

City: Utility, Measurability, Preferability

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Abstract

One of the basic principles of successful place marketing and branding is the thoughtful analysis of target groups needs and preferences. Many authors show favour to the city residents as the core target group. The residents may also be segmented into the smaller groups, and in some cases successful strategies are targeted to the needs of this very specific group of citizens. One of such groups – the so-called creative class – became very popular among practitioners as a primary target group for place marketing and branding. The purpose of the paper is to compare creative and non-creative class in terms of their preferences of particular attributes, which describe a city as a whole.

Design/methodology/approach

To answer research questions we describe the city in the terms of its attributes and measure preferences over these attributes (part-worths) with the help of specific conjoint analysis technique: hierarchical information integration (HII) approach, proposed by Louviere (Louviere, 1984). This technique is targeted to solve conjoint tasks with a large number of attributes. To describe the city we have chosen 4 sets of attributes (Urbanity and Diversity; City Comfort and Safety; Economic Development and Job Chances; City Facilities). Each set contains 4 attributes and each attribute has 2 or 3 levels of quality. HII approach implies building orthogonal experimental design for each set of attributes. Special bridge design is used to combine these sets. Then estimations of part-worths are calculated on the basis of linear additive model of total utility.

Findings

Using the proposed analytical methodology we have measured part-worths of the above-mentioned attributes and modelled residents' preferences as trade-offs among multiattributive alternatives on the sample of 129 respondents (61 - creative class representatives and 68 – non-creative class representatives). Simultaneously we have estimated the perceived quality level of each attribute for the city of Perm, Russia. Then we compared the preferences of different target groups using these estimations.

Limitations

The results provide the evidences particularly interesting for the non-capital cities of Russia for the more effective process of city marketing, targeting and strategic development.

Practical implication

The finding may be applied in the sphere of strategic planning of city development, when marketing approach is used and the core target group is the creative class.

Keywords Place marketing, creative class, conjoint analysis

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

The vector of the strategy of place development is nowadays one of the challenges, which any place faces competing globally for people and businesses. The primary question, which raises, is the issue of determination of priority areas, which could be the most efficient drivers of place attractiveness. The approach, traditionally used in such cases, is the marketing approach, which helps to define target segments of place marketing activities, identify their needs and the ways to meet them more effectively in comparison with the rivals. The theoretical basis of this approach is widely popularized - thus, the work of P. Kotler (Kotler et al, 1993) describes a simple algorithm of strategy development, focused on meeting the needs of different target groups. Many authors show favour to the city residents as the core target group (Hernstein and Jaffe, 2008), which may also be segmented to the smaller groups, and in some cases strategies are targeted to the needs of this very specific group of citizens (Cassel, 2008).

The idea of building city strategy around the needs of so-called creative class (Florida, 2005) became very popular among practitioners, urban consultants and civic leaders all around the world. Richard Florida describes the process of competition of places as a phenomenon associated with the "war for talent", where the factors of place attractiveness for the creative class are the urban environment and atmosphere, which stimulate creative forces. Talents, which the creative class consists of, become the driver of economic growth of a particular city. This turns the city into the actively marketed 'product', promoted as the best place for the creative class.

Florida's approach seems rather easy for implementation – just making the city a vibrant cultural spot looks like enough to win the competition in global environment. But is it really so? Will this strategy work in any city? Could the authorities copy the strategy or adapt it due to the special preferences of the local creative class? This study is aimed to answer these questions.

Literature review

The body of relevant to the topic literature consists of two main blocks. The first one is the critical assessment of Richard Florida's approach. We may find both pro et contra of creative class theory. According to R. Florida, the creative class is a group of aspiring professionals who are not simply motivated by material rewards, like salaries and stock options and suburban security, but instead they want to live exhilarating lives in interesting places, to be challenged and stimulated 24/7. What really matters for them is a bundle of magnetic 'qualities of place' (quoted in Peck, 2005). The qualities, or, using marketing terminology, attributes of the city, which become the key factors of city attractiveness, are vibrant cultural life, diversity, innovativeness, tolerance and openness. Thus, targeting the city strategy at the creative class, the city authorities should develop places of cultural amenities, public spaces, contemporary art spots and so on. This, in turn, will attract or/and retain the creative class and bring the place to the future economic prosperity much faster than industrially-oriented rivals.

On the one hand, this idea seems to be fuzzy and misleading while studying the particular professional groups, for example artists (Markusen, 2006), and the level of criticism of the creative class concept is very high. But, on the other hand, the wave of low-cost investments in the 'soft infrastructure' proceeds to be a widely used scenario of place development. For the practitioners, the strategy seems to be easily applied and effective – for example, McGranahan and Wojan recast creative class, more thoroughly than Florida did, and proved the efficiency of the above-mentioned strategy both for rural and urban places development (McGranahan and Wojan, 2007).

The second block of literature is represented by the various studies of residential preferences. Here the widely used approach is to measure the relative importance of the city attributes separately using mostly Likert scale (Niedomysl, 2008). Two aspects are important in this block – the research methodology and its limitations and the choice of factors, or attributes. The usage of Likert scale for the evaluation of attributes doesn't help us in understanding the trade-offs – when measuring importance it may happen that all attributes are of great importance, as the respondents do not need to choose among different attributes. The other problem is the attributes selection – the researcher is to select the necessary but sufficient attributes to describe the city. Neglecting any important attribute may mislead the researcher. Thus, a prestudy and pretesting of attributes is to be done. We will describe the process of attributes selection later on.

The last thing we took into account, while developing the research design, was the economic and cultural context. All the previous researches of the residents' preferences and creative class targeting were conducted for the developed economies of western countries. Meanwhile, the application of this approach in Russia requires rethinking of some of phenomena described by the authors and requires the response to a wide range of research questions: for example, is there the difference between the creative and non-creative class in terms of their needs? How could we describe a city as a bundle of attributes, which meet these needs, and measure their preferrability? These questions are preliminary but basic to answer the key question – whether the creative class concept could be applied for strategic marketing and urban development in Russia. Our reserch is aimed to measure the preferences of the groups of city residents (both creative and non-creative class) among the set of attributes which describe a city to define whether the 'creative city' strategy may be applied in a particular Russian city – Perm.

Purpose

The purpose of the paper is to compare creative and non-creative class in terms of their preferences of particular attributes, which describe the city as a whole. There are several research questions we try to answer:

- What are creative class preferences (in application to the city as a place for living)?
- Is there any statistically significant difference between creative and non-creative residents' preferences over the city attributes?
- How these attributes are estimated in a particular city?

The study is aimed to apply a demand-oriented approach and analyzes the attributes that are taken into account by residents while estimating the city as a place for living and at the same time the attributes might be 'managable' by local authoroties. The result of such analysis will allow us to identify the most important attributes for different groups of residents and are expected to be the useful source for further strategic decisions of city development.

Design/methodology/research procedure

To answer research questions we describe the city in the terms of its attributes and measure preferences over these attributes (part-worths) with the help of specific conjoint analysis technique: hierarchical information integration (HII) approach, proposed by Louviere (Louviere, 1984). Conjoint analysis is the method of quantifying judgmental data, when the procedure requiring rank-order input data to get interval-scaled output (Green, Rao, 1971). Conjoint model is a stated preference model that allows measuring the preferences by deducing the utility at the level of each attribute (Yun, 2009). The method is widely used in studying consumer preferences and attitudes towards objects when the total

preferences' affect is represented by a linear combination of evaluative beliefs. 'For example, brand may be described in terms of a set of attributes and respondents asked to rate each brand with regard to the level of each attribute value' (Green, Rao, 1971). The method deals with a limited number of attributes and causes research difficulties when we speak about such a multiattribute object as the city. Hierarchical information integration (HII) approach helps to handle with a massive number of attributes (Rao, Katono, Su, 2009) by structuring the logically joint attributes into groups and applying two-staged process of ranking. Ulengin and Guvenc used such an approach while studying the preferences of the residents of Istanbul (Ulengin, Guvenc, 2002). We use their methodology as the basis for the research, presented in this paper, specifying it on the preferences of the particular groups of residents – creative and non-creative class.

City attributes

As conjoint analysis identifies the preference to the subject, we describe the city through the bundle of attributes: these are the characteristics, which are perceived by the residents during the process of city evaluation. Attributes and their levels may be determined in various ways based on the personal view of the researcher, survey by specialists, interviews of focus groups or previous literature review. We considered a number of works by western authors who studied residents' choice factors or residents' preferences, and the attributes of the city, which are essential to meet the complex needs of city residents. In particular, Zenker et al. devoted their research to the study of attributes, which form the satisfaction with the city and the special aspects that influence the satisfaction of the creative class and the general population (Zenker, 2009). They found four factors which explain nearly 50 per cent of citizens' general satisfaction with the city: Urbanity and diversity; Nature and recreation; Job chances; Cost efficiency. Richard Florida developed five groups of factors, which could be used to measure cities' 'preferrability': Opportunity, Basic services, Leadership, Values, Aesthetic and lifestyle (Florida, 2007). Ulengin and Guvenc discuss the factors, that determine the preferences of residents in choosing the city as a place to live (Ulengin and Guvenc, 2002). They mostly pay attention to the factors, which are esteemed in Quality of Life Index: physical environment, social environment, economic and professional environment, transportation and communication. Another source of attributes, which could describe the city, is a set of different city rankings and ratings, where the most important is Mercer Quality of Living survey (2011).

As a result, we have identified a set of characteristics of the city, called for the purpose of our study, attributes, significant for the city residents. The list of attributes was discussed with the group of experts to define the most crucial attributes. The group of experts was formed from the representatives of public administration and city government as well as the representatives of non-profit organisations involved in public policy.

The attributes, that describe the city, were to meet the following conditions:

- each attribute had to have some levels of quality, perceived by the consumer. The levels of quality of each attribute were ordered from the least to the most attractive to reflect the system of preferences. For example, an attribute that describes the city as a "safe city" could be expressed in two levels: 1) unsafe city (top-ten of the most criminal cities of Russia) and 2) city safe for life (the level of crime in the city is much lower than the national one on average);

- the attributes, that describe the city, should be 'manageable', i.e. there could be public administration agents, which can influence the transition from lower-level quality of any attribute to a higher (usually an agent of influence are the authorities). Thus, the attributes which are impossible to influence were excluded from our study.

As a result of the theoretical sources analysis, city rankings investigation and other analytical information as well as consultations with experts, we have selected 16 attributes, which were divided into 4 groups for conjoint analysis and HII procedures. The Table 1 shows the groups of attributes, chosen for further investigation.

TABLE 1. The attributes included on conjoint analysis model

Group of Attributes	Attributes
City Diversity	1. Ethnical and subcultural diversity 2. City image 3. Leisure diversity 4. Consumerism diversity
City Safety and Comfort	5. Place Safety 6. Availability of parks and green zones 7. Ecology rating position of the place 8. Transport infrastructure
Professional and Job Chances	9. Economic development level of the city 10. Average salary level 11. Professional spheres and occupation diversity 12. Corruption level
City Facilities	13. Costs of living in the city 14. Availability and costs of housing 15. Availability and quality of health-care services 16. Availability and quality of educational services

Every attribute has two or three levels: in case we proposed the movement from lower to middle level of quality was important for the residents we use three levels, otherwise – only two of them. Levels are the differentiated representation of an attribute characteristic. In conjoint model, where the relative importance of each attribute is determined within the range of utility value, the importance of an attribute increases as it level becomes more (Yun, 2009). The levels for each attribute are introduced in the Table 6 at the Appendix.

Research Procedure

The research procedure consisted of four stages. At the first stage we grouped all 16 attributes into 4 groups as it is represented in the Table 1. After the levels were determined, the profiles were designed by combining four attributes within the group with the level of quality, chosen randomly. For every group of attributes a set of conjoint analysis cards, containing profiles, was created. The number of cards in every group was nine or ten cards, the profiles were created using orthogonal array method to minimize correlation between attributes and levels. According to Hugh (quoted by Yun, 2009) ten to twenty cards are generally considered to be appropriate for conjoint design. As we have four groups of

attributes, total number of profiles (cards) was 39 cards. The example of a card – composition of the profile - could be seen below in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Conjoint card (profile) for the first group of attributes

Group of attributes	City Diversity	
Attribute	Level of quality	Definition
Ethnical and subcultural diversity	LOW	<i>The very little diversity of subcultures in the city, low ethnical diversity</i>
City image	LOW	<i>Negative image, the city is characterized as dull, grey, boring</i>
Leisure diversity	LOW	<i>No concert halls, only one theatre, limited cultural amenities</i>
Consumerism diversity	HIGH	<i>Lots of shopping centre and malls, most global brands are presented</i>
Please, give your score from 0 to 10 of the attractiveness of the city with such a level of quality of city attributes		<i>Characterizes the measure of attractiveness of the city for you personally within the group of attributes CITY DIVERSITY. 0 – absolutely unattractive, 10 – totally attractive.</i>

The total number of cards was 39: 10 for 'City diversity' group of attributes, 9 – for 'City safety and comfort', 10 – for 'Professional and job chances' and 10 for 'City facilities' group of attributes.

Generally, ranking and scoring are used for evaluating the preferences of profiles by the respondents. The evaluation by rank, however, is very difficult to implement and can cause increased ratio of respondents with low reliability, although it can rule out duplicated responses. Therefore, we adopted the scoring method in the evaluation profiles using 0 to 10 scale. As Yun advices in his study (Yun, 2009), we gave the respondents a training set of cards to let them get used to such a method of scoring.

Besides, the additional group of cards – 16 cards – contained four groups of attributes – was created for HII process. The procedure of cards design was the same as described previously. The example could be seen below in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Conjoint card (profile), combining all the four groups of attributes

Total city attractiveness	
Group of attributes	Level of quality
City Diversity	LOW
City Safety and Comfort	MIDDLE
Professional and Job Chances	MIDDLE
City Facilities	HIGH
Please, give your mark from 0 to 10 of the attractiveness of the city with such a level of quality of groups of city attributes	

At this second stage the respondent was already familiar with the particular attributes of every group, thus there was no need to define them more thoroughly. The respondent had to score the cards using marks from 0 to 10 similarly as at the previous stage, using the same score twice or more (as the number of cards was more than 10).

At the third stage the respondent was asked to fill in the questionnaire and to define – at which level of quality every attribute is expressed in a particular city (Perm, Russia) by her opinion. And the last stage was gathered to the socio-demographic data of the respondent.

Participants

Two groups of respondents were formed. The first one was composed of the representatives of the creative class, the second, on the contrary, of non-creative. Both groups were the residents of the city of Perm, Russia. The participants of both groups were recruited using the criteria of professional activity (according to the approach of R. Florida). We, therefore, decided optimal sample size to be maximum 150 responses considering up to 20% of missing measurable data and low reliability data in the responses. Final sample (after all checking procedures) contained 129 respondents – 61 creative class representatives and 68 non-creative class representative. For conjoint analysis, more than 100 respondents have to be surveyed on when preferences are the only issue of the research (Yun, 2009).

Every respondent was to score four groups of cards steadily and then the additional group of 16 cards. All the respondents went through the procedure separately accompanied by the investigator who helped them during the scoring procedure and was to pay attention whether the respondent was involved into the research process. The approximate time spent by each respondent was about 40 minutes. Data were gathered during the first and second weeks of July 2011.

Data analysis

Data analysis was produced using SPSS and Excel modules of conjoint analysis. The linear regression analysis was used firstly within groups of attributes and then in-between groups ranking analysis.

First step of regression analysis:

$$y = a_0 + a_{1,1}l_{1,1} + a_{1,2}l_{1,2} + \dots + a_{2,1}l_{2,1} + a_{2,2}l_{2,2} + \dots + \varepsilon$$

where

y – the mark of a particular card;

l_{ij} - city's i -attribute with the j -level of quality, $l_{ij} = \{0,1\}$.

As a result we get the measure of a_{ij} – the measure of utility within the group of attributes of j -level of quality of i -attribute.

Second step of regression analysis:

$$z = b_0 + b_1y_1 + b_2y_2 + \dots + \mu$$

where

z – the mark of a card with four groups of attributes;

y_k - city's mark at k -group of attributes, $y_k = \{2,5,8\}$ (2 – low, 5 – middle, 8 – high)

As a result we get the measure of b_k – the weights of k -groups of attributes.

Finally we find out the utility of every level of quality of every attribute by multiplying $a*b$

Findings

General statistics of the respondents showed more males in the group of the creative class representatives (72%) and only 30% of male representatives in the non-creative class group. Average age in both groups was 30 – 34 years (mean=31,9, st.d.=0,49). After two-step data analysis as described previously we got the measure of utility for every level of quality of every attribute. Table 4 represents conjoint analysis results for both groups. Using T-test we found out that the utilities are non-equal and differ for the creative and non-creative class representatives. The sum of all utilities gives 100 – we can see the share of each attribute, which shows us the most important attributes for each group of respondents. This means that the most preferable city for the group of respondents should have these particular attributes at the higher level of quality to attract or retain the target group of residents.

TABLE 4. Conjoint analysis results (n = 129)

Attributes	Level of quality (HIGH)	Creative Class		Non-creative Class	
		Average importance of the group of attributes	Utility	Average importance of the group of attributes	Utility
Ethnical and Subcultural Diversity	Lots of different subcultures and ethnical groups in the city	0,19	3,0	0,26	3,8
City Image	The city has a very attractive image and is known as vibrant cultural spot		5,1		<u>9,7</u>
Leisure Diversity	The city has a lot of theatres, museums, places to see, cultural amenities		6,7		<u>8,4</u>
Consumerism Diversity	Lots of shopping centre and malls, most global brands are presented		4,4		4,4
Place Safety	The level of crime is lower than in average in the country	0,20	<u>7,4</u>	0,23	<u>8,4</u>
Availability of parks and green zones	Lots of parks and available green zones		3,8		4,3
Ecology rating position of the place	Low pollution, ecologically clear city		4,7		6,0
Transport Infrastructure	The city is easily reached from most other cities by different kinds of transport, traffic within the city is well-organised		4,7		5,1
Economic development level of the city	The level of economic development is higher than on average in the country	0,38	7,3	0,27	4,9
Average salary level	Average salary is higher than on average in the country		<u>13,0</u>		<u>11,0</u>
Professional spheres and occupation diversity	Diversified possibilities of occupation and professional realisation		<u>12,0</u>		7,1
Corruption Level	Low level of corruption		5,7		4,7
Costs of living in the city	'Cheap' city	0,23	4,1	0,24	4,6
Availability and costs of housing	Available housing		5,5		5,7
Availability and quality of educational services	There are some prestigious universities in the city, high quality of school education		6,7		6,0
Availability and quality of health-care services	Available and high-quality health-care services		6,0		6,0
TOTAL UTILITY OF THE 'IDEAL' CITY		1,0	100,0	1,0	100,0

Another interesting aspect of our analysis is the utility of the first group of attributes – ‘City diversity’. According to Florida, this group of attributes is the most important for the creative class and thus it should have rather a high importance in comparison with the non-creative residents. But our results refute this assumption: for the creative class representatives this group of attributes has only 19 points of total utility (100 points), while for the non-creative class it has 26 points in sum. The most preferred attributes for the creative class are ‘Professional spheres and occupational diversity’ and ‘Average salary level’, while for the non-creative residents the most important is ‘Leisure diversity’. We can also see that the non-creative class evaluates ‘City image’ more important than the creative one.

Using the results we can describe the “ideal” city for the creative and non-creative class. For the first group the city should have a lot of possibilities for professional realisation, higher salary than on the average in the country, low criminal level, the higher rates of economic development. As for the non-creative class - their “ideal” city is also the city of high salary and low criminal level but additionally it should have the developed leisure industry and appealing image. This hints us the ways of strategy development – to attract and retain the creative class we should focus on economic development of the city, providing the stimulus for medium and small business, creative industries and entrepreneurship. However, the concentration on leisure, culture and vibrant image may lead us to the negative effect and the creative class dissatisfaction.

Particular issues of strategy development could be connected with the evaluation of the current utility of the city the residents live in. During the study we asked the respondents to esteem the current level of quality of the city attributes using the descriptions from conjoint profiles. Using the utilities gained from previous analysis, we can estimate the current utility of the city of Perm and measure how far from the ‘ideal’ city Perm is. The Table 5 below presents the current utilities of attributes both for the creative and non-creative class.

TABLE 5. Current utility of the city attributes (n = 129)

Attributes	Creative Class		Non-creative class	
	Current utility	<i>Difference with the highest level utility</i>	Current utility	<i>Difference with the highest level utility</i>
Ethnical and Subcultural Diversity	1,7	1,3	2,8	1,0
City Image	2,8	2,3	6,1	3,6
Leisure Diversity	5,2	1,5	7,1	1,3
Consumerism Diversity	1,4	3,0	2,7	1,7
Place Safety	0,6	6,8	1,0	7,4
Availability of parks and green zones	2,5	1,3	3,3	1,0
Ecology rating position of the place	0,3	4,4	0,4	5,6
Transport Infrastructure	1,6	3,1	2,7	2,4
Economic development level of the city	4,3	3,0	1,9	3,0
Average salary level	7,3	5,7	2,7	8,3
Professional spheres and occupation diversity	6,7	5,3	4,3	2,8
Corruption Level	1,0	4,7	0,5	4,2
Costs of living in the city	3,3	0,8	3,1	1,5
Availability and costs of housing	1,9	3,6	1,0	4,7
Availability and quality of educational services	3,2	3,5	4,2	1,8
Availability and quality of health-care services	1,0	5,0	2,8	3,2
TOTAL CURRENT UTILITY OF THE CITY	44,7		46,6	

We can see that perm is far from being 'ideal' both for the creative and non-creative class as its current utility is twice lower than the 'ideal' city total utility. As utilities in the Table 4 shows the preferences, the current utility is the measure for the level of quality of an attribute for the city; the difference between these two measures reflects the gap between them. The more is the gap – the more important is the attribute for the local authorities. Thus here we can see, which spheres are in demand for improvement – for the creative class these are 'Place safety', 'Average salary level', 'Professional spheres diversity'. all of them are the most important for the creative class, and thus the 'war for talents' may be won only by implementing economically-focused development strategy. As for the non-creative class – mostly all the important attributes are evaluated highly, which means that there is no urgent need for improvement in these spheres.

The roots of this difference need further investigation, but what is clearly seen that Florida's approach couldn't be used 'in original', even more – the application of 'vibrant cultural spot' strategy may increase the dissatisfaction of the creative class. The results shows us that there are strong preferences that are unsatisfied at the current moment and this is a great challenge for local authorities. The study provided us with the instrument of analysis of the city attributes, when the respondents not only show favour to the particular traits of the city but at every step make trade-off between them. We use the marketing approach defining preferences of two different groups of the residents, which could make further strategic decisions 'client-oriented' and more competitive in the global environment.

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TABLE 6. Attributes and their levels of quality

City Attribute	LOW level	MEDIUM level	HIGH level
City Diversity			
Ethnical and subcultural diversity	The very little diversity of subcultures in the city, low ethnical diversity	-	Lots of different subcultures and ethnical groups in the city
City image	Negative image, the city is characterized as dull, grey, boring	The image of the city is neutral – ‘nothing to boast for, nothing to complain for’	The city has a very attractive image and is known as vibrant cultural spot
Leisure diversity	No concert halls, only one theatre, limited cultural amenities	The city has some theatres which are unknown elsewhere, the only museum changes exposition rarely	The city has a lot of theatres, museums, places to see, cultural amenities
Consumerism diversity	Too little number of well-known brands, retail chains, HoReCa is non-developed	-	Lots of shopping centre and malls, most global brands are presented
City Safety and Comfort			
Place Safety	Included in top-ten criminal cities of Russia	-	The level of crime is lower than in average in the country
Availability of parks and green zones	No green zones inside the city, forests and rivers are hardly available	-	Lots of parks and available green zones
Ecology rating position of the place	Highly polluted city	-	Low pollution, ecologically clear city
Transport infrastructure	Uncomfortable road junctions, uncomfortable traffic net, limited railways and air traffic	-	The city is easily reached from most other cities by different kinds of transport, traffic within the city is well-organised
Professional and Job Chances			
Economic development level of the city	Lower than on average in the country	-	Higher than on average in the country
Average salary level	Lower than on average in the country	Average as in the country	Average salary is higher than on average in the country
Professional spheres and occupation diversity	Mono-city, limited jobs opportunities	5 – 10 middle sizes industrial plants in the city	Diversified possibilities of occupation and professional realisation
Corruption level	High level of corruption	-	Low level of corruption
City Facilities			
Costs of living in the city	‘Expensive’ city	Average as in the country	‘Cheap’ city
Availability and costs of housing	Low availability, more expensive housing	Average as in the country	Available housing
Availability and quality of educational services	No prestigious universities at all	High quality of primary education, 1 - 2 middle-ranked universities	There are some prestigious universities in the city, high quality of school education
Availability and quality of health-care services	Low quality of medical and health-care services	-	Available and high-quality health-care services