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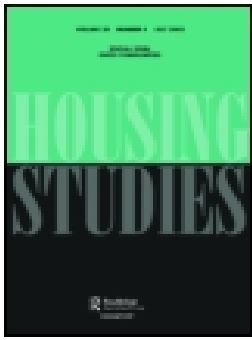
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How do neighbourhood perceptions interact with moving desires and intentions?

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ABSTRACT

Research on residential mobility in the last two decades has increased our understanding about moving in general and how neighbourhoods play a role in actual residential choices. At the same time the way in which the neighbourhood interacts with deciding to move is less well understood. In this paper, we explore the interaction between the neighbourhood and the expression of intentions and desires to move. The present study uses multinomial logistic regression models to explore residential desires and intentions in the southern European city of Granada (Spain), with special attention to the differences due to context. The most important difference with international studies are in the respondents with 'no desires but intentions' to move, a combination frequently found in young adults before they leave the parental home. The results show that our set of neighbourhood measures (social interaction, satisfaction, perceived problems, and the socio-economic status of the area) work differently over desires and intentions. Satisfaction alone does not explain the effect of the neighbourhood over residential desires and intentions, and the addition of other variables increases the explanatory power of the models.

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Residential mobility;
neighbourhood; moving
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Introduction

Studies of residential mobility have added complexity and subtlety to our understanding of how people decide to move and where they choose to live. Although we have a growing understanding of how general neighbourhood characteristics play a role in the choices of where to live we know less about how neighbourhood perceptions influence the early stages of thinking about moving. As others have suggested, the decision to move can be seen as a multi-step process involving thinking about moving, initial planning and later execution – the actual move (Kley, 2011).

The gap in the literature which this paper is designed to fill is to elaborate how reactions to the neighbourhood set up the initial context of thinking about moving. We know the neighbourhood has an impact on the decision to stay, creating place attachment (Clark *et al.*, 2015), it is also a key element in the decision about where to move (Kim *et al.*, 2005),

and even on who wants to move (Clark & Coulter, 2015; van Ham & Feijten, 2008), but from the perspective of this paper, how does the neighbourhood affect initial residential desires and intentions? We measure the impact of a set of subjective and objective neighbourhood variables in the city of Granada, with data from a 2008 survey, in order to disentangle the impact of locality in the wishes (desires) and plans to move.

Geographically, we focus on Spain, a southern European country. Classic studies on welfare have underlined the regional differences in the continent (Esping-Andersen, 2013), and subsequent authors have connected these cultural and economic distinctive features to housing (Allen, 2006; Castles & Ferrera, 1996). The specific ways in which societies meet the universal need for housing therefore vary, and so do residential mobility processes. Even when standard measures of urban demographic characteristics are used in the models we need examine the roles they play in different cultural contexts. Although the relevant variables may be similar, it is possible that they have different meanings or importance. For example, closeness to family has been demonstrated to be a key factor for mobility in Spain (Módenes, 2007).

While the standard models on residential mobility have been successfully estimated for some Spanish cities, there is a lack of specific studies on the residential pre-move stages. This study aims to increase the knowledge about residential decision-making in a southern European context, and specifically in a medium size city, Granada. Because the existing work on residential change tends to be focused on Madrid and Barcelona (Bayona & Pujadas, 2014) we do not have a good grasp of how these processes work in medium-sized cities in Spain. To some extent then, there is a biased impression that all the cities are (or tend to be) like the bigger metropolis where most of the studies took place, but they are the exception, rather than the rule in the Spanish urban system. Feria Toribio (2013) identifies 46 metropolitan areas in Spain: 41 of them have less than one million inhabitants; 3 cities are between one and two millions; only 2 exceed two millions. In fact, Barcelona (5 million) and Madrid (6.7 millions) are classified as a separate category –metropolitan regions – by the aforementioned author in his taxonomy of Spanish metropolitan cities (Feria Toribio, 2013). There is much we can learn from the outcomes of studying medium cities in order to understand residential behaviour in the southern European context.

We have two goals: (1) to replicate the role of the key variables triggering the formation of residential desires and intentions in a medium size Spanish city; and (2) to study the contribution of the neighbourhood reactions to the residential mobility decision-making process.

Conceptual background

Intentions, desires and the mobility planning process

As the specific literature about mobility decision-making has stated (Sell & De Jong, 1978, 1983), this process starts well before the actual move and involves desires, thoughts, plans and action. But empirical works also pointed that this process is far from being either linear or easy to describe. Thinking about moving leads to desires to move and desires are eventually translated into intentions and plans, which ultimately end up in moving... or not (Coulter, 2013). The phraseology around mobility decision-making varies from study to study, including terms such as thinking, considering, wishing, willing, planning or expecting

to move (De Groot *et al.*, 2011a, p. 308). While the terminology may differ from study to study the terms are all focused on describing a process, rather than an isolated behavioural event (the move), and therefore a wide body of literature has approached the nature of the stages of mobility and the transitions between them.

Kley (2011) and Coulter (2013) have developed stage models of residential behaviour, dividing the process into a pre-decisional phase (when thoughts about moving are formed), a planning phase after the decision to try and move is taken, and a final phase in which the action is carried out (Kley, 2011, p. 470). Intentions are often used interchangeably with expectations, although expectations maybe more definitive.¹ This kind of stage approach is an extension of theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) and the classic theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Of course, the stage models are simplifications of the actual processes of decision-making which are likely messier, with sudden jumps and stops, often including steps back, overlapping phases and second thoughts. Still, thinking in stages provides us with a solid conceptual framework.

Research on the phases closer to actual moves have described the life course events triggering residential mobility where family changes – divorce, separation, childbirth-, advances in working careers or changes in social or economic status, all can push the intention to move (Clark, 2013; De Groot *et al.*, 2011b; Kley & Mulder, 2010). Opportunities are weighed against the resources available to the household, eventually evolving into a planning phase that ends with the move. Both the triggering events and the resources can be measured objectively, but we know there is a subjective dimension in this process. Ajzen (1991) identified at least three components which play a main role on the final behaviour and the decision: attitudes, subjective norms and perceptions. Those cognitive and emotional thoughts are important during the whole process, but its role is essential to create moving/staying desires and intentions (Ajzen, 1991). Given the interest in this paper on the early steps on the residential decision-making process, we focus on the formation of desires and their evolution into intentions, and therefore focus in greater detail on the subjective processes.

What makes people want to move? Is there a clear starting point for the expectation that a household will move? Although some works have pointed how the reasons to move change between life states or sociodemographic conditions (Coulter & Scott, 2015), at a very basic level we can define it as a pursuit of happiness, placing emotional links to the neighbourhood and the house at the core of this process. In that sense, housing or environmental “happiness” is a crucial factor and a strong reason to start a wishful thinking (van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Satisfaction, residential intentions and actual behaviour are closely connected, as Lu (1998) has described. We know that the more satisfied a person is, the more likely she/he chooses to stay (Speare, 1974; Speare *et al.*, 1975). At the same time, others have questioned the simplicity of the idea because we know that households may respond to housing satisfaction by making changes in place and so obviating the need to move (McHugh *et al.*, 1990; Moore, 1986). Also, people with high levels of residential satisfaction can still plan to move, if they want to improve their situation. So satisfaction is a continuum and may increase the likelihood of staying but also act as a stimulus when there is a lower level of satisfaction.

Moreover, authors as Nowok *et al.* (2016) point out that satisfaction is a multidimensional concept which could be studied sectioning each dimension and its specific effects as these effects may be different among dimensions. One of the critical dimensions of satisfaction is how much space is available. There is no question that living in a crowded housing situation

is a potential stimulus to moving and to solving the disequilibrium between actual and desired housing consumption (Clark *et al.*, 1984; De Groot *et al.*, 2011b). The neighbourhood we live in can also be a source of satisfaction or a powerful motivator to seek a new place. Again, there are exceptions to this overall trend, and some people – who cannot or do not want to move – prefer to develop coping tactics to stay in the area while they avoid its problematic dimensions – these dimensions could be specific people or places inside the area – (van der Land & Doff, 2010). Satisfaction and dissatisfaction are crucial, but their translation into moving desires and intentions is not linear. Thus, models of the pre-decisional phase of residential mobility can help us to better understand this connection.

A more subtle approach to satisfaction would treat satisfaction not as a binary system (where people are either satisfied or dissatisfied with their residential situation), but rather as a continuum, with a broader range of situations. As Coulter (2013) emphasizes individuals tend to experience a rising disequilibrium between their actual residential conditions and their needs, and once it crosses a personal tolerance threshold, they become wishful thinkers, they want to move. This desire may be fulfilled or abandoned over time, depending on a number of possible events, commitments, ties and the resources available (Coulter & van Ham, 2013; Kley & Mulder, 2010). Thought is not always translated into action, the transfer is related to the strength of their intention and the resources and opportunities on offer (Kan, 1999). As van Ham & Feijten (2008) note, economic restrictions and contextual constraints (related with housing opportunities) may have relatively weak effects on desires, but progressively stronger effects on moving expectations and actual moves.

The links between the neighbourhood, residential desires and intentions to move

In this section we explore the literature on the links between desires, intentions and neighbourhoods. What creates the residential desires and intentions? Much of the international research on housing choice tends to focus more on the dwelling with less attention to the choice of the neighbourhood (Sirgy *et al.*, 2005), though the focus on neighbourhood factors is increasing rapidly. The neighbourhood does not only affect the choice of the new location (where to move) but also the decision to move –or stay – itself. Clearly people think about places before they decide to move. The problem is how can we show the effect of the neighbourhood in the creation of intentions and desires to move. Or more generally, how much does the neighbourhood matter in the decision-making process when we control for other important variables (Clark & Coulter, 2015; van Ham & Feijten, 2008). A range of studies has documented the way our perceptions of neighbourhood characteristics, from education to crime, health and employment opportunities, all impact the individual feelings about their quality of life (van Ham *et al.*, 2013). To better understand the effects of the neighbourhood on desires and plans we have to unpack the components of that complex combination of elements usually tagged as ‘neighbourhood effect’. In particular, we would like to address three issues: the first regarding the overall measures of neighbourhood quality; the second on the convenience of using subjective or objective variables; and the third identifying the factors which create the subjective responses to the neighbourhood ...

In part the difficulty with the role of the neighbourhood variables is a result of a data limitation: the only measure available in many studies of the role of the neighbourhood is often a general evaluation of satisfaction. We recognize the limitations of this measure but we still consider satisfaction as a meaningful and sensitive indicator of personal attachment

to the neighbourhood, and one which adds relevant information about responses to place. It has been measured as a binary variable (Rabe & Taylor, 2010); as a categorical variable (Lu, 1998) or as a scale variable (Lee *et al.*, 1994), but all of them share a common nature. This 'simple' question encompasses diverse aspects of the neighbourhood such as the natural environment, safety, the social climate, the availability of services and schools. Even when treating the different aspects of neighbourhood effects, an overall rating of the quality of the area is useful (Landale & Guest, 1985; Lee *et al.*, 1994). The response to the general question of satisfaction is a personal respondent reaction: the respondent evaluates the balance between push and pull factors, subjective feelings and objective problems, and in the end offers the researcher a simple answer which sums it all. Of course, each respondent may have different priorities and diverse reasons to like or dislike the place, and the final answer is more than a simple addition of factors: it is connected with how they feel about them.

A second issue is the interplay between objective measures and subjective perceptions. There is a subjective dimension involved in the residential mobility processes, which can distort objective measures. There is general agreement that the *perception* of the neighbourhood is a critical element of residential decision-making (Kleinhans, 2009). The question is whether to treat subjective and objective dimensions of the neighbourhood separately (Lee *et al.*, 1994), or to combine objective and subjective measures (Rabe & Taylor, 2010). We argue in favour of the use of separate subjective evaluations, as Andersen (2008) does. In spite of their nature, people's evaluations can often be as accurate as objective measures in predicting behaviours. The perception of criminality, one of our variables, perfectly illustrates this importance. Overall, there is an argument that the actual crime rate of an area is not as important as the perceived criminality in an area in terms of creating an urge to leave the place. Fraile & Bonastra (2015) have tested this hypothesis in three intermediate cities of Spain, showing the differences between actual crime distribution and perceived crime distribution. Public opinion varies considerably across perceptions (that may not coincide exactly with the actual measures), and therefore people's choices are also built upon beliefs. Our perception of the locality impacts our desires and intentions. At the same time, it is clear that objective measures play a role; too, and thus we also include an objective measure of the area's status, based on the occupation of the population. According to Livingston *et al.* (2010) people living in deprived areas may have a greater reliance on the neighbourhood as a setting for social activity, but at the same time they are less likely to feel attached to it due to the low quality of the area. In the end, objective features and subjective dimensions are in a dynamic interaction, and combining them will create a more balanced view of the role of the neighbourhood.

A third issue revolves around the varying force of the factors which pull people to stay and/or push them to leave... For individuals in the neighbourhood desires and intentions are affected differently at different stages of the decision-making process. In this study, we can go beyond the general measure of satisfaction and evaluate several different aspects of the interplay of individuals and their local environment. Concerns with the local environment can influence our ability to enjoy our neighbourhoods and either be positive (good environmental quality) or negative. The latter will create the desire to leave one neighbourhood and choose another. The research on deprived and disadvantaged neighbourhoods for example shows how neighbourhood characteristics play a role in shaping individual household plans (Kearns & Parkes, 2003). That is, the physical neighbourhood has a measurable effect on household decisions. The housing stock and the broader *physical*

characteristics of areas within the city are critical components of urban neighbourhoods. Higher densities, polluting industries, dirty streets, noise and the lack of green spaces may all impact how residents can enjoy their urban environments and will likely influence the mobility decision-making process (Hur *et al.*, 2010; Lew *et al.*, 2008).

Neighbourhood quality is also affected by crime and criminal activity (Rabe & Taylor, 2010) and is a powerful motivating force to push people to leave a neighbourhood, especially for families with children of school age. It is not only fear which is a factor in assessing neighbourhood quality, areas which are affected by crime often experience falling house prices. This in turn can discourage households from buying a house in such neighbourhoods or to protect their investment from the risk of depreciation by leaving. Still, it can also attract low income households, or even risky investors in case they expect a change in the neighbourhood's image, a typical situation in gentrifying areas (Duque-Calvache *et al.*, 2013). These investors do not focus on the current situation of the area, but for the prospects for the future. A perception of decay can be a reason to intend to leave the neighbourhood, and by contrast thinking of a locality as a gentrifying area increases the desire to stay. The perception of the changes of a neighbourhood is not only linked to the built environment and the public spaces, it is also influenced by the composition of the population and its changes... Different authors underline how changes in the ethnic composition can foster the decision to leave a neighbourhood (Clark & Coulter, 2015; Crowder & South, 2008; van Ham & Feijten, 2008).

Based on the previous review of the literature on potential neighbourhood measures and their impacts on the desire to move and the intention to move, we have included in our models a general measure of satisfaction and five detailed measures of neighbourhood quality (crime, environment, social/urban decay, a measure of community links and an objective measure of the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood). All variables except the status variable are based on perceptions.

Residential mobility and housing in Spain in the early twenty-first century

The interest in this paper is not only to better understand the relation between desires, intentions and neighbourhood variables, but to do so in specific geographic and temporal contexts.

If there is one defining feature of the Spanish residential behaviour it is tenancy (Arce, 2012). Home ownership is around 80% for the overall population (78.94% in the 2011 Census), but the most remarkable characteristic is its widespread distribution between social groups. Home ownership is high across all the social classes, even between the families with lower income, and also geographically, between central cities and suburban areas. Even the central cities of the bigger metropolitan areas in Spain (those above 500.000 inhabitants) have ownership rates above 73%. The early acquisition of the dwelling in the housing careers used to be another defining feature of the residential market (Módenes, 2007). Although the latter may not be as true currently,² as the crisis and the subsequent increase in unemployment are greatly impairing the chances of the youthful population to buy a house (Moreno Mínguez, 2016), it is applicable to the period of study in this paper. Tenancy (ownership) of course alters residential mobility, and has an effect beyond residential preferences, desires

and intentions. As Duque-Calvache & Susino (2016) emphasized, the Spanish population's ideas on housing are defined by the preponderance of owning over renting. "Having a house" frequently becomes equal to "owning a house", not only in the people's discourses,³ but also in the policy-makers'. Is not that a renter is deemed 'homeless', but a rented home is 'less of a home' for of the majority of the population. As a result of this idea, leaving the family home takes place much later in the young adults' life (for some, only when they are able to access home ownership themselves) and the residential desires and intentions are affected accordingly.

Our time frame is also relevant. Although residential mobility in Spain is generally low compared with other countries, our period of study is defined by comparatively high mobility (Módenes, 2007), and the housing market was even more active due to the high number of second homes owned by the native born population, and also by the extensive population of the foreign born. Additionally, we examine the changes in a decade (1997–2007) of significant economic growth, with housing prices accelerating rapidly and a hyper-active real estate market (Vinueza, 2013). Módenes & López-Colás (2012, p. 21) have defined the situation as a "shock of demand" caused by the coalescence of immigrants (entering the housing market), baby-boomers and households trying to improve their housing conditions. As in other European countries prices rose rapidly fuelled by easy and cheap access to mortgages (with increasingly longer redemption periods). By 2007 the increase peaked, and a crisis followed, closing the economic cycle. The study in this paper is of the period before the housing crisis, a period which may in fact be similar to housing behaviour in other southern European countries.

The urban environment in the Spanish context is also relevant in a discussion of what matters in decisions about moving and where to live. Granada is a medium size city integrated in a consolidated metropolitan area. In the 2011 Census, Granada was the third metropolitan area in population in the south of Spain, with an overall population of approximately 500 000 inhabitants. The urban structure is more compact than northern European cities and suburban areas in Granada (and most Spanish cities) include low density, single family units, but also medium density developments in residential apartment blocks. Over time the city has expanded outward, connecting to a number of independent municipalities. However, there is a lack of coordination and control across these urban units and this partly explains the diffuse and uneven development of the city growth (Conde, 1999; Jiménez Bautista, 2004). The numerous small surrounding villages have control over its land management, without a coordinated metropolitan planning authority... These characteristics outline a portrait of a typical medium city in a southern European country. A big share of the urban population in Spain lives in small – and middle-sized metropolitan areas⁴ but the attention paid to this kind of cities is not proportional to this importance.

Some previous research has outlined the nature of residential mobility in the large cities in Spain but there has not been sustained research either on medium-sized cities or on the pre-move stages. Apart from a paper on the residential preferences of the elderly (Costa-Font *et al.*, 2009) and a general study on the inner city of León (Bouzarovski *et al.*, 2010) which includes residential preferences, there is only limited research on the role of pre move mobility planning or the role of neighbourhoods. This paper adds to the research literature in these areas.

Methods, data and research decisions

Data source

The data for this research are a 2008 survey of population and housing in the Granada metropolitan area, part of a wider project developed by the Institute of Regional Development (IDR) of the University of Granada (Ferrer & Jiménez, 2009). The purpose of the survey was to inform local urban planning and to this end it collected a wide range of data on demographic and residential processes in the metropolitan region. Apart from the usual classification variables (social and demographic), 4 blocks of questions were asked about (a) the residential trajectory in the last 10 years; (b) the status of the current dwelling; (c) neighbourhood characteristics; and (d) on future residential plans and intentions. The questionnaire gathered objective data and a range of subjective perceptions – about residential preferences and needs, and about the neighbourhood.

The database is unique in the Spanish context. The data source is especially rich regarding different measures of the quality of the neighbourhood, and we also have relevant information on moving desires and intentions, allowing us to advance the connection between them. Most previous studies of mobility in Spain rely on two main sources – the Census and local registers (*padrones de habitantes*). Those data-sets are cross sectional and not longitudinal (it is not possible to follow populations) or to construct life course analyses. In contrast, the current data-set allows us to link moves and decisions and the linked role of neighbourhoods. Surprisingly (or rather unsurprisingly) despite the prominent role of construction and real estate activities in Spain's national economy during the last decades, there has been a lack of public investment on the production of reliable information on housing, residential mobility and expectations.

Population and sample

The metropolitan area of Granada is composed by 39 municipalities, and more than 500 000 inhabitants (Feria, 2015). Approximately half the population lives in the central city and the rest in the surrounding municipalities forming the suburban area. Our survey collected data from 11 different municipalities, Granada and 10 of the municipalities in the suburban area, selected to represent the social diversity of the metropolitan area (Figure 1).

The sampling was of the adult population, 18 years and older. The sample size was 2452 in the fieldwork design, with a completion rate of 96.4 per cent, for a final 2363 respondents. The sample selection procedures were designed to fulfil standards of validity and to minimize sampling errors. The sample selection was stratified at two levels, first at census tract level, controlling for the socio-economic profile of the tracts (the average population of the tracts in 2011 was 1300 people). In the second stage, individuals living in the tract were randomly chosen to meet quotas of age and sex corresponding to the actual proportions of the whole population. The individual is the unit of measure, although the survey also collected information about the household.

Variables and methods

The goal is to examine the early stages of the residential decision-making process, focusing on desires and intentions. The first task is to compare the profiles of those who desire and

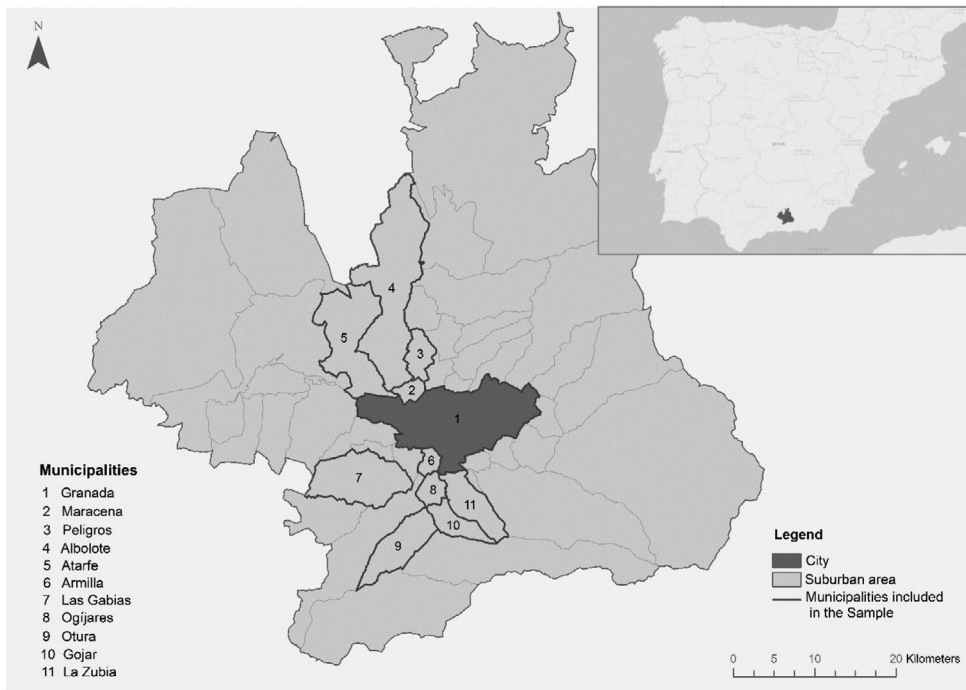


Figure 1. Situation map and detail map of the municipalities included in the sample. Source: Own elaboration. Source: Author.

those who have intentions to move and to examine the overlap between the categories. As outline in the literature review, the translation of desires to intentions is not automatic, and we have to consider them as different types of pre-move thoughts. The intersection of desires and intentions allows us to compare the differential effects of other variables over them. To examine the role of neighbourhood subjective measures on desires and intentions, we used a logistic multinomial analysis model with four dimensions. We calculate two separate models: the first one includes individual and household variables; in the second model we add the neighbourhood variables. To study the improvement of the prediction between models 1 and 2, we used the Akaike criterion (AIC), Bayesian criterion (BIC) and the improvement over null of the complete model. The standard errors were corrected using VCE cluster (with the neighbourhood acting as the clustering variable).

Dependent variable: combining desires and intentions

The dependent variable is constructed using a strategy developed by Coulter *et al.* (2011). We combined the two binary variables (desire to move/not; intention to move/not), hence we obtain a four-way cross table, or a new variable with four categories: (a) those who do not desire nor intend to move; (b) those who desire to move but have no intentions; (c) those who intend to move but do not desire that change; and (d) those who desire and also have intentions to move. Although the questions of our survey about the planned moves are not equivalent to the phrasing in the BHPS (the source used by Coulter *et al.*, 2011), we emulate their approach.

To this end, we use the answers to three different questions in the questionnaire. One asks about present residential status and desires, independently of the ability to actually move. This question measures who wants to move, thus capturing desires. The question and the choice of answers, though not completely compatible with international terminology, was designed to capture desires after controlling for the difficulties in expressing their housing preferences which was accomplished with a series of detailed and intensive focus groups. To evoke the complex response to housing preferences the respondents were provided with a card with a list of different situations, so that they may recognize and choose the closest option to their own opinion (Conde, 1999). The question was tested in two different surveys – the metropolitan areas of Huelva and Granada (Conde, 1996, 1999). The responses were useful for the local contexts but also provided support for the use of these variables beyond these two metropolitan areas. However, the way in which the questions were asked and the response does pose some difficulties for international comparisons. The major problem for this study was the inclusion of options which were not clearly stating a desire to move but captured a forced displacement: (translated) “they have to go for different reasons out of their will”. The respondents who chose these options could not select additional responses and therefore we cannot assume they do (nor do not) have residential desires. Thus, we removed these respondents and only included as potential movers the responses who expressly stated wish to improve their current residential situation (whether they were already happy about it or not). The respondents giving answers 1, 2 and 3 (see Appendix 1) have been deleted. This decision reduced our overall sample size by about 160 individuals, but we still have an acceptable sample (more than 2000 people) included in the models. We have 3 categories having moving desires (4, 6 and 7, see Appendix 1) and one category (option 5) not having desires. Details of the operationalization and a verbatim transcription of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. It is important to note that the percentages of people desiring to move or not are not very different from the results in other papers, a fact that helps to support our decision to consider it an acceptable measure of desires.

The second question asks ‘Are you, or someone in your household, planning to move in the next five years?’ and a third follow-up question inquires as to who it is who is planning that move. Combining the last two questions, we have a defined time range, and a measure of intentions. The time frame in this analysis is five years which is somewhat longer than the usual two-year time frame. While most of the surveys and data sources use two years, some authors for example Hansen & Gottschalk (2006) use a five-year period to study older people’s moving plans in Denmark. In a higher ownership/lower mobility context, it is reasonable to expect longer transition periods, and in this regard a five-year period is reasonable.

Independent variables

Apart from the usual variables in residential mobility studies (age, room stress, years living in the dwelling, household composition, socio-economic status, housing tenure), which can be used to evaluate the role of household and place in the intention to move we have created five subjective measures of neighbourhood assessment. It is important to clarify a point about the delimitation of the neighbourhoods. Each respondent was asked to think about what she/he considered her/his neighbourhood, setting the limits and the size of the neighbourhood by themselves. Bearing in mind that definition, they were asked the rest of

the questions. Self-reported neighbourhoods are not very easily combined with objective measures, as you do not have a precise delimitation to allocate values. But, as we are mainly using subjective measures, self-reported neighbourhoods are perfectly coherent entities. If an individual complains about a dirty environment, we do not check the actual cleanliness of the area (in fact sometimes the neighbours with negative opinions about their vicinity are not those living in the worst quarters, but the ones with higher expectations). Even if the neighbours have different definitions of the boundaries of their neighbourhood it is still a reasonable measure because each one is taking into account their own definition, which is the one affecting them (Table 1).

Table 1. Summary statistics for the dependent and independent variables.

	Per cent	N
Dependent variable		
Not desire-not intention (ref)	64.2	1.518
Desire-not intention	13.6	322
Desire-Intention	7.6	180
Intention-Not desire	5.8	138
<i>Missing values</i> (not included in the model)	8.7	205
Independent variables		
<i>Continuous</i>	Mean	Standard dev.
Age	45.85	17.78
Age ²	2418.03	1776.09
Room stress: sq. metres per person (<i>missing values</i> :11)	38.58	21.46
Years in the dwelling	14.52	13.49
Community links (1–4 scale) (<i>missing values</i> :19)	2.43	0.73
Satisfaction (1–5 scale)	4.09	0.82
Neighbourhood deprivation index (1–4 scale)	2.35	0.83
<i>Categorical</i>	Per cent	N
Socio-economic position		
Entrepreneurs and professionals	24.6	582
Administrative workers (ref)	12.7	299
Services workers	22.0	520
Manual workers	26.5	626
Self-employed/freelance	6.2	147
Others-not classified	8.0	189
Employment status		
Employed (ref)	49.1	1160
Unemployed	10.3	244
Inactive	40.6	959
Housing tenure		
Owners, fully paid (ref)	46.0	1087
Owners with mortgage	32.1	758
Renters	19.3	457
Others	2.6	61
Household composition		
Alone	10.5	248
Couple	22.6	533
Families with children (under 18)	34.7	821
Other households (ref)	32.2	761
Adults living with parents (dummie, ref:no)	13.3	315
Reported neighbourhood problems (dummies)		
Problem: environment (ref: no)	23.6	558
Problem: crime (ref: no)	11.4	270
Problem: social/urban decay (ref: no)	8.4	199
Total		2.363
Total included in the model (overall missing values: 235)		2.128

Source: Ayuntamiento de Granada. Survey on housing and metropolitan population. 2008.

Our subjective measures include a measure of social interaction, based in three questions about the respondents' relationship with their neighbours: how often do they interact with their closer neighbours, how often do they interact with the rest of the neighbours, and finally how often do they use some help from any of them. The three are measured in a 1–4 scale, and the average score is assigned as the value of the variable 'community', which therefore varies between 1 and 4. If you trust your neighbours, or if you create support networks with them, moving could be less attractive, reducing mobility desires and intentions. Of course, this relation can work in the opposite direction. The absence of interactions can create a feeling of social void, and foster moving intentions.

The next three variables measure the perception of problems in the neighbourhood by the population. Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Ogg (2014) have shown that people's dislikes about their environment can have a stronger effect on residential wishes than satisfaction. In the questionnaire, there was an open question about the main problems of their area (the interviewer did not suggest any options, and multiple answers were permitted). The usual replies were environmental problems, such as pollution or noise; the lack of green spaces; crime; or lack of different facilities (public services, parking space...). We took the most widespread problems (a polluted/dirty environment, crime and urban/social decay) and coded them as binary variables to separate those who consider each of the issues a problem of their neighbourhood from those who do not.

Satisfaction with the neighbourhood was measured on a five-point scale where values represent the range from very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (5). The question about the neighbourhood was made between two other questions about satisfaction with their house and satisfaction with the quality of life in the whole city. This was designed to separate the evaluation of the neighbourhood from a general degree of residential happiness.⁵

Although the focus of our research is in the role of neighbourhood perceptions on residential desires and intentions, it is also important to check the relationship between subjective and objective neighbourhood variables. We have used a general index of social status of the area, based in the socio-economic position of its inhabitants. Using data from the 2001 Census, we classified the census tracts of the whole metropolitan area of Granada depending on their population's socio-economic condition. The tracts were grouped into six different clusters. The index score of the neighbourhood is the average cluster score of the census tracts included in the neighbourhood.⁶

Analysis

The interaction of desires and intentions to move in Granada

As we outlined in previous sections, the measure of planned mobility in the data includes a longer time span than usual. The farther in the future is the move, the more vague intentions may be, to the point where they could be confused with desires. The first question we have to answer is if we are really measuring desires and intentions to move, with our variables, or if residential desires are mixed with plans because of the long time frame.

To this end, Table 2 details the overlap between both questions. The results show that each question is measuring a different phenomenon. Most of the respondents are not planning nor wanting to move, as could be expected. The percentages in the table can be compared with the results of Coulter *et al.* (2011), whose proportions of desire but no expectation (21.32%), no desire but expectation (3.46%), desire and expectation (7.74%) and no desire

Table 2. Overlap between desires and intentions to move (per cent over valid answers).

		Intention to move		
		No	Yes	Valid total
Desire to move	No	1518 (70.3)	138 (6.4)	1656 (76.7)
	Yes	322 (14.9)	180 (8.3)	502 (23.3)
	Valid total	1840 (85.2)	318 (14.7)	2158 (100)

Source: Ayuntamiento de Granada. Survey on housing and metropolitan population. 2008.

Table 3. Profile of the respondents who have residential desires and intentions.

	Desires	Intentions	Total
	Mean (Stand.Dev)		
Age	39.92 (15.10)	32.71 (12.47)	45.85 (17.78)
Room stress (<i>missing values:14</i>)	33.35 (20.23)	35.42 (19.10)	38.58 (21.46)
Years in the dwelling	10.79 (11.64)	9.08 (10.42)	14.52 (13.49)
	Desires	Intentions	Total
	Per cent (n)		
Socio-economic position			
Entrepreneurial and professionals	24.0 (121)	30.3 (114)	24.6 (582)
Administrative workers	11.3 (57)	14.4 (54)	12.7 (299)
Services workers	24.8 (125)	19.7 (74)	22.0 (520)
Manual workers	25.4 (128)	18.6 (70)	26.5 (626)
Self-employed	4.4 (22)	4.5 (17)	6.2 (147)
Others-no classify	10.1 (51)	12.5 (47)	8.0 (189)
Activity			
Employed	53.0 (267)	56.9 (214)	49.1 (1160)
Unemployed	14.9 (75)	13.6 (51)	10.3 (244)
Inactive	32.14 (162)	29.5 (111)	40.6 (959)
Housing tenure			
Owners-fully paid	30.9 (156)	31.6 (119)	46.0 (1087)
Owners with mortgage	24.8 (125)	18.4 (69)	32.1 (728)
Renters	41.1 (207)	46.8 (176)	19.3 (487)
Other tenure	3.2 (16)	3.2 (12)	2.6 (61)
Household composition			
Alone	10.3 (52)	11.7 (44)	10.5 (248)
Couple	16.7 (84)	14.9 (56)	22.6 (533)
Families with kids (younger than 18)	40.1 (202)	25.3 (95)	34.7 (821)
Other families	32.9 (166)	48.1 (181)	32.2 (761)
Living with parents	13.5 (68)	33.0 (124)	13.3 (315)
Total	100 (504)	100 (376)	100 (2363)

Source: Ayuntamiento de Granada. Survey on housing and metropolitan population. 2008.

nor expectation (67.48%) are close to our own results, in spite of the different way of asking the question. Therefore, we assume that our measure of planned mobility in five years gathers information on intentions in the midterm, in addition to the usual short-term plans, but not desires.

In Table 3 we observe important differences between the social and demographic profile of the people desiring and planning to move, a fact which reinforces our view of both variables as accurate measures of desires and intentions. Those who have intentions to move are younger than those who want to move (and much younger than the overall population). Age of course is a critical measure and reflects the fact that many of the plans are likely related to the young adults' moves to leave their parents' home. There are also differences in the average duration of the time living in the same place (about 1.5 years) and in the room stress, but the gap that is most salient lies between the two groups and the rest of the population.

Regarding social and economic status, there is not a social bias in the formation of desires. Wishes appear throughout all the groups in similar proportions as in the overall population. But constraints appear when translating those desires into intentions, so that in the group planning to move, middle classes are overrepresented and working classes are underrepresented. This finding is consistent with the models described previously (Coulter, 2013; Kley, 2011). The retired and pensioners are underrepresented in the group who want to move, but even more so in the planning phase. Students, on the other hand, are important in the group planning to move, but not especially in the group wanting to move. Renters are significantly overrepresented, and it is important to underline that the greatest majority of them are in the private rental sector, as public rental is limited to those in extreme social exclusion situations (Pareja-Eastaway & Sánchez-Martínez, 2011). The key household category is families with children, and a considerable proportion have a desire to move, but their relevance is lower in the intention phase. Results are perfectly consistent with these families' changing residential needs, limited by their increased responsibilities and constraints. Apart from the household structure, we included a binary variable to identify the adults who live with their parents. This kind of situation can be due to ageing parents moving to their children's home or a result of the late leaving home processes. Either the case, the situation is connected to a higher intention to move, but not with a stronger desire to do so.

Those who stated plans to move in the next five years were asked if those plans were related to marriage or leaving the family home.⁷ One hundred and eighteen respondents (5.1% of the sample) answered affirmatively. Two interesting particularities of the Spanish residential context can be observed in relation to this question. The first one is linked to age: the average age of those who plan to move to live alone or as a couple is 25.8 years (SE is 5.4). Spanish young adults' residential careers start much later than the ones of their equivalents in other European countries. Second, and even more interesting as it is connected to our classification of desires and expectations, the percentage of people leaving home in the category 'intentions but no desires' is 56.5% and only 9.3% in the category of respondents who desire but have no intentions to move. Apparently, not only resources are constraining them: their own desires are.⁸ An interesting fact that cannot be addressed in depth in this paper, as it will require further analysis and discussion, but it is undoubtedly one of the main contextual differences of the southern European countries.

The role of the usual predictors of mobility on plans and desires in Granada

The first multinomial model of desires and intentions, estimates a multinomial model which analyses the planned and desired mobility without the impact of the neighbourhood variables. We include the classic measures of mobility behaviour – age (and age squared), tenure and room stress (in square meters per person) – as well as other relevant variables such as the years spent in the dwelling, the socio-economic status, housing tenure and household composition. It is important to remember that we are not measuring the connection of those variables with actual mobility, but with stated desires, and plans for the next five years (Table 4).

Age and age squared are key variables in the explanation of residential mobility (Clark *et al.*, 1984), but not so relevant in the formation of desires and intentions. The older respondents are less likely to desire to move. Room stress is one of the fundamental elements in the 'personal tolerance threshold' (Coulter, 2013) and therefore closely connected to wishing to move. The variable – measured as square metres per person, not as people per room – works as expected, the more the space available, the less people want to move. The longer

Table 4. Multinomial logit model of desires and intentions to move (ref: not desire/not intention).

Variables	Desire/Not intention		Desire and intention		Intention/not desire	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Age	0.046	(0.029)	0.024	(0.030)	-0.015	(0.085)
Age ²	-0.001*	(0.000)	-0.001*	(0.000)	0.000	(0.001)
Room stress	-0.032***	(0.009)	-0.022**	(0.009)	-0.014	(0.010)
Years in the dwelling	0.007	(0.009)	-0.044**	(0.009)	-0.005	(0.012)
Socio-economic position (ref: Administrative workers)						
Entrepreneurial and professionals	0.109	(0.186)	0.155	(0.186)	0.032	(0.455)
Services workers	0.193	(0.239)	-0.548	(0.239)	-0.607	(0.458)
Manual workers	0.134	(0.279)	-0.577	(0.279)	-0.988*	(0.447)
Self-employed	0.052	(0.394)	-0.258	(0.394)	0.034	(0.739)
Others-no classify	0.559	(0.355)	1.432**	(0.355)	0.897	(0.467)
Employment status (ref: Employed)						
Unemployed	0.228	(0.282)	0.154	(0.282)	-0.211	(0.366)
Inactive	0.208	(0.193)	-0.443	(0.193)	-0.179	(0.238)
Housing tenure (ref: Owners, fully paid)						
Owners with mortgage	0.082	(0.202)	-1.065**	(0.202)	-0.256	(0.271)
Renters	1.471***	(0.286)	1.492***	(0.286)	1.480***	(0.275)
Others	0.895	(0.476)	0.272	(0.476)	0.409	(0.674)
Household composition (ref: Other households)						
Alone	1.284*	(0.612)	0.835	(0.612)	0.967	(0.580)
Couple	0.200	(0.252)	0.087	(0.252)	-0.083	(0.373)
Families with children (under 18)	0.175	(0.152)	-0.409	(0.152)	-0.825**	(0.260)
Living with parents	-0.013	(0.285)	0.990**	(0.285)	2.102***	(0.255)
Constant	-1.977*	(0.778)	-0.535	(0.778)	-0.882	(1.465)
N	2128					
Log likelihood (null)	-1951.372					
Log likelihood (full model)	-1585.708					
McFadden's pseudo r^2	0.187					
AIC	3207.416					
BIC	3309.349					

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

the spell of residence in the same house, fewer people desire and have intentions to move, consistent with the findings of Thomas *et al.* (2016) on the duration effect. In their database the effect was nonlinear, peaking after 4–5 years, but in our survey the spells of residence are clearly longer (the average spell for the whole sample is above 15 years). Overall, all the variable signs are as expected, but significance levels are low, especially in the ‘intentions and no desires’ group.

Most of the coefficients related to occupation are not significant, once we control for the rest of the variables in the model. Given our results, social position may have an important effect on the later stages of the planning phase, but not in the formation of desires and intentions. We assume that the social position is connected with resources, and resources are a known determinant of residential mobility. A measure of income would be a much better option, but we do not have reliable information for the respondents.⁹ The unemployed and inactive do not have significant differences in the probability of having desires and intentions, although both are usually connected to immobility.

Tenure is crucial for plans and desires. Those owners who still have pending payments are less prone to have intentions to move. Renters, on the other hand, are much more inclined to have both desires and intentions to move than homeowners, and the connection is especially strong in the group with desire and intention to move.² Finally, household composition is also a meaningful factor. People living alone are more likely to state residential wishes, but they do not significantly intend to move more often than other kinds of households. These results, and the apparent contradiction between them, can be explained by the two types of households typically living alone, who have very different residential expectations: young people before family formation and old people after their partner's demise.¹⁰ On the other hand, having children greatly lowers the chance of having intentions to move in the next five years (but it does not alter the probabilities of having wishes without intentions: people may notice their housing shortcomings even when they are not able to solve them).

Our results allow us to confirm the usefulness of the usual models of the formation of residential desires and intentions, even when applied to our specific context. The model has an acceptable fit and the variables' coefficients have the expected signs. A few important differences arise, though. These differences are partly due to the national peculiarities of the Spanish residential market. Tenure is the most significant variable, tenants being the group with stronger connections to residential desires and intentions to move. Rental is less frequent and socially more diverse (as much as home ownership is), and is generally considered to be a transitional state. Comparing our data with the literature, young adults leaving home face this moment with a noticeably different calendar (Moreno Mínguez, 2016) and attitude. In Coulter's *et al.* (2011) study on the interplay between expectations and desires in the United Kingdom, the category 'no desire but expectation' was the least common combination, except in the 16–20 age group. In our survey, it is the most frequent combination of desires and intentions even at 30 years of age. Residential stability in the family home is not only usual, but also socially better considered (García Docampo & Terrén Lalana, 2005). A residential career with only one move (or even without any moves, staying all your life in your family home) may be not only acceptable, but desirable for a part of the population. Or maybe it is the lesser of two evils, given the residential and labour markets circumstances.

The role of the neighbourhood variables over residential desires and plans

Adding the neighbourhood variables to the model does not affect the signs of the coefficients, and nor does it cause important changes in the significance of the coefficients. But the new variables increase the overall fit of the model (whether using AIC, BIC or improvement over the null model), indicating that the second model better predicts the formation of desires and plans.

In this section, we focus on the additive role of the neighbourhood on intentions and desires. Our first conceptual concern was the need to unpack different effects and facets of the neighbourhood; we argued an overall satisfaction will not be able to summarize all the relevant information. And our data confirm this was the correct approach. Our perception of the neighbourhood is complex. Satisfaction is very important, but the rest of the measures have their role, with different weights and significances. With one exception, community links are an important reason to stay (Clark *et al.*, 2015) but its role in the formation of desires and intentions is less relevant.

Satisfaction with the neighbourhood is significant across all three dependent categories, a result differing to some previous study stating how those individuals unhappy with their

current housing are only likely to expect a move if they also have desires (Coulter *et al.*, 2011, p. 2751). As we mentioned previously in the paper, satisfaction has been taken as a general summary of advantages and disadvantages of the neighbourhood in many studies. We can consider it as a self-built index, as the respondents themselves are implicitly assigning weights to the different facets of their relation with their environment. But it is also more than a summary, and so its effects do not disappear when we introduce the rest of neighbourhood variables, thus it may be also measuring an emotional bond that more 'rational' questions cannot grasp. Satisfaction decreases the chance of being in the contradictory situations (when desires and intentions do not match), but it increases the chances of having both desires and intentions. This result is unexpected, but can be explained by

Table 5. Multinomial logit model of desires and intentions to move including neighbourhoods measures (ref: not desire/not intention).

Variables	Desire/not intention		Desire and intention		Intention/not desire	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Age	0.042	(0.032)	0.027	(0.026)	-0.021	(0.084)
Age ²	-0.001	(0.000)	-0.001*	(0.000)	0.000	(0.001)
Room stress	-0.027**	(0.008)	-0.018**	(0.007)	-0.014	(0.010)
Years in the dwelling	0.008	(0.01)	-0.044**	(0.014)	-0.004	(0.012)
Socio-economic position (Ref: Administrative workers)						
Entrepreneurial and professionals	0.090	(0.218)	0.089	(0.309)	-0.037	(0.468)
Services workers	0.155	(0.273)	-0.618	(0.356)	-0.605	(0.476)
Manual workers	0.111	(0.21)	-0.525	(0.321)	-0.796	(0.480)
Self-employed	0.030	(0.38)	-0.301	(0.560)	0.132	(0.752)
Others-no classify	0.531	(0.358)	1.449**	(0.493)	0.892	(0.482)
Employment status (ref: Employed)						
Unemployed	0.128	(0.236)	0.065	(0.259)	-0.264	(0.360)
Inactive	0.193	(0.201)	-0.464	(0.267)	-0.193	(0.216)
Tenure (Ref: Owners, fully paid)						
Owners with mortgage	0.092	(0.208)	-1.011**	(0.368)	-0.193	(0.299)
Renters	1.665***	(0.269)	1.689***	(0.410)	1.362***	(0.299)
Others	0.745	(0.404)	0.161	(0.606)	0.708	(0.659)
Household composition (Ref: Other households)						
Alone	1.114*	(0.517)	0.590	(0.478)	0.837	(0.527)
Couple	0.155	(0.247)	0.002	(0.352)	-0.109	(0.343)
Families with children (under 18)	0.194	(0.162)	-0.376	(0.276)	-0.820**	(0.289)
Living with parents	-0.007	(0.287)	0.973***	(0.278)	2.070***	(0.261)
<i>Neighbourhood features</i>						
Community links	-0.057	(0.081)	0.138	(0.138)	-0.098	(0.161)
Problem: environment	0.637***	(0.138)	0.176***	(0.176)	0.322	(0.201)
Problem: crime	0.507*	(0.197)	0.277*	(0.277)	-0.357	(0.392)
Problem: social/urban decay	0.764***	(0.216)	0.196**	(0.196)	0.159	(0.386)
Satisfaction	-0.315*	(0.134)	0.104***	(0.104)	-0.390**	(0.117)
Neighbourhood deprivation index	0.062	(0.175)	0.211	(0.211)	-0.341*	(0.138)
Constant	-1.066	(1.531)	1.172	(0.997)	1.830	(1.159)
N	2128					
Log likelihood (null)	-1951.372					
Log likelihood (full model)	-1524.548					
McFadden's pseudo r^2	0.219					
AIC	3085.095					
BIC	3187.028					

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

the importance of short distance residential moves: people may want to change their house while staying in the same neighbourhood (and people living in the best areas are also more affluent, thus more mobile) (Table 5).

On the subjective–objective debate, an examination of the table reveals how desires (either together with or dissociated from intentions) are specially influenced by subjective neighbourhood variables. Our desires are built upon our perceptions of the environment, not directly over the neighbourhood characteristics. The objective measure of the status of the neighbourhood does not affect significantly desires. In contrast the probabilities of the ‘intentions without desires’ group are only affected by the objective indicator of the neighbourhood quality and satisfaction: desires are connected to subjectivity, but when desires are absent, intentions tend to have a stronger link with objective circumstances.

Our third concern in the analysis was the way in which the response to neighbourhood problems has a role in forming desires and intentions. How do these factors play a role in pulling households to stay or pushing them to leave? They are significantly related to the formation of residential desires and intentions to move. A polluted environment is a strong motivation to consider moving, affecting wishes and plans (but not to intentions without desires). Similarly, subjective responses to crime and reported problems of social and urban decay in the neighbourhood affect moving plans and desires. Overall, neighbourhood problems create strong urges to move (Kleinhans, 2009) but these urges do not equally affect all the population. All in all, push factors of the neighbourhood (reported problems) have a stronger impact on desires and intentions than pull factors (such as community links, area status or satisfaction). Neighbourhood problems, whether perceptions of crime or general responses to urban decay, matter. In the end, these push factors require either coping with the situation (van der Land & Doff, 2010) or moving out.

Conclusions

This paper has provided an analysis of the extent to which neighbourhood characteristics play a role in the decision process leading to residential mobility, using Granada, Spain, as a case study. Residential decision-making takes place in different housing market situations, and it is also affected by cultural assumptions and expectations. Thus, this research has also investigated the impacts of the context in the residential behaviour models (Coulter, 2013; Kley, 2011).

With respect to our first goal of testing the standard residential mobility model in a medium-sized Spanish city, we find that the explanatory power of the usual variables on residential decision-making is consistent with previous work. Recall, however that we are testing the way in which these variables play a role in creating the desire or intention to move, not the move itself. The variables which create actual moves are also important in creating the desire to move, a result that we expected. The finding confirms that there are common trends in residential behaviour, such as the importance of room stress, age, social position (as a proxy for income) and especially tenure. On the other hand, the main differences we have found in our analysis are in the group with intentions but no desires to move. A large share of the group is formed by young adults living with their families.

It is important to emphasize the cultural context of the research in this paper in these summary observations. Young adults in Granada and Spain more generally are likely to remain in the home longer than young adults in US or northern European contexts. A context of

low salaries, relatively high¹¹ unemployment rates and a booming real estate market, combined with a culture of home ownership creates a difficult situation for young adults. As a result they intend to move, but do not express a desire to move at ages much more advanced than in northern countries' researches (Coulter *et al.*, 2011). This change in the pre-move stages of mobility is translated to the actual mobility calendar. The social and demographic implications of the delayed leaving home processes have been described in other studies (García Moreno & Martínez Martín, 2012; Moreno Mínguez, 2016), but its connection with the formation of residential desires and intentions was unexplored to this date.

Our second goal was to study the contribution of the neighbourhood to the residential mobility decision-making process, and its transmission into desires and intentions. Overall, the neighbourhood we live in and the bonds we create with it are important for the formation of desires and expectations, adding explanatory power to the models. Because of the diversity of questions in our survey, we have disentangled some of the meanings and effects contextualized in the neighbourhood. We cannot reduce the measure of the neighbourhood to a single satisfaction variable: although satisfaction is very important, other specific aspects of the neighbourhood also play important roles. Subjective variables in the study are significant, especially for the creation of desires; meanwhile, our objective measure of the area's status affects the probability of having intentions to move. Push factors, such as perceived neighbourhood problems, are important reasons to generate residential intentions to leave. The factors which pull people to stay are less important despite the role of social connections. Neighbourhood negative factors outweigh the role of poor neighbourhood quality. Still, there is evidence that those with a wish to move may not want to completely sever their ties with the neighbourhood (Clark *et al.*, 2015).

The study adds new understanding to the residential decision-making process by unpacking the way in which the neighbourhood and environmental measures play a role in forming those intentions. The study focuses attention on just how the negatives and positives about neighbourhoods go into creating the desires and intentions to move. They are played off against one another to set up a complex response to the local space. Simple one variable measures of satisfaction tell only a portion of the story about how desires and intentions eventually create residential change, and subjective and objective characteristics of the neighbourhood have different effects depending on the stage of the migration process.

Notes

1. Here we draw a distinction between desires and intentions to move, both of which can be considered variations of the same kind of thoughts prior to actual moves. More detail on the difference between both will be offered in the variables' operationalization section.
2. Renting used to be seen as a temporary solution for specific situations (like relocation) and social groups (like immigrants) during the housing boom. Nowadays is increasingly seen as a residential option in the midterm (Aramburu, 2015).
3. 'Renting is wasting your money' was one of the most typical opinions about housing tenure during the economic boom, and it is also the title of one of the chapters of the book by Vinuesa (2013).
4. Using data from the 2011 Census, Feria Toribio (2013) estimates the overall metropolitan population in Spain in 31.7 millions: 11.7 live in Madrid and Barcelona; 4.1 millions in three metropolitan areas between one and two millions; and 15.9 million live in areas smaller than a million inhabitants (most of them are below the 0.5 million line).
5. Satisfaction with the dwelling proved to be a less useful question, as the levels of satisfaction were above 90%, and barely a 2% stated dissatisfaction. Either we are working with an

incredibly adjusted housing market or the respondents avoided negative answers even when their house were not perfectly fit for them. Again, we are dealing with cultural issues. As a mere hypothesis based in our experience, we think the subjects prefer not to complain about their home, as it may made them look frustrated in the eyes of the interviewer; like they were not criticizing their house but their own lives.

6. We have checked for multicollinearity problems in our independent variables using the VIF test, and also for specification problems. The multicollinearity found between our variables does not affect the consistency of the coefficients nor the standard errors. The Breusch-Pagan/Cook-Weisberg test for heteroskedasticity was also used, although we would avoid this problem anyway given that we have calculated the standard errors in the model using VCE cluster (clustering by neighbourhoods).
7. The question was not asked to the whole sample, so it did not make sense to include it in the models. Therefore, we will only describe a few interesting facts, related with this question. The variable mixes leaving the family home with marriage on purpose, as both are still too closely connected for a part of the population to accurately separate them.
8. Of course, it may be a result of them reducing their cognitive dissonance, but the data are clear enough to hint about a pattern for a part of Spanish young population.
9. Although some questions on income were included in the questionnaire, the high levels of non-response and the lack of reliability of the information given by those answering forced us to leave them out of the model. This is a widespread problem in survey-based researches in Spain: asking about money generates distrust in the interviewees, hence the usual preference for social status measures (less precise but more reliable).
10. Middle aged individuals who move out of their former family home after a divorce or a separation are another group, but in spite of the growing number of this kind of household, they are not as numerous as the other two.
11. At least, comparing with the really high rates of unemployment in the years to come after 2008.

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Appendix 1. Operationalization of constructed variables

Variable	Questions (originally in Spanish, translated)	Choice of answers	Operationalization
<i>Independent variables</i>			
Community	B.5a. How often do you interact with your closer non-related neighbours? B.5b. And with the other residents of their neighbourhood? B.6. How often do your neighbours help you with situations such as childcare, watering the plants, or other tasks? In your opinion, what are the main problems of your neighbourhood?	From 1 (= very often) to 4 (= almost never)	Average score of the three answers
Neighbourhood problems	In your opinion, what are the main problems of your neighbourhood?	Open answer, multiple answers allowed	We created dummy variables (yes/no) with the problems which the neighbours reported more often: environment, crime and urban/social decay
Satisfaction	How satisfied are you with the quality of life in your neighbourhood?	From 1 (= very dissatisfied) to 5 (= Very satisfied)	Direct answer
<i>Dependent variables</i>			
Desire to move	D.1. Which of the situations in this card is closer to the current situation of your household or family about your home? [The question and choice of answers was designed and tested by Conde, 1999]	<p>1 = By reason of force majeure we have to leave the house in which we are.</p> <p>2 = The house is in poor condition and we don't think that fix it could help. So we have to move to another house.</p> <p>3 = As much as we tighten ourselves, the house is very small. Although we don't want it, we should move. We need a bigger dwelling.</p> <p>4 = Although the house is not as good and big as we would like, the situation (social, economic, etc.) does not allow us to move to another house</p> <p>5 = Although everything can be improved, we are happy with our home and we do not think about moving</p> <p>6 = At the moment we are not looking for a new home, but we would change if a good opportunity arises</p> <p>7 = Although we are pleased with our house we want to move to a better neighbourhood or house</p> <p>1 = Yes 2 = No</p>	The respondents in categories 1 and 3 have been taken out of the analysis, as they are stating housing problems instead of residential desires We take the count of option 5 as those not wanting to move. The answers 4, 6 and 7 are included as people who desires to move NR/DK were classified as missing values
Intention to move	D.9. Do you think that you or another member of your family, part of the family or the entire family could need to move in the next five years? D.10. Who will move?	<p>1 = Just you</p> <p>2 = Part of the family with you</p> <p>3 = Part of the family without you</p> <p>4 = The whole household</p>	Count of those who choose 1 in question D.9 and options 1, 2 or 4 in question D.10 NR/DK to question D.9 were classified as missing values