

Quality of Life and City Competitiveness

Robert J. Rogerson

(Paper received in final form, November, 1998)

1. Introduction

People love lists, especially lists which position one place, one person, one above another. In this paper, we explore initially public and other interest in one type of list the rating of cities and locations in terms of the quality of life they offer. In particular, the paper focuses on how quality of life has been viewed as part of the profile of a 'competitive city'; one that is successful in attracting the attention of capital, and the ways in which quality of life factors have been identified as influential in patterns of urban growth and development. In the second part of the paper, we discuss the way that this use of quality of life as part of place promotion and city marketing has placed most emphasis on a rather narrow conception of quality of life, one that is place-based rather than people-based. Arising from the privileging capital's view of quality of life, we open up the discussion to alternative ways of conceiving of quality of life and consider if there are alternative visions of competitive cities which could arise from such conceptualisations.

2. City Ratings

The calculation of comparison and ratings, increasingly expressed in the form of league tables, is far from new. But, since the 1980s, the rating of cities has reached new heights, with even the UK government presenting sets of official statistics in the form of league tables and comparative rankings-such as for education and health performance-and employing these ratings in the publicity associated with official statistics, such as recent *Regional Trends*. The present spate of interest in place ratings can probably be traced to the publication in the US of the *Places Rated Almanac* (Boyer and Savageau, 1981). This best-selling publication has been updated several times and reprinted many times, attracting a readership amongst the public as well as professionals concerned with the promotion of cities, with the selling or property in these cities, and with the construction of the city environments which are being assessed. However, the book also appealed to the general public and to companies and organisations who were interested in contemplating business or family moves. The conclusion that Pittsburgh-once seen as the city epitomising the legacy of declining manufacturing industries was the best place to live unsurprisingly challenged public perceptions of the cities of North America and generated considerable and at times legal debates about the merits of the study and the validity of the results and their applications in city promotion.

What marks out the *Places Rated Almanac* however, is not the actual results, but the fact that it represents the first serious attempt to popularise a statistical ranking of metropolitan areas and to do so on the basis of what has been termed 'quality of life' factors - those elements which define the livability of a place. Earlier research which had also attempted to construct ranks of places in terms of quality of life had been less successful in achieving public acclaim (or notoriety). Smith's (1973) and Liu's (1976) studies, for example, of the US SMSAs had much greater statistical rigour than the Boyer and Savageau study, but achieved less public impact.

Elsewhere, there has also been a growth in the quality of life indices at a variety of geographical scales which have been generated and have attracted media and public attention. International comparisons have formed the basis of *Fortune Magazine's* ranking of the world's best cities, whilst a similar title has been applied to Montreal, Seattle and Melbourne from the assessment of livability by the Population Crisis Committee (1990). Indeed, in many of the developed nations, league tables of urban areas have become common. In Britain, not all the studies have focused exclusively on quality of life issues. Some employ more

obvious economic measures—for example, the 'booming town' index (Champion and Green, 1988, 1992) with its focus on economic conditions, and the LEAP index of economic activity and potential (Coombes and Raybould, 1988)—whilst others, like the *Places Rated Almanac*, eschew an academic basis and are targeted towards a media and public audience (see, for example, Guinness's *Top Towns* guide). Amongst these studies there are some which explicitly attempt to measure quality of life. The *Northern Lights* study (Breheny *et al.*, 1987) marked out a debate in the 1980s about the relative quality of life opportunities in the northern parts of England compared with the southern regions. The research by the quality of life group first at the University of Glasgow and then at Strathclyde University has in many respects become the benchmark of quality of life ratings in Britain (Findlay *et al.*, 1988; Rogerson *et al.*, 1989b, 1990). In a series of studies, they have produced league tables of cities, local authority areas and local labour market areas based on an assessment of the extent to which these areas match up to publicly derived lists of attributes of quality of life. Some more popular studies have attempted to replicate the methodology of these studies (for example, *Moneywise Magazine* in 1991). Other studies, recognising the growing importance of quality of life ratings, re-imaged themselves on the back of this interest. Reward regional surveys' 'Cost of living index' was relabelled in the early 1990s to become a 'quality of life index', although the basis of the analysis was little changed.

Inevitably, such city ratings attract controversy. First, league tables epitomise the desire for what could be termed a 'reductionist view' of places and their living environments. The representation of the complexity which is urban living by a single value and rank is appealing in an era when politicians, media and public work with simple headlines. But by so doing, such ratings are open to challenge for offering simplicity at the expense of reflecting the multiple facets of a locality. Secondly, in challenging public perceptions of places, the disparity between people's perceptions of quality of life in a place and the statistical indicators generates scope for debate—or, in more extreme, cases grounds for litigation. Matching its commercial success, *Places Rated Almanac*, for example, has been criticised on the basis of its conclusions (Pierce and Bell, 1986) and its methodology (Bell, 1984; Landis and Sawicki, 1988), as well as its statistical indicators (Becker, 1987). Other researchers have attempted to produce new sets of city rankings, having undertaken some variations in method, data or list of comparator locations (Pierce, 1985).

3. Quality of Life and City Competition

There is considerable convergence of opinion in the literature that the fundamental context in which cities are currently acting is the heightened mobility of capital. The ability of transnational corporations - and indeed smaller more local organizations - to switch their location of operation around the globe has created a truly global economy. The specific nature of the processes of globalisations and economic restructuring which are operating may continue to be debated, but there is an acceptance that in this context cities are being thrust into new sets of relations to capital; relations in which the relative position of the city is substantially weaker than previously. The changing nature of the activities being undertaken and their organisation, especially the decline in manufacturing activity and the rise of service sectors, as well as the capacity of capital (and labour) to switch locations has enabled "a new set of local place attributes and new definitions of the accessibility of places to become prominent locational determinants" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990, p. 2). Associated with the globalising of the economy, cities are becoming more critical agents of economic development. Their greater ability to be flexible and responsive to the changing needs of the markets, technology and culture has provided them with the opportunity to engage with, and respond to, the needs of capital (Castells and Hall, 1993). Of course, not all locations can respond equally to such forces or opportunities arising from the global changes. The competitiveness of cities reflects not only their current capacity to engage with global capital, but also is a function of their heritage, resulting in a spatially differentiated pattern of competitiveness.

The rhetoric of the local is thus embedded within the processes of global accumulation, in what has been described as a fragmented mosaic of uneven development in which competitive places try to secure a lucrative development niche. In this respect, there is scope for quality of life to be a factor which assists in

the construction of the niche, and specifically the attraction or retention of fractions of capital which maintain this niche.

Some commentators have tried to operationalise the determinants of this competitiveness. Kresl (1995), for example, suggests that the degree of competitiveness can be viewed as a function of economic determinants (for example, factors of production, location, urban amenities) and strategic determinants (such as governmental effectiveness and institutional flexibility). These approaches offer insights into the elements which shape and constrain the capacity of an area to respond to the external demands of the economy/market in the abstract. Other research focuses on more specific responses, including the interactions between national government policies and local government powers, resources and *milieux* (Fainstein, 1990)-what Harvey (1989a) has termed 'structural coherence' - and organisational responses amongst local institutions and players-as partnerships, regimes-to regulation, especially by the local state (for example, Stoker, 1990; Peck, 1985; Peck and Tickell, 1992; Cox and Mair, 1988).

What is generally accepted is that the task of urban governance has increasingly become the (re)creation of urban conditions sufficiently attractive to lure potential capital into the area. It is within this setting what Hall (1995) calls the pro-competition *zeitgeist* of the 1980s and 1990s: the frenetic search for different and novel ways of ensuring that one place can be *seen* to be more competitive than another-that much of the recent quality of life rankings can be located. The main contribution that quality of life makes in the process of capturing or ensnaring capital lies in the arena of place promotion and marketing, being part of the attempts by cities to forge distinctive images and atmospheres which "act as a lure to both capital and people 'of the right sort' (i.e. wealthy and influential)" (Harvey, 1989b, p. 295).

The setting of quality of life as part of the competitive environment lies in the changing role of spatiality in contemporary society. As Harvey (1989b) argues, if capitalists are in fact more sensitive to the differentiated qualities of places across space, then there is scope for those in the elites who control the shaping of these spaces to redesign and reposition them relative to such capital. Thus "the qualities of place stand thereby to be emphasized in the midst of the increasing abstraction of space" (Harvey, 1989b, p. 295). This provides the context for interpreting the place promotion and marketing so familiar in the past few decades as a response to the growing fluidity of capital globally.

There are many illustrations of the adoption of quality of life ratings as part of place promotion to attract this capital. For some, quality of life factors have been added to other measures of locational advantage to aid the process of attracting inward investment of global activities. Livingston, to the east of Edinburgh and rated second in the 1997 British study of quality of life (Rogerson, 1997) has utilised its rating to assist in this role, with the strategic services section of the local council employing the research findings in the quarterly socioeconomic newsletter. Melbourne, Australia, similarly has readily and happily adopted the title of "the world's most livable city" from the results of the Population Crisis Committee (1990) study of 100 of the world's largest metropolitan areas. Other more marginal places have used the quality of life league tables to raise their profile in the national and international economic arenas. Perth, on the margins of the central industrial and commercial belt of Scotland, for example, made much of its distinction in 1990 as top for quality of life in Britain (Rogerson *et al.*, 1990;) in trying to persuade, first, the business community that it was indeed at the heart of Scotland and secondly, visitors to the city (tourists and potential residents) that it was a desirable place in which to live. And others, rated highly in terms of quality of life, have employed the ratings to challenge the stereotypical image of being an area of the industrial decline. Teesside's response in the late 1980s to being rated 9th in the UK quality of life research (Findlay *et al.*, 1988) was to utilise the 'independent study' to show how the region was much more attractive than the south-east of Britain (Figure 1) - although the misappropriation of Middlesbrough's rating for the whole region of the north-east and London's rating for the south-east was intriguing.

This role for quality of life as part of place promotion and city marketing is far from novel. Burgess' (1982) analysis of the place advertising in the UK has noted that throughout the 1970s-prior to the fashionable status of place promotion as a part of the hegemony of selling of place (Sadler, 1993, p. 178)the

improvement in the quality of life that would be experienced by those moving formed one of two common themes identified in the advertising literature. The partial and selective nature of the quality of life image being portrayed has been reinforced by Sadler's (1993) analysis of the UDC literature of the 1980s and Burgess and Wood's (1989) study of the London Docklands literature. The reduction of multifaceted lifestyles and opportunities to a "commodity to be packaged and sold" (Burgess and Wood, 1989, p. 115) was reinforced by the appropriated aspects of the local area, culture and economy. The image, as befits much marketing, was selected to be sensitive to the goals of the marketing exercise.

For those places highly rated in the quality of life league tables, such ratings are of course appealing. As Hall (1995) notes, the immediate attraction of such lists is not so apparent to those cities, often those associated with industrial decline, which are less highly placed in terms of quality of life. Responses tend to be either dismissive of the basis of the research or merely ignoring them. However, whilst quality of life and league tables produced on the basis of some quality of life assessment have traditionally been equated with the attraction of economic and personal capital, it is evident that for some locations a poor rating in terms of quality of life can be used to attract another type of capital. State expenditure and the redistribution of surpluses through state or national government remains, as Harvey (1989a) notes, of tremendous importance. Thus, although there has been a shift away from welfare expenditure by the state towards supporting private-sector involvement in local economies, public-sector expenditure in supporting the quality of life - defined in terms of place-based attributes as noted above - can be significant.

As many commentators have noted the competition ethos has infiltrated the means by which such state financing is distributed, and it is in this competitive setting that poor quality of life ratings/scores can be turned into a positive attribute. Again, most applications of quality of life in this way are not advertised. However, increasingly some forms of capital are employing poor quality of life ratings to act as a lever in obtaining planning permission for new developments 'which will enhance the local quality of life'. And local community groups are also turning to quality of life assessments to ensure that the local state provides targeted investment into the area.

In the following section, we turn to review the ways in which quality of life has been linked to two of the types of competition for capital envisaged by Harvey (1989b); namely, competition within the international division of labour which "means the exploitation of Particular advantages for the production of goods and services" (p. 8) and attempts "to improve the competitive position with respect to the spatial division of consumption" (p. 9). In particular, we review some of the evidence to show how quality of life has been related to city competitiveness in successfully competing for such capital, before turning in the final part of the paper to consider the limited definition of quality of life being applied and alternative ways in which quality of life has a role to play in city competition.

TEES+SIDE

IN THE TOP TEN
FOR QUALITY OF LIFE



...with London 34th

A recent national survey of the quality of life in 38 of Britain's urban areas ranked Teesside ninth, London was 34th. What placed Teesside so high? Chiefly, reasonable cost of living, high quality reasonably priced housing, good shopping and leisure facilities, and excellent access to fine scenery. But Teesside scored right across the lifestyle spectrum – particularly when compared with the South East. Teesside's weekly shopping basket is the sixth cheapest in the land. Teesside's nursery school provision is twice the national average, its 'O' Level attainment above the national figure with excellent choice of State and private schools, the further education facilities

within its reach extensive and wide ranging. Public expenditure on health is higher; hospital waiting lists shorter. And the magnificent scenery? The 36 miles of the Cleveland and North Yorkshire Heritage Coast, the 550 square miles of the the North York Moors National Park, the 680 square miles of the Yorkshire Dales National Park, the upper reaches of the River Tees with its spectacular waterfalls. Teesside – the sum of its parts puts it in the Top Ten. To find out more contact Duncan Hall, Chief Executive, Teesside Development Corporation, Tees House, Riverside Park, Middlesbrough, Cleveland TS2 1RE. Tel 0642 230636. Fax 0642 230843.



TEES+SIDE
Initiative Talent Ability

Figure 1. "Teesside in the top ten ..." Source: *The Economist*, 13 May 1989.

3.1 Quality of Life and Economic Production

As the research into quality of life and place promotion illustrates, within the setting of competitive cities quality of life has been adopted as one of the array of attributes which can be employed to secure growth and development through the attraction and retention of means of economic production. In the context of global capital arising from the new international divisions of labour and corporate restructuring, there is an assumption that quality of life factors form part of the location requirements of this capital. The implicit notion is that amongst 'the new set of local place attributes' which are being sought by capital is the desire for a high(er) quality of life.

In fact, the evidence for just such a requirement is sketchy. Intuitively, it can be argued that quality of life is likely to be a factor underpinning location, drawing from the fact that many new economic activities are being located in high-amenity areas, in the sun-belt of different countries and away from the older, declining industrial centres and the larger metropolitan areas. As Grayson and Young (1994, p. 5) rightly note, "it is some step from there to say that growth industries seek quality of life locations for their own sake". It is just as possible to argue from these trends that alternative location factors - communications, office costs and land values, labour force requirements, technological flexibility-are shaping the spatial patterns of new industrial and commercial activity.

Slowly, however, evidence is being compiled to suggest that quality of life can be a significant element in the location decision-making process. Fothergill and Gudgin's (1982) study in the UK remains much quoted, with their conclusion that environmental quality is a factor in industrial location. Surveys of industrialists and decision-makers, such as those conducted by Healey and Baker (1993) across Europe, provide further evidence. In their study of the largest 500 + companies in the European Union, about 10 per cent include quality of life factors amongst the three most important attributes in their location decisions. Recent relocations in the UK have also been related to quality of life factors. Whilst many are not made public, one recently quoted example was the move of the British Council to Manchester from London. The principal 'push' factor was financial, but the final selection of where to locate was influenced by quality of life and accessibility factors (*Estate Gazette*, 1994).

In the US, surveys of the late 1980s also concluded that, in industrial location, quality of life issues were a primary consideration in locating a plant or new business (Malecki, 1984, 1985; Brotchie *et al.*, 1985; Hart and Denison, 1987). However, as Hart *et al.*, (1989, p.599) note in their review at the time, the "more recent results may also be limited by their focus on high-technology industries". Their own research, in contrast, was more wide-ranging and based on surveys of 665 Chief Executive Officers in businesses across Oakland County, Michigan. From 37 factors offered in the survey, Hart *et al.* (1989, p. 610) concluded that "the most important factors to firms' location in the county thus appear to be their proximity to markets and residences, the quality of the local environment, and the area's growth potential". Further, they recognise that quality of life factors, along with other location factors, varied in significance between types of industry defined in terms of level of technology, but that quality of life remained an element in locating production.

Myers' (1989) evidence from Austin, Texas, provides a different slant to this issue. His research has shown that quality of life impinges on the economic success of the town, with a favourable quality of life being of importance to the retention of companies by shaping other more traditional locational factors, especially labour. On the one hand, Myer notes that the greater range of options for relocation, nationally and internationally, amongst skilled staff forces local companies to emphasise the local quality of life conditions, whilst on the other, labour costs may be reduced by the converse of the 'disamenity compensation' (i.e. higher wages to offset lower amenities). Studies elsewhere in North America and in Europe have also pointed to wage differentials reflecting differences in the non-economic and quality of life opportunities on offer locally. Rosen's (1979) study was one to argue that quality of life; assessment could be made based on variations in wage levels. Since then, studies have employed the disamenity idea to develop economic

equations to derive surrogate quality of life indices (Berger *et al.*, 1987; Cropper and Arraiga-Salvinas, 1980; Roback, 1982; Stover and Leven, 1992).

Indirect evidence also points to the contribution of quality of life elements being of significance in location decision-making. Senn (1995), for example, in his study of location factors for both manufacturing and service sectors in Milan, Italy, does not identify quality of life *per se*. Instead, amongst the 58 factors included in his survey of 450 businesses, a range of elements that elsewhere have been equated with quality of life—cost of living, public transport, security from crime, schools, environmental quality, housing and climate—are in the study. Thus, whilst Senn concludes (p. 131) that

firms still see their production function as the main source of their competitiveness; while viewing external economics (accessibility, proximity, environment and local policies) as necessary but not sufficient conditions for their success

some other elements such as cost of living (56.7 per cent indicated important), public transport (48 per cent), safety (47 per cent) and schools (45 per cent) are also of importance.

3.2 *Quality of Life and Personal Migration*

The second way that quality of life has been linked to city competitiveness—through the attraction of capital arising from the spatial division of consumption—has also involved elements of promotion, but in this case the focus on quality of life is targeted towards personal needs and aspirations. Here the focus is on competition for consumer power, arising to quote Harvey (1989b, p. 9) because "consumers who do have the money have become much more discriminating", not least about where they reside. For Harvey (1989b) the gentrification, cultural innovation, consumer attractions and upgrading of the city all represent elements of the response by city authorities to capture such capital.

Evidence that quality of life is of significance in shaping the new residential patterns has been gathered in different ways and has built on the earlier notion of 'place utility' as a measure of the attractiveness or otherwise of an area relative to alternative locations (Brown and Longbrake, 1970; Bible and Brown, 1981). First, and negatively, based on past migration patterns and through a comparison of quality of life opportunities outside the urban area with those of the city, research has pointed to the disparity in quality of life on offer. There is little doubt that the late 20th century has seen a rise in the negative, critical accounts of the city. Accounts of individual city development have emphasised the contemporary perceptions of fear and decline—see Soja's narratives on Los Angeles, for example (Soja, 1996). The image that is frequently presented and discussed is of cities as desolate, deprived and feared (Robins, 1995). And to reinforce this negativity, demographic analyses point to the continuing streams of out-migration from the city, at least in relation to the 'Western city' (Perry *et al.*, 1986; Champion, 1989). Many studies have reinforced the point that poor quality of life may be of significance in the out-migration from cities (Keeble and Gould, 1985; Bolton and Chalkley, 1989; Keeble, 1990; Williams and Jobse, 1990). For example, Keeble (1990, p. 240) notes in his review of previous research that

a major compelling force appears to be selective migration by managers, professionals and more highly qualified workers and their families from cities to smaller towns and villages, largely for quality of life and environmental reasons.

Elsewhere, Williams and Jobse (1990) conclude from log-linear analysis of migration patterns across the US that quality of life rather than economic factors holds the key to explaining out-migration from urban areas; a conclusion which remains contentious (see Greenwood and Hunt, 1989; and Clark and Cosgrove, 1991).

Such analyses point to the growing opportunities and feasibility of people living in non-urban areas and still contributing to economic activities in the city, and the growing desire to achieve a higher quality of life, away from the city. The changing demographic composition of the population (especially a growing

proportion outside the workforce), the desire for an alternative lifestyle to that offered by urban areas and underlying processes of restructuring have resulted in the potential for economic activities to relocate also have a bearing on personal migration. For economic and technological reasons, population concentration in the conurbations is no longer as necessary. The dispersal of labour opportunities as employment relocates from the city, the shifts to new work practices-including flexible working hours enabling greater commuting from suburbs and beyond and teleworking from home-and the changing patterns of employment from manufacturing to services have collectively enabled growing proportions of the workforce (and their families) to live in locations separated from the collective workplace or have transformed the home into the workplace (Kirby, 1990).

Secondly, a few surveys have been undertaken of recent migrants to interpret their motivations for moving. In practical terms, it is often difficult to ask migrants to tease out one factor from others, and indeed there may be much negotiation and disagreement between members of a household over the relative importance of any factor. In addition, most evidence that suggests that quality of life issues are significant require recent migrants to analyse, post hoc, their motivations and decisions. Clearly, migrants make decisions to move as a consequence of a range of very different forces; of which quality of life is but one. Thus, for example, Findlay and Rogerson (1993) identify quality of life reasons as being of importance to more than 70 per cent of the migrants interviewed; more important than employment opportunities, living costs or family ties. Quality of life and environmental factors also dominated reasons for migration to areas of New South Wales. Burnley (1998) identified retiral reasons (16 per cent), employment reasons (16 per cent) and environmental and aesthetic reasons (41 per cent) to be the primary motivations for migrants moving from Sydney to the coastal areas of the state. Comparable conclusions had previously been drawn from a larger survey conducted by the Department of Environment and Planning for outmigration from Sydney to the region as a whole.

Thirdly, research has focused on the migration into cities. At a general scale, studies such as that by Clark and Hunter (1992), based on an analysis of white male migration in the 1970s in the US, have concluded that quality of life factors linked to life-cycle patterns, are important in explaining the desire of some groups to live in cities. However, most evidence of the significance of quality of life factors in attracting migrants to the city has been in connection with gentrification which, although highly selective in its composition, is common throughout developed nations. Although the theoretical basis of the causes of gentrification remains contentious (Ley, 1986; Smith, 1987; Hamnett, 1991) and arguably gentrification processes are now influencing more than a few, selected groups of the population, most accounts acknowledge that areas being gentrified are places of opportunity matching the quality of life and lifestyle aspirations of those involved.

4. Conceiving of Quality of Life

In taking the traditional way in which quality of life has been linked to city competitiveness, the above review has illustrated that the relationship between economic and personal location decision-making and quality of life is only partially substantiated by empirical research. Theoretically, such linkages can be expected to exist, but the survey review of the literature indicates the tenuous and problematic relations which have been explicitly shown to operate in motivating either economic capital or personal capital to locate in terms of quality of life. The lack of clarity in this set of relations has, however, not dented the use of quality of life in place promotional literature.

Secondly, the review has alluded to the way in which quality of life has been defined in this research. It is inevitable that in engaging with global capital, those involved with shaping locations have to respond to the needs of capital. As the assumption is that the interest in quality of life "stems from the fact that it is an important location factor" (Berger *et al.*, 1987, p. 762) for both economic and personal migration, it is unsurprising that the way that quality of life is conceived should reflect the primary concerns of such influential capital. As Sack (1988, p. 643) notes in his critical discussion of the consumer's view of the city,

"a place is often thought of as a unique set of attributes at a unique location". It is just such a view, that quality of life should be based on a set of attributes of places, which has been employed in the studies reviewed above.

Whilst some studies provide no definition of quality of life, accepting the phrase unproblematically in their study (see, for example, Healey and Baker, 1993), others offer an insight into their use of the term. Table I illustrates the ways in which locational and place-based characteristics form the basis of quality of life in those studies reviewed above. Most make explicit reference to the notion of quality of life, listing those attributes included in their assessment and how they conceive of quality of life as an entity. Others, whilst listing characteristics of places, do not analyse quality of life *per se* but refer to a basket of attributes under this theme. Hart *et al.*'s (1989) survey of locational factors, for example, in Michigan does not offer respondents a category entitled 'quality of life'. Instead, the authors themselves group together responses under this heading. Thus, in reaching their conclusion that "the relative importance of criteria appear to have shifted away from the 'leastcost' factors and toward those associated with area infrastructure, especially aspects of 'quality of life'" (Hart *et al.*, 1989, p. 617), they include overall quality of the locality, proximity to residence, and long-term growth.

What is evident from Table 1 is that whilst the list of specific elements to be incorporated into a definition of quality of life varies, the focus is consistently on factors such as physical environment, climate, pollution, crime and social facilities linked to education, health. The key point is that in the commodification of the city and the attempts to lure capital, the view of quality of life which has been employed has become narrowly defined.

The view of quality of life embedded in the production of the 'league table' and city rankings, the notions of quality of life used for city promotion and in city marketing, however, reflect a significant shift in interest in the conceptualisation of quality of life. At its core lies the view that quality of life evaluation should focus on the extent to which the necessary conditions for personal satisfaction and happiness-those attributes of the environment which stimulate satisfaction-are achieved (McCall, 1975). In this respect, quality of life is being used to relate to the shared environment in which people live (Helburn, 1982). To evaluate this environment, a range of objective social indicators-what could be termed hard indicators describing the environment within which people live and work-are employed to measure the 'reality' of the living environment. This is in sharp contrast to much of the early, and continuing, research conceiving of quality of life at the level of the individual and focused on how personal characteristics and views shape people's quality of life. Much of the seminal work on quality of life in the 1970s - especially arising from the large social surveys conducted by Campbell *et al.* (1976) and Andrews and Withey (1976) in the US-employed this conception. The associated use of so-called subjective indicators of quality of life was developed around the notion that quality of life expressed the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction felt by people with aspects of their lives (Abrams, 1973), or the extent to which pleasure and satisfaction characterised their lives as a whole (Andrews, 1974).

Table 1. Attributes of quality of life: key city ratings

Research Dimension	Smith	Liu	Boyer and Savageau	Rogerson et al.	Burnley	Hart et al.	PCC
	1973	1976	1981	1988	1988	1989	1990
Environment/Pollution		X	X	X	X		X
Atmosphere/Peace and Quiet					X	X	X
Climate			X	X	X		
Lifestyle opportunities					X		
Employment				X	X		
Retirement					X		
Housing Costs and Access	X	X	X	X		X	X
Health Care/Public Health	X	X	X	X		X	X
Crime/Public Safety	X		X	X			X
Transport/Traffic flow				X		X	X
Education Provision/Levels	X		X	X		X	X
Recreation			X	X			
Economy/Business climate	X	X				X	
Arts/Cultural diversity	X		X	X		X	
State taxes/Development Aid						X	
Commercial space						X	
Proximity to suppliers/market						X	
Food costs/Cost of living			X	X			
Political Involvement	X	X					
Wages				X		X	

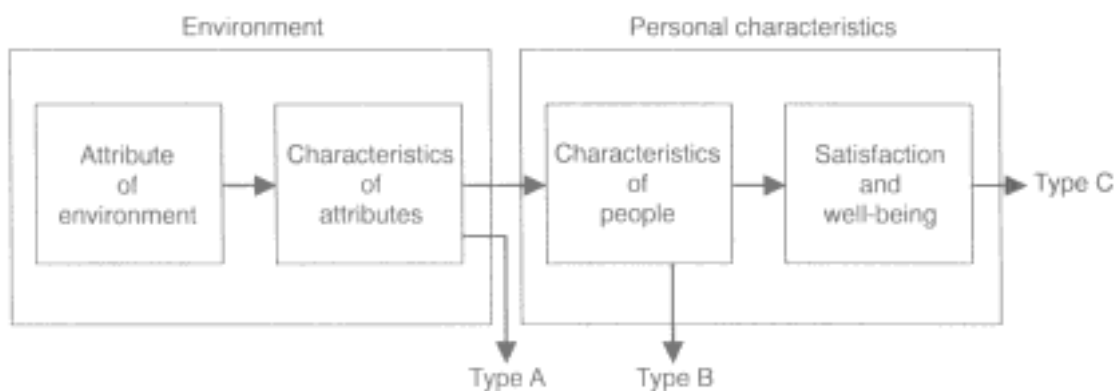


Figure 2. Conceptualising quality of life.

The debate over the relative merits of each approach is a longstanding one (Seashore, 1976; Pacione, 1982; Wish, 1986; Johnston, 1988) and is largely irresolvable. Whilst these two approaches conceive of and assess quality of life differently, they are related and there have been recent calls for attempts to offer an integration of the different conceptualisations (Rogerson, 1995; Diener and Suh, 1997). Figure 2 portrays how these differing approaches can be seen to be related. Studies which focus on the personal aspects of quality of life tend to categorise quality of life either as satisfaction scales or via responses to surveys and interviews on the respondent's own immediate experience and well-being; these studies fall into Type C. Research which envisages quality of life as relating to places and their characteristics tends to be of two types. Those which select the attributes and characteristics through expert or other non-survey approaches typify Type A studies. The *Places Rated Almanac* or studies using econometric and revealed preference methods (for example, Berger *et al.*, 1987; Stover and Leven, 1992) fit this type. If priorities and weightings derived from opinion surveys are included, then some element of the personal characteristics of those involved with quality of life are incorporated and form Type B studies. Pierce's (1985) study of SMSAs and Findlay *et al.*'s (1988) and Rogerson *et al.*'s (1989b) study of British cities typify these approaches.

It is in these two ways that quality of life has been conceived by those involved in city competition. The league tables discussed at the start of the paper have evolved from studies which have taken quality of life to be a set of place attributes either weighted by expert opinion or by the views of key groups whose opinions are significant in the luring of capital to the city. With the current procompetition environment in which local government operates, it is unsurprising that means of portraying the relative advantages of different locations have been leapt upon by the image-makers and city promoters.

5. Privileging Capital

The priority attributed to the; attraction of capital and associated employment as part of urban growth and development may seem desirable. It rests on the assumption that the well-being of cities can be cast as dependent upon capital investment, and consequently all forms of capture of capital are seen as causes for celebration. The argument expressed is that there will subsequently be a filtering down of financial and other benefits arising from such investment, in the form of higher wages, new jobs, higher house prices and the growth of local tax-base (Peterson, 1981; Logan and Molotch, 1987). In undertaking this, however, the priorities of one group (capital) are elevated above those of others. The recognition of such a privileging is not new. In the context of the politics of economic development, the switch to urban entrepreneurial governance from managerial forms that Harvey (1989b) expresses is based on a shift across the economy from labour to capital, including the directing of local state finances from welfare provision to the attraction of capital. Whilst such a shift in resources is open to contestation (Cox and Mair, 1988) and may result in some dependent populations experiencing greater poverty, it is predicated on the assumption that it will improve the overall standard of living and quality of life of the majority.

Others too have noted that inequality in power in shaping the future of the city arises from the focus on competitiveness for capital as the path to urban growth and development. Mollenkopf and Castell's (1991) notion of the 'dual city', for example, recognises that in the process of spatial restructuring there is a fundamental distinction between those segments of labour which are shaping the city and those whose voices are being excluded. Davis' (1990) thorough analysis of the making of Los Angeles has frequent examples of how elements of the city's infrastructure and lifestyle have been constructed to meet the demands of capital - as in his argument why developers and financiers support the notion of cultural superstructure to make Los Angeles a world city

they have become so integrally involved in the organisation of high culture, not because of old-fashioned philanthropy, but because 'culture' has become an important component of the land development process, as well as a crucial moment in the competition between different elites and regional centres (Davis, 1990, p. 71).

The city's image is therefore made to order, tailored to the needs of capital. Mayer (1989, p. 11) makes the connection even more explicit. For her, in the contemporary city there may be a veneer of economic consolidation, but she argues

it is not a 'pluralism' of lifestyles and consumption patterns which reigns, but rather that the high income consumers' ideas and definitions of the 'good life' have become the influential ones.

The privileging of capital's notion of quality of life has important consequences for the shape of the urban quality of life on offer in the contemporary city. First, and working with quality of life being part of the array of factors shaping urban competitiveness, it is worth noting that alternative ways of conceiving of quality of life can be employed. To date, little emphasis has been given to those studies which consider that quality of life is concerned with life satisfaction and happiness. In the past they have not been favoured in a policy setting because of the lack of insight of prescriptive action which could be taken to improve levels of life satisfaction. In an era of 'image building' and league tables, however, it is surprising that the opportunity to claim that one place's citizens are more satisfied than another's has not been adopted as part of the panoply of marketing techniques. More constructively, perhaps, research by social scientists and others concerned with the measurement of happiness, life satisfaction and well-being has, increasingly being offering important insights into some of the priorities which frame people's well-being and satisfaction with their lives and living environment. Ann Bowling's (1995) study of 2000 British adults' view of the most important aspects of people's current lives illustrates some of these points. Unlike the studies of people's priorities attached to place attributes (for example, Rogerson *et al.*, 1989a), Bowling's research focuses on more personal characteristics. Table 2 portrays the key items mentioned in the survey. For some researchers, there remains the perceived constraint that many of the features identified in surveys, such as relationships, religion and politics here, are not immediately amenable to quantification and thus comparative analysis required for the construction of league tables and ratings cannot be easily undertaken. Such methodological difficulties, however, should not be a basis for neglecting the further insights offered by such studies.

Secondly, the actual experience of both the attributes of cities and the overall quality of life associated with urban living has too often been excluded from studies of quality of life. The tendency to employ a view of quality of life which focuses on those features of the urban environment (Types A and B in Figure 2) has emphasised characteristics of the environment in terms of availability, accessibility and efficiency of provision-what Rogerson *et al.* (1996) relate to questions of access and manner of delivery. In contrast, as Rogerson *et al.* (1996, pp. 29-30) argue in viewing the quality of life as being related to the consumption process,

it is the quality of the experience of consumption which-although often ignored in social research (Urry, 1990)-is an important element

and

patterns of quality of life will potentially be based on the 'them' (having access to crucial life chances provided through ownership rights to a variety of modes of provision, including private consumption) and the 'us' comprising a minority who lack access via the market to basic consumption.

Table 2. Items considered most important in people's current lives

Priority *	Item
1	Relationship with family/relatives
2	Own health
3	Health of someone close
4	Finances/housing/standard of living
5	Relationships with other people
6	Availability of work/able to work
7	Other (inc crime, politics, happiness/well-being)
8	Social life/leisure activities
9	Conditions at work/job satisfaction
10	Education
11	Religion/spiritual life
12	Environment (pollution, rubbish, noise, safety, cleanliness)

* defines in terms of proportion indicating first most important item

Source: Bowling (1995, 1451)

Whilst some insight into differential quality of life can be evaluated through measures of access and provision, it is only when dimensions of experience are added that the 'city ratings' will be more than advertising hype and meaningful to people.

Thirdly, whilst there indeed may be some legitimacy to the claim that the economic and social benefits accruing from the successful capture of capital in the competition for investment and growth will trickle down to all citizens, there can be little doubt that in privileging capital's notions of quality of life other people feel marginalised. The desires and opinions of other groups, who are not viewed as significant groups to be targeted in competition for capital, are in danger of being ignored in the discussions of what form of quality of life should be offered in a city. Again let us provide a brief insight. One recent study, using focus groups in Lancashire in Britain to discuss what people consider to be quality of life in the context of sustainability, has illuminated the sense of marginality felt by some urban populations. Arising from the discussions of two of the groups, the research team conclude:

The two groups who were deeply sceptical about the concept of 'quality of life' were the unemployed and the young men. To the young men on YTS, their life was less about 'quality of life'-a term which conjured up notions of responsibility and a view of the long term-and more about 'quantity of life'-a term they themselves made up to express their desires for immediate gratification Similarly, the unemployed men resented the term, not because they would not like a better 'quality of life', but due to the sheer distance between the sentiments implicit in the term and their own material reality. In effect the term was seen, not as a target, but more as a judgment, a wound, which acted to underline the reality of their own situation. (Macnaughten et al., 1995, pp. 37-38).

To these groups, and others like them, the notion of quality of life as considered previously lies therefore outside their daily reality, at best being something to be aspired to, but more likely not relevant to their existence.

However, the duality of centrality and marginality constructed by the engagement with the quality of urban life which the above indicates is itself open to question. Whilst undoubtedly in shaping local response to the globalisation processes, primacy is being given to the views of some capital, it does not necessarily follow that other groups need be marginalised. Wilson's (1993) study of the construction of a vision of the 'liveable city' by residents in Indianapolis offers an important insight into how it is possible even within the setting of city competition for a more inclusive form of 'liveability' and quality of life to be achieved. In so doing, however, there may require to be space for different conceptualisations of quality of life to be merged together, without losing the attraction of the term to forms of capital and to groups in the local community.

6. Conclusion

With the evidence pointing to the fact that there are clear links between the attraction of capital and quality of life, it is unsurprising that quality of life has become a part of the promotional tools being employed by city agencies to make their location attractive to different global capital. In so doing, the consequence has been to adopt one definition of quality of life, in terms of place characteristics which are desired by such capital, and thus to disadvantage other groups' views of quality of life. As with many aspects of place promotion and marketing, there are paradoxes within the use of quality of life in this way. Undoubtedly one of the attractions of quality of life in the present phase of capitalism lies in its academic ambiguity (Rogerson, 1995). Encompassing individual and collective elements, public and private roles, and having been used both as a standardised measure of achievement and as a basis for intervention for improvement, it is unsurprising that capital and the state find quality of life ratings so useful.

Further, at a time when under globalising tendencies capital is fragmenting into many parts with considerable volatility in the desires and demands of capital—both in terms of production needs and consumption (Harvey, 1989b)—that quality of life within its relative ubiquity provides an important anchor attached to which those involved in shaping the visions and trajectories of cities can build. Hall (1995, p.20) expresses this most aptly:

Since the sources of the new economic growth are so various and finally perhaps so fickle, the possibilities are endless. But one central element is quality of life. It is no accident that, as never before, rankings of cities dominate the media.

It remains to be seen, however, if in constructing these ratings, there can be a voice for those whose quality of life is being affected by the trajectories of cities.

References

- ABRAMS, M. (1973) Subjective social indicators, *Social Trends*, 4, pp. 35-50.
- ANDREWS, F. (1974) Developing measures of perceived life quality: results from several national surveys, *Social Indicators Research*, 1, pp. 126.
- ANDREWS, F. and WITHEY, S. (1976) *Social Indicators of Well-being*. New York: Plenum Press.
- ASHWORTH G. and VOOGD, H. (1990) *Selling the City*. London: Belhaven.
- BECKER, R. (1987) Analysis of data from the *Places Rated Almanac*, *American Statistician*, 41, pp. 169-186.
- BELL, T. (1984) The *Places Rated Almanac*: flawed but pedagogically useful, *Journal of Geography*, 83, pp. 285-290.

- BERGER, M., BLOMQUIST, G. and WALDNER, W. (1987) A revealed-preference ranking of quality of life for metropolitan areas, *Social Science Quarterly*, 68, pp. 761-778.
- BIBLE, D. and BROWN, L. (1981) Place utility, attribute tradeoff, and choice behaviour in an intra-urban migration context, *Socio-economic Planning Sciences*, 15, pp. 37-44.
- BOLTON, N. and CHALKLEY, B. (1989) Counterurbanisation: disposing of the myths, *Town and Country Planning*, 58, pp. 249-250.
- BOWLING, A. (1995) What things are important in people's lives?, *Social Science and Medicine*, 41, pp. 1447-1462.
- BOYER, R. and SAVAGEAU D. (1981) *Places Rated Almanac: Your Guide to Finding the Best Places to live in America*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- BREHENY, M., HALL, P. and HART, D. (1987) *Northern Lights: A Development Agenda for the North in the 1990s*. London: Derrick Wade and Waters.
- BROTCHIE, J., NEWTON, P., HALL, P. and NIJKAMP, P. (Eds) (1985) *The Future of Urban Form: The Impact of New Technology*. London: Croom Helm & Nichols.
- BROWN, L. and LONGBRAKE, D. (1970) Migration flows in intra-urban space: place utility considerations, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 60, pp. 368-384.
- BURGESS, J. (1982) Selling places: environmental images for the executive, *Regional Studies*, 16, pp. 1-17.
- BURGESS, J. and WOOD, P. (1989) Decoding Docklands: place advertising and decision-making strategies of the small firms, in: J. EYLES and D. SMITH (Eds) *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*, pp.94-117. Oxford: Polity Press.
- BURNLEY, I. (1998) Population turnaround and the peopling of the countryside? Migration from Sydney to country districts of New South Wales, *Australian Geographer*, 19, pp.268-283.
- CAMPBELL, A., CONVERSE, P. and RODGERS, W. (1976) *The Quality of American Life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- CASTELLS, M. and HALL, P. (1993) *Technopoles of the World: The Making of 21st Century Industrial Complexes*. London: Routledge.
- CHAMPION, A. G. (1989) *Counterurbanisation: The Changing Pace and Nature of Population Decentralisation*. London: Edward Arnold.
- CHAMPION, A. and GREEN, A. E. (1988) Measuring local economic performance: methodology and application of the Booming Towns approach, *Built Environment*, 14, pp. 78-95.
- CHAMPION, A. and GREEN, A. E. (1992) Local economic performance in Britain during the late 1980s: the results of the third booming towns study, *Environment and Planning A*, 24, pp. 243-272.
- CLARK, D. and COSGROVE, J. (1991) Amenities vs labour market opportunities: choosing the optimal distance to move, *Journal of Regional Science*, 31, pp. 311-328.
- CLARK, D. and HUNTER, W. (1992) The impact of economic opportunity, amenities and fiscal factors on age-specific migration rates, *Journal of Regional Science*, 32, pp. 349-365.

- COOMBES M. and RAYBOULD, S.. (1988) Developing a local enterprise activity potential (LEAP) index, *Built Environment*, 14., pp. 107-117.
- Cox, K. and MAIR, A. (1988) Locality and community in the politics of local. economic development, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 78, pp. 307-325.
- CROPPER, M. and ARRAIGA-SALVINAS, A. (1980) Inter-city wage differentials and the value of air quality, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 8, pp. 236-254.
- DAVIS, M. (1990) *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Vintage.
- Di ENER E. and SUH, E. (1997) Measuring quality of life: economic, social, and subjective indicators, *Social Indicators Research*, 40, pp. 189-216.
- ESTATE GAZETTE (1994) Pinpointing paradise, September 3.
- FAINSTEIN S. (1990) The changing world economy and urban restructuring, in: D. JUDD and M. PARKINSON (Eds) *Leadership and Urban Regeneration*, pp. 31-50. Newbury Park: Sage.
- FINDLAY, A. and ROGERSON, R. (1993) Migration, places and quality of life: voting with their feet, in: A. CHAMPION (Ed.) *Population Matters*, pp. 33-49. London: Paul Chapman.
- FINDLAY, A., MORRIS, A. and ROGERSON, R. (1988) Where to live in Britain in 1988, *Cities*, 5, pp. 268-273.
- FOTHERGILL S. and GUDGIN, G. (1982) *Unequal Growth: Urban and Regional Employment Change in Britain*. London: Heinemann.
- GRAYSON, L. and YOUNG, K. (1994) *Quality of Life in Cities*. London: British Library.
- GREENWOOD, M. and HUNT, G. (1989) Jobs versus amenities in the analysis of metropolitan migration, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 25, pp. 1-16.
- GUSTAVUS, S. and BROWN, S. (1977) Place attributes in a migration decision context, *Environment and Planning A*, 9, pp. 529-548.
- HALL, P. (1995) Towards a general urban theory, in J. BROCTHIE, M. BATTY, E. BLAKELY, ET AL. (Eds) *Cities in Competition*, pp. 3-31. Melbourne: Longman.
- HAMNETT, C. (1991) The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 716, pp. 173-189.
- HART, S. and DENISON, D. (1987) The creation and development of new technology-based organizations: a system dynamics model, *Policy Studies Review*, 6, pp. 512-528.
- HART, S., DENISON, D. and HENDERSON, D. A. (1988) A contingency approach to firm location: the influence of industrial sector and level of technology, *Policy Studies Journal*, 17, pp. 599-629.
- HARVEY, D. (1989a) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism, *Geografiska Annaler B*, 71, pp. 13-17.
- HARVEY, D. (1989b) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- HEALEY AND BAKER (1993) *European Real Estate Monitor*. London: Healey and Baker.
- HELBURN, N. (1982) Geography and the quality of life, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72, 445-456.
- JOHNSTON, D. (1988) Towards a comprehensive quality of life index, *Social Indicators Research*, 2, pp. 473-496.
- KEEBLE, D. (1990) Small firms, new firms and uneven regional development in the United Kingdom, *Area*, 22, pp. 234-245.
- KEEBLE, D. and GOULD, P. (1985) Entrepreneurship and manufacturing firm location in rural areas, in: M. HEALEY and B. ILBERY (Eds) *The Industrialisation of the Countryside*, pp. 197-219. Norwich: Geobooks.
- KIRBY, A. (1990) On social representations of risk in: A. KIRBY (Ed.) *Nothing to Fear*, pp. 116. Tucson: Arizona University Press.
- KRESL, P. (1995) The determinants of urban competitiveness: a survey, in: P. KRESL and G. GAPPERT (Eds) *North American Cities and the Global Economy*, pp. 45-68. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- LANDIS, J. and SAWICKI, D. (1988) A planner's guide of the Places Rated Almanac, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 54, pp. 336-346.
- LEY, D. (1986) Alternative explanations for inner city gentrification: a Canadian assessment, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76, pp. 521-535.
- LIU, B.-C. (1976) *Quality of Life Indicators in US Metropolitan Areas: A Statistical Analysis*. New York: Praeger.
- LOGAN, J. and MOLOTCH H. (1987) *Urban Fortunes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- MACNAUGHTEN, P., GROVE-WHITE, R., JACOBS, M. and WYNNE, B. (1995) *Public perceptions and sustainability in Lancashire: indicators, institutions, participation*. Report to Lancashire County Council.
- MALECKI, E. (1984) High-technology and local economic development, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 50, pp. 262-269.
- MALECKI, E. (1985) Industrial location and corporate organizations in high technology industries, *Economic Geography*, 61, pp. 345-369.
- MAYER, M. (1989) *Local politics: from administration to management*. Paper presented at *Regulation, Innovation and Spatial Development*, Cardiff, September.
- MCCALL, S. (1975) Quality of life, *Social Indicators Research*, 2, pp. 229-248.
- MOLLENKOPF, J. and CASTELLS, M. (1991) *Dual City: Restructuring New York*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- MYERS, D. (1989) *Priorities in Austin's quality of life: the evidence from the citizen: Third Report*. Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin.

- PACIONE, M. (1982) The use of objective and subjective measure of life quality in human geography, *Progress in Human Geography*, 6, pp. 495-514.
- PECK, J. (1995) Moving and shaking: business elites, state localism and urban privatism, *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, pp. 16-46.
- PECK, J. and TICKELL, A. (1992) Local modes of social regulation? Regulation theory, Thatcherism and uneven development, *Geoforum*, 23, pp. 347-364.
- PERRY, R., DEAN, K. and BROWN, B. (1986) *Counterurbanisation*. Norwich: GeoBooks.
- PETERSON, P. (1981) *City Limits*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- PIERCE, D. (1985) Rating America's metropolitan areas, *American Demographics*, 7, pp. 20-25.
- PIERCE, R. and BELL, T. (1986) Comparing the first and second editions of the *Places Rated Almanac*, *Urban Resources*, 3, pp. 37-42.
- POPULATION CRISIS COMMITTEE (1990) *Cities: Life in the World's 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas*. Washington, DC: PCC.
- ROBACK, J. (1982) Wages, rents and quality of life, *Journal of Political Economy*, 90, pp. 1257-1278.
- ROBINS, K. (1995) Prisoners of the city: whatever could a postmodern city be?, in: E. CARTER, J. DONALD and J. SQUIRES (Eds) *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, pp. 303-330. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- ROGERSON, R. (1995) Environmental and health-related quality of life: conceptual and methodological studies, *Social Science and Medicine*, 411, pp. 1373-1382.
- ROGERSON, R. (1997) *Quality of Life in Britain*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.
- ROGERSON, R., FINDLAY, A. and MORRIS, A. (1988) *Quality of Life in British Cities: A Summary Report*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- ROGERSON, R., FINDLAY, A. and MORRIS, A. (1989a) Indicators of quality of life: some methodological issues, *Environment and Planning A*, 21, pp. 1655-1666.
- ROGERSON, R., FINDLAY, A., MORRIS, A. and PADDISON, R. (1989b) Variations in quality of life in urban Britain, 1989, *Cities*, 6, pp. 227-233.
- ROGERSON, R., FINDLAY, A., MORRIS, A. and PADDISON, R. (1990) *Quality of Life in Britain's District Councils*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.
- ROGERSON, R., FINDLAY, A., PADDISON, R. and MORRIS, A. (1996) Class, consumption and quality of life, *Progress in Planning*, 45, pp. 166.
- ROSEN, S. (1979) Wage-based indexes of urban quality of life, in: D. MIEZKOWSKI and A. STRASUZHEIM (Eds) *Current Issues in Urban Economics*, pp. 74-104. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- SACK, R. (1988) The consumer's world: place as context, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 78, pp. 642-664.
- SADLER, D. (1993) Place-marketing, competitive places and the construction of hegemony in Britain in the 1980s, in: G. KEARNS and C. PIILO (Eds) *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, pp. 175-192. Oxford: Pergamon.
- SEASHORE, S. (1976) Assessing the quality of working life: the US experience, *Labour and Society*, 1, pp. 69-79.
- SENN, F. (1995) The role of services in the competitive position of Milan, in: P. CHESHIRE and I. GORDON (Eds) *Territorial Competition in an Integrating Europe*, pp.120-138. Aldershot: Avebury.
- SMITH, D. (1973) *Geography of Social Wellbeing*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- SMITH, N. (1987) Of yuppies and housing: gentrification, social restructuring and the urban dream, *Environment and Planning D*, 5, pp. 151-172.
- SOJA, E. (1996) *Thirdspace: journey to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-imagined Places*. Cambridge MA: Blackwell.
- STOKER, G. (1990) Regulation theory, local government and the transition from Fordism, in: D. KING and J. PEIRRE (Eds) *Challenges to Local Government*, pp.242-264. London: Sage.
- STOVER, M. and LEVEN, C. (1992) Methodological issues in the determination of the quality of life in urban areas, *Urban Studies*, 29, pp. 737-754.
- URRY, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Hutchison.
- WILLIAMS, A. and JOBSE, P. (1990) Economic and quality of life considerations in urban-rural migration, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 6, pp. 187-194.
- WILSON, D. (1993) Everyday life, spatiality and inner city disinvestment in a US city, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17, pp. 578-594.
- WISH, N. (1986) Are we really measuring the quality of life?, *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 45, pp. 93-99.