceptions and ended up doing things that I would never have done before

As regards life stage perspectives Figure 5-67 reflects the percentage responses to the statement.

Figure 5‑67 Life-stage responses to, Because I knew nobody, I got rid of my preconceptions and ended up doing things that I would never have done before

The ‘other’ group which includes single parent families and couples with children over 20 years old who are still living at home, agreed in the highest percentage to this statement with 35% agreeing, 31.2% of singles agreed they were freer without close family and friends in the city, 22.3% of couples without children and 20,5% with children of 7-20 years of age living at home; 13.1% of couples with children under 6 agreed and under 10% of couples whose children have left home agreed. The singles and ‘other’ are the people who are less restricted when away from close bonds. Small cities need to provide opportunities for life-stages to be innovative and achieve their full potential, since singles and couples represent the youngest age groups generally who are the most likely to move cities, these are the target groups for attracting away from their family cities and to different small cities where they can feel less inhibited by close family and friends. Policy makers could focus on students attending university in a small city, often from a different city, who can be encouraged to remain in the city after graduating, through support in accessing job opportunities, a good social life and positive cultural experiences as well as reliable, cost effective infrastructure.

#### Statement, ‘I didn’t want to move that far, so I moved here because it is near my family.*’*

Figure 5‑68 City's responses to, I didn't want to move that far so I moved here because it is near my family

Fig.5-68 shows the highest level of agreement to this statement was in Manchester, with 46.1% of skilled people in the survey agreeing that they wanted to stay near their family. In Cardiff, 39.6% of skilled people agreed, in Newport 38% of skilled people agreed and in Bristol the lowest response 35.7% agreed with the reason for them living in the city was to be near family. These social bonds need to be recognise as important for attracting skilled people to small cities and the policy makers need to support the skilled people who want to live near their family by providing job opportunities, social life, culture and infrastructure to encourage them to stay in the small city.

Musterd and Murie (2010, page 339) wrote about the most important Attraction Motivators to a city that,

Generally, it is individual connections or trajectories that are mentioned as the most important conditions

This is supported by this research with over one third of skilled people wanting to live near family in the small city, a significant proportion of the skilled people in a small city. Policy makers need to appreciate the importance of the social capital in attracting skilled people and provide conditions that they are able to remain in a city, through a thick labour market, good social life and cultural experience and good infrastructure.

Figure 5-69 reflects the gender percentage comment differences to the statement.

43.6% of women agreed with this statement, whilst 35.4% of men agreed that they wanted to move near their family, an 8% difference in responses. This indicates that women are more inclined to make a decision on where they live based on their family ties.

Figure 5‑69 Gender responses to, I didn't want to move that far so I moved here because it is near my family

Figure 5‑70 Life-stage responses to, I didn't want to move that far so I moved here because it is near my family

The life-stages variation in agreement with the statement is over 12%, Couples with young children was the lowest level of agreement at 33.3% compared to the highest level of 45% agreement from ‘other’ group. The 39.9% of single people agree, compared with 41.1% of couples with no children and couples with children of 7-20 years of age who still live at home, 42.2% of couples whose children have left home agree. This shows how important family are in deciding where to live to over 40% of people. This is important for policy makers to consider. This supports the findings of [Chan and Ermisch (2014)](#_ENREF_24), regarding the importance of location of people in relation to their family support network, for practical and psychological reasons.

#### Summary

The responses to the statements show that there are two sides to the family and close social bond impact on skilled people. Some skilled people experience a greater feeling of freedom to be more innovative when they are away from close family ties, but it must be considered by policy makers that considerable numbers of skilled people decide on where they live based on where their family live, the family may be parents and extended family, partners, spouses or children.

The family ties must be acknowledged by policy makers in the strategy for attracting and retaining skilled people, providing the other motivational attractions of job opportunities, social life, culture and infrastructure to support skilled people who wish to live near family in small cities.

### Analysis of family quotations from the interviews

Family (Social Capital) has been further analysed through the quotations taken from the interviews with skilled people. In the interviews, the participants had many views on the role family plays in attracting skilled people to small cities. Family includes all relatives; mother, father, spouse, siblings, children, partners and more distant relatives.

A woman, who lived in Manchester since she qualified as a solicitor and has employed many solicitors in Manchester and internationally said;

I definitely think that the reason why most people moved back here is for family ties. People come to Manchester for quality of life and to be nearer family connection. I don’t know anybody that moved out of London to Manchester just for any other reason, they have to have some family connection or have come to university here. They wouldn’t do it randomly, whilst people randomly go to London.

This interviewee moved to Manchester from Norwich to be with her boyfriend as she explains;

My boyfriend at the time was in Manchester and I was in Norwich and then at the end of our training contract my firm offered him a contract but he said because he was in corporate commercial, you can’t do property in Norwich, because he was doing mergers and takeovers, there’s not enough going on there, so I then looked for a job in Manchester and we agreed that we would stay here two years, 34 years later (laugh).

This is a combination of moving for a job, but staying and remaining because of family ties. She went on to explain that she had two children and stayed in Manchester because they were settled there.

A woman who graduated three years earlier explained that she moved back from University in Cardiff to live in Bristol because of family saying;

… obviously for me being Bristolian born and bred all of my friends, all my family are mainly here, that was a key incentive for me to come back,

supporting the importance of family, to some people, when deciding on where to live.

Looking at different life-stages and the attraction of family to small cities, a man in his 50’s with no children living at home, explained that he moved to Cardiff because of his wife’s family saying;

Then move to Cardiff in 2001 when my wife’s father was ill, to take over his business. I’ve been here ever since (2014)

And another example of an artist in her 40s with no children, explained why she moved back to Cardiff from London with her partner saying;

My family are in Wales, my father was a well-known artist. I could work anywhere, but I came back to Cardiff because of my family ties.

These give examples of a range of people of different life-stages and gender who made the move to a small city based on family ties. This supports Putnam’s (2001) and Musterd and Murie (2010), theory of the importance of family ties to people which is supported in the outcome of the surveys and interviews in this research.

Social capital transfers from the generations, so people may move to be near their parents and other family members, or to be with a partner, and if people have children, their children who make friends in school and see the city as their home, may then become a retention factor to keep them in the city, which should be considered by policy makers.

Interviewees of all life-stages and genders throughout the interviews identified the importance of family in making their decisions on where to live. A male interviewee in his 50, explained that he had made all moves based on improving his career, until he had a child. When he had a child, he moved to follow his partner and searched for a job appropriate to his skills to be with his partner and child. He explains;

The reason I moved, because I met (partner). And then we had (name of child), then (partner) got a job in South Wales. I commuted then for three years between London and Cardiff, Monday to Friday. And then I was looking for a job in South Wales for those three years. I then, because (daughter) was about 5 by them, and so I got a job with Cardiff city homes in 2007. So, then I moved into Cardiff, where I am settled now, because (child’s name) is settled here.

This is an example of priorities changing at life-stages from employment to social capital (family ties). It did take 3 years to find a job in Wales, closely equivalent to the job the participant had in Windsor, which reflects the need for a ‘thicker labour market’ for high-skilled employment.

Another example of priorities changing at different life-stages, which supports the findings of the research, is illustrated by a male interviewee who owns a company in Cardiff. Originally, he moved from London to Cardiff for a job in a bank, and then developed family ties. He said;

there was a purpose in my madness in that the marketing role at the (bank) was consumer-based and it included TV and stuff that I hadn’t done, so I could see that from a job point of view it had advantages and I really didn’t see myself doing it for more than two or three years. Actually, I think it’s relevant in a way that I commuted for a while. In one way, it was never really the job that kept me here, it was actually I enjoyed, I sort of enjoyed living in Cardiff and grew roots in Cardiff, so it wasn’t, sort of, boy, can’t leave this job, because the job was driving me mad at times, so yes, so I wasn’t kind of, although I did reasonably well there, it wasn’t the job that kept me. I met my wife and we had kids that’s why I stayed

He left the bank and started a business in Cardiff.

This example supports the importance of family in retaining people in a small city. Once people are attracted to a small city, maybe by a job opportunity, it is often the family ties that then retain them in the city.

Another interviewee gave an example of family ties retaining him in a small city He had moved to Bristol from London, then was moved by his employer to Leicester, but did not want to move his family because they were settled in Bristol, so he travelled between Bristol and Leicester until he found a job back in Bristol, where his family were settled. He said;

Work provide me with the flat in Leicester. I just travelled between Bristol and Leicester each weekend or whenever, so my family weren’t disrupted, until I found a job back in Bristol.

This is a further example of family ties being the deciding factor of where the skilled person lives.

The research found that at different life-stages priorities for attraction and retention factors for cities change; this is illustrated by this interviewee, who made a decision to move back from London to be near her family saying;

Then I was pregnant when I was in London and then I had to make a decision, stay in London and settle down or come back where my family is, to Manchester. I decided to come back. Living in Manchester with family close by, I think it’s important that the kids have the extended family. I’ve got all my family and friends around there.

This supports the importance people put on family ties, when making a decision where to live at different life-stages. This supports the theory of families moving closer to provide support networks written about by [Chan and Ermisch (2014)](#_ENREF_24).

Another interviewee, a man with young children under six who works in IT, has a choice of anywhere in the UK to live, because as identified by Kotkin (2000) Friedman (2005), technology has made it possible to work anywhere. The reason he and his wife have chosen Cardiff is because of his wife’s sister, he said;

I got married and my wife and I lived in Newcastle for a few years, then we moved to Cardiff because my wife’s twin sister was ill, so we moved down here so my wife could be near her sister.

We now have two small children, both in school in Cardiff, we are very settled. We don’t go out much, but Cardiff is great for family life, we have a lovely house here and recently my mother moved back to Cardiff and married an old friend, so we do have extended family and friends now in Cardiff.

This person identified the importance of a city being family friendly, to develop social capital and retain skilled people, through different life-stages.

Another person living in Newport moved back there with his wife when they had children. They both had jobs that included a lot of travel, so they could be based anywhere in the country and moved back to Newport for support with childcare, so they could continue with their careers. He explained;

We moved back to Newport because of childcare. We were only getting married to have kids and so we were going to have kids, but we both wanted to continue with our careers, my wife’s family are from Newport and her mum and dad looked after the kids a lot.

An example of how strong bonds can attract and retain skilled people is demonstrated by a participant originally from America who came to Cardiff in 1990 attracted by a partner, he said;

I’d had a boyfriend in the UK and so that was a big draw… I wanted to get a job and try the relationship that ticked all the boxes the job the relationship and Europe…

But in 2014, when the interview took place, he had decided to leave Cardiff because he has no longer enough social capital to keep him in the city, he broke up with his long-term partner and did not feel Cardiff had enough to offer for him in terms of social capital, he said;

I think it’s either family ties or a very tight circle of people that I want to grow old with, it doesn’t necessarily have to be a partner but it does have to be somebody you just want to grow old with. And I don’t really have that connection here at the moment. So, in the absence of that kind of connection, I really want the stimulation of a cosmopolitan area.

He has since moved back to Washington DC and has a partner and plans to stay in Washington. This interviewee had the view that small cities like Cardiff are fine for heterosexual people, but for people who are in minority groups he said;

The numbers don’t stack up. I am not going to find anyone in Cardiff long term, because it is too small and does not have enough eligible gay men to give me an opportunity to have a relationship. I need to move somewhere bigger.

This does make the point that minority groups in a small city are going to be very small and lack diversity and depth in those groups, so as found by Brown (2015) people in small cities often crave a mega-city opportunity like London.

[Portes (1998)](#_ENREF_122), states that the negative consequences of social capital, family ties should be considered, as they can be constricting. A man I interviewed would love to move to a bigger city where he has more opportunities, but his wife doesn’t want to move, he said;

We moved to Cardiff back to where she is from when we had the children. I have been sponsored to do my MSc and I am now doing my PhD based on producing antibodies in sheep that can be used by the pharma industry.

I would love to move back to London, but my family are settled in Cardiff and my wife would never move.

I have a good job and will stay where I am, although when I finish my PhD I would like to move around for better career prospects, but I have two children who are 4 and 6 years old and my wife wants to stay near her family for support with the children.

This is an example of family ties restricting your opportunities and innovation; it also is in conflict with the findings that skilled men and women identify the same priorities for attracting them to small cities. Also, the interviewee wants to move to a mega city out of a small city, for more opportunities, which is the problem for small cities. This is an example of family ties retaining a skilled person, who would otherwise move to a bigger city, supporting the evidence of the importance of family ties. Although his is not a particularly positive scenario, if people are held back by family ties, innovation will be stifled, since this person obviously identifies that there are more opportunities for him to develop his work in larger cities (Florida, 2002; Putnam, 2001).

Portes (1998), Florida(2002), and Putnam(2001) said that family bonds could quash innovation and creativity, a female interviewee, who is a Professor in Science now working in Bristol, spoke about how liberating her experience was of moving to Bristol for her post-doctorate studies saying;

So, I don’t know anyone, it was very liberating in lots of ways, you know and it was very different. I was away from all my family and friends. I didn’t worry about being stylish as long as you were just good at your job, everyone wore casual clothes, just jeans and T-shirt that was great. I thought, this is so wonderful; I can just join in and get stuff done. It was fun and I was single at the time.

Another woman commented about when she went to Manchester University from South Wales, she said;

And by moving away from home I think I was able to spread my wings? Because at home you’re expect to be a certain way whereas in Manchester I can be me.

This supports the idea that in some cases family ties can inhibit innovation. In both instances, the women made further family ties by starting families in the cities they had moved to.

An interviewee supported the theory of Florida (2002b) that family ties and close bonds can stifle innovation through forming exclusive groups, which have a negative effect on innovation. He said about Cardiff;

The Welsh language and its broader kind of stuff, everyone knowing everyone and being related, is not an inclusive group and I will never be part of it and therefore that doesn’t really make you feel positive and it stops you wanting to contribute. I get frustrated because I think there is so much crap that has been said about business and people being so innovative over the last 10 years, but it is all hot air.

Another person commented about Cardiff saying;

The negative side of being a small pool is that there is a lot of inbreeding. (name of a Welsh Assembly Member) is married to (Welsh Assembly Member), who is on every chair for whatever, in Wales. There is that group of people, and I find that offensive, who if they’re not running the garden place, they are running the Wales Millennium Centre or the Cardiff City region. They have made a lifetime of being incredibly pompous and very good and very important and it is not egalitarian its elitist, I find it negative.

These views support the negative outcomes of Social Capital of suppressing innovation because they are not open to outsiders with different ideas. Small cities have to put in place policies that ensure they are open and inclusive to allow innovation (Florida, 2002, Putnam, 2005).

Portes (1998) points out the sense of well-being and safety social capital can provide, an interviewee who came from Kurdistan for post-graduate study in Cardiff explained how having family connections in the city attracted him to Cardiff saying;

One of the most important things for me is one of my cousins is living in Cardiff, one of my uncle’s son is living as well here and they attract me. When I came here they provide me with the flat for the first two months. I got relaxed because of them, now avoid some culture shock something like that. It is very important and then I settled down so I have been here for nearly 3 years.

Again, the down side to Social Capital that needs to be avoided by effective policy making, highlighted by Portes (1998), is that Social Capital can result in parochialism and inhibition of talent and innovation. An interviewee identified this negative side of social capital, when recounting his experience of being excluded from the job market in Cardiff saying;

Yeah well, I mean I went for a couple of jobs in Cardiff, one which was open University, didn’t even get through the initial stages and that confirmed to me that Cardiff has a lot of provincial, good old boy networks. There’s no two ways about it a lot of the companies here depend on who knows who, who is related to who and how Welsh thou art, sort of thing, and it winds me up.

I’m sure there is just as much corruption in large cities, but, at least, I think there is more of an appearance of meritocracy in large cities. You can’t just get in some place because of where you were born, and who your uncle is, whereas I think that happens a lot here. If you were born in a certain area and speak Welsh I’m positive you can get further ahead. In other words, it’s possible for a very mediocre Welsh person to rise up here, rather than it is for a mediocre American like me to rise up.

This is not a good impression for a small city and one that should be addressed through policy making, although it is difficult to make a balance of supporting the Social Capital attraction and retention positive factors, whilst discouraging the closing out of talented people.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) posited the importance of planning and developing Social Capital, in the interviews the advantages of providing a family friendly environment for skilled people shows how this attracts them to the city and following generations will often settle in the city, so developing the skilled population of the city, one interviewee saying;

I was married with two children, then. That would be 1973. I moved to Manchester and both my children are now Manchester based, they both are married with children.

This interviewee moved to Bristol to work, because it was family friendly and said;

First year I came myself, actually just to test the water, to see whether it is really sociable for family or not, then I spent six months staying here and I found it very nice place(Bristol) it is safe, suitable for families. Then I rented a house for the family and then brought them over.

A female interviewee who was divorced and moved away from her ex-husband with her children said:

So, without job, without house, but, with two children and a dog, I moved from Oxford to Cardiff and the reason why I moved was for a new start following a divorce. I had fond memories of Cardiff from my University days there. I had one close friend in Cardiff who I stayed with while I was getting us all settled.

Although this interviewee has settled here with her sons, she predicts that since her sons regularly visit Oxford, they will leave Cardiff for Oxford or the South East of England where they see more opportunities and wealth. The interviewee predicts that if her sons leave Cardiff, she will also leave to be near them, she explained:

No, they (two sons) are not going to stay. No, because compared to Oxford they think it is very poor (laughter). Although, they actually have better facilities here, but I think they view some people who come perhaps from the Valley type areas, and they are seeing bits of communities that are a lot poorer than what we had around Oxford, so to stay in jobs they’re talking about; well one wants to be abroad (laughter) altogether, and the other one states that England is better than Wales. (Laughter) They think it’s poorer, and they see what a lot of the housing is around some parts that we lived in Oxfordshire and there’s not too much of that richer housing here. You know they may stay, they both love the city, but they will go where the jobs are and the University with the best course. They might go abroad, but I expect them to go to the best university courses and the best opportunities. So, it’s exactly the same as what I did, so I have been a really good role model for them.

Increased perception of prosperity and opportunity in a city is needed as an aim for policy makers to encourage skilled people to be attracted to cities and to remain in the cities over generations.

This person moved away from a relationship, so that would be hard to include in strategic planning but to retain this skilled person and her sons, policy makers need to drive policy that will provide opportunities, otherwise as the interviewee explains young people will leave for cities that they perceive have better opportunities.

Social Capital is changing, as women become more independent, they are increasingly making the decisions of where to move based on work opportunities and therefore men then are moving based on family priorities (Roantree and Vira, 2018). One interviewee said;

My wife moved to Newport with her job and I followed

Some women do have opportunities to move, but are retained by family ties, such as this interviewee who said;

Well as part of my role I have done work abroad recently. I spent quite a lot of time in London, I have done quite a bit of work in New York. But I guess now that my children are older, if an opportunity were to come up there is definitely the potential to move, it’s much more feasible now than perhaps when the children were younger. There are people that have done that within our organisation, that have moved to positions overseas so it’s quite feasible that those opportunities are there, I guess really the thing that keeps me here is sort of my family ties not just my immediate family but my parents and siblings and so on.

Whilst for some women family ties are a priority for other women if they are not satisfied with their career opportunities, they will not stay in a city. It is not a positive position for people to have to choose between family and career in some cities. Therefore small cities have an obligation for the well-being of its inhabitants to provide career opportunities in a thick labour market for men and women of all ages and life-stages so people can fulfil their potential and contribute to driving economic development, whilst being with the people they love and care for.

An example of why it is important to provide adequate opportunities for skilled men and women to retain them; otherwise skilled people are lost to the city is this male orthodontist who was interviewed. He and his family are leaving Bristol because his wife did not have the opportunities she wanted, he said;

I made lots of friends in Bristol, I suppose I was at the age when I came here that everyone starts to settle down. I met my wife in Bristol, she is a dentist too, although she is in general practice, she prefers general practice than working in a hospital environment, but she has not had a great time working here (Bristol).

We like Bristol, but my wife is from Switzerland originally and we are moving to Australia, whilst the children are young and we have not set down roots in Bristol as far as our children are concerned. They are not settled in school with a lot of friends. My wife really wants to move to Australia and we both think that we would have more opportunities and better quality-of-life as well as lifework balance in Australia than we have in Bristol.

My parents and my wife’s parents are both happy to visit us in Australia. Although my parents, who are in Bristol will find it difficult because they see the children often at the moment, they have already planned to come out to see us in Australia at Easter.

This interviewee reflects that retention of skilled people depends on providing adequate opportunities for people at all life-stages and both men and women otherwise the family ties may not be enough to retain people. Especially when people are able to stay in contact through technology and are able to travel to stay in touch, as was highlighted in the quote.

A female scientist spoke of her coming back to the UK because of family ties in the UK and her American husband coming with her. She chose not to return to a city were her family (parents and siblings) lived, she came to Cardiff to start her own family, she explains why she chose Cardiff and now she has family ties in Cardiff, through her children, who are keeping the family in Cardiff saying;

So, I went to America and stayed six years there. And while I was there I met my husband, all that mattered then was my husband. So that’s probably why I ended up staying a little bit longer than I intended.

My parents were getting older you know I sort of felt like being that far away was always going to start to be difficult, my grandma died when I was there and that makes you think.

He (husband) was born there but has actually lived in lots of different places but where we lived there was quite rural and he just couldn’t entertain living in a big city really. Also, you know, he likes to see where the sky meets the ground, to have more space and also if I’m really honest I didn’t know whether I wanted to go back to London, because, for two reasons, one the bubble had burst on the way life was when I was there as a student.

Even though I’ve still got friends and family, who live in London, lives have moved on and so they are no longer living the lives that we were all living when I was there.

She went on to say why she and her family enjoy Cardiff:

And equally I didn’t want to go to a place where, (my husband) was already going to be a fish out of water moving back to Britain, I didn’t want to go back to somewhere where I already had roots and he would just be an accessory to that,

so it was much more interesting to me to move somewhere completely new for both of us. So that’s why I was looking at more provincial universities and so I looked at Cambridge, Edinburgh I think I did apply to Royal Holloway London, but again on the outskirts of London, and Cardiff. Never having been to Cardiff, ever in my life, just because the job was advertised.

One of the things that we like most to do my husband and I, and the family, is hiking, walks and outdoorsy stuff so, it is ideal for that. You can be out of the city in two minutes. and so, you know whilst, the job is not quite as great, you make compromises and my husband would say the same thing. We’ve made compromises because actually our lives are pretty good in lots of ways, the kids are in school now. We go back to the states every year and get a bit homesick and we talk about going back, but realistically it’s harder the longer we are here; and I often tell (husband) that if he really wants to go back, I know I can live there, but it has to be him that takes us back. I haven’t got the motivation to make that decision. My son would go and live in America in a heartbeat but my daughter, she has very close bonds here and she would be traumatised. Thinking about moving house, that’s traumatic, I think we will stay here, because as a family we are happy.

This highlights how important it is to put in place policies to retain skilled people as well as attract them.

Kesselring and Vogl (2008) recognise that the mobility of individuals to find opportunities has had an effect on replacing family ties and strong bonds with more superficial ties. This is also dependent on life stages, many interviewees identified that when they were single then the focus was on friends and networks of friends, but at later life-stages the closer family bonds became more important in making the decision of where to live. An interviewee who has moved back to Manchester from London, with her husband and small children said;

Definitely the main reason for coming back to Manchester was that, both sets of parents, (interviewee’s mother and husband’s parents live in North England) are getting older. (Husband) is aware that his parents are in a fairly good state of health but getting older, my mum definitely we need someone to be closer to her, because there isn’t any of the other family back at home, so yes that was a definite, family is why we moved back. And I had (children’s names), which further curtailed the social life, so the bar hopping was finally put to rest (laughter).

This quote also supports the data from the surveys of a transfer of priorities at different life-stages, so the social life priority has been overtaken by the family ties for this interviewee, with caring responsibilities for parents and children.

Mahroum et al., (2008), found that retention of skilled people is at least partly a cultural phenomenon, based on findings that students that study in Universities close to home for financial or social reasons, are also more likely to stay in those areas, because of the social capital, links with family and friends they have.

One of the interviewees who is German, was in university in Austria has travelled world-wide with her work, at the time of the interview was living in Manchester commented on her experience of different cultures saying;

Whilst in Austria, everyone likes to study in their hometown and stay in their home town. They want to live with their families or close to their families, Germans are very different. Spanish people, I met quite a few in Graz but the Spanish

friend I have was saying that lots of Spanish people don’t like leaving Spain, they like staying and want to be with their families. Lots of people in Spain just want to speak Spanish all the time and stay at home. It depends on the people. It’s like people everywhere, some people in Britain like to stay at home.

An interviewee who graduated from Cardiff moved in with his girlfriend’s parents, because of financial reasons, as well as the family ties with his long-term girlfriend, he said;

And then once I graduated I was then looking for a job, of course I did not have an income straight out of university so I didn’t have any money, my student loan had finished so I was looking for work in Cardiff, but for me, my partner being from Bristol, and Bristol being the second most media rich city after London, I knew I wanted to go into marketing and media of some sort having studied marketing at University. so that is why I chose to move back to live with my girlfriend (girlfriend’s name) and her family and that is where I eventually found work in the city of Bristol.

As student debt increases, there will be increased financial pressure to live with family after University, as this single woman explained;

I left Cardiff and went back to Bristol because I went to live with my mum and dad again because of money, so from then I lived with my mum and dad and I actually saved for 18 months to get a mortgage, so that was the reason for living there.

This student studied for their first degree and post-graduate degree in Cardiff, they chose Cardiff over other Universities to be near their family and said;

I did my A-levels in Bristol, and then, I took a year out, and when it came to university applications I came to Cardiff based on the fact that product design has got a really good reputation in Cardiff, the next best thing was Loughborough, that’s really far away and I didn’t want to move that far, so I moved to Cardiff because it’s just over the bridge.

Another interviewee said;

Personally, I’m from Warwick near Coventry. I went to university in Bristol because it was quite near so I could still visit my parents easily when I was in University.

Many people chose a University near to their family for financial and emotional reasons, as Mahroum et al., (2008) says this often will establish a stronger network and retain the skilled person after graduation. Sometimes family bonds are made in University and influence where skilled people live, as one participant who went to University in Bristol and who had previously lived in Edinburgh said the reason he moved to Cardiff was;

I live in Cardiff because when I was in University, I fell in love with a Welsh girl called (name of wife) and she lived in Cardiff. (Laughter)

#### Summary

There are many and varied, complicated reasons why people want to be close to family and make decisions on where they live. It is important that policy makers are aware how important family bonds are in attracting and retaining skilled people and must make policy that support family friendly cities to attract and retain skilled people (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

## Model of how Small cities attract and retain skilled people

The Attraction Motivational Model has been developed from the conceptual framework in Chapter 3 based on the findings and analysis of the primary research data in conjunction with the related literature of the research.

Based on the 6 stages identified in the conceptual framework Chapter 3:

1. Leadership
2. Attraction Motivators: Employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and family
3. City branding
4. Attracting and retaining skilled people policy
5. Economic development
6. Hygiene factors
7. City Trajectory

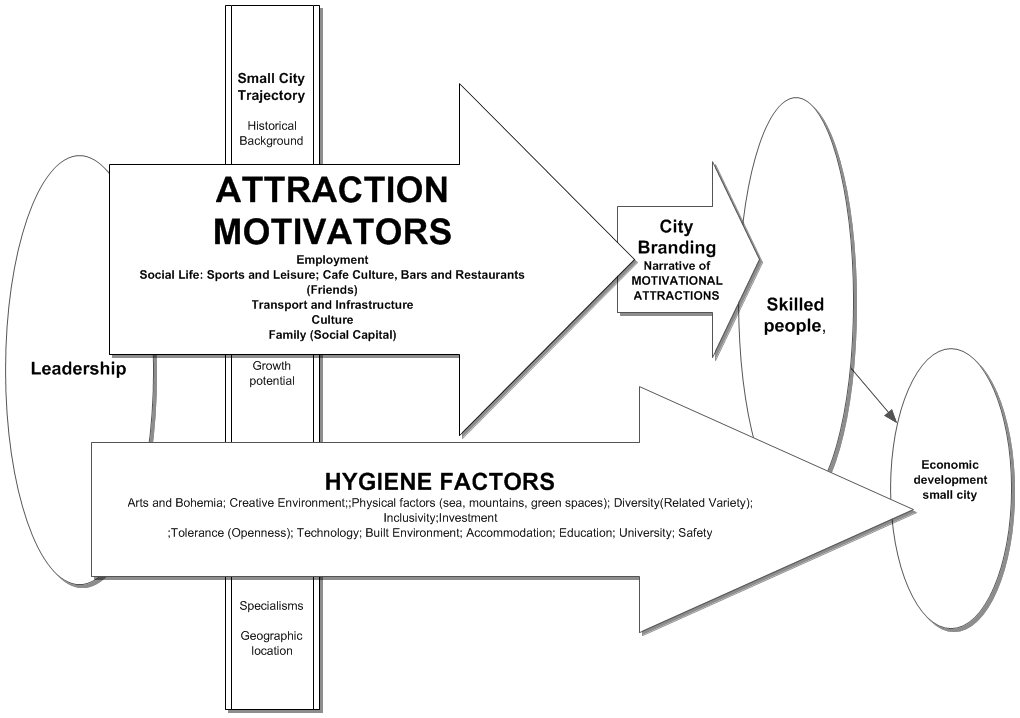
The Attraction Motivational Model has been developed based on the findings in Chapters 4 and 5 to include the Attraction Motivators to be employment, social life, culture, infrastructure and family (Social Capital). Through City Branding the

presence of these Attraction Motivators in the city are communicated effectively to the skilled people according to the city’s policy relating to attracting and retaining skilled people and will be linked to the economic development of the small city. The hygiene factors have been identified through the primary research and are identified as essential to support the economic development of the city and are integrated with the Attraction Motivators but are not the factors that will be part of the city branding.

The leadership must ensure that the ‘soup’ of hygiene factors, a concept adapted from Herzberg’s (1966) theory, are available in the city to ensure the matrix for economic development is present. The hygiene factors will not motivate skilled people to locate or to stay in a small city, but the presence of the hygiene factors, such as creativity, diversity, investment, accommodation, education and safety, are all necessary to provide the essential matrix for effective economic development. The background of each city is different, so consideration of the trajectory of the city needs to be included in all policy making to ensure the cities keep their identity and build on their strengths, experience and any advantages they have from historical decisions, to geographical position or topography.

The Attraction Motivator model set out in Figure 5.71 makes the skilled people central to the plan to provide them with the support that will allows them to thrive in the city and contribute to economic development. It is a transferable model that can be adopted by policy makers in small cities to contribute to strategic planning of economic development.

Figure 5‑71 Attraction Motivator Model



## Summary

In this chapter the Attraction Motivators have been further scrutinised and re-examined by revisiting the interview data and survey statements. The findings and analysis of the key Attraction Motivators have facilitated the development of the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) to address objective 5 which is to develop a robust model, it also fulfils the aim of the research to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to contribute to economic development.

The findings in Chapters 4 and 5 has led to the development of the Attraction Motivational Model to include the Attraction Motivators which are employment, social life, culture, infrastructure and family (Social Capital). City branding communicates these Attraction Motivators to the skilled people according to the city’s policy relating to attracting and retaining these people which are linked to the economic development of the small city. The hygiene factors have been identified through the primary research and literature review. These factors are essential to support the economic development of the city and are integrated with the Attraction Motivators but will not part of the city branding.

The Attraction Motivator model set out in Figure 5.71 meets the aim of the research and answers the research question ‘Is there a model that can guide policy for attracting and retaining skilled people?’ The model makes the skilled people central to the plan to provide them with the support that will allows them to thrive in the city and contribute to economic development. It is a transferable model that can be adopted by policy makers in small cities to contribute to strategic planning.

The Attraction Motivation Model will be reviewed in Chapter 6 to meet Objective 6. This will be achieved by comparing the economic development success of the case study cities against how closely the policies of each city match the model based on indices devised to measure the policies of the cities against the model, to find how effective the model is as a predictor of economic development.

# Application and assessment of the Model

## Introduction

In Chapter 5 a robust model was developed based on further scrutinising and re-examining the interview data and survey statements so meeting objective 5 and the aim of the research to develop a transferable policy model for attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities, to contribute to economic development.

In this chapter the Attraction Motivation Model will be reviewed to meet Objective 6 which is to ascertain if there is any pattern of increased economic development in the case cities, when comparing the cities’ policies and operations against the Attraction Motivator Model. This will be achieved by comparing the economic development success of the case study cities against how closely the policies of each city match the model based on indices devised to measure the policies of the cities against the model, to find how effective the model is as a predictor of economic development.

The Attraction Motivation Model, has been assessed by collecting further data from interviews with key informants, asking them to give their views on the model and how closely the policies of the city are reflected in the model. Further data collection has been undertaken based on websites and documentation available from the cities leading organisations such as local government policy documents. The cities were assessed against 6 indices based on the dimensions of the model:

1 Leadership

2 Attraction Motivators: Employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and family

3 City Branding

4 Attracting and retaining skilled people city policy

5 Economic Development

6 Hygiene Factors

## Review of Dimensions of Theory

Each dimension was evaluated using indicators based on analysis of the data from the interviews with key-stakeholders in each city and from the material provided by the cities, which included websites and documents.

Using indices for the five key dimensions of the model leadership, motivational attractors, city marketing and branding, targeting of skilled people and the cities’ economic development factors of increased population and increased GVA 2011-2015, indices were established against which the cities were compared.

Hygiene the sixth dimension was not included in the analysis due to restrictions in resources, it has been assumed that the hygiene factors are the same for each city. In future research comparison of the hygiene factors and their effect on the attraction and retention of skilled people with different characteristics is a valid area for further research.

### Leadership Index

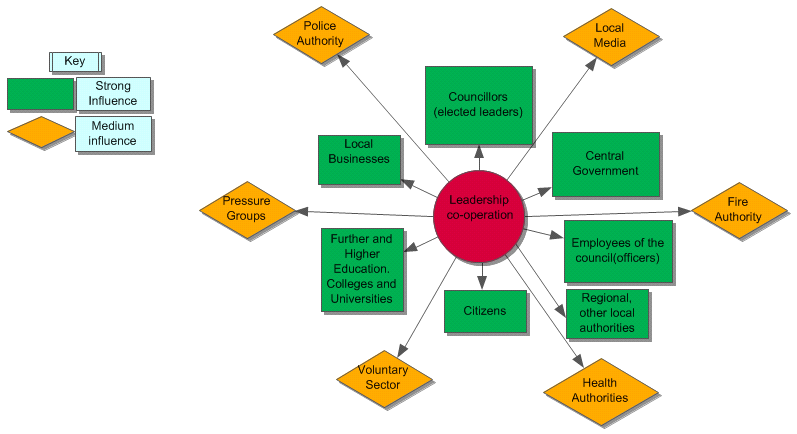
There is a growing trend towards devolution of power in the UK from a centralist focus on London, to a more balanced, power sharing. This is achieved by increasing responsibility in cities for decisions that affect their economic development (Bell and Stockdale, 2016).

Leadership in cities is therefore increasingly important and is a pivotal dimension of the model as the fulcrum for policy direction and implementation in cities.

An overriding factor in the success of leadership in a city is the ability and aim to co-operate with the key stakeholders of the city (Strange, 1996; Yukl et al., 2002; Parkerson and Saunders, 2005; Bouteligier, 2013). The stakeholders shown in Figure 6-1 and Table 6-1, are identified by Gomes (2004), as having different levels of influence and therefore different levels of priority for co-operation.

The leadership index to compare city’s leadership in the model is based on indexing by awarding points for the level of collaboration identified in the interviews, documentation and websites between different stakeholders identified. The stakeholders are differentiated as strong influencers on the leadership and medium influencers based on Gomes (2004) model, awarding 1 index point for the strong influencers or 0.5 for medium influencers. Figure 6-1 identifies the stakeholders of city adapted from Gomes (2004) while Table 6-1 identifies the Leadership Index based on stakeholder co-operation.

Figure 6‑1 Stakeholders of city adapted from Gomes (2004)



|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑1 Leadership Index based on Stakeholder co-operation | | | | |
|  | Stakeholder | Strong Influencers | Medium influencers | Index |
| 1 | Central Government | X |  | 1 |
| 2 | Citizens | X |  | 1 |
| 3 | Local Councillors (Elected) | X |  | 1 |
| 4 | Local Council Employees (officers) | X |  | 1 |
| 5 | Fire Authorities |  | X | 0.5 |
| 6 | Further Education (Universities) | X |  | 1 |
| 7 | Health Authorities |  | X | 0.5 |
| 8 | Local Business | X |  | 1 |
| 9 | Local Media |  | X | 0.5 |
| 10 | Other Local Authorities | X |  | 1 |
| 11 | Police Authorities |  | X | 0.5 |
| 12 | Pressure Groups |  | X | 0.5 |
| 13 | Voluntary Sector |  | X | 0.5 |

The indices relating to leadership are based on the level of co-operation between the stakeholders identified in Figure 6-1. The co-operation amongst the leadership of the city has been identified throughout the interviews, the documentation and the websites. The point system gives one point for the key priority stakeholders, such as the local government internal cooperation between the officers and elected leaders, which is important for effective policy making and governance. Maintaining co-operation with citizens is essential for long term effective leadership; co-operation with Higher Education Institutions is important to facilitate knowledge transfer in the city and helps to develop the skills needed in the city. Regional collaboration is essential to increase the strength of the city in leveraging devolution of power and through that, the increased finance to allow greater decision making powers to be undertaken at the city level, and co-operation with the central government is vital to facilitate further devolution of power through increased city funding, authority and co-operation with the private sector is vital to improve productivity and employment opportunities, providing a thick labour market.

The other stakeholders that are recognised as important for leadership co-operation, Fire Authorities, Health Authorities, Local Media, Police Authorities, Pressure Groups and Voluntary sector, are given a notional score of 0.5, which identifies the importance of these groups to the leadership of the city. Table 6-2 identifies the Leadership indices for cities.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑2 Leadership indices for cities | | | | | | |
|  | Stakeholder | Index | Manchester | Bristol | Cardiff | Newport |
| 1 | Central Government  (Devolved Government and Westminster) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| 2 | Citizens | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| 3 | Councillors (Elected) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | Employees (officers) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 | Fire Authorities | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 6 | Further Education (Universities) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 7 | Health Authorities | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |  |  |
| 8 | Local Business | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 9 | Local Media | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 10 | Other Local Authorities | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 11 | Police Authorities | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |  | 0.5 |
| 12 | Pressure Groups | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |  | 0.5 |
| 13 | Voluntary Sector | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
|  | Total |  | 10 | 10 | 7.5 | 7.5 |

The resources restrict the data collection for the study but are indicative of the level of co-operation adopted by the leadership of the cities.

## **Small City Attraction Motivators**

The model identifies the Attraction Motivators as employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and family which need to be strategically developed in a city to attract and retain skilled people.

Integration requires a close fit between stakeholders’ physical and psychological needs, and the city brand’s own functional and symbolic attributes.

Hultman et al; 2016 p 5153

The functional attributes of the cities for employment, social life, infrastructure, culture, and family are compared using indices that are constructed for comparison.

The social life, infrastructure, culture and family indices are based on the key informant’s interviews and websites, statistics and documentation related to the city.

### Employment

The employment index (Table 6-3) is based on data from the ONS on employment in the cities, interviews with the key informants and website and other documents.

Figure 6-2 shows a comparison of the occupations in each city, followed by a comparison in Figure 6-3 of the growth in knowledge occupations 2004-2016, which shows all cities have increased the employment in knowledge sectors.

Figure 6-4 shows the spread of qualifications in the cities, indicating the levels of skilled people with qualifications of degree or higher.

All cities have increased the employment in the knowledge sector and in all cities the key informants identified increasing employment in the knowledge sectors for skilled workers as essential to the economic development of cities. Therefore, Employment is the only attraction motivator that all cities have scored two points each in the index.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑3 Employment | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Web-site and other documents | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|  | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Figure 6‑2 Comparison of Occupation groups for the cities

The highest levels of employment in all four cities are in the managerial and professional sectors, reflecting the growth in the Knowledge based economy. Bristol is the highest percentage of occupations in the knowledge sector, followed by Cardiff, both of which have a higher level of knowledge occupations than the national average (ONS 2017). Figure 6-3 shows the growth from 2004-2016 of the Knowledge economy in the case study cities compared to Great Britain. This shows that although the knowledge economy has grown in all cities, Bristol has grown the fastest; Cardiff started as the city with the highest percentage of Knowledge workers but has been overtaken by Bristol.

**Figure 6‑3 Comparison of growth in Knowledge employment in the case study cities**

Figure 6‑4 Comparison of individual's qualifications in the case study cities

Figure 6-4 shows Bristol with the highest levels of qualifications amongst the inhabitants, followed by Cardiff, then Manchester and all above the national level of qualifications. Newport has inhabitants with the lowest levels of qualifications in the case study cities, below the national average in all categories. Indicating a lower level of skilled workers in Newport, reflected in the lower levels of skilled employment.

### Social Life

Social life (Table 6-4) which includes all the leisure activities, watching and playing sport, socialising in cafes, bars, restaurants and clubs and going to the cinema has been scored in the index allocating one point if it is recognised as a priority for the city by the key informants and one point if it is identified as an attraction that the city promotes in the documentation or websites associated with the city.

.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑4 Social Life | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Website and other documents | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
|  | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

Figure 6-4 supports the data in the surveys that identified Bristol and Manchester as providing the facilities for a very vibrant social life, Cardiff was also identified as very strong for sport and providing a vibrant social life for some parts of the gender and life-stages in the surveys, but in the interviews with key informant’s social life was not identified as a priority. In Newport, the key informants identified social life as a priority, but this was not reflected in communications.

### Infrastructure

Infrastructure includes physical and digital infrastructure. Physical infrastructure is to move around the city; public transport, roads, cycle-lanes, and the infrastructure to access the city and leave the city; airport, motorway, trains. Digital infrastructure relates to digital connectivity throughout the city and with the world. Table 6-5 represents the index point allocations from interview material and website and other documents relating to these factors.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑5 Infrastructure | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |
| Website and other documents |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |

### Culture

Culture in this context includes all the opportunities and venues in the city that reflect the customs and ideas of the people of the city, including the museums, art galleries, as well as the openness, friendliness and other characteristics of the inhabitants of the cities.

The culture index (Table 6-6) is made up of two parts, the first is based on the views of the key informants in the interviews and if they identified culture as an important asset of the city and if there was intent to develop the culture of the city e.g. Manchester is investing £110 million to develop an arts centre called the Factory to strengthen the cultural presence in the city. The second part of the index is the focus of culture in the websites and documentation of the cities as an important feature of the city to be developed.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑6 Culture | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Website and other documents | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
|  | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

### Family

Family is the social capital of those that are related which include children, parents, grandparents and in some cases wider family, aunts, uncles, cousins. The interviews with key informants, websites and documentation were the basis for the index for family (Table 6-7).

Figure 6-6 shows none of the key informants identified family ties as something that was included in the cities strategy to make it easier for families to stay together, although in the websites for all cities, family was identified as an important part of the city, making families welcome, although the focus was mainly on couples with young children, rather than older children being able to find career opportunities and accommodation. The survey data showed over 20% of people live in a city because of family ties, this does not appear to be considered in the case study cities’ policies at the level of priority that it should have as an attraction motivator for small cities.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑7 Family | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Website and other documents | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

### Small city Attraction Motivators’ index

The total index for small cities Attraction Motivators, has been collated in Table 6- 8. It identifies Manchester with the highest score of 8 which reflects how central the Attraction Motivators are to the policies of Manchester. Bristol scored 7, Newport 6 and Cardiff 5.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑8 Indices for Attraction Motivators | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | Employment | | | | Social Life | | | | Infrastructure | | | | Culture | | | | Family | | | |
| Cities | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Interviews | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| Web-sites, reports and literature data | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑9 The overall totals represent the relative proximity the cities’ policies are to the dimension of the model for Attraction Motivators | | | | |
| City | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Total Index score (max 10) | 8 | 7 | 9 | 7 |

These figures indicate that Manchester complies most closely with the model relating to the 5 Attraction Motivators with a total index of 9 out of 10 scored, showing that Manchester has a high level of Attraction Motivators, followed by Bristol with 8 out of 10, and Newport and Cardiff both with 7 out of 10.

## City Branding

City Branding has been identified as an essential dimension throughout the research. City branding, is used to communicate with the target group, the skilled people, to inform them of the presence of the Attraction Motivators in the small city and has been acknowledged as an important part of the model in interviews with key informants, skilled people and in the literature, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005), summarised the stages of city branding as; ‘Analytical phase (research and analysis of the city, its resources, its image and perceptions), the Strategic Phase (development of strategic actions and tactical measures to create or influence the brand) and the Participatory phase (...this is a phase of consultation and dialogue with the several groups of stakeholders)’ (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; p157).

Based on this summary, the index for city branding will be based on the key informant’s statement in the interviews of the cities’ involvement in the specific stages necessary for effective city branding. Although it is appreciated that the city branding can have a wider role, the limitations of the research in time and finance in this instance limited city branding to communicating the city’s Attraction Motivators effectively with the target group of skilled people.

Effective city branding needs to include: strategic action; Research into the cities resources and the present image of the city; Clear strategic direction from the leadership; competent operational levels to implement the tactics supporting the strategy which include, clear targeting; consistent content; effective communication channels and finally an effective monitoring and review process.

### City Branding index

The evidence of five stages in the cities’ branding based on interviews, websites and documentation are scored in the index set out in Table 6-10.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑10 City branding index | | | | | | | | |
|  | Bristol | | Cardiff | | Manchester | | Newport | |
|  | interviews | Website and documents | interviews | Website and documents | interviews | Website and documents | interviews | Website and documents |
| Research | 1 |  |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| Strategy | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| Tactics: targeting | 1 | 1 |  |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| Communication content and channels | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Monitoring |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 6 | | 2 | | 7 | | 3 | |

The total scores for the cities indicates the level of policy and operational commitment to city branding, Manchester scores the highest in the index with 7 out of 8, indicating a high level of commitment to city branding, followed by Bristol with 6 out of 8, again indicating a relatively high level of city branding commitment, whilst Newport with 3 out of 8 and Cardiff with 2 out of 8 indicate little commitment to communicating the Attraction Motivators to skilled people either strategically or operationally.

## Policy of Case Study Cites for Attracting and Retaining Skilled people.

The policy of the leadership to include attracting and retaining skilled people to the city as part of the economic development of the city is not a policy that all cities adopt. Some cities are focussed on inward investment and focus resources on targeting companies to attract them into the city and others focus on investment in physical development of the city, such as increasing shopping centres without a specific policy for attracting and retaining skilled people.

The index for the model for targeting skilled people to attract and retain them in the city is based on just two items the first is, ’Does the leadership make people central to economic development?’ The second is, ‘Does the city have a policy focus on attracting and retaining skilled people?’

Since this concept is so central to the model the index has equal weighting with the other elements of the model, so the two elements score 5 points each. The scoring is solely dependent on the key informants’ interviews since the strategy and policy of the cities is known by these people. Table 6-11 sets out the research data identified.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table ‑ Policy of Case Study Cites of Attracting and Retaining Skilled people. | | | | |
|  | Bristol | Cardiff | Manchester | Newport |
| Leadership focus on people | 5 | 5 | 5 |  |
| Policy of attracting and retaining Skilled people | 5 |  | 5 | 5 |
|  | 10 | 5 | 10 | 5 |

## **Economic Development**

Comparative measurement of economic development of the case cities has been based on the increase in population and the GVA in the cities from 2011-2015 as shown in Table 6-12 and diagrammatically reflected in Figure 6.5

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 6‑12 Economic Development | | | | | | | |
|  | Population 2011 | Population 2015 | % change in population 2011-2015 | GVA per capita 2011 | GVA per capita 2015 | % change in GVA PER CAPITA 2011-15 | Distance from London (Miles) |
| Cardiff | 345400 | 357200 | 3.4 | 21461 | 22783 | 6.2 | 173 |
| Newport | 145700 | 147800 | 1.4 | 19668 | 20684 | 5.2 | 137 |
| Bristol | 428100 | 449300 | 5.0 | 26852 | 30850 | 14.9 | 118 |
| Manchester | 503100 | 530300 | 5.4 | 27174 | 32114 | 18.2 | 208 |

Figure 6‑5 comparison of city's economic development

Manchester and Bristol have made considerable increase in GVA over the years 2011-2015, whilst Cardiff and Newport have seen some growth but considerably less than the other two cities in England.

## Application of the indices to the model

The indices for the model have been applied in Figure 6-6 and the scores included with some notes on the findings derived from the interviews with key stakeholders and reviewing websites and documentation from key leading organisations in the cities such as the local authorities. The notes relating to each element of the model apart from the hygiene factors, give an indication of the bases for the scores given in the indices.

Figure 6‑6 Application of model

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Small city Attraction motivators  City branding | | | | |
| city | Leadership | Attraction Motivators | City Branding | Attracting and retaining skilled people | Economic development | |
|  | Cooperation   1. Central Government 2. Citizens 3. Councillors (Elected leaders) 4. Officers of the Local Authority (Employees) 5. Regional partners(other local authorities) 6. Universities 7. Local Businesses(Private sector) 8. Fire Authority 9. Health Authority 10. Local Media 11. Police Authority 12. Pressure Groups 13. Voluntary sector | SCAMS   1. Employment 2. Social Life 3. Infrastructure 4. Culture 5. Family | Stages of City Branding   1. Research into the cities resources and the present image of the city 2. Clear strategic direction from the leadership 3. Implement of tactics supporting the strategy which include, clear targeting 4. Consistent content; effective communication channels 5. effective monitoring and review process | 1. Leadership make people centre of economic development 2. Policy focus of attracting and retaining skilled people | Increase in population  Increase in GVA | |
| Newport | Co-operation between  leader of council (elected) and CEO (4years)  Regional partners | Redevelopment of retail, business and homes  Employment through Inward investment  Education  Infrastructure  Quality of life  Leisure (sport)  Education | To date little city branding.  Initiated a branding strategy to start after the May elections 2017. Newport, City of democracy. | Identifies the importance of attracting and retaining skilled people.  Also focus on inward investment | Increasing the city centre focus- making city centre more connected, so including sports facilities, Rodney Parade (football and rugby) and the Velodrome.  Convention centre completed in 2019 in Celtic Manor will increase aim of gaining a reputation as an International centre for sports and business events. | |
|  | Score 7.5 | Score 6 | Score 3 | Score 5 | Total 21.5 | |
| Cardiff | Co-Operation leader of council(elected), CEO and University.  Regional partners.  Score 7.5 | (city centre liveability and sustainability) Employment, health, education,  Quality of life, a clean and sustainable environment, safety  Score 6 | Some communication, little focus form leadership  Score 2 | Main focus on inward investment.  No active strategy for attracting and retaining skilled people.  Score 5 | Focus on the liveability of the city centre. The development of the city centre.  **Total 20.5** | |
| Manchester | Co-operation leader of council (elected), University, Private sector, regional partners. (25 years)  Score 10 | Employment  Infrastructure  Social life (sport- cycling, Tai sports, football)  Culture  Skills and education  Liveability of city  Score 8 | Clear focus for branding.  Changing message from Manchester is fun, to Manchester has high levels of expertise in science digital (specific areas)  Score 7 | Focus on attracting, retaining and developing skilled people.  Inward investment linked to the availability of skilled people attracting companies and developing indigenous businesses.  Score 10 | Achieving rich labour market, by regional integration, through improved infrastructure so people can stay in the area and achieve their potential in their career, without moving out of the region.  Support and intervention for niche groups who would be in a larger number in London, but who are isolated in smaller cities eg. Over 65 gay men, some are isolated.  **Total Score 35** | |
| Bristol | Co-operation leader of council (elected), University, Private sector, regional partners  Score 10 | Employment  Social Life  Infrastructure  Culture  Inclusivity  Score 7 | Leadership support clear branding  Adopt a strategic communication plan with clear message  Score 6 | Successfully attracted and retain skilled people.  Leadership make people centre to economic development  Score 10 | Focus on integrating the lower skilled. Top heavy skilled population has a negative social effect—housing too expensive, skilled networks that exclude the unskilled.  **Total Score 33** | |

In order to assess the model in a practical way to provide an indication of the value of the model for policy making, the scores from the index are plotted against the measures for economic development. The model indices have been compared with the growth in GVA and in population growth (Figure 6-7) to identify if there are any patterns that can be seen that indicate that the city or cities that have policies that reflect the model most closely have any higher economic development.

Figure ‑ Comparing change in populations 2011-2015 and Model Index scores

Figure 6‑8 Comparing change in GDP 2011-2015 and Model Index scores

Although the basis of the data is not empirical it would appear that the cities Bristol and Manchester that have the closest policies to the ‘Small Cities Attraction Motivator Model,’ have the highest economic growth.

## Summary

In this chapter Objective 6 to ascertain if there is any pattern of increased economic development in the case cities, when comparing the cities’ policies and operations against the Attraction Motivator Model has been met. It has been found that there is a pattern of increased economic development in Manchester and Bristol which have policies that closer mirror the Attraction Motivation Model than Cardiff And Newport which have achieved comparatively less economic development success, which indicates that the model is as an effective predictor of economic development.

It is acknowledged that the hygiene factors have not been included in this evaluation and they can play a major part in increasing the economic and social development of the city. This is another area for future research.

It would appear from the assessment that there is value in the model for economic development in small cities.

In Chapter 7, the final chapter of the thesis the research questions will be answered based on the findings and evaluation throughout the research. The contribution to knowledge that has been made in the thesis and the further research that can be done to refine the model and build on the research in this thesis will be explained.

# Conclusion

## Introduction

In the previous chapter Objective 6 which is to ascertain if there is any pattern of increased economic development in the case cities that have policies that follow closest the Attraction Motivator Model, is addressed. It was found that the Attraction Motivation Model for Small cities will contribute to policy making for economic development.

In Chapter 7, the focus is on the original contribution of the research to understanding “how small cities attract and retain skilled people” followed by recommendations based on the research, implication of the research findings, limitations of the research and suggestions for further areas of research.

## Contribution to knowledge

This research has made original contributions to knowledge by identifying the key factors that attract and retain skilled people to small cities labelled Attraction Motivators for small cities. Further original contribution to knowledge has been made through the development of the Attraction Motivator Model through the theoretical linking of the disciplines of city branding and talent attraction in urban studies and further primary research. The model will contribute positively to strategic planning for economic development in small cities.

A further theoretical contribution has been made by development of a methodological tool for iterative research, The Pragmatic Poppy which can be implemented in future research to provide a methodical structure to iterative research, whilst maintaining the focus of the research aim.

## Attraction Motivators

Identifying key factors labelled as Attraction Motivators to attracting and retaining skilled people to small cities is an original contribution to knowledge. The Attraction Motivators for small cities are found to be employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and social capital (family). (Chapter 4)

### Employment

Employment has been identified as a priority attraction motivator, supporting most academic theory (Storper and Scott, 2009, Peck, 2005, Musterd and Murie, 2011, Gottlieb and Glaeser, 2006). Throughout the research there has been a clear emphasis on the importance employment plays in attracting skilled people. Employment is considered central as an attraction motivator for skilled people, both to provide an income source and build and develop their skills further. The findings obtained from the interviews and the surveys showed employment to be the most important attraction and retention factor. This finding appears to contradict research work carried out by Florida (2002b), who advocates that skilled people give amenities such as art, music and a lively social scene priority over employment when deciding where to locate.

This is not a clear cut choice between the theories of Florida (2002b) who initially proposed that jobs follow skilled people, and Peck (2005), Gottlieb and Glaeser (2006) Storper and Scott (2009), Musterd and Murie (2011) who say that this is illogical and people follow jobs. In the research, it was found that people do prioritise employment, they want well paid careers opportunities, but that is not enough by itself to keep people in a small city, they also need other amenities as suggested by Florida (2006). In the interviews and the surveys, it was found that many people were attracted by employment initially but they stayed in the city for other reasons, such as making family connections, having a good social life or liking the culture of the city and deciding to stay. Cities need to develop a combination of Attraction Motivators to attract and retain people.

Florida (2010) compromises in his later work, on the importance of employment to attracting skilled people to cites, expressing his view that, both jobs and skilled people are necessary for economic development, which comes first, jobs or skilled people is not worth arguing about. This is supported by companies reporting the way they decide on where to locate is by assessing the skills available in a city and locating where the necessary skills are available, an example of this is seen in the expansion of Deloitte’s financial services in Cardiff, which was reported as being based on the availability of appropriately skilled graduates in the city (Barry, 2015).

The conclusion from this is that policy makers need to provide a thick labour market with sufficient opportunities, but, that is not enough in itself to attract and retain skilled people. The cities need to put people at the centre of their policy making and provide the other amenities identified which are social life, culture, infrastructure and social capital.

The differences between the responses for different occupations as classified in the Asheim and Hansen (2009) classification was not analysed because there were insufficient numbers of people in the different categories. Further research outside of this focussed research needs to look at the different Attraction Motivators for different skill categories, this is necessary for attracting and retaining specific skilled people for agglomeration development in small cities that will need specific skills.

### Social Life

The findings strongly support that social life is the second most important attraction for skilled people after employment. Social life represents an opportunity for skilled people from different fields to meet, exchange ideas and make connections that can produce innovation resulting in marketable products and services that contribute to driving the economy of the city. The findings show that single people and people without children are particularly enthusiastic about social life, who are also the people according to (Chen and Rosenthal, 2008) that are the most mobile and therefore policy makers should target these people with the Attraction Motivator relating to social life in small cities to attract and retain these people. All life-stages refer to aspects of social life that are important in attracting and retaining them, so it is an important factor for all.

The bone of contention amongst academics such as Florida (2002c) who says amenities attract skilled people versus Peck (2005) and Storper and Scott (2009) who have the view that social amenities develop to meet the needs of skilled people living in the city who are consumers is clarified in the findings. The causation dynamics between social amenities and attracting skilled people, support the fact that skilled people are consumers and therefore the private sector amenities develop to meet the needs of the skilled people with disposable income. Social amenities therefore develop as the numbers of skilled people with disposable income increases. This research has found that presence of social amenities and skilled people in small cities, as is identified for employment, are inter-dependent, the growth in amenities in a location attracts more skilled people which supports further expansion of social amenities. This is an important finding for policy makers who need to strategically plan the availability of a range of social life some of which will need to be supported with public resources to ensure a range of social opportunities that will satisfy different groups, some of which are not commercially viable but are an attraction to skilled people. This intervention will allow more niche groups to be catered for in small cities and would address the problem of having less variety of social amenities, which can be detrimental in attracting skilled people who thrive on variety.

The research material supports Florida’s (2002c) theory of social life being an attraction motivator, it is important that policy makers address shortfalls in amenities to support social life for men and women of all life-stages and minority groups to provide a vibrant social life for all. Whilst there was a relatively high level of positive response, there is room for improvements in amenities in small cities to be supported by policy makers if small cities are to attract and retain skilled people.

Policy makers must ensure that there is support for a breath of social activities at all life-stages in order to attract and retain skilled people. It is essential for policy makers to also communicate to people both within and outside that small cities, because of their size are more accessible and so socialising can be easier and more affordable in terms of time and money.

### Cultural

The findings reveal that culture in the UK is considered central as an attraction motivator for skilled people and that small cities with a positive culture of progress, which instil confidence in the people who are living there are more likely to be successful in attracting and retaining skilled people. This finding is supported by previous research work carried out in the USA by Florida (2002c) and Jacobs (1961). The finding also demonstrates the importance of strong, cooperative, coordinated leadership in supporting and encouraging a positive vibrant culture in a city.

Analysing the research identifies that skilled people were generally positive about the regional culture, they were not very positive about the leadership, they generally felt safe in the cities which is important for the culture of the city. Most people felt the city was open, welcoming and Manchester, Cardiff and Bristol were positive about the diversity in the city, in Newport the majority were not positive about the diversity in the city, this needs more research. Having art as a significant part of the culture had a mixed response geographically which indicates the importance of acknowledging the uniqueness of different small cities. There was a clear message from the responses that culture is a motivational attraction to skilled people.

Difference in the views relating to culture are small from a gender perspective, but there are differences in women being more positive and open to diversify and less positive about the strong regional culture and leadership. This may be an indication that a more equal balance of women in policy making and leadership positions are needed in the cities to address the difference in satisfaction between men and women relating to culture and associated with leadership.

The difference in views of skilled people at different life-stages to cultural aspects, reflect the changing values of people as their responsibilities change, which need to be considered in policy making. The people whose children have left home, have a low agreement with the statement, that the culture is massive, with many cultural activities, in comparison with the other life-stage groups. This may indicate a lack of cultural opportunities available to them, or a lack of awareness of culture experience because of communication being through the web or social media and not in places they access, which should be considered by policy makers to make sure all are included.

Policy makers must ensure that they acknowledge the role of culture in attracting and retaining skilled. Manchester is investing in culture, developing The Factory, arts and music venue in the city centre, further establishing Manchester as a leading city in modern culture, an attraction motivator for many skilled people, which is reflected in the research.

There is a need for policy makers to effectively communicate a positive, inclusive, accessible narrative of the city to people inside and outside the city, thus instilling a culture of pride in being part of the city with culture centres that reflect the cities aspirations as well as present realities. These need to be ambitious to provide small cities with a highlight to boost the city’s cultural credibility outside and inside the city, there are many examples of cultural centres that have made a big difference to the cultural image of a location such as The Turner Contemporary in Margate and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao.

### Infrastructure

The result obtained from the research confirms the view echoed in research work conducted by (Malecki, 1997), (Chourabi et al., 2012), [O'Brien and Pike (2015](#_ENREF_142)), Kotkin (2016) and (Chen et al., 2017) that infrastructure is considered a high priority in attracting skilled people. The findings show that skilled people are attracted and retained by efficient good quality infrastructure which allows easy access to different activities in and around a city, as well as access outside the city. Good infrastructure makes cities more attractive to businesses (Mukherjee et al., 2016) which increases employment prospects and positively affects employment opportunities, therefore policy makers need to recognise that the Attraction Motivators of infrastructure and employment are intertwined so to develop a thick labour market requires good infrastructure.

The findings illustrate how investment in the infrastructure is reflected in the satisfaction levels of skilled people. The improvements Manchester has made with high levels of investment in infrastructure is reflected in the positive responses from the skilled people from Manchester in the survey.

The research identified that the technological infrastructure is increasingly important and this is an area where small cities are well placed to compete against mega-cities to provide a high level of technological connectivity for skilled people, to allow them the freedom to live wherever they want and so have the option of locating to small cities (Kotkin, 2000). Cardiff has done well in providing fast digital connections along with Manchester and this is reflected in the positive responses in the survey. All the cities have a more positive response to the statement relating to technical infrastructutre than physical infrastructure, supporting the positive benefits small cities can achieve through investment in technological infrastructure. Technology is an area that small cities need to embrace to compete with mega-cities to attract and retain skilled people. As the world gets smaller (Kotkin, 2016) with advances in technology and communication throughout the world becoming more efficient, policy makers can focus on technology to help small cities compete. Being small can be an advantage in maintaining and undating the digital infrastructure rapidly to maintain state-of-the-art technology.

The interviews highlighted the problem of politicians committing to infrastructure project were based on the fact that most large infrastructure projects involve change and upheaval, which does not support political populist attitudes. It was identified in the research that whilst there is a need for policy makers to follow a democratic process in order to ensure the most beneficial outcomes for all involved, they also must ensure that infrastructure is developed to meet the growing needs of the city to maintain the attraction and retention of skilled people. Furthermore, highlighted in the research is that all aspects of infrastructure including access to safe cycling, walking and technology need to be included by the policy makers in the infrastructure development.

### Family (Social Capital)

The findings show that family are one of the main attraction and retention factors for small cities. This supports theoretical perspectives which identifies the importance of family ties to people in developing social capital and retaining skilled people, through different life-stages (Musterd and Murie, 2011). There are however positive and negative aspects to the close bonds of family in attracting and retaining skilled people, whilst they can be a support system allowing skilled people to prosper in a city, these family bonds can also stifle innovation through forming exclusive groups, which have a negative effect (Florida, 2006; (Portes, 1998)).

The responses to the statements in Chapter 5, show that there are two sides to the family and close social bond impact on skilled people. Some skilled people experience a greater feeling of freedom to be more innovative when they are away from close family ties, but it must be considered by policy makers that over 35% of skilled people, decide on where they live base on where their family live, the family may be parents and extended family, partners, spouses or children.The family ties must be acknowledged in the strategy for attracting and retaining skilled people, providing the other motivational attractions of job opportunities, social life, culture and infrastructure to support skilled people who wish to live near family in small cities.

From a gender perspective, although some women indicate they are more liberated when they are in a city where they know no-one, which reflects findings in the interviews, a considerably high percentage of men and women want to live near family, with over 40% of women wanting to live near family and 35% of men.

It is important for policy makers to consider the positive and negative consequences of social capital; family ties as social capital can result in parochialism and inhibition of talent and innovation. Policies that enable social capital to develop in a positive way to increase prosperity and opportunity in a city is needed through education and providing career opportunities at all levels.

## Development of Attraction Motivation Model to attract and retain skilled people to small cities

This research contributes to knowledge by making links between the theoretical frameworks of the disciplines of city branding and talent attraction in urban studies and incorporating primary research findings to direct policy makers’ strategy in attracting skilled people to drive economic development. The contribution to knowledge by making theoretical links between the academic disciplines of city branding and talent attraction in urban studies to provide a more robust theoretical framework for city branding which has seen criticism for lacking sufficient theoretical underpinning (Kavaratzis, 2004; Kavaratzis et al., 2014) has also provided policy makers’ with increased awareness of Talent Attraction theory in Urban Studies. Policy makers often base policy to attract people on city branding despite the lack of a robust academic framework in this discipline (Kavaratzis et al., 2014).

The findings of the research provides a more holistic approach to the branding of small cities to attract and retain skilled people, building a strong, positive reputation focusing on the Attraction Motivators and therefore an attractive brand for skilled people. This is identified as needed by Morgan et al., (2011) to enable effective city branding to be achieved within the limited funding resources of small cities (Baker, 2007) by providing a cost effective process through the Attraction Motivation Model for underpinning city branding and making it unique to each city

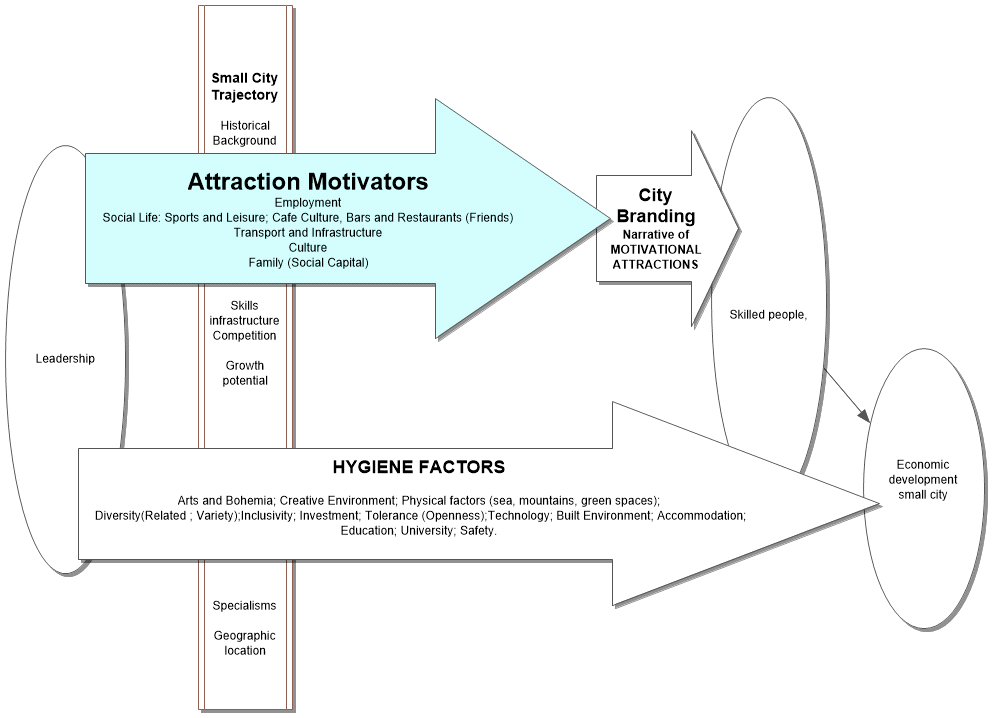
This study has contributed to theory through the development of a model to attract and retain skilled people to small cities which will allow improved strategic planning to attract and retain skilled people in small cities.

The model for attracting and retaining skilled people in small cities was developed using the 7 main elements identified through the primary research and the literature:

* Leadership
* City trajectory
* Motivational attractors
* City Branding
* Hygiene factors
* Skilled people
* Economic development

The model identifies the key elements that small cities need to develop to attract and retain skilled people; adopting co-operation in leadership; giving regard to the city’s trajectory; identifying and focusing on the attraction and motivational factors, employment, social life, infrastructure, culture and family (social capital); development of city branding, development of the hygiene factors necessary for supporting skilled people to achieve economic development of the city and adopting a policy of people focused economic development, by attracting and retaining skilled people who will contribute to driving the economic development of the city.

Figure 7‑1 Attraction Motivation Model for small cities to attract and retain skilled people



## Methodologically - The Pragmatic Poppy

A contribution to theory has been made through the development of the Pragmatic Poppy developed to clearly direct the iterative research process of combining primary research, literature review and restructuring of the model repeatedly keeping the aim as the central focus. This research tool provides direction for non- linear research, with a process that logically follows a non-linear path between primary research, literature review, conceptual framework development, further primary research, repeating this process until the research questions had been answered and the aim and objectives of the thesis met, providing a practical outcome.

I have developed this model to clarify this process to those reading the research who may be more accustomed to a linear process and therefore are disconcerted by the non-linear methodology adopted. The model is for use by other researchers who are interested in developing theory from the primary research. The model has been developed to point the way for further iterative non-linear research.

## Characteristics of skilled people

A further contribution to knowledge has been made to establish the characteristics of skilled people in small cities who can be grouped by characteristics of life-stage, gender, geographic location and a combination of academic achievement and occupation. The qualitative data collected has supported the views of Peck (2005) that skilled people are not a homogenous group with the same aspirations and views, but a heterogeneous group,

There has also been a contribution to the academic debate on the characteristics of skilled people that needs to be considered in research and policy making regarding skilled people being identified by Florida (2006), Glaeser (2005) and Ashiem and Hansen (2009) and others by their occupation or academic achievement only, since both classifications exclude groups that should logically be included in the skilled group, such as people not working at present e.g. caring for children, but with qualifications of a degree or higher and those who have not completed a degree but are in an occupation that require creative skills to degree level or higher e.g. Mark Zuckerberg. This study defines skilled people using a combination of both academic achievement and occupation.

Characteristics of gender, life-stage and location also need to be considered when making policy, since they have an impact on the aspirations and requirements of the skilled people.

Characteristics of skilled people other than academic achievement and occupation have been identified as important in their views of priorities for deciding where to live. The characteristics researched, gender, geographic location and life-stage, all had an impact on the views of the skilled people and therefore need to be considered in academic research and policy making.

Creative Class was the title popularised by Florida (2002c) to identify the skilled people that contribute to driving the economy of cities. Florida was criticised by Peck (2005),(Gottlieb and Glaeser, 2006, Hansen et al., 2009, Hoyman and Faricy, 2009) and (Asheim and Hansen, 2009) for treating the Creative Class as a homogenous group, who all wanted the same things from the places they worked in and lived. During the research, the differentiating characteristics between the skilled people have been examined to find if different groups, distinguished by specific characteristics such as occupation, gender, educational achievement, life-stage and location (case study city), want different things from a small city. If there are different Attraction Motivators for different groups that policy making can be more focused in attracting and retaining skilled people by groups differentiated by these characteristics.

### Characteristic: Occupation or Education

Part of the debate on the characteristics of the skilled people who drive the economy development, is centred on whether classification should be based on occupation as claimed by Florida (2002b) or educational attainment as proposed by Glaeser (2000). Initially interviewees from the skilled based occupations in the Asheim et al. (2009) classification, were invited to participate, during the interviews partners were mentioned, who were graduates and had been in skilled occupations as identified in the Asheim et al. (2009) classification, but were not working at that time. Thus, a flaw in the theory of identifying skilled people by occupation only was recognised because it leaves out people who are not working for a variety of reasons, but are highly educated and have or will be in skilled occupations. People who are not in employment for a period of time would not then be included as skilled people if the occupational classification preferred by Florida (2002b) was adopted. This finding resulted in the collection of occupational and educational data in the survey, which was combined to assess the classification of skilled people as a combination of occupation and, or educational achievement.

The contribution to theory is that skilled people are identified by a combination of having a degree and, or by their occupation, which is within the Asheim et al.(2009) classification, this ensures that those people not working because they are retired, involved in child care or for some other reason, are still included as skilled people, as they still contribute to the choice of where they live and they contribute to economic development through engagement with other skilled people.

### Comparison of skilled and unskilled people

A contribution to knowledge is provided by a comparison of the Attraction Motivators between skilled and unskilled people in small cities based on qualitative research which found the Attraction Motivators for both groups very similar, the main differences being that more skilled people wanted career opportunities, rather than employment and there was a greater priority for unskilled people on shopping facilities. This was based on a relatively small sample and need to be a topic for future research.

### Characteristic: Gender

The responses to the surveys and throughout the research have identified some differences between the responses of the Attraction Motivators between men and women The differences between gender’s responses to the statements in the survey, were highest relating to social life activities, such as the affinity for sport being greater for males than females with over 20% difference in responses. The differences in responses are considerably less for gender than for the other characteristics of life-stage and geographical location but there are differences in the responses from men and women.

It has been found in this research that gender is a relevant characteristic when determining what attracts and retains skilled people to small cities and should therefore be included in further research for policy making.

### Characteristic: Life-stage

A contribution to theory has been identified from the responses to the survey statements from the people at different life-stages which differs by an average of 20%. This indicates that rather than policy makers treating skilled people as a homogeneous group, the characteristics, such as life-stage, need to be considered when making policy to attract and retain skilled people. This is an area that should be the subject of future research.

The life-stage group named ‘other’ is made up of a group with different characteristic, some are single parents, some are couples with children over 20 living at home. Both groups are growing and therefore need to be included in future research to find specifically what their Attraction Motivators are for living and working in a city. Future research needs to be undertaken into the life-stage Attraction Motivators which change over a person’s lifetime in order for small cities to provide specific Attraction Motivators for all life stages to attract and retain skilled people at all life-stages. So, as well as a thick labour market that provides career opportunities throughout all life-stages, small cities need a thick social and cultural scene where people feel that they are catered for culturally and socially in a city. This could provide a positive differentiating factor for small cities to attract and retain skilled people.

### Characteristic: Geographic location (case study city)

A contribution to theory, based on difference between the responses to statements in the survey from skilled people in different cities’ (geographical location) can be interpreted that skilled people in different small cities have different views, because of culture, topography, location which is reflected in responses to some statements for example, there is a marked difference in response to the statements relating to sport’s positive role in social life in the cities and the role of the arts. There is a preference for sports as part of social life in Cardiff and Newport, whilst there is a very clear preference for the arts in Bristol, this could be a culture preference for the skilled people in different cities having a preference for different types of social activities and culture or it could be that the culture is influenced by the availability of different social activities and culture available in different cities. Future research into this characteristic would be useful for policy makers, also the trajectory and history of each city is important in differentiating the cities (Musterd and Marie, 2011) but the aspirations common to skilled people have also been recognised by (Huggins et al., 2014, Florida, 2005, Friedman, 2005). Each city need to identify the requirements of the skilled people in the city to attract and retain them in the city.

Manchester City Council (2016) undertook a research survey with 2,000 inhabitants to contribute to the city development strategy this is the only example of any of the case study cities approaching the citizens to find what their views are for the development of the city. Detroit, USA, has adopted a bottom-up redevelopment of the city as it recovers from decades of deindustrialisation, loss of population, skills and economic decline. The citizens of Detroit are positively involved in policy making to regenerate the city (Fleschurz and Pallagst, 2016). The success of inclusive policy making to provide the citizens with the facilities that motivate them to want to stay in the small cities and contribute to the success of the city is an area for further research. This is especially important in the volatile political and economic environment we are in, where consensus on social and economic development in the new era is vital to overcome the backlash of Brexit, Trump and the hung parliament in the 2017 general election in the UK. In the new era of change due to Brexit there are no experts on leaving the EU and the consequences of the exit from the EU, therefore opinion and aspirations of the people need to be included in policy making to provide inclusivity at all levels.

It may be that due to cultural differences the perspective of skilled people in different cities is different, this is an area for further research. Culture and geography is a characteristic that differentiates skilled people.

Sharing of best practice between the cities seemed to be very limited. Although there are many forums, consultants and think-tanks, providing each city with consultancy and advice, the practical sharing of ideas and information between cities, appears from the research to be limited. Future research to find the benefits of best practice sharing between small cities and processes for sharing information would be useful and could be economically beneficial for small cities.

What has been established is that the characteristics that define the skilled people and are relevant for policy making in small cities are not just the occupation or academic achievement that are used in the majority of academic research. The characteristics of life-stage, gender and geographic location are significant and should be considered by academics and policy makers.

## Research Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the research undertaken:

### Develop co-operative leadership

Develop co-operation between key stakeholders to develop an integrated strategy for economic development that includes attracting and retaining skilled people to contribute to driving the economic development of the city. Include the bottom up strategy to facilitate inclusivity with participation from the inhabitants of the city.

### Consideration of the City trajectory

Base the policy making on the history, location, culture and specialisms of the city (city trajectory) to provide a realistic, unique and suitably adapted strategy, appropriate for the city, that will build on the history and strengths of the city. This will avoid formulaic policy making and focus the policy making on the small city.

### Develop the Attraction Motivators

The recommendation to policy makers based on the research is to develop the Attraction Motivators. This means providing employment in a thick labour market by attracting head-quarters and supporting entrepreneurs and small businesses to expand for career opportunities at all levels, as well as opportunities to provide income to support other life-stage priorities such as caring for children and being able to work part-time; providing a thick social and culture scene, with a broad range of opportunities for socialising and cultural experiences that provide opportunities for all life-stages, genders and niche groups; providing efficient, cost effective, accessible infrastructure that meets the needs of the small city as it develops with a strong focus on keeping up-to-date with technology and providing a digital infrastructure that surpasses what is available in mega-cities and supporting social capital by providing employment, accommodation, infrastructure, social and cultural experience to enable families to stay in the city with their family.

### Develop City Branding

The leadership needs to apply and clearly communicate the presence of the Attraction Motivators to the skilled people inside and outside the city. Through development of the city branding which needs to focus specifically on effective communication, through the appropriate medium, of the Attraction Motivators of the city. City branding will provide a narrative for the cities to compete with other small cities and to provide aspirational targets for the city that will provide social and economic development that is people centred as part of the city’s strategy.

### Development of the Hygiene Factors

The hygiene factors identified in the conceptual framework are required to support the skilled people to contribute to driving economic develop of the city but are not the Attraction Motivators for the skilled people. They have been identified in the research as necessary to provide the environment for skilled people to realise their potential and drive the economic development of the city. They are not the factors that need to be communicated to the skilled people to attract them but if they are not maintained at adequate levels there will be a deleterious effect on the economic development of the city.

### Adopt the policies based on the model for attracting and retaining skilled people

The leadership of the city needs to adopt the policy of people centred economic development to make the city more successful in achieving economic development in the growing knowledge economy, it also makes the city more robust against external change because the skilled workforce can adapt their skills to maintain economic development in a changing environment. If the economic development is not focused on people but only on attracting businesses and inward investment, the skills of the city will not be increased because the businesses that come into small cities are frequently only at restricted level of skills and career development level, such as manufacturing or low level services such as telephone sales which does not significantly contribute to a thick labour market and as the external environment changes these businesses will cease to trade or move out of the city, as experienced in Wales over the past three decades, the economy will be vulnerable to downturn. If the policy is people focused, the skilled people living and working in the city can adapt their skills and innovation to succeed in the changing economic situation and therefore continue to drive the economy of the city.

Attracting skilled people will build on the strategic variety of the small city and will contribute to development of key sectors in the growing knowledge economy.

In order to compete for skilled people small cities need to follow the example that was developed by Ebenezer Howard (1946) in the ‘Garden City’ concept of putting the well-being and contentment of people at the centre of social and economic development of small cities. Small cities need a narrative that is attractive to skilled people.

### Economic development

The economic development of the small cities needs to use a spectrum of strategies that include attracting and retaining skilled people through adopting the model developed. Increased inclusivity is required, so social and economic development benefits all the inhabitants of the city, skilled and unskilled.

As the world economy and population increases the increased devolution of power to the cities provides an opportunity for cities to thrive and contribute positively to the country’s economy providing a more balanced economy in the UK. Florida (2014) says that there will be winners and losers in the competition between cities and some will not be able to compete in the growing knowledge economy because of lack of skills. The small cities need to focus on attracting and retaining skilled people to be able to compete and thrive in the Knowledge economy.

## Implication of research findings

The implications from the research can be identified under four headings.

### Prioritising Attraction Motivators for communication and development

The implications for small cities is that through more effective policy making based on the Attraction Motivation Model they can more efficiently attract skilled people to live and work in the city. The Attraction Motivation Model will focus policy to specifically targeting funds for developing the Attraction Motivators, employment, investing in career opportunities through providing support to companies in high skilled areas such as bio-technology that can grow and provide career opportunities and contribute to a thick labour market whilst developing the social, cultural and infrastructure to attract and retain skilled people to drive the economy. Through development of these Attraction Motivators those people who went to live near their families can do so without sacrificing their career opportunities or other experiences.

### Focused cost-effective City Branding

Effective city branding focused on the Attraction Motivators to attract and retain skilled people will be a more efficient cost-effective way of increasing economic development. The budget for small cities is restricted and so it is essential that funds are effectively targeted, this research will improve the efficiency of the targeting for attracting and retaining skilled people by focusing on the priority Attraction Motivators rather than the hygiene factors that are of little attractive incentive to skilled people.

### Increase economic development in small cities to balance UK economy

Cities that implement the model for attracting and retaining skilled people will increase the population of skilled people who will then contribute to an increase in the strength and depth of the Attraction Motivators in the city, that appeal more closely to their aspirations. It will strengthen the development of small cities which will contribute to balancing the economy in the UK and making the country more robust to face the coming uncertainty of BREXIT and recovery from the Covid19 pandemic.

### Characteristics of skilled people

The research in skilled people as drivers of economic development needs to consider the characteristics of the skilled people other than academic achievement and occupation. Gender, life-stage and location have been considered here and found to have an impact on the values and aspirations of skilled people. Other characteristics could be considered in future research.

### Growing inequality

The problem of growing inequality through the focus on skilled people and the continuing downward spiral of the security and wages of the unskilled workforce is a problem identified in the research that policy makers need to address as part of the city strategy.

## 7.9 The limitations of the research

The research was limited by the resources of time, human resource and finance available. The sample for the survey was taken in the hospitals and the airports. The sample included more medics than would be usually found in the population and since the medics have to move for their work dependent on where the hospital has a vacancy and the specialisation that the medic is following, the responses may be affected by the place of collection, although there were far greater number of patients, support people and non-medics in the sample, so the sample can be taken as valid.

The amount of surveys was limited and therefore the numbers in groups such as some life-stages was limited and further research with higher numbers would make the findings more robust.

The numbers of people in each group were relatively small and therefore the segmentation by occupation for analysis was not possible because there were not enough people e.g. Analysts in each gender to compare with other groups. In a larger study, where it is possible to take more detail of the occupations of participants research can be undertaken to compare the base knowledge occupation groups

## Suggestion for future research

The following suggestions are made for further research.

### Research into which are the factors that attract and which retain

In the research there were many instances that the factors that attracted the skilled people such as a job opportunity was not enough to keep the person in the city long term without other factors.

Research into which factors can be used by policy makers to attract people from out-side the city and which factors should be targeted at people in the city to retain them would be useful in targeting finite resources in the small cities.

### Research into how cities can inspire the inhabitants to contribute to the success of the city and increase loyalty and commitment to the city.

As communities become less close, and the cynicism with authority grows, research into how to regain the trust, loyalty and commitment to contribute to the social and economic growth of the city is an area for worthwhile topical research, associated with the work done in this research.

### Comparison of aspirations and views of skilled and unskilled people

Further research is needed into the similarities and differences between the Attraction Motivators for skilled and unskilled people. There is a lot of criticism about gentrification, with the focus for providing attractive cities for the skilled people without consideration for the other people in the city. Therefore, future research into the attraction factors for skilled and unskilled people will support improved inclusivity in cities that will lead to more harmonious cities. There has been a lot of criticism of elitism and exclusion caused by the focus on attracting and retaining skilled people, which needs to be addressed by research into policies that focus on the inclusive social and economic development of small cities that are focused on benefiting all the people of the city.

### Larger and more geographically diverse sample

Further research would need to be done with a larger sample size than has been possible in this research to achieve more generalisable findings for Attraction Motivators in small cities. This would make it possible to collect data on different occupational groups and other characteristics could be included in the research.

Further research on a larger sample of people will allow research into specific sectors of employment in small cities to identify if there is a lack of opportunities in specific sectors, or if the lack of opportunities is seen as a lack of being able to reach the highest levels in a career in small cities. In Brown (2015) some artists felt they would always be seen as second best not quite making it, if they did not work in London or a major city. Research with a larger sample, into if this is the reason for the perception of lack of opportunities in small cities would provide information for small cities to adopt policies to address issues where possible.

A comparison of more cities with broader characteristics could be adopted for example more ethnically diverse cities such as Birmingham or more high-profile cities such as Oxford, Cambridge, York or Bath. Also data could be collected in London to find out the views on small cities of people who live in London.

### Delineation of Attraction Motivators

The motivational factors, employment, social life, culture, facilities, infrastructure are all general descriptions that have a broad meaning with regard to specific elements, for example employment combines employment with career opportunities, employment to provide an income or flexible employment for people with other responsibilities, such as a mother or father with child care commitments or caring for elderly parents. Social life is made up of several elements such as, café culture, providing an opportunity for people to meet and network, or it can be a choir, a running club, a sporting event, night-life all grouped under the heading of social life. Similarly, culture can be the culture of the people in the city for example the people being very engaging and open or it can be the availability of museums, theatres and opera houses. These broad categorisations need further research to develop policies specifically tailored to the Attraction Motivators. Infrastructure also needs delineation through further research to find the prioritisation of small cities in investing in public transport, roads, technology, utilities etc. for policy makers to act on this and use it to attract and retain skilled people.

### Development of skilled people

Research needs to be undertaken on development of the inhabitants of the city to produce skilled people, through education and training would improve inclusivity. Although there must be room for out-siders to be attracted to maintain dynamic innovation through diversity.

## Summary

The changing world with rapid technological advances making knowledge industries grow rapidly and transforming the skills needed to compete in a global economy are an increasing challenge politically, economically and socially. The back lash in politics against the establishment with Brexit, President Donald Trump’s election and the hung parliament in the UK 2017 election, reflect that the views of people who feel they have been left behind and whose lifestyles have deteriorated over the past decades, it also effects the people who although not directly affected by decreasing wages and opportunities are uncomfortable with the growing inequalities in the country and with the imbalance between London and the other cities in the country.

Throughout the Western world there is a growing cynicism of centralised politics and disillusionment with economic policy based on neo-liberalism and globalisation that has resulted in growing inequality and uncertainty in the UK. So, this could be a time for local political, economic and social development at small city level to rebuild the trust and cooperation between people and policy makers. This means having a people centred focus on economic and social development in cities, by developing the areas that will positively affect the lives of those people living and working in small cities. It will provide a more robust community to thrive in and make people and cities more able to cope with the fast-changing knowledge revolution and will make those small cities who are people focused increasingly attractive to the people who can contribute to driving the economy of the cities. I hope my research will contribute to achieving this goal.

**The End**

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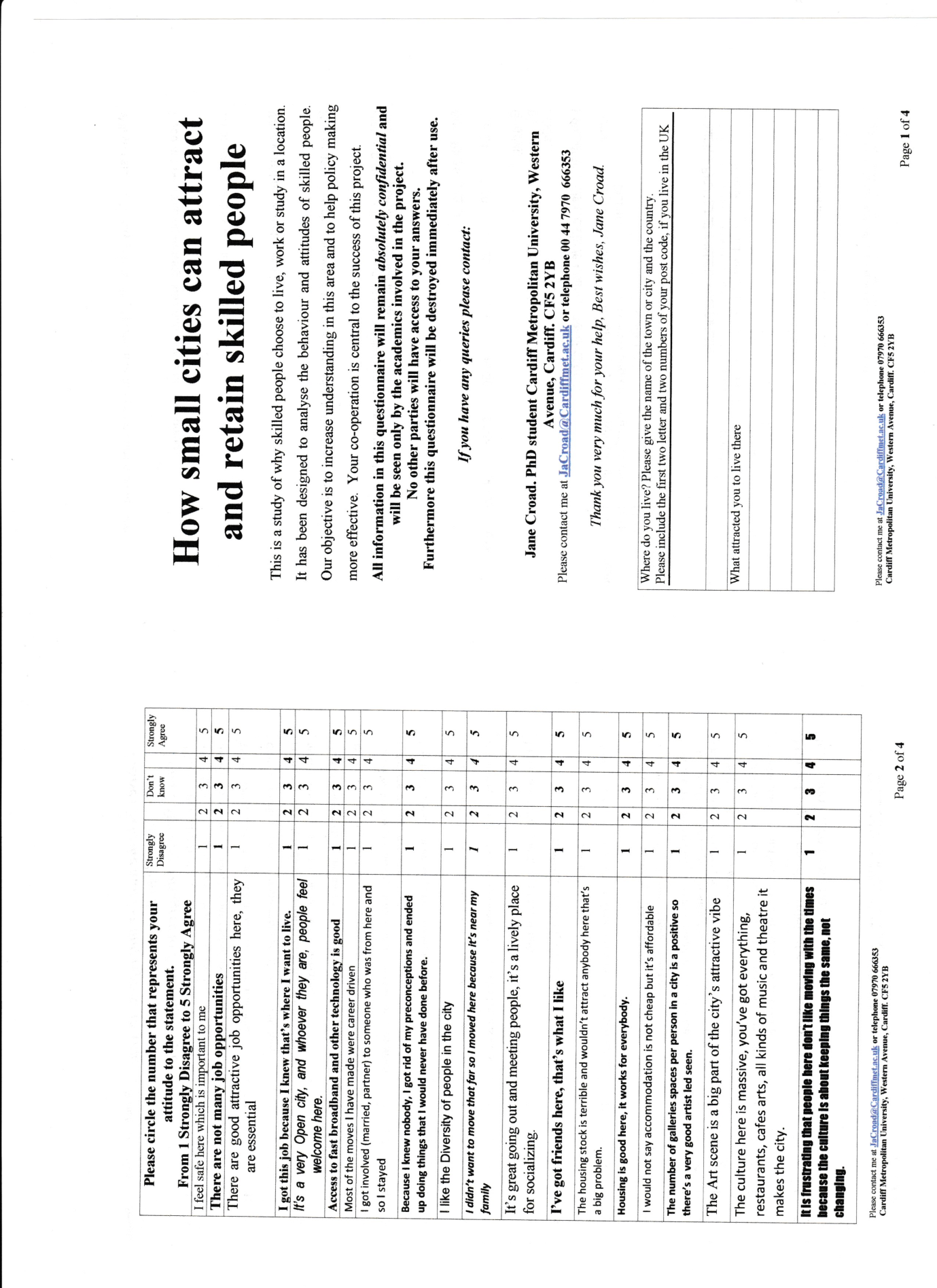
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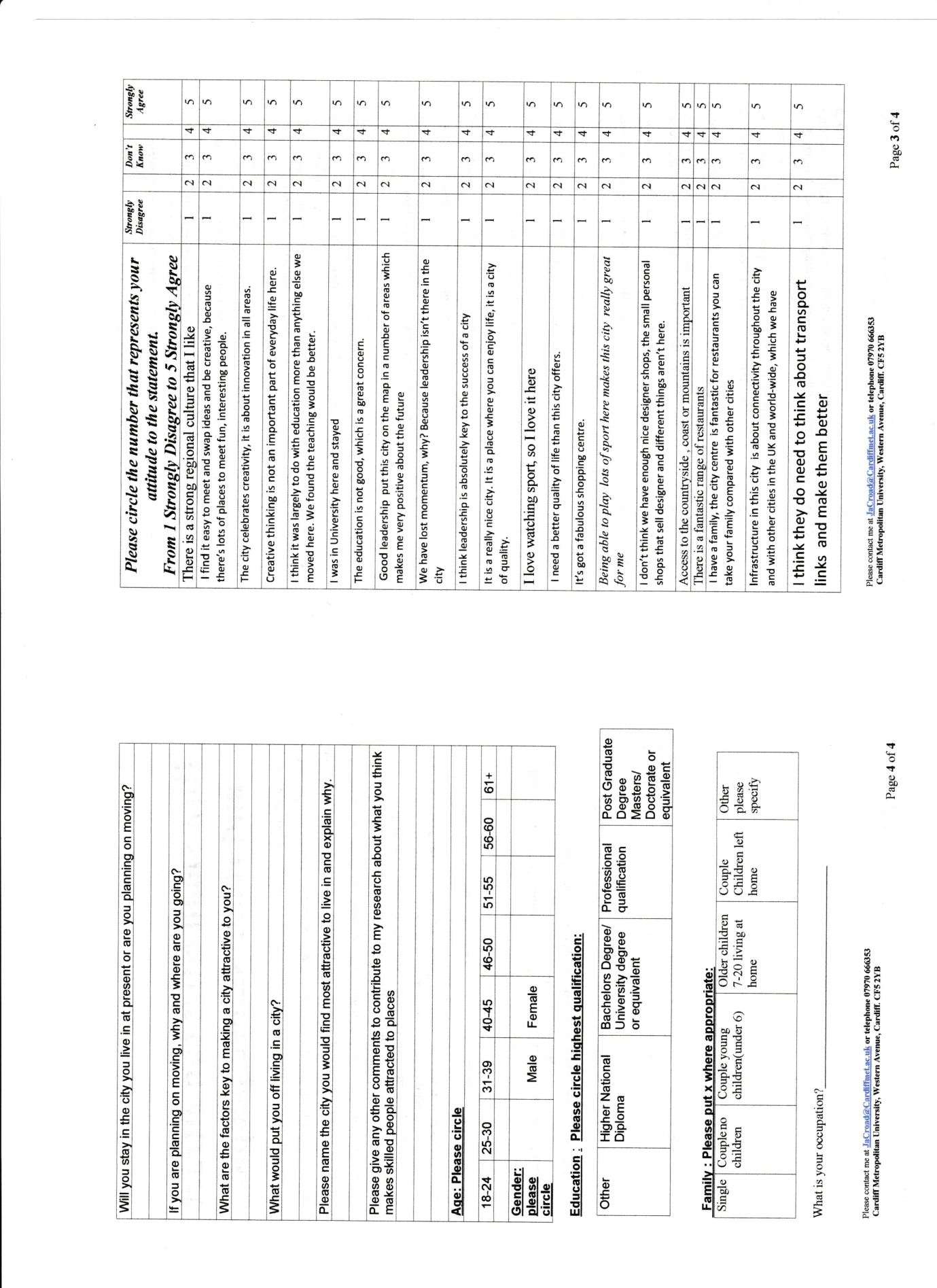
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**Project reference number: 2013110287**

**Title of Project: How can small cities attract and retain skilled people?**

This project was stimulated by reports of the increasing difference in economic prosperity between different locations.

* This is an invitation to you to join the study, and to let you know what this would involve. The study is being organised by Jane Croad, a Phd student in Cardiff School of Management, Cardiff Metropolitan University, Cardiff.
* When the project is complete we intend to send a report to Cardiff City Council, and to publish the results of the study in prominent journals.
* The study is part of the thesis for a PhD.
* If you want to find out more about the project, or if you need more information to help you make a decision about joining in, please contact Jane Croad on [jacroad@cardiffmet.ac.uk](mailto:jacroad@cardiffmet.ac.uk) or telephone 07970 666353.

**Your Participation in the Research Project**

**Why you have been asked**

We are asking skilled people who are currently living or working in Cardiff, Manchester, Bristol and Newport, are over 25 years of age and are in an occupation that is classified as relevant to the project.

**What happens if you want to change your mind?**

If you decide to join the study by completing the survey, you can change your mind and stop at any time without giving a reason. We will completely respect your decision. If you want to stop, please tell the researcher you do not wish to complete the survey. It would help us if you could let me know, please e-mail me on [jacroad@cardiffmet.ac.uk](mailto:jacroad@cardiffmet.ac.uk) or telephone me on 07970 666353. There are absolutely no penalties for stopping.

**What would happen if you join the study?**

If you agree to join the study, then we will ask you to agree a time (approx 15 minutes) for us to meet at an agreed venue to complete a survey.

The person presenting the survey to you will be Jane Croad, PhD student at Cardiff Metropolitan University.

**Are there any risks?**

We do not think there are any significant risks due to the study. A group of people have completed the survey we are asking you to complete, and they told us they were very straightforward, and not stressful. In addition, the survey we use is similar to those used by professionals thousands of times a year without problems. If you did feel that there was any stress involved you can stop at any time. Just tell the interviewer that you want to stop.

**Your rights.**

Joining the study does not mean you have to give up any legal rights. In the very unlikely event of something going wrong, Cardiff Metropolitan University fully indemnifies its staff, and participants are covered by its insurance.

**What happens to the survey and interview results?**

Jane Croad is responsible for putting all the information from the study (except names and addresses, and personal identification information) into a computer programme. We will analyse the data. We will be able to tell if there are significant factors that affect the decisions of skilled people to live or work in Cardiff. Manchester, Bristol and Newport (Gwent). Once we know the answers to this we will report the results to the public. You are welcome to a copy of the findings.

**Are there any benefits from taking part?**

There are no direct benefits to you for taking part; however this study may help improve the knowledge base and decision-making policies in relation to attracting skilled people to live and work in small cities, such as Cardiff. When the study is complete and we have published the results we will let you know what we have found.

**How we protect your privacy:**

All the information we get from you is strictly confidential, and everyone working on the study will respect your privacy. We have taken very careful steps to make sure that you cannot be identified from any of the forms with confidential information that we keep about you.

We do not have details of your name or address, and personal details are completely separate from the other forms, and there is no information on the other forms that could let anyone work out who you were.

When we have finished the study and analysed the information, all the forms we use to gather data will be destroyed.

**PLEASE NOTE:** *YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS SHEET TO KEEP, TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF YOUR CONSENT FORM*

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