

Place Attachment and the Decision to Stay in the Neighbourhood[†]

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ABSTRACT

Research on residential mobility has focused on moving rather than staying, and as a consequence, we have a much poorer understanding of why people stay in contrast to why people move. But in fact staying is the usual practice and moving is a relatively rare event. We draw on previous work on staying and the notions of place attachment, that is being invested in a place, owning a house and having connections in the neighbourhood, to investigate the underlying dimensions of the decision to stay. We utilise a retrospective survey data set from Granada (Spain) to model, first, the decision to stay in the house versus moving and, second, the decision to move but stay in the neighbourhood versus moving outside the neighbourhood. The logit models show that family in the neighbourhood, interaction with the neighbours – local connection (using the facilities of the neighbourhood) and a measure of satisfaction with the neighbourhood provide a contextual understanding of why people stay, and who is likely to stay. The models provide data on the different meanings and ways of staying. Neighbourhood variables are crucial to explain the moves inside the same area, well beyond the personal and household characteristics

included in most residential mobility models. As we would expect in the Spanish context, family plays an important role in attachment. Copyright © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

People move, but they also stay in one place, and often for very long periods. Long spells of immobility are common, and many neighbourhoods and communities have residents who have been in that community through the whole of their life course, marrying, having and raising their children and eventually retiring. Understanding what influences families to stay has important implications for the families themselves, where children grow up for example, and for the communities and neighbourhoods more generally. A neighbourhood with a large-scale and rapid turnover is less likely to provide feelings of security and ‘attachment’ and can be seen as a transient community or neighbourhood. So, some neighbourhoods have many long-term residents, and others have a population that is much less stable. What influences families to stay and how long do they stay? To explore the nature of immobility and what underlies the tendency to stay, we utilise the ideas of place attachment and how it influences the likelihood of staying using a survey data set from Granada, Spain – a data set that has both individual and neighbourhood characteristics.

There is a rich tradition in geography, sociology and environmental psychology of studies of place attachment and its role in people’s lives

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and their life course. Despite the widespread research on place attachment, there is considerable variation in interpreting what we mean by place attachment.¹ At its most general, place attachment is described as an affective bond or link between people and specific places (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983). Some emphasise the emotional link with places (Hummon, 1992) and the cognitive connection to a particular setting (Low & Altman, 1992), but others suggest that place attachment is difficult to disentangle from simple residential satisfaction (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). In most discussions, it is about 'people place bonding', about individuals, families and groups who are connected on a whole set of dimensions to their local places (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Place attachment has both physical and social dimensions, and the existence of social networks extending beyond the household unit itself produces 'linked lives' in place (Elder *et al.*, 2003; Coulter *et al.*, 2015).

Initial research, in particular the work by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) interpreted place attachment in the context of the 'sense of community' where friendship and family ties and both formal and informal relationships rooted in family life were important functions of urban society. The research by Uzzell *et al.* (2002) and Woldoff (2002) also emphasised that spatial bonds are important because it is social interaction in space that generates attachment. Predicting the *level* of place attachment in the context of area, choice and location has been analysed with measures of age, social status, tenure and length of residence, and it is the latter that has uniformly been the best predictor of place attachment (Lewicka, 2005, 2011).

Both length of residence and local social capital, which are obviously interrelated (the longer the residence, the greater the likelihood of local ties and local social capital), have been identified as important predictors of place attachment. Duration is an important proxy for place attachment as an increased length of residence in a location increases the probability of local ties (Hashemnezhad *et al.*, 2013). Over extended periods of time, place identity develops in the sense where place identity is defined as an individual's perception of self as a member of a particular environment (Smaldone, 2006). Other correlated variables are ownership and a sense of security, especially for older residents. Place

attachment varies by age and socio-economic status and the extent to which places enable lifestyle activities and the completion of life course goals (Lewicka, 2011).

To investigate the process of staying and the role of place attachment, we use data from a detailed sample of residents in Granada, Spain. The survey has a set of questions with considerable depth and quality covering links to family, community connections, the use of the residential space and levels of satisfaction. Additionally, it gathers information on residential life course spans during the period 1998–2008. The survey provides data on attachment for both movers and stayers and also differentiates movers between those who move locally (within their neighbourhood) and the rest of the movers. We use these data to formulate a model of the probability of staying and another on the decision to move inside the same neighbourhood. We hypothesise that different kinds of links to the neighbourhood are central in the decisions to stay or when moving to stay in the neighbourhood. We model the decision to stay (versus moving) as a function of life course variables and the measures of neighbourhood links.

THE CONTEXT AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH – PLACE ATTACHMENT, MOBILITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD

In the review of previous research, we raise and answer several specific questions, in particular, what do we know about place attachment and why it matters and what is the role of social capital and how do locality bonds play a role in the choice to stay. The review examines the definitional background of place attachment studies, the role and potential importance of studies of social cohesion and social capital and the growing research on residential neighbourhoods and residential mobility. The review of previous work suggests the important role of family roots, community connections, life space (neighbourhood facilities) and satisfaction² – as the intervening variables in both creating place attachment and providing the context for decisions to stay in particular locations. The analysis also stresses the need to take into account different levels of 'staying' – staying in the house, not moving and also deciding to move but to staying in the same neighbourhood. The paper brings these threads

together to provide new thinking about place attachment and about the growing evidence on immobility.

There is more than a 40-year history of analysing how and why place matters in people's lives. To reiterate, place attachment can be described as a positive bond that develops between an individual or a group and their environment (Low & Altman, 1992; Williams *et al.*, 1992). As these authors note, place attachment involves an inter-play of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place. The paper by Scannell and Gifford (2010) provided an important organising structure for the studies of place attachment. Drawing on the research of the past two decades, they emphasised place attachment as a multidimensional concept with both psychological processes (cognition and beliefs) and place (both social and physical) as dimensions. From the perspective of this study, social networks, which are central in the concepts of social cohesion and social capital, are the active element of the social environment and are a central element of understanding how place attachment functions in real contexts.

Staying in the Neighbourhood, Staying in the Residence

In the past few years, there has been a concerted effort to understand just how a neighbourhood can affect individual lives. Does living in a good or poor neighbourhood have an effect on people's lives, the jobs they have and the health they enjoy? For children, does growing up in a poor neighbourhood inhibit later life chances? But, as we know, the neighbourhood is only one element in the urban scale. Kemeny (1992) defined four levels of life space – home, neighbourhood, local and national – and this classification can help to create a broader understanding of place attachment and the decision to stay. People who move to a new house but stay in the same neighbourhood are movers, but at the same time, they are stayers in the sense that they did not fundamentally change their routines. They can still go to the same school, shop in the same commercial areas and keep the same leisure activities. They do not change their everyday space of life.

In some sense, those who move in the same neighbourhood are either recognising neighbourhood qualities that are attractive or they are constrained by financial considerations to move locally. In either case, they are exhibiting some form of place attachment (or place confinement), and it is important to examine how and to what extent the variables in our models explain these locality choices. Unfortunately, income is not available in the data set, so we cannot estimate budget constraints. Still, we can say something about how their interactions affect their likelihood of staying. Indeed, because residential relocations are often of short distance, we can still say something about the way in which these local 'neighbourhood' moves are attempts to solve housing problems, without losing the advantages of the area they live in.

To explore those two forms of staying, we study two different decisions: to stay in the same dwelling (versus moving) and moving but staying in the same neighbourhood. Considering moving inside the neighbourhood as a way of staying opens and widens the idea of staying itself: it can be understood in a dynamic way, breaking with the sedentarist metaphysics (Cresswell, 2006). It then becomes a way to think about 'residential immobility as an active practice rather than as an absence of movement' (Coulter *et al.*, 2015: 12).

Roots: The Importance of Family

Homes, which symbolise family life, are anchors and serve as fixed reference points (Porteous, 1976). The most preferred places for many families are often those where their own houses are located especially when they are owned. In this study, home and family are important measures of place attachment, a dimension we identify as rootedness in the community. Closeness to relatives, the contact with an often dense family network, has great relevance in studies of Mediterranean cities. In countries like Spain, Italy or Greece, family is an institution with strong influences on the constitution of the society (Esping Andersen, 1990) but also plays a role in social and individual behaviour (Conde, 1999). Although family networks are crucial in the southern countries of Europe, the work of Hickman and Hedman shows their relevance to understanding residential mobility in other European contexts.

Hickman (2010) defines the support of family networks as a key factor to understanding the decision to stay, especially when studying social classes where families can matter in their everyday life. Hedman (2013) connects the distance to relatives' houses with residential mobility, in particular the moves inside the neighbourhood.

Family, and extended family connections more broadly, is at the heart of local bonds, and these contexts may be even more important in family-focused society in southern Europe.

Community: The Benefits of Neighbouring

Just how neighbourhoods work and their role in the larger environment have been a focus of research across sociology, demography, economics and geography. There has been a long history of interest in the social ecology of neighbourhoods and the way in which individual and collective well-being and behaviour are influenced by the neighbourhood. The work that began with the Chicago school in the 1920s is now being extended with new work specifically focused on how neighbourhoods matter in individual well-being. It is clear that the effect of the neighbourhood goes beyond the physical characteristics and the characteristics of families in the neighbourhood to the way in which social cohesion and social capital play a role in creating prosperous and sustainable communities. Coleman (1988) suggested that the notion of social capital – the interaction of people and places – as a form of social organisation is created when durable networks of mutual association and recognition arise. Thus, social capital is created through relationships – or more generally, social capital is lodged not in individuals but in the structure of social organisation (Coleman, 1988). Social capital is important, it is argued, because it allows citizens to resolve collective problems and provides a context in which repeated interactions make social transactions less costly and improves our overall well-being by widening the awareness of the ways in which our lives are linked (Putnam, 1995).

Much of the research on social capital and social cohesion was stimulated by the obvious correlations between neighbourhood poverty and social outcomes. A very large body of work established links between neighbourhood disadvantage and individual well-being. Most of these links are associative rather than causative, and we do not have a very good idea of exactly

how neighbourhoods influence individual well-being. Still, neighbourhoods may matter, and neighbourhood disadvantage may matter above individual and family characteristics, we just have not been able to measure these links very well as yet. Interpersonal trust, norms of reciprocity or mutual aid and civic engagement are qualities that are frequently associated with social capital (Lochner *et al.*, 1999; Paldam, 2000), and it is these conceptualisations that have motivated research on social cohesion.

As in other studies, we use measures of reciprocity, helping one another and interaction to build a variable that captures the role of neighbouring. As a number of studies have noted, it is not easy to measure social capital, but measures of whether neighbours help out and how often interactions occur are reasonable proxies for the way in which neighbourhoods provide the opportunity for interaction. In our models, social capital will be present in the variable 'community', a measure of the trust and the reliability between neighbours, which is a key part of neighbouring.

Life Space: Inhabiting the Neighbourhood

The neighbourhood, what we can think of as the spatial box in which we live, is at the heart of research on place attachment. As Lewicka (2011) points out, approximately 75% of all research on place attachment focuses on attachment to the neighbourhood. Clearly, this reflects the connectedness that many people feel for the area in which their home is placed, especially if they are homeowners and involved in the local community. Although some have suggested trying to unpack the spatial extent of the neighbourhood and what its 'boundedness' is, usually, the neighbourhood is simply the context within which the research occurs. For the most part, these neighbourhoods have been derived from identification analyses – what is your neighbourhood – but now work has provided methodologies for creating 'bespoke' neighbourhoods of varying scales (Östh *et al.*, 2014). Clearly, scale matters as Lewicka (2010) showed using scaled-up places from home to city with several intermediate places and showed that attachment was strongest at local and urban levels.

But the neighbourhood is not only a place with certain features: people form links with their surrounding area, creating a multilayered, socially constructed space of life. De Pablos and Susino

(2010) separate expressive dimensions from instrumental ones, pointing to the complexity of these relationships. In 'life space', our goal is to focus on the instrumental and practical relationships of the neighbours with their area. What kind of opportunities, services and facilities can be found in the surroundings of the dwelling? And do neighbours prefer to use them, or do they choose to travel longer distances? Inhabiting the neighbourhood, in this regard, implies choosing to stay inside its limits during everyday activities. The availability of jobs, schools, hospitals or shopping facilities is a key element to evaluate the quality of a neighbourhood and is unevenly distributed in the city territory. But inside the same area, the use of these facilities is uneven between the neighbours. The life space dimension is therefore related to the neighbourhood (what the area offers) but more generally with the role of space in people's everyday life.

The differentiation between neighbourhood and neighbouring can be useful to understand the content of the community dimension, and how the life space differs from community connectedness. Community measures people-to-people links (neighbouring), meanwhile life space focused on people-to-place links (thus studying the neighbourhood). To separate both dimensions proves to be useful when they do not match. Forrest and Kearns (2001) explain how the quality of a neighbourhood can be low, owing to a decaying and unattractive physical environment, but the quality of neighbouring can help inhabitants to cope with it.

Satisfaction

Satisfaction as a measure of place attachment has generated a contested discussion. It is variably considered as an outcome of other intrinsic measures of place or as a measure in its own right. Fried (1984) underlined how satisfaction has been used in different ways by diverse studies. Studies of well-being sometimes use community attachment as an independent predictor (Theodori, 2001), but such studies often have results that are confounded by utilising satisfaction as an outcome variable of place attachment when as, we note earlier, it may in fact be part of the attachment itself.

Changes in neighbourhood attachment have been linked to changes in socio-economic and

racial diversity in neighbourhoods. A decline in neighbourhood attachment may be linked to impacts on the levels of satisfaction (Greif, 2009). Others also find a negative relationship between neighbourhood diversity and community attachment (Putnam, 2007). The question of just how diversity or neighbourhood homogeneity plays a role in wanting to be in a particular neighbourhood is still ongoing, but it is clear that at some point, minorities may want to stay while non-minorities want to leave – each of them affected in different ways (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). But even in the most problematic environments, there are neighbours who state their satisfaction, and even their pride, about their area. Satisfaction can be linked to objective circumstances but clearly also has an emotional dimension, and they are not easily teased apart.

While the variables we have discussed to this point can be related to interpersonal relations, satisfaction is essentially individual; and it is linked to emotions, which may not coincide with other dimensions. Additionally, a neighbour's satisfaction can be affected by the neighbourhood's characteristics, which leads us to some additional observations about the role of satisfaction. In the survey, there are three measures of satisfaction, regarding their house, the quality of life in their neighbourhood and a general measure of quality of life in the city, reflecting Lewicka's (2010) scales of place. Most of the people were found to be highly satisfied with their dwelling and with the city as a whole, and the small differences could not be linked to any social or spatial variable. Satisfaction with the neighbourhood, on the other hand, showed considerable variation and was therefore included in the models we present later. If indeed a sense of place is a universal affective tie that fulfils fundamental human needs (Oishi, 2010), then indeed a better understanding of the dimensions of place attachment is an important context for understanding urban behaviour and interpreting social interaction and satisfaction more broadly.

An Alternative Proposal to Measure Place Attachment

Recent empirical research on place attachment has been heavily based on the use of psychometric scales to identify belongingness and identity. There has been a special focus on creating measures of

identity attachment and dependence, and then evaluating these measures as representing the level of interconnection with the place. Overall, the psychometric scales have provided support for the notions of place attachment and links with rootedness, community identity and community interaction, but they are less able to measure actual outcomes of behaviour. In fact, those studies can be thought of as stated preference studies, statements about 'potential' place roles in daily life. What has been missing in previous studies is the link between the evaluations and residential behaviour. Previous studies have provided us with important information on how place attachment is formed and its strengths, but they have not generated data on how people's behaviour relates to their place attachment. It is that measurement issue that is at the heart of the models we develop in this paper. Specifically, we are interested in people's residential behaviour connected to place attachment and the neighbourhood characteristics.

There is also a body of research about place attachment that has involved the use of qualitative, often free, association task interviews to gain insight into the meanings that places possess. The research by Relph (1976) and Tuan (1975) on the sense of place comes closest to this discussion. Although in the case of Relph and Tuan the emphasis is on place research as a phenomenological outcome and they are less concerned with empirical models of estimating place effects. Still, Relph (1976) does suggest that attachment to a place has a 'time dependence' and increases over time and is also based on relationships with people in the setting. This suggests a social conception of the link between people and place. Clearly, this qualitative assessment can be used as the basis for testable hypotheses about dependence and attachment. In the analysis, we have designed a specific set of place attachment dimensions to maximise the potential of our data set and to stress the key factors affecting residential mobility in the context of a Spanish city.

OBJECTIVES, DATA AND VARIABLES

Our research goal is to study the role of place attachment in two different forms of staying: staying in the same home and moving but staying within the neighbourhood. We model the decision to stay, including general predictors

of residential mobility and four dimensions of place attachment.

The hypotheses at the centre of the analysis are as follows:

- (1) Controlling for life course measures, socio-economic status and available space, measures of the links to the neighbourhood are significant and provide a measurable positive addition to the explanation of the probability of staying.
- (2) Controlling for life course measures, socio-economic status and available housing space, the place attachment dimensions are predictors for those who move inside the neighbourhood.

The data used in this analysis were collected by the Institute of Regional Development of the University of Granada as part of a 2008 survey of population and housing in Granada. The survey was designed to inform local urban planning and collected a wide range of data on demographic and residential processes in the metropolitan region.³ The study sampled the adult population (18 years plus) from June to December in 2008 in metropolitan Granada. The stratified sample first selected census tracts, where the chance of selection for each tract was based on the proportion of the population living in that tract. The census tracts were also stratified by socio-economic status. In a second step, households in the chosen census tracts were randomly selected from administrative records from the city of Granada, and the other municipalities in the region. The respondents in each housing unit were selected proportional to the age and sex composition of the metropolitan region. The total sample was 1,529 in the city of Granada and 893 in the suburban communities.

The questionnaire included four subsets of neighbourhood variables in addition to measures of individual characteristics, socio-economic status, family composition and housing space. These measures were designed to capture characteristics of staying and moving: (1) the residential trajectory in the past decade; (2) the nature and characteristics of the current dwelling; (3) expected mobility; and (4) residential preferences including place attachment (with a special focus on the young adult population). For the present study, we use the measures of residential trajectories and place attachment measures, specifically, family

roots in the neighbourhood, community connections and neighbouring, life spaces and satisfaction. The design of the variables is described in the following sections and in Table A1.

The measure of 'family roots' is drawn from the survey questions about whether respondents grew up in the same area in which they live now, and similar questions about their partner, parents and parents in law. The question captures the psychological component of their sense of belonging: the place where they grew up. The variable 'family roots' is a scale ranging from 0 to 4 connections. Given the cultural relevance of family in the Spanish context and the strong bonds of dependence that most of the people keep with their families, we argue that this is one of the key elements of place attachment. When people live close to relatives, attachment to the place is intertwined with attachment to the family, making the decision to move out of this place more difficult than usual. The measure of 'family roots' is likely also very important in other studies of place attachment, although probably greater in European than North American contexts. A recent study by Mulder and Malmberg (2014) has confirmed that the probability of moving is lower when family members live nearby.

The variable 'community' refers to the 'linked' dimension of attachment. There are three different questions that ask the respondents how often they interact with their closer neighbours, how often they interact with the rest of the people in the area and how often they are helped by them in tasks requiring a certain degree of trust (e.g. childcare or watering the plants while they are away). The three questions range from 1 to 4, with 1 meaning very frequent contact with the neighbours and 4 virtually no contact. The variable 'community' is the average score and is an indirect measure of interpersonal trust and social efficacy (although it is not a direct measure of any of them).

The 'life space' measure captures the practical dimension of attachment, the use of services and spaces in everyday life. The respondents responded to questions about the location of a number of places of interest – work, place of study, preferred shopping area, their children's school, healthcare centre, leisure activities and close friends' homes. We count how many of them are located in the same neighbourhood they live in on a scale from 0 to 7. Moving from the

neighbourhood will imply either changing those routines or spending more time to get to the same places, creating a link to the place essentially based on the location.

'Satisfaction' with the neighbourhood was a direct question in the survey and is recoded as a binary variable, separating those satisfied from the dissatisfied. Although there is an ordinal measure (ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied), we view satisfaction as a qualitative issue, either satisfied or not. A separate measure of housing satisfaction, distinct from locality satisfaction, revealed that almost all respondents reported high levels of dwelling satisfaction. This response points to the psychological processes altering our perception: people who live in poor conditions, but who cannot change their place of residence, change their minds, in a perfect exemplification of the concept of reduction of cognitive dissonance.

The variables and their means and variances are provided in Table 1. We demonstrate that the four measures of place attachment capture independent dimensions of association with place with a factor analysis (Table 2). Each variable has a high score in one of the components and only residual presence in the rest, a result that confirms our expectations of working with four different dimensions of attachment.

CONTEXT AND GEOGRAPHY

The study focuses on the metropolitan region of Granada, similar in context to the Statistical Metropolitan Area in the United States or the morphological urban areas or functional urban areas suggested for UK and European cities. Feria Toribio (2010) provides a classification for Spain based on the international standards using information on commuting. The final sample covered the city of Granada and the closer villages that form the suburban area surrounding Granada (Fig. 1).

The social structure of the city is somewhat atypical, in the sense that it does not reflect the usual pattern of middle-class suburbanisation common in most US and other European cities. The high-status neighbourhoods are in the core of the metropolitan region as well as in some suburban areas. Most of the higher-status areas are located in central spaces, but there are also working-class areas and less advantaged

Table 1. Independent variables (means and variances).

Variables	Type	Means/%	Variances	Standard deviations
Age	Scale	45.85	316.114	17.78
Age squared	Scale	2,418.03	3,154.517	1,776.096
Room stress	Scale	38.58	460.582	21.4612
Children	0–1	34.74%	0.227	0.4763
Young adults	0–1	25.18%	0.188	0.4341
Owners	0–1	78.08%	0.171	0.4138
Renters	0–1	19.34%	0.156	0.3951
Professional	0–1	26.07%	0.193	0.4391
Service worker	0–1	30.77%	0.213	0.4616
Manual worker (qualified)	0–1	12.19%	0.107	0.3272
Manual worker (not qualified)	0–1	22.81%	0.176	0.4197
Family Roots	Scale	0.54	0.970	0.9847
Life space	Scale	2.29	1.938	1.3920
Community	Scale	2.43	0.533	0.7299
Satisfaction	0–1	84.34%	0.132	0.3635

Table 2. Factor scores for the four dimensions of place attachment.

Dimensions	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Family roots	0.001	0.989	0.118	0.090
Life space	−0.004	0.119	0.988	0.096
Community	0.075	0.090	0.096	0.988
Satisfaction	0.997	0.001	−0.004	0.073

neighbourhoods in the central areas. The continuing desirability of the core neighbourhoods has much to do with the local context: the city is a prominent services centre, specialised in education and health, but also relevant in commerce and tourism. There has been an important process of suburbanisation, which has reshaped the city during the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s (Susino & Duque, 2013), but the main actors of this change were working-class relocations, not the moves of the affluent (Susino, 2010).

A clarification of our notion of neighbourhood and community is in order. When we use neighbourhood, we are talking about the immediate environment of the dwelling, the surrounding space that works as a unit both in the populations' mind frame and in terms of social interaction – perhaps similar to a tract. In the questionnaire, the definition of these units is based on self-perception: the respondents are asked where they lived before, and there is an

option to choose 'in the same neighbourhood'. Of course, individuals will have different perceptions of what his or her neighbourhood actually is, and the size of these self-assessed sections varies. To provide a context for the social structure of the city, we use larger units defined by uniform criteria. These 19 communities are shown in Figure 1, covering both the core city sections and the suburban ones. These areas are based on the aggregation of census tracts, to create areas with a homogeneous social and economic status, and are sufficiently large to allow us to cross-tabulate the information with a wide range of variables.⁴

There is considerable variation in socio-economic status across the 19 communities in the study (Table 3). We contrast the distribution of professional and manual workers, the age structure, tenure and the proportion who move in the neighbourhood and who stay. There are significant differences across the occupational and age structures of the neighbourhoods, but as in Spain more generally, the ownership rate is uniformly high except for the Old Quarter (Albayzín), the oldest part of the city, a traditional working-class area, now in the process of gentrification (Duque *et al.*, 2013). The proportion of stayers ranges from almost 60% to about one-third, a considerable variation. Similarly, there are important differences in the likelihood of moving and staying locally. For those who move but stay in the local neighbourhood, the likelihood varies from 0.07 to more than 0.25. In most



Source: INE. Spanish Census 2001.

Figure 1. Map of communities by socio-economic status of its census tracts. The clusters are created by combining two variables: socio-economic condition and situation in the labour market (permanent/sporadic).

of the suburban villages (Maracena, Atarfe, Armilla and La Zubia), a quarter of movers stay in the same area.

The time frame of the survey is important, as 2008 was a turning point for the trends in residential mobility in Spain. A decade of strong economic growth, and very active, even excessive

increase in construction and real estate activities, reached its peak in 2008. After 2008, the economic downturn created slower growth and unemployment. Residential mobility and international migration boomed during the growth cycle but have both declined since 2008. We recognise that the boom and bust do influence overall mobility,

Table 3. The communities in the study: percentage of community population.

Communities	Socio-economic status		Tenure	Age structure		Stayers/movers in the neighbourhood	
	Professionals	Manual workers	Owners	18–34	50 or more	Stayers	Movers inside neighbourhood
Old Quarter (Albayzín)	37.1	10.6	48.8	32.9	41.8	45.3	13.0
Camino de Ronda	40.3	11.9	67.3	28.9	49.1	52.2	10.7
Fuente Nueva	39.4	9.8	65.2	30.3	50.8	50.0	6.8
Arabial	43.3	11.1	77.2	30.0	46.1	53.3	8.3
Cervantes	40.0	14.7	81.1	28.4	47.4	47.4	9.5
Chana	10.9	24.5	78.2	28.2	44.5	46.4	18.2
Zaidín	17.5	27.5	81.5	30.0	43.5	58.5	17.0
Almanjayar-Montijo	13.3	30.3	73.3	38.8	30.3	43.6	15.8
Estación Autobuses	48.8	14.6	70.7	29.3	34.1	36.6	12.2
Palacio de Congresos	32.4	20.4	78.2	30.3	47.9	54.9	11.3
Doctores-Este	27.8	19.0	79.7	29.1	38.0	45.6	13.9
Maracena	11.7	44.8	83.4	35.2	38.6	35.2	27.6
Albolote	24.6	30.3	87.7	31.1	31.1	39.3	9.8
Atarfe	5.6	36.1	90.3	43.1	27.8	38.9	25.0
Peligros	23.6	38.9	95.8	33.3	36.1	51.4	12.5
Armillá	24.1	24.8	79.4	37.6	27.7	27.7	24.8
Gabias	14.4	25.8	92.8	42.3	27.8	36.1	7.2
Gojar/Ogi/Otura	20.0	23.4	90.3	31.7	30.3	43.4	13.1
La Zubia	19.8	24.0	88.5	37.5	30.2	43.8	24.0
Total	26.1	22.8	78.1	32.8	39	45.7	14.7

but as our focus is on staying or staying locally, the economic events, while a context with impacts on development, do not invalidate the value of the survey and our study.

ANALYSIS

Staying at Home

The first logit model predicts the probability of staying as a function of household composition and social status. The second logit model adds in the specific measures of place attachment that we have hypothesised will play important roles in the probability of staying (Table 4). The model with only personal and household characteristics is significant, and the pseudo- R^2 of 0.396 suggests that the model captures a significant amount of the variation in the likelihood of staying. Age is not significant, an expected finding as younger people in general have higher probabilities of moving. Age squared is significant with a positive sign, consistent with the lower mobility of older population. The presence of young adults in the household – sons and daughters older than

18 years who live with their parents – greatly increases the chances of staying. We can interpret this as a stable household with young adults who have not yet left the family. As expected, renting is more likely to lead to moving. Social status does not have a role in staying nor does the presence of younger children. Room stress is not significant, which probably reflects the fact that ownership is high and space is not a critical issue in staying or moving in Granada.

The second model includes the four measures of place attachment and the explanatory power of the model rises to an R^2 of 0.425. The individual and household variables remain significant explanatory variables, and the measures of family roots, community and satisfaction are significant and raise the level of explanation by nearly 7.5% (calculated by comparing the pseudo- R^2 before and after the addition of the neighbourhood variables). Life space, the measure of the use of facilities in the neighbourhood, is not significant, but being connected with family, or having strong community links, is a significant predictor of the tendency to stay in the same place. Satisfaction is negatively related to the probability of staying,

Table 4. Logit estimates of staying in the same dwelling.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	ET	Significance	B	ET	Significance
Age	-0.025	0.018	0.152	-0.026	0.018	0.145
Age squared	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000
Room stress	0.002	0.003	0.590	0.001	0.003	0.761
Children	0.279	0.164	0.088	0.177	0.170	0.297
Young adults	1.662	0.163	0.000	1.594	0.167	0.000
Owners	-0.232	0.292	0.427	-0.159	0.296	0.591
Renters	-1.867	0.327	0.000	-1.600	0.332	0.000
Professional	-0.174	0.214	0.415	-0.119	0.220	0.589
Service worker	-0.232	0.210	0.271	-0.244	0.217	0.260
Manual worker (qualified)	-0.080	0.238	0.736	-0.230	0.246	0.349
Manual worker (not qualified)	0.027	0.216	0.901	-0.120	0.223	0.589
Family roots				0.306	0.057	0.000
Life space				-0.013	0.039	0.740
Community				0.367	0.076	0.000
Satisfaction				-0.148	0.063	0.018
Constant	-1.054	0.522	0.044	-1.495	0.600	0.013
N = 2,363	Pseudo-R ² = 0.396			Pseudo-R ² = 0.425		

Significant variables in bold.

opposite to the hypothesised role of satisfaction. This contradictory finding can be explained by the social differences between neighbourhoods: people living in the most attractive neighbourhoods can have higher levels of satisfaction, but at the same time, they have the means to move more easily and are not uniformly stayers. At the other end of the spectrum, the inhabitants of disadvantaged areas can have lower satisfaction levels, but they also lack the means and opportunity to move to more advantaged neighbourhoods.

Moving and Staying

Households may stay in the local neighbourhood because they have links to the local area, although some households may be limited in their opportunity set, as Coulter (2013) emphasises. The log odds for manual workers – with and without qualifications – which are higher for staying than they are for those with professional occupations hints at the constraints as well as the choices. Still, given that these lower-status households have a greater likelihood of staying, it can also reflect their attachment to their areas even if they had more resources. For those who move but chose a new dwelling in the same neighbourhood, they are undoubtedly showing their attachment. The model for moving

and staying includes the same set of personal characteristics and place attachment measures.

The fit of the model predicting the likelihood of moving and staying in the neighbourhood is modest, although significant, and only the variables that measure lower-status occupations are significant (Table 5). Because the model is designed to measure the probability of moving and staying in the local area, there is no reason to expect the model to capture the standard measures that predict staying versus moving. Rather the model is designed to understand where households go when they move, and it suggests that status matters in the choice of area. When we add the place attachment variables, there is a significant change in the fit of the model to the data. While satisfaction and community connections are not significant, the measures of family roots and life space are significant and increase the predictive quality of the model several times over the base model without the neighbourhood variables. We know that most moves are nearby in mobility in general, but here we can show the link between the local move and families, and their everyday activities. Place attachment is then an important reason to move in the same neighbourhood, and family is the strongest bond in our place attachment model, at least in the context of the metropolitan area of Granada.

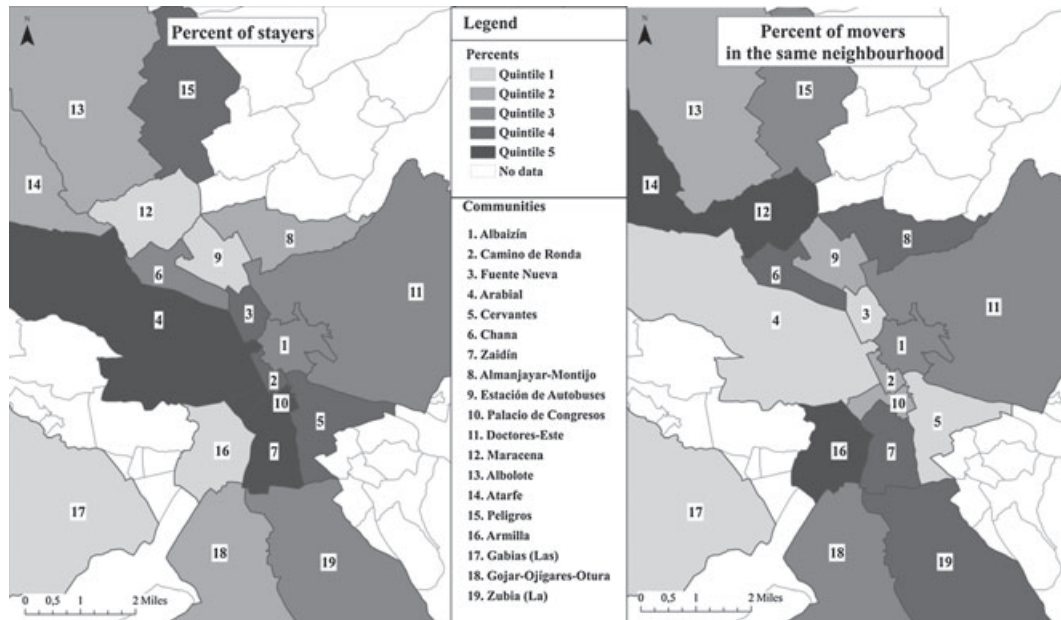
Table 5. Logit estimates of moving and staying in the same neighbourhood.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	ET	Significance	B	ET	Significance
Age	0.014	0.025	0.567	0.028	0.027	0.307
Age squared	0.000	0.000	0.502	0.000	0.000	0.379
Room stress	-0.001	0.004	0.892	-0.001	0.004	0.795
Children	0.055	0.186	0.769	-0.389	0.209	0.063
Young adults	0.359	0.221	0.104	0.261	0.244	0.286
Owners	-0.342	0.405	0.399	-0.094	0.465	0.840
Renters	-0.433	0.418	0.300	0.174	0.480	0.717
Professional	0.616	0.366	0.092	0.874	0.406	0.031
Service worker	0.918	0.358	0.010	1.053	0.398	0.008
Manual worker (qualified)	1.836	0.377	0.000	1.548	0.422	0.000
Manual worker (not qualified)	1.477	0.363	0.000	1.284	0.404	0.001
Family roots				0.875	0.089	0.000
Life space				0.382	0.056	0.000
Community				0.129	0.105	0.221
Satisfaction				-0.028	0.091	0.760
Constant	-1.989	0.717	0.006	-4.062	0.915	0.000
N = 1,284	Pseudo-R ² = 0.071			Pseudo-R ² = 0.294		

Significant variables in bold.

The distribution of stayers and movers across the neighbourhoods provides us with additional details on the patterns of staying, and moving and staying in the neighbourhoods of Granada

(Fig. 2). The phenomenon of staying is complex, and the areas with higher rates of stayers versus moving and staying locally are different. In the first map, the areas with lower rates for stayers



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

Figure 2. Distribution of stayers and movers in the same neighbourhood by neighbourhoods.

are logically those where new developments and population growth have greatly changed the shape and size of the neighbourhood. The percentage of stayers in the peripheral neighbourhoods then is low for the simple reason of an overall increase in the population. But the results are also interesting at the other end of the scale. The areas with greater stability are precisely some of the richer neighbourhoods. The decision to stay must be then connected with election: households who live in nice places choose to stay. Of course, households may want to move but cannot afford the change, but in the context of the city of Granada, elective stability is more important than forced stability.

The second panel in Figure 2 shows that the high rates of moving inside the neighbourhood are greatest in the suburban areas and in some of the most disadvantaged spaces of the city. This is consistent with the results of the logit model that showed how manual and service workers are more likely to move and stay in their neighbourhoods and also with the work by Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2132) who argue that 'the local arena plays a more important role for blue-collar workers than for those from a white-collar background. For the middle classes, the local arena is just one of many arenas'. The lower housing prices of these areas allow moving inside the neighbourhood (this is difficult in more expensive areas and could explain why people stay in the same dwelling, instead of moving to another dwelling).

CONCLUSIONS

It has been and continues to be difficult to measure just how the neighbourhood plays a role in urban activity. In this study, we use data from a retrospective survey of households in the metropolitan area of Granada to examine the relationship between staying, or moving and selecting a new residence in the same neighbourhood, and four measures of place attachment. We show that family roots, community connections and expressed satisfaction with the neighbourhood are significant predictors of not moving over the decade-long period of the study. The analysis of the subset of movers who choose new dwellings in the same neighbourhood adds to our understanding of the role of locality in behaviour. For this group, family bonds remain a powerful force in the decision to stay locally. But the life space is also important,

the activity sphere in the neighbourhood, which plays a role in keeping households locally. While community (our measure of neighbouring) matters for staying in the house, neither community nor general satisfaction is a significant variable for the group of mover/stayers.

There is a rich tradition of studies of the role of place in people's lives, but there are less compelling data on how households respond in their daily lives to localities and how they make the important decisions on whether to move or stay. Most of that work has used quite limited measures of place, primarily measures of satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a measure of the likelihood of moving. The research in this paper contributes to the broader literature of the role of neighbourhood and the literature on mobility and immobility in three important ways. First, it draws specific attention to the scale of mobility and provides evidence of the levels at which staying and moving is played out. In the nested spheres of staying, moving and staying locally, moving and staying regionally and moving and staying nationally, we have unpacked the first two dimensions and showed how locality measures vary in their impact on the decisions.

Second, the research shows that culture matters in urban behaviour. In the Spanish context and by extension in the European context (Hedman, 2013; Mulder & Malmberg, 2014), we see that for a significant number of households, family connections are important dimensions of the urban decision-making process. This is a finding that at present requires further research to unpack the family-cultural impact beyond this case study.

Third, we are able to draw a strong distinction between the nature of immobility and local mobility. Staying is related to life cycle and housing characteristics as well as place attachment dimensions. Moving locally or moving to other destinations is a function of social status, family connections and the role of the life space.

To be sure, there is much to do to fully understand the complementary realities of moving and staying. For most research, the decision to stay has been treated as a non-decision, a side story in the studies on mobility, in spite of the fact that we are sedentary for the most of our lives. From this study, we know there is also a decision in staying, a decision influenced by our attachment to the house and to the neighbourhood. Further investigation on staying has much to explore to reach the depth and refinement of the studies on mobility, but as

we rethink the concept of staying, new paths and possibilities are opening for the study of the relationship between people and place.

NOTES

- (1) Psychologists have been especially active in place attachment research, but the concept is also developed with different perspectives in sociology and geography.
- (2) Some research and a reviewer raised the question about the role of satisfaction as a measure of place attachment. We refer to the work by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) who recognise that satisfaction, related to duration, is a way of measuring connectedness. At the same time, we believe that while the measures vary from study to study, these dimensions capture important elements of the tendency to stay.
- (3) Results from the survey are documented in an unpublished research report edited by Ferrer and Jiménez 2009. We thank the local government of Granada, the financing entity, for allowing the use of the data for academic purposes.
- (4) Additionally, these areas may have around or above 20,000 inhabitants to allow us to request information on them from the 2011 Census, given the current restrictions in terms of statistic secrecy and privacy.

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APPENDIX

Table A1. Operationalisation of place attachment dimensions and dependent staying variables.

Variable	Questions (originally in Spanish, translated)	Answering options	Operationalisation
Independent variables			
Roots	B.4. B. Did you, your partner, your parents or parent in-laws grow up in this neighbourhood?	Yes/no for each one (four different answers)	Count of the number of family links (0–4)
Life space	B.7. Where is...? 1. Your workplace 2. The place where you study 3. Your preferred shopping area 4. Your healthcare centre 5. The school of your kids	1 = Same neighbourhood 2 = Another neighbourhood 3 = Granada 4 = Suburban area 5 = Outside the metropolitan area 6 = Other	Count of number of them located in the same neighbourhood (category 1)

(Continues)

Table A1. (Continued)

Variable	Questions (originally in Spanish, translated)	Answering options	Operationalisation
Community	6. <i>Your preferred leisure activities</i> 7. <i>Your close friend's homes</i> B.5a. <i>How often do you interact with your closer non-related neighbours?</i> B.5b. <i>And with the other residents of their neighbourhood?</i> B.6. <i>How often do your neighbours help you with situations such as childcare, watering the plants or others?</i>	7 = Not applicable From 1 (very often) to 4 (almost never)	Average score of the three answers
Satisfaction	<i>How satisfied are you with the quality of life in your neighbourhood?</i>	From 1 (very satisfied) to 5 (very dissatisfied)	Reclassified: answers 1 or 2 as satisfied and 3–5 as dissatisfied
Dependent variables			
Stayers in the same dwelling	<i>Where was your previous house?</i>	1 = In another country (which one?) 2 = In another region. (which one?) 3 = In another town (which one?) 4 = In another neighbourhood (which one?) 5 = In the same neighbourhood	Count of answers in categories 1–4
Stayers in the same neighbourhood			Count of answers in category 5