

**PEOPLE'S ATTACHMENT TO PLACE –  
THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DEPRIVATION**



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Please contact:

Communications Department,  
Joseph Rowntree Foundation,  
The Homestead,  
40 Water End,  
York YO30 6WP.

Tel: 01904 615905.

Email: [info@jrf.org.uk](mailto:info@jrf.org.uk)



# PEOPLE'S ATTACHMENT TO PLACE – THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DEPRIVATION



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**Mark Livingston, Nick Bailey and Ade Kearns**



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Chartered Institute of Housing  
Octavia House, Westwood Way  
Coventry CV4 8JP  
Telephone: 024 7685 1700  
[www.cih.org](http://www.cih.org)

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Joseph Rowntree Foundation  
The Homestead  
40 Water End  
York YO30 6WP  
Telephone: 01904 629241  
[www.jrf.org.uk](http://www.jrf.org.uk)

*People's attachment to place – the influence of neighbourhood deprivation*

Mark Livingston, Nick Bailey and Ade Kearns

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## Contents

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<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter One Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
Summary of key terms	7
<b>Chapter Two Background and policy context</b>	<b>9</b>
Place attachment	9
Residential turnover and neighbourhood stability	16
Social mix	19
Policy relevance	25
Research aims and objectives	29
<b>Chapter Three Data sources, data quality and methods</b>	<b>31</b>
Quantitative data	31
Qualitative data	33
<b>Chapter Four Place attachment</b>	<b>37</b>
Introduction	37
Measuring place attachment	37
Drivers of attachment across all neighbourhoods	39
Place attachment in deprived neighbourhoods	45
Attachment and retention in an area	51
Summary	52
<b>Chapter Five Place attachment and turnover</b>	<b>53</b>
Introduction	53
Measuring population turnover	53
Attachment and turnover nationally	54
Attachment and turnover in deprived neighbourhoods	56
Indirect impacts of turnover on attachment	57
Summary	59
<b>Chapter Six Place attachment and area social mix</b>	<b>61</b>
Introduction	61
Measuring social mix	61
Place attachment and social mix nationally	64
Attachment and social mix in deprived neighbourhoods	70
Summary	72

<b>Chapter Seven</b>	<b>Place attachment and neighbourhood fit</b>	<b>75</b>
	Introduction	75
	Measuring residential correspondence	75
	Residential correspondence Cluster Analysis	76
	Summary	79
<b>Chapter Eight</b>	<b>Conclusions and policy recommendations</b>	<b>81</b>
	Conclusions	81
	Policy recommendations	83
	<b>References</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>JRF Place Attachment Project: Variables</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Case study areas</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>Interview schedule</b>	<b>97</b>

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# Executive Summary

## Introduction

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'Place attachment' refers to the emotional or affective bonds which an individual feels to an area or place (which may in turn partly be a function of various forms of practical attachments to the place as well). This study examines the attachment that people feel to their current neighbourhood, particularly for those living in more deprived areas. Attachment is generally seen as having positive impacts for both individuals and for neighbourhoods. More recently it has been linked to the regeneration of deprived areas where it is associated with stable, cohesive neighbourhoods and where it is viewed as encouraging resident engagement in the neighbourhood in some positive way. This report examines the extent and nature of place attachment in deprived areas and, in particular, looks at the impacts of neighbourhood instability and social mix on attachment. This study is unique in considering place attachment from a regeneration perspective.

## Aims and key messages

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The aims of the study were: to investigate what factors influence residents' attachment to deprived areas; to consider whether attachment is affected by the high turnover of residents in the area; and to look at the impact of social mix on residents' attachment to place.

The key messages from the study include the following:

- Place attachment tends to be higher for older people and those who have lived in an area longer, and for those who feel their area has strong social networks or cohesion, and low crime.
- Although the most important factors associated with place attachment are the same in deprived neighbourhoods as elsewhere – people are less likely to be attached in deprived areas than more affluent areas. This difference is mostly a result of weaker social networks or cohesion and worse views on crime or lack of safety in the neighbourhood.
- High turnover can negatively affect place attachment by undermining social networks, and by eroding trust and feelings of safety or security in an area.
- Social mix in deprived areas is not by itself associated with reduced attachment, though rapid changes in mix (particularly ethnic mix) may be problematic although it is not clear whether this is a temporary or more permanent phenomenon.

## Background and policy context

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Attachment can be seen as important for the efforts of regeneration initiatives by encouraging stability and engagement. Attachment is assumed to have a recursive relationship (meaning a statistical link) with residential stability, each reinforcing the other. High turnover of residents within an area has therefore been identified as potentially disrupting local social networks and reducing levels of attachment. The study sought to identify the factors which were most strongly associated with place attachment but specifically to consider the relationship between turnover and attachment.

Place attachment is often thought to be higher in more homogeneous areas where individuals have common backgrounds, interests, cultural or religious affiliations, or lifestyles. Since the early nineties, however, there has been a focus in neighbourhood policy on promoting mixed communities. The project has set out to examine the relationship between different dimensions of mix and attachment to place.

## Data sources

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The study combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data were provided by the Citizenship Survey 2005. As well as demographic details about the individual, the survey provided information on a person's attachment to the place they lived and their views on the neighbourhood. Data from the Census and the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004 (ID) supplied information about the neighbourhood in which individuals lived including levels of deprivation, population turnover and social mix. Social mix was assessed on a range of dimensions including tenure mix, ethnic mix and mix in relation to educational attainment and social class.

The study also collected data from in-depth interviews from four contrasting deprived neighbourhoods in the Greater Manchester area. This allowed the results from the quantitative data to be confirmed but more importantly provided an opportunity to explore in more depth the concepts and factors affecting place attachment.

## Place attachment

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The most important factors associated with place attachment are the same in deprived neighbourhoods as they are elsewhere. As other studies have shown, older residents and those who have lived longer in an area tend to have higher levels of attachment. The strongest influence on attachment, however, was the individual's views of their neighbourhood. Of these views, those on social networks and cohesion had the largest impact on attachment but views on crime/safety and on values/trust were also important.

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People in deprived areas have substantially lower levels of attachment on average. Once neighbourhood views are taken into account, the effect of deprivation is very weak. In other words, attachment is lower in more deprived neighbourhoods because levels of social networks/cohesion are lower there and because problems of crime/safety are worse. Qualitative data from the four case study areas confirmed the importance of social networks/cohesion and crime/safety as factors in the formation of place attachment, with some evidence that strong networks acted as a defence against the worst problems of crime and security.

## Place attachment and neighbourhood instability

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The quantitative evidence suggests that turnover does have an impact on place attachment but the effect is indirect rather than direct. In high turnover areas, there are fewer people who have been there a long time so average attachment is lower. Once this has been taken into account, there does not appear to be any further impact of high turnover on attachment.

Evidence from the qualitative case studies gives a slightly different picture. This suggests that, in deprived areas, high turnover impacts on individuals' social networks and on their patterns of social interaction, limiting social networks and cohesion. High turnover made people anxious about new neighbours and those with whom they had not had time to build up trust. It was also linked to more general concerns about problems of insecurity in deprived areas.

## Place attachment and area social mix

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In the quantitative data, the evidence for a relationship between attachment and social mix is weak for all dimensions we considered. There is some evidence that mix in terms of ethnicity, qualifications and dwelling type have a small effect on levels of attachment. However an individual's views on their neighbourhood, their age and the length of time they have lived in an area remain the dominant influences.

In the qualitative research, social mix in the neighbourhood was rarely identified as problematic. The one exception was in an area of high turnover where a recent rise in ethnic mix was highlighted as an issue by some respondents (though not all). In the case study areas with more stable patterns of mix (in terms of tenure and ethnicity), the level of mix was seen either as irrelevant or as something positive.

## Place attachment and residential correspondence

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The research recognised that attachment may be affected less by social mix on its own than by whether an individual formed part of the majority or the minority group in an area. This 'fit' between the individual and their neighbourhood is termed 'residential correspondence'.

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The analysis suggests that correspondence may be important for some kinds of mix but not others. In relation to tenure mix, correspondence does not appear to be important. Owners and renters both appear to have higher attachment in areas with more owners (i.e. more affluent areas). The same is true in relation to educational mix; people with different levels of qualifications all have higher attachment in areas with more highly qualified groups. In relation to ethnic mix, however, residential correspondence does appear to have some importance. White people and Asian people both indicate a stronger attachment to areas where their correspondence is highest.

Combining correspondence scores for the different dimensions suggests that higher levels of correspondence on a number of dimensions has a stronger positive effect on attachment than any one dimension on its own. However, correspondence or one's 'fit' with the neighbourhood, still remains secondary as a driver of attachment when compared to factors like strong local networks.

## Conclusions and policy recommendations

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If place attachment is seen as important in both retaining people and in encouraging engagement and participation in deprived communities then, as the most important factor in driving attachment, policies that both encourage and protect social cohesion and social networks should be considered. Crime and security as an issue have particular importance in the formation of attachment for those living in deprived areas and policies that reflect this would be important in preserving place attachment. Age and length of stay as factors which encourage attachment to place are less amenable to policy, certainly in the short term. However, social networks and cohesion, and turnover are areas where policy could have considerable impact. Policies which help those living in deprived areas to maintain the communities and cohesion that already exist will also help promote stronger attachment. Certainly policies which are likely to encourage high turnover should be avoided but where turnover is already high policies that support community development and help build and sustain social networks might be considered. Helping new arrivals make links to existing communities may help those entering areas of high turnover to develop stronger attachments. There is no evidence here that suggests that in general social mix is either beneficial or detrimental to people's attachment to their neighbourhoods but that in certain situations, rapidly changing population for instance, support may be needed to counteract any reaction to the change.

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## Chapter One

# Introduction

The term 'place attachment' refers to the emotional bonds or ties that people have to particular places, including the neighbourhood in which they live. Place attachment is generally seen as having positive impacts for individuals and for neighbourhoods. For individuals, it may provide security, access to social networks and/or a sense of identity. For neighbourhoods, it is associated with stable, cohesive areas where people play an active role. As a result, place attachment has increasingly become a focus for policy makers who are concerned with the regeneration of deprived areas and the promotion of 'sustainable communities'.

This report examines the extent and nature of place attachment in deprived areas and, in particular, looks at the impacts of neighbourhood instability and social mix on attachment. This study is unique in considering place attachment from a regeneration perspective. The research aims:

- to identify the factors which are important for the development of place attachment in more deprived neighbourhoods;
- to examine what impacts neighbourhood instability and social mix have on attachment, particularly in deprived neighbourhoods; and
- to assess the extent to which place attachment might help to retain people in more deprived areas.

In more deprived areas, we might expect attachment to be relatively low, reflecting negative judgements on the physical or social environment, and the high levels of people looking to move out. Efforts by regeneration initiatives to improve the environment and build social networks or social capital in deprived areas might be expected to enhance place attachment.

Place attachment, and by extension regeneration efforts, in deprived areas may be threatened by high turnover. While instability is not a feature of deprived areas (Bailey and Livingston, 2007), a high level of population turnover may have more negative impacts in these areas. Instability may undermine the social networks and cohesion that are needed to build sustainable communities. The research considers the impact of population turnover on attachment nationally and more specifically in deprived areas. It also considers the mechanisms by which turnover affects attachment.

Place attachment tends to be associated with relatively homogeneous areas. Attachment is seen as stemming from, amongst other things, local social relationships or interactions and these might be expected to form more easily between people with common backgrounds, interests, cultural or religious affiliations, or lifestyles.

Current area regeneration policies, however, stress the value of promoting social mix and heterogeneity as a means of achieving sustainable communities (ODPM, 2003) There are good arguments for doing so, as the literature on area effects has documented the damaging impacts of living in areas with high concentrations of deprived individuals. In promoting greater social mix, however, one of the foundations for sustainable communities may be undermined. The report examines whether social mix influences place attachment and tests the idea that individuals form attachments more easily in more homogeneous areas.

While social mix may be important to your likelihood of forming an attachment to your neighbourhood, what may be more important is the extent to which you 'fit' in with others in your neighbourhood – your residential correspondence. For example, do more affluent individuals form attachments in more deprived areas to the same extent that they form them in more affluent areas? Are people more likely to form attachments when they are part of the ethnic majority in the area than when they are in the minority?

The report uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. First, individual data from the Citizenship Survey were combined with neighbourhood-level data from the Census to give a national overview. With over 9,000 individual responses, the scale of this dataset enables us to compare attachment in deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods, and to compare the impacts of turnover and social mix in both kinds of place. Second, in-depth interviews were carried out with 39 individuals in four relatively deprived case study neighbourhoods. These areas were selected to have different levels of turnover and social mix to enable a more detailed examination of how neighbourhood context and individual experience influence the development of attachment.

The structure of the report is as follows:

- **Chapter Two** provides the detail on the current literature and the policy context for this research.
- **Chapter Three** outlines the data sources, the methods and measurements used in the report.
- **Chapter Four** considers the factors which influence place attachment in general and in deprived areas in particular.
- **Chapter Five** examines the impact of population turnover on attachment.
- **Chapters Six and Seven** tackle the issues of social mix and residential correspondence and their influence on place attachment.
- **Chapter Eight** draws out the main conclusions of this work and discusses the policy implications.

### Summary of key terms

<i>Citizenship Survey</i>	The Citizenship Survey is a government survey of nearly 14,000 people, which gathers data on the person's neighbourhood; active communities; racial prejudice and citizenship.
<i>Deprived area</i>	Unless otherwise specified, a deprived area is defined here as one which is in the most deprived 10 per cent (i.e. the most deprived decile) on the relevant Index of Multiple Deprivation (ID). Deprivation is a continuum, with little to distinguish those areas which fall just inside this cut-off from those just outside it. This cut-off is used as a convenient point at which to make a comparison, however, and is one commonly used by policy makers and practitioners.
<i>Entropy score</i>	The Entropy Measure or the 'information theory index H' is a measure of mix or segregation with a scale from 0-1 where 0 represents an area where 100 per cent of the population belong to one group and 1 represents an area where all groups are equally represented.
<i>Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD)</i>	Deprivation is measured using the ID 2004 for England (ODPM, 2004). This index was produced at the level of Super Output Areas.
<i>Place attachment</i>	Place attachment is generally seen as an emotional bond that an individual has to a place, though in this study we also consider attachments derived for practical reasons. Place may have any number of differing boundaries but for this study we are interested in attachment to the neighbourhood in which a person lives.
<i>Residential correspondence</i>	The term 'residential correspondence' refers to the extent that a person's characteristics match those of the neighbourhood they live in. Or the extent they 'fit' in the neighbourhood.
<i>Social mix</i>	Social mix refers to the mix of people in a neighbourhood and includes mix on a number of dimensions , e.g. ethnicity, tenure, social class, qualifications etc.
<i>Super Output Area (SOA)</i>	Lower Layer SOAs are the spatial units used to represent 'neighbourhoods' in the quantitative analysis. These are the areas recently devised for the production of neighbourhood statistics including the Index of Multiple Deprivation. They have an average population of 1,500.
<i>Turnover</i>	For the purpose of this study turnover is the sum of out- and in-migration plus twice the level of within area migration. So each neighbourhood has a potential migration range of 0 to 200 per cent.



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## Chapter Two

# Background and policy context

In this part of the report we discuss the three phenomena of place attachment, neighbourhood instability and social mix. We start by reviewing the theory of place attachment, and the evidence about its drivers and consequences. We then consider the definition of neighbourhood instability and its relationship to place attachment. Third, we consider arguments about the positive impacts of social mix, and review the evidence for a relationship between social mix and place attachment. Having reviewed these three phenomena, we outline the current policy interest in each of them. The chapter concludes with a statement of our research aims and objectives, as developed in order to contribute further to the evidence base.

## Place attachment

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### Place attachment

Place attachment is the 'bonding of people to places'. This can take two forms: functional (or practical) attachment and emotional attachment. We form a stronger bond to a place if it meets our needs, both physical and psychological, and matches our goals and lifestyle. We become emotionally attached to places if they support our self-identity: places do this if they offer distinctiveness from others; if they offer continuity of experience over time; and if they enable us to make a positive evaluation of ourselves, thus supporting our self-esteem.

Research indicates that the strongest influence upon an individual's place attachment is their length of residence in an area – the longer a person's residence the more positive their sentiments towards a community are likely to be. Being a home owner and being highly educated are also positively associated with place attachment.

The community context itself is also an important influence: an individual is more likely to feel attached in a place where other people feel attached; where they have many local friends and relatives; where there are long-term residents in the area; and where there are higher levels of involvement in local organisations. In deprived areas, higher levels of fear of crime, higher rates of serious crime, and higher child densities detract from the collective level of place attachment.

Place attachment is generally viewed as having positive effects for individuals, helping to enrich people's lives with meaning, values and significance, thus also contributing to people's mental health and well-being. Place attachment has also been found to be a strong predictor of someone's social capital resources.



However, we have to recognise that for some people in some circumstances, it would be better to move than stay; in these cases, place attachment may be detrimental in precluding new experiences, new opportunities for personal development, or in prolonging hardship and resources. One might say that there can, in some circumstances, be a conflict between the emotional and functional purposes served by place attachment.

There are some indications that individuals are more attached to the people associated with a place than to the place as a physical entity, but this relationship between the social and physical attachments to place is inadequately explored in the research.

Place attachment denotes the presence of strong links between people and the places they interact with, most commonly through current or past residence, or by virtue of their patterns of other behaviour. Thus, it is important to remember that place of residence is not necessarily coincident with place(s) of attachment. Much of the literature on place attachment is concerned with physical characteristics or 'environmental settings', but it has been extended beyond geographic features to social and cultural values associated with the community in a place (Stokowski, 2002, cited in Todd and Anderson, 2005). Most often, place attachment is considered a good thing, though there may be some ways in which strong attachment can be detrimental to individuals and communities.

For some authors (e.g. Relph, 1976) place attachment is a fundamental human need, but others do not accept place attachment as an ontological requirement (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996; Rojek and Urry, 1997), and moreover would argue that the need for place attachment will vary considerably between individuals and groups. Many advocates of place attachment would contend that it is under threat from creeping spatial uniformity, increased mobility and a growing functional or instrumental relationship with places, whilst others would say that mobility and communications technology are simply dis-embedding people from their local contexts altogether (Hay, 1998; Meyrowitz, 1985). Thus, there is no consensus on the status of place attachment in modern society.

Place attachment can be considered as the '*...bonding of people to places*' (Low and Altman, 1992), but this bonding can take two forms: functional (or practical) and emotional. This division is described variously as '*...the distinction between behaviour and bond*' (Giuliani, 2003) or as comprising two dimensions of attachment – *place dependency and place identity* (Williams *et al.*, 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). A relationship between the two is often assumed, thus: '*Attachment to a place is a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience*' (Rubinstein and Parmlee, 1992).

### Functional attachment

Place dependency, or functional attachment, refers to the ability of a place to enable us to achieve our goals and desired activities (Schreyer *et al.*, 1981; Stokols and

Shumaker, 1981). If we have an ongoing relationship with a place (by virtue of residence or repeated visits) and if this supports our highly valued goals and activities, then we will form an attachment to the place. Although some commentators (e.g. Williams and Vaske, 2003) refer mainly to physical characteristics of places in this regard, others (e.g. Shumaker and Taylor, 1983) talk of '*...the congruity between needs [physical and psychological] and the physical and social resources of the environment*' (Giuliani, 2003, p.149) such that the strength of the 'bond' depends upon an evaluation of the current situation (i.e. the place we are in) against other alternatives and the realistic possibility of making a choice between them.

There is a close link between place dependency and place identity through the notion of self-efficacy, wherein people use their physical environment as part of 'the maintenance of self' (Korpela, 1989). Individuals seek to achieve a sense of personal agency, and in the words of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell: '*...feelings of self-efficacy are maintained if the environment facilitates or at least does not hinder a person's everyday lifestyle*' (1996, p.208). Although not explicitly stated in the literature, the implication is that, if a place supports a person's sense of self-efficacy, they will form a stronger attachment to it (though one could also infer from the literature that self-efficacy is a potential outcome of attachment).

For places to facilitate self-efficacy, they must be '*manageable environments*' (Winkel, 1981, cited in Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) such that people can organise local signals and information to '*...develop a predicative system that allows them to judge whether a setting supports their goals and purposes*' (Winkel, 1981). This is akin to the idea that neighbourhoods should be familiar and predictable environments (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001), and relates to Altman and Low's (1992) argument that one of the purposes of place attachment is to provide people with a sense of control and security.

### **Emotional attachment**

Emotional place attachment refers to the feelings, moods and emotions people have about certain places, which as Giuliani (2003) points out, can relate both to the place itself and to the communities defined by, and which help to define, that place. Shumaker and Taylor (1983) define attachment as '*...a positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment*' (p.233). For Relph (1976), attachment to a place is a fundamental human need, in part because place identity is a component part of self-identity (Proshansky *et al.*, 1983) as well as an aspect of social identity, or place-related social identity, according to Uzzell *et al.* (2002). According to the latter, people develop their identity by identifying themselves as part of a group which is itself defined by a place with particular features; this is similar to earlier formulations of the close relationship between group and spatial identity (Fried, 1963).

Place identity is said to involve a psychological investment in a place that develops over time (Giuliani and Feldman, 1993), partly through social relationships in a neighbourhood that help develop a sense of belonging (Gerson *et al.*, 1977).

Thus, attachment represents commitment to a place which is a product of institutional ties, social activity and interaction, the local presence of friends and relatives, and residential satisfaction.

The relationship between place attachment and identity is set out in Breakwell (1986 and 1992) and discussed by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996). According to their exposition, three principles of identity may be met through place attachment, in addition to self-efficacy already discussed. The first is *distinctiveness*, by which people use place identifications to distinguish themselves from others, so that '*...the bond to a particular town also contributes to one's differentiation from residents in other town areas*' (Lalli, 1992, p.25, cited in Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996).

The second is *continuity*, wherein one's concept of the self is preserved over time in two ways. Place-referent continuity refers to a person's desire to maintain a link to a place because it acts as a reference to past selves, actions and experiences, and is a benchmark to compare oneself to at points in time (Korpela, 1989). Place-congruent continuity refers to a person's desire to maintain continuity in the characteristics of their place between sites, consistent with their settlement identification (Feldman, 1990), and thus they will look for places that reflect their values (Graumann, 1983). This discussion of continuity suggests that the nature and strength of a person's attachment to a place will be dependent on their life-stage, and that people can be attached to more than one place at a time, if several places hold key significances for their self-identity and life experience.

The third principle of place identity is *self-esteem*, according to which people seek to maintain or obtain a positive evaluation of themselves, a feeling of social value or worth, through the qualities of the place they are associated with, or a sense of pride by association (Uzzell, 1995). Place attachment, then, may make people feel good about themselves depending on their assessment of the relative status of the area in question.

## **Territoriality**

An extreme form of place attachment is *territoriality*, or the control of space, which can take three forms. The possession of space, or rather feelings of possessiveness towards a territory, may stem from its associations with self-image and self-identity, so that one does not want others/strangers to also consume the space and one also wants to protect it (see Brower, 1980). Place attachment in the form of territoriality may also serve as a form of regulation of social interaction and of privacy (Harris *et al.*, 1996). Lastly, 'primary territories' are used to express individual identity through the personalisation of space, and this intensifies affective bonds (Brown and Werner, 1985). It is worth noting that some commentators (e.g. Taylor *et al.*, 1985) make a distinction between territorial functioning and place attachment (rather than seeing one as an extreme form of the other), since place attachment can apply symbolically to places that one has never directly experienced. Pollini (2005) also makes such a distinction between place attachment and what is termed '*socio-territorial belonging*'.

the latter referring to being part of a '*spatially defined collectivity*', i.e. a territory with perceived boundaries and to which a name is given.

### The drivers of place attachment

Investigations of the drivers of attachment have focused upon the relative influence of place characteristics, personal traits, community involvements and length of residence. The underlying issue, therefore, has been whether place attachment is determined more by where you are, who you are, or what you do.

In a seminal piece of research on 'community attachment in mass society' using data for Great Britain, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) contrasted a linear model of community, whereby increases in city population and density reduced the significance of community, with a systemic model whereby community, comprising a system of friendship, kinship and associational ties, is an essential part of mass society. They found support for the systemic model in that 'local community sentiments' (including sense of belonging, interest in local affairs and desire to remain in/regret about leaving the area) were influenced, positively, more by length of residence than any other factor.

The impacts on place attachment of urban structure, measured through community size and density, were weak and mostly insignificant, though higher density reduced regret about leaving. Higher social status generated interest in local affairs but not necessarily belonging and attachment. Local social bonds were a more important influence with numbers of local friends being most positively associated with stronger community sentiments, followed by number of local relatives. Overall, length of residence explained more variation in community sentiments and in local social bonds than social class, life-stage and urban structure combined. Two decades later, Giuliani (2003) reported that '*...a positive correlation between length of residence and the intensity of attachment to the place of residence is a widely reported finding*' (p.152).

More recent work by Woolever (1992) sought to test two conceptions of community, namely the 'community of limited liability' where neighbourhoods are mostly about the protection of status and socialisation of the young, and the 'natural community', where people maintain high levels of local social interaction, which would impact positively upon community sentiment or neighbourhood attachment.<sup>1</sup> Although this study was only carried out in one city (Indianapolis, Indiana) the advantage over other studies is that it included many (around 30) measures of neighbourhood characteristics.

As regards individual drivers of attachment, the most important characteristics were found to be home ownership, level of education, age and length of residence (all positive) and white ethnicity (negative). Of the neighbourhood characteristics, density and level of education were the most important: higher densities lowered social involvements and feelings of attachment; higher education was associated with higher

<sup>1</sup> Neighbourhood attachment was measured using a number of variables covering belonging, pride in the area, level of commitment to the neighbourhood, and identification with the community's welfare.

levels of attachment; differences in income between neighbourhoods and racial composition were not significant predictors of attachment.

These neighbourhood characteristics were reported to be only weakly associated with place attachment, but to have an influence upon social interaction. Informal (visiting neighbours) and formal (participating in local organisations) neighbourhood interactions were found to be strong predictors of attachment, with the informal being the more important. Woolever concludes that her findings support the view of the neighbourhood as a natural community with the strongest predictors of attachment being social involvements, then individual characteristics, then some aspects of the neighbourhood context.

The question of how the drivers of attachment relate to the different spatial scales of place has been addressed by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) in research in Santa Cruz de Tenerife in Spain. Their work is an important contribution to the issue of how neighbourhood attachment compares to other levels of attachment, as well as for attempting to separate social from physical attachment. They found that the neighbourhood was the spatial scale with the weaker degree of attachment compared to the home and the city, though people are nonetheless attached to their neighbourhood; they attribute these findings to a decrease in activities carried out in the neighbourhood and to the fact that increased mobility means people can always move back to a neighbourhood they move away from at some point.

Social attachment is greater than physical attachment at all levels, i.e. people are more attached to the other people associated with a place than to the place itself, though they also argue that these things often operate in tandem. With regard to individual characteristics, the study finds place attachment increases with age, is not related to social class, and is higher for women than men (which has been found in other studies). But for age, the authors report an important interaction with spatial scale: younger people are most attached to the city, middle-aged people to the home, and older people are attached equally to all scales.

### **Place attachment and deprived areas**

Although there are some studies of place attachment in deprived areas, there are few studies which address the question of whether or not area deprivation in and of itself affects variations in place attachment between areas. In their early study, Kasarda and Janowitz identified the negative effects of higher density areas (something also found in other studies) and commented that '*...we may infer that in high density areas, housing conditions or other social or physical features diminish community attractiveness*' (1974, p.335); this composite impact could equate to the effects of area deprivation. However, the effects of density or of physical environmental quality may be distinct from the impacts of poverty and deprivation.

In support of the latter argument, Woolever (1992) found that higher density and the percentage of sub-standard housing in an area were both associated with lower place

attachment, but variations in average income levels between areas were not. However, variations in educational levels between areas did affect attachment, with higher neighbourhood education levels being associated with higher place attachment. Thus, the key factor may be one of cultural resources, not poverty, so that higher levels of education in an area may help generate more social involvements (one of the objects of Woolever's analysis) and hence higher place attachment.

Some further insights into the role of key characteristics often associated with poor areas can be derived from Sampson's (1988) nationwide study of attachment in Britain, following up Kasarda and Janowitz's analysis a decade or so later using British Crime Survey data. Whilst Sampson did not use a measure of area deprivation in his study, he reports that 'collective attachment' at the community level is negatively affected by urbanisation (the type of settlement a person lives in), neighbourhood fear of crime, the local victimisation rate for serious crime, and the density of children in an area. Urbanisation and the victimisation rate also negatively affect community attachment at the individual level.

The distinction between individual and collective attachment is important here. For example, at the individual level, the presence of children may provide more opportunities for the development of place attachment by parents through their involvement in child-centred, local activities. However, for other adults in the area, higher child densities may detract from the attractiveness of the neighbourhood due to perceptions of disturbance associated with children; we do not know at what level of child density such a negative effective would occur.

Sampson highlighted the role of 'systemic' community factors upon an individual's integration into a community (in terms of their friendship ties, local social activities and place attachment). Two factors in particular stand out. First, community residential stability (based on percentage of residents brought up in the area) affects the level of local friendship ties at the community level; this in turn affects the individual's local friendship ties and through this their place attachment. Second, the mean level of place attachment at the community level is positively associated with the level of attachment felt by the individual.

Thus, we might say that people are more attached in residentially stable, well-integrated communities, irrespective of area deprivation, unless the negative factors identified above, and often associated with area deprivation, serve to intervene in this relationship.

### **The consequences of place attachment**

For the most part, place attachment is seen as a good thing by commentators. Giuliani (2003) for example notes that emotional place attachment '*...certainly has a strong positive effect in defining our identity, in filling our life with meaning, in enriching it with values, goals and significance*' (p.138), thus contributing to our mental health and well-being.

Although place attachment is often seen as partly a product of local social relationships, social involvements are also taken to be a positive consequence of emotional attachment. Recent research on two Dutch neighbourhoods, for example, found that a composite index of place attachment was a relatively strong predictor of people's local social capital (Kleinhans *et al.*, 2007).

On the other hand, though less often discussed, place attachment can have detrimental effects if it prevents people from seeking out new experiences and new opportunities for personal development (Fried, 2000), and for some people possibly prolonging hardship or stigma – it rather depends on the qualities and status of the place to which one is attached. Hence, the advantages of place attachment have to be weighed against the advantages of spatial mobility for people at particular times in particular places.

Both place attachment and territorial functioning, as an extreme form of attachment, can lead to conflicts between groups with conflicting claims on the same place, or who feel that their place is threatened by developments in a nearby, other place. Again, therefore, place attachment can have negative effects, this time on wider society.

## Residential turnover and neighbourhood stability

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### Residential turnover and place attachment

High levels of residential turnover can be problematic in deprived areas, because they undermine social and neighbouring relations through the consequent increase in the number of unknown neighbours, and through the fear of strangers that can develop among residents in such circumstances. Conversely, neighbourhood stability is said to facilitate place attachment both because there are more likely to be well-developed local social relations, but also because the individual is more likely to feel safe and in control and thus to participate in such local interrelations. However, the argument that high levels of residential turnover at the neighbourhood level undermines the individual's sense of place attachment (emotional or functional) can be said to be 'unproven' on the basis of the research evidence.

A more crucial factor influencing place attachment may be whether or not an individual feels that their initial and ongoing residence in an area is a matter of personal choice. Where choice is felt to be lacking (and if someone feels trapped in an area) they may be less well disposed to an area psychologically (and thus less likely to develop emotional attachment), and also less inclined to think that the area can meet their practical needs and personal goals (and therefore less likely to develop functional attachment). The influence of choice is, however, under-explored in the research.

The term 'stability' refers here to the extent to which the population of an area remains the same from one year to the next. Population turnover (the number of people entering or leaving an area each year) is the means of measuring stability. For some people, instability is used in a more general sense to describe neighbourhoods suffering from problems such as a lack of community, poor social relationships and high social disorder. Instability is often associated with deprived areas and high turnover may be seen as a part of the picture (PMSU/ODPM, 2005). We use stability in the narrower sense, and seek to explore whether it has a relationship with other aspects of a community, notably levels of attachment.

For individuals, mobility is generally seen in positive terms – as the means to achieve a better fit with housing needs or aspirations. For communities, a high level of turnover tends to be seen as problematic (although very low turnover can also be seen in negative terms as well). The most usually cited potential problem with high turnover is the disruption it may cause to social ties and neighbouring relations within the area. High turnover is anticipated to lead to difficulties in local people getting to know one another and having ongoing friendly relations, and in particular helpful relations, with one another, since a greater number of one's neighbours may be considered 'strangers'. The extent to which high turnover results in problematic local relations is largely unknown, and in any case the argument is premised on assumptions about the degree to which people in stable residential circumstances engage in social interactions with their neighbours, so that the absence of such relations would be considered to erode local social life. Sampson *et al.* (1997), however, provide evidence that high turnover is particularly problematic in more deprived areas.

There is a distinction to be made, then, between community instability and residential instability within a neighbourhood, although the two may be related. Neighbourhood instability in residential terms assumes the presence of a so-called 'threshold effect' (see Galster *et al.*, 2000) in the relationship between turnover in one time period and turnover in the subsequent time period. In other words, there may be a gradual increase in turnover per annum within an area, but at some point turnover will reach a level where instability takes root and turnover in the subsequent time period rises dramatically, never to return to normal levels. Such areas are considered unstable, and undesirable to live in both by virtue of the weak social relations mentioned above, and due to associated anti-social behaviour problems. The latter may result from the lack of informal social control among residents who are unfamiliar with one another, or from the types of people attracted to, and directed towards, living in unstable places.

The extent to which there are such unstable places in the UK is unknown. In general, residential turnover in the most deprived decile of areas, at 23 per cent on average, is about a third higher than in the least deprived decile of areas (Bailey and Livingston, 2007), indicating that deprived areas should not be characterised as unstable as is often assumed.

## Neighbourhood stability and place attachment

A simple two-way relationship between stability and attachment is easily presented: stability produces place attachment, and place attachment produces stability. With regard to the former relationship, these processes operate at individual and community level. For individuals, remaining longer in an area enables one to develop social relationships and familiarity with the area, which support one's sense of safety and control – all these are factors that can generate attachment. As mentioned earlier, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) have shown a strong relationship between individual length of residence in an area and what they term 'community attachment'. Furthermore, the development of social relationships and place attachment may also be facilitated by stability among the local population, not just by stability for the individual concerned.

However, since attachment is related to other factors such as shared values and identity with co-residents, there remains a question as to whether these things are dependent on stability or length of residence. Giuliani (2003) reports that whilst the length of residence of the individual and strength of place attachment are often positively related to one another, at an area level '*...the causal relationship postulated between high residential mobility and lack of affective bonds with places is far from having been proven*' (p.152). The research by Kleinhans *et al.* (2007) on restructured neighbourhoods in Rotterdam also reported that neither length of residence nor expected future length of residence helped predict an individual's local social capital.

Taking the second relationship, that between prior attachment and subsequent stability, one has to acknowledge that stability can arise for both positive and negative reasons. People may be prevented from leaving an area due to affordability problems or discrimination, amongst other reasons. Thus, stability may not be a reflection of apparent place attachment. Brown *et al.* (2004) argued that length of residence may not be the sole or main driver of high attachment.

More important may be the issue of whether one's residence in an area derives from personal choice: a study by Bahi-Fleury (1996, cited in Giuliani, 2003) in Paris found that attachment to an area was influenced by how the person had arrived there; in particular, whether a person perceived their arrival in a neighbourhood to be a free choice or compulsory was subsequently influential upon attachment. It may also be important for attachment that a person thinks that they have an ongoing choice to remain or depart from an area. It is worth noting that Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) argued that, notwithstanding strong place attachment, people would want to leave an area if it no longer met their aspirations (cited in Kleinhans *et al.*, 2007).

Thus, the degree of choice a person feels they had in initially living in a particular place, and the ongoing degree of choice they have in deciding to remain or not (i.e. do they feel 'trapped'?) may have two effects on their place attachment. First, it may

influence a person's disposition towards a place and hence the likelihood of their developing an emotional attachment. Second, it may influence a person's intention to try to satisfy their own objectives locally and thus develop a functional attachment; in other words, whether or not someone sees their local area as a place that can meet their needs.

## Social mix

### Social mix and place attachment

An important argument (supported by limited research evidence in the UK context) is that lower levels of social mixing, and higher levels of social homogeneity in an area supports greater place attachment among residents. This is because in situations where people see themselves as sharing similarities with their neighbours they are more likely to engage in collective actions to meet their shared needs and to develop their shared lifestyles. This in turn promotes an individual's place-related social identity (the intertwining of place and self-identity) and thus their place attachment.

Note that in relation to this argument and area of research, it is people's perceptions of similarities and differences between neighbours that is said to matter; actual differences are not usually measured. Recent European research has also indicated that people's place attachment is positively related to their level of satisfaction with the residential composition of their neighbourhood.

Some research indicates that renters may gain in terms of place attachment and in other ways through living in more mixed neighbourhoods, but the reverse effects upon owners of doing this are largely unreported, so the net benefit to communities and societies is unclear. Other research suggests that place attachment for individuals is higher where owning is the dominant tenure (above 60 per cent of the local market), though this can nonetheless be described as a 'socially mixed' situation.

Similarly, some studies have indicated, in both US and European cities, that ethnic minorities feel stronger place attachment where they form a substantial minority or majority of the local population – anywhere from 30 per cent to 50 per cent have been reported. However, the views of white people in such circumstances are less well understood: some may like ethnic diversity up to a point (though we don't know up to what point); and some may dislike 'diversity' not in and of itself but because it is often associated with higher levels of deprivation – this interrelationship between the effects of diversity and deprivation on place attachment is unexplored.

Many of the reported conclusions about social mixing and place attachment are highly dependent upon the type of place attachment concerned (emotional or functional), the spatial scale involved (neighbourhood/community versus block/street), and on what exactly is meant by 'social mix'.

The widespread interest expressed in achieving social mix within neighbourhoods and communities stems from two sources. Partly it is a nostalgic and, some would say, utopian ideal that Aneurin Bevan's post-war notion of creating '*...the living tapestry of a mixed community*' should still be relevant today (see Cole and Goodchild, 2000), reflecting British values of tolerance and neighbourliness, i.e. we can all get along with each other, even people who are from different social classes. There may also be an echo of the ecological argument that communities are stronger if they are diverse. It is still argued that '*...the most successful communities involve a wide spread of people*' and '*Bevan's evocation of the value of social mix remains a powerful picture of the ideal community life*' (Warburton, 2006), even though some are prepared to admit the reality could be that of a '*faded tapestry*' (Holmes, 1997).

Social mix is also considered as a remedy for the negative effects of 'concentrated poverty', an American term referring to the impacts of the segregation of low income and mostly non-white population groups within cities. Case-study UK research has reported important negative effects upon residents of living in deprived areas. Atkinson and Kintrea (2001; 2004), for example, compared pairs of deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods in two cities, using evidence both from resident surveys and from interviews with practitioners. They found consistent evidence from both sources about the negative impacts of area stigmatisation and discrimination, the lack of weak social ties to people living elsewhere, and for worse outcomes in deprived areas with regard to employment, education and health. Their evidence from the two sources was contradictory as regards social isolation however, and due to social support effects in poor areas they remarked that, '*Being poor in a poor area in fact can be regarded as having distinct advantages and being poor in a more affluent area is sometimes seen as producing less preferable outcomes*' (2004, p.452).

In a review paper for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Fitzpatrick (2004) concluded that '*...qualitative evidence on the negative impact of area effects is now very strong*' (p.10). She emphasises three areas – stigma, social networks, and conflict – and in each of these highlights interesting psychological impacts. First, neighbourhood reputations and the perceived relative positioning of areas undermines people's emotional well-being and sense of identity. Second, inward-looking social networks ('network poverty') may cut people off from information about job opportunities, but in addition it results in '*...significant psychological barriers to residents taking advantage of opportunities in the wider urban area*' (p.11). Atkinson and Kintrea make a related point when they argue that inter-generational isolation and worklessness leads to '*...the transmission of values that [are] fatalistic and introverted*' with regard to education and employment (2004, p.452). Third, residents in deprived areas are most likely to have their residential satisfaction eroded by concerns about crime and anti-social behaviour, and this in turn limits their consideration of other places to live which contain social rented housing.

Despite this qualitative research, a recent review concluded that '*...the available UK evidence for special neighbourhood effects of concentrated poverty is weak, and the*

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*case is not proven*' (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006, p.11). This comment reflects the evidence available from long-term, quantitative cohort studies of populations in Canada, the UK and Western Europe as reviewed by Cheshire, again for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2007). The studies range from a duration of five years to thirty years, and show that the effects of the characteristics of a person's neighbourhood of origin upon their subsequent rate of employment or level of earnings is very weak compared to the effects of other factors such as family background. Original household employment and earnings are important though, so it may be that neighbourhood has an important influence through affecting these things, as discussed above.

Turning to the treatment rather than the problem, much of the evidence on the success or otherwise of mixed tenure, mixed income communities comes from case-study research conducted for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in the last few years. Seven of these studies were reviewed by Chris Holmes (2006) and a brief synopsis of his summary of the evidence follows. The studies showed that mixed income communities can function successfully, with social harmony and civility between people from different backgrounds and in different housing tenures. Where they have involved adaptations of existing communities, mixed income developments have reduced problems of residential turnover and of poor area reputations and they have enhanced people's quality of life and neighbourhood satisfaction. These benefits derive not just from the fact of being mixed income, but also from improved environmental quality and design, from there being a true mix of house types and sizes (thus avoiding concentrations of particular social and demographic groups), and from an approach which seeks to minimise differences in quality and appearance between properties in different tenures. These contributors as well as that of 'decisive management', were particularly prominent in the study of neighbourhoods within the Bournville Village Trust in Birmingham (Groves *et al.*, 2003).

Yet there are limitations to the achievements of mixed income communities so far. They may be mixed, but not inclusive, in that problematic households may be excluded from the rental sector and the range of income groups accommodated may be very narrow (though other studies have suggested that this is a key to their success). Despite reports that co-residents see each other as '*ordinary people*' (Allen *et al.*, 2005), and that people identify with each other and see a 'sameness' in the resident group, there is limited evidence for two of the hypothesised gains from mixing, namely social capital gains and peer effects. It is worth quoting Holmes summary of the evidence here in full:

*...owners and tenants described their relationships as 'civil' and 'polite'. They mostly co-existed as neighbours rather than friends. This meant that co-operation between households took place but did so in relation to practical issues rather than personal issues. There was little evidence that better-off residents acted as 'role models' who help in finding better employment opportunities or raising expectations of attainment. Nor was there evidence that mixed tenure had enhanced social capital.*

(Holmes, 2006, p.4)

As well as the case-study research in the UK, there have been experimental studies, cohort studies, and research reviews from elsewhere which have also been ambivalent about the outcomes of mixing. For example, the question of whether or not the aim of 'deconcentrating poverty populations' produces an aggregate net social benefit to both origin and destination communities has been questioned, with the evidence described as '*exceedingly sparse*' (Galster, 2002). Further, despite an assumption that mixing housing tenures will simultaneously achieve a mix of incomes (see Bailey *et al.*, 2006), the relationship between tenure and income is '*not perfect*' (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006), and that between housing mix and social mix is '*not very strong*' (Musterd and Andersson, 2005).

The argument underlying much social mix policy, that affluent households can have positive effects upon neighbours who are less well off has stronger support in US research than in Europe, where the evidence is more mixed (Galster, 2005). Even in the US though, there are conflicting signals, with some studies showing employment gains for black adults from relocation to more socially mixed areas (Rosenbaum, 1995) whilst other studies have shown few job gains from dispersing public housing tenants and little use of diverse social networks for employment reasons (Briggs, 1998; Kleit, 2001).

Reviews of the available evidence have tended to stress the importance of neighbourhood social context (the degree of social mixing) for child and adolescent outcomes more so than for adult outcomes (Berube, 2005). Moreover, the relationships with youth outcomes are stronger in respect of socio-economic mixing than in relation to levels of ethnic homogeneity or mixing (Galster, 2005), so area-level affluence may matter more than area diversity. In his review of the British research, Holmes (2006) argued that families with children can be attracted to mixed income developments and that households without children can be retained when they start families (a key concern in inner city locations). But the study upon which this comment is based, as well as clearly stating the same messages, also reveals that success in this regard is modest: first, the proportion of families attracted to the mixed income communities was '*...less than national and city averages in the private sector*'; and second, '*at least half the families... intended to move within the next five years... somewhat above the average for urban families in private homes*' (Silverman *et al.*, 2005, pp.2-3). Thus, although the evidence from elsewhere indicates that child outcomes can be enhanced through mixed communities, the UK evidence highlights the challenges involved in producing sustainable, mixed income communities attractive and conducive to families.

### **Social mix and place attachment**

There is very little British or European research evidence available on the direct effects of social mix upon place attachment. However, Uzzell *et al.* (2002) explore an indirect relationship via processes of identification. In their theoretical model, social mix influences social cohesion, which is defined in terms of a group of people in physical proximity with a shared lifestyle and shared needs that can be met through collective

action (p.30). Through this route (via cohesion) residents may develop a shared social identity, or, what the authors term '*place-related social identity*', wherein the identification of a place is bound up with the development of self-identity. Thus, the underlying processes of cohesion and identification are influenced by social mix, in that '*...the perception of similarities and differences between neighbours plays an important role in the formation of cohesion*' (ibid., p.42). Cohesion (and, through this, place-related social identity) will be stronger where people see themselves sharing similarities and 'closeness' with their neighbours, i.e. the neighbourhood is seen as homogeneous.<sup>2</sup>

Here it is worth considering the potential connections between place attachment and social capital. A crucial distinction of relevance to this discussion is that between 'bonding' social capital and 'bridging' social capital (see Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). Bonding social capital is that between people from a similar social group, mainly between family, close friends and kin, whereas bridging social capital is that between people who move in different social circles. Bonding capital is typified as exclusive and inward-looking, helping people to 'get by', whilst bridging capital is described as inclusive, capable of generating wider identities and reciprocities, and thus helping people to '*get ahead*' (Field, 2003). Thus, poor communities which are homogeneous in a lower income sense are said to be rich in bonding social capital but lacking in bridging social capital (Fitzpatrick, 2004).

So, for poorer, non-mixed communities, high levels of social capital (being of the bonding variety) may strengthen place attachment in that the ability to get by is associated with living in a particular community and place. For more affluent people, high levels of social capital (especially of the bridging variety) does not have the same effect of reinforcing place attachment since it derives from connections to people in a variety of places. However, this argument is focused on the social networks element of social capital; in richer communities, the trust and norms elements of social capital may generate place attachment by virtue of the safety and security they generate for people. Thus, the connections between social capital and place attachment may be different for poorer and richer communities, but in theory mixed income communities should be capable of offering residents different types of social capital, thus strengthening place attachment from more than one direction. The difficulty may be, as reported by Hickman *et al.* (2007) and highlighted in a recent review of housing market change (Cole, 2007), that people's decisions about where to buy a house are heavily influenced by lifestyle, status and safety factors so they choose to live near 'people like us' and are concerned about the social and cultural messages communicated about themselves by virtue of where they live.

If we consider these arguments in the light of the findings and conclusions from a study of households in 12 neighbourhoods in Baltimore (Taylor *et al.*, 1985), it becomes clear that much depends on the precise interpretation of 'social mix', the

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting however, that in their own study in Guildford, Surrey, this positive relationship between cohesion and place-related social identity was found to be true for one study area, but not the other.

type of attachment concerned, and on the spatial scale involved. Taylor *et al.* studied two forms of place attachment: being rooted and involved locally; and local acquaintanceship ties – knowing people in the area and considering them similar to oneself (akin to Uzzel *et al.*'s '*...perception of similarities and differences*'). For both forms of attachment, racial diversity at the block level was associated with lower levels of attachment, though educational diversity at the block level supported higher local acquaintanceship.

In relation to the 'rooted and bonded' form of attachment, the neighbourhood spatial scale was also significant, with people who lived in more socially mixed areas where renting comprised 40-60 per cent of the housing market being less attached. Thus, the argument that housing tenure mix supports place attachment may only be true if by that one is referring to places where home ownership is dominant, but not overwhelmingly so. Place attachment was highest in areas where home ownership was over 60 per cent, and what is more, the negative impacts of neighbourhood diversity were greater in this study than the impacts of block level income or racial diversity.

Turning to the issue of ethnic mixing or diversity, expectations within the debate on this issue are influenced by Putnam's findings that people who live in ethnically diverse communities in the USA '*...tend to withdraw from collective life [and] to distrust their neighbours*' (2007, p.150). This is not the same thing as measuring place attachment, but given what we have already said, we might expect, especially in non-affluent communities, for reduced social capital due to ethnic diversity to be reflected in eroded place attachment. However, there are indications from other studies that the effects of mixing may be different between majority white populations and ethnic minority communities.

In the USA, Brown *et al.*'s (2003) findings from a study of place attachment in declining neighbourhoods in Salt Lake City partially echo the above arguments. They found that, '*Residents experienced more positive place attachments if their blocks, collectively, had a greater proportion of home owners and non-White people or Hispanics, fewer observed and perceived incivilities, higher neighbourhood control and cohesion, and less fear of crime*' (p.268). The authors conclude that renters can benefit from the development of mixed tenure blocks that also provide higher standard social and physical conditions. They also argue for a certain type of ethnic mix, whereby a substantial minority ethnic presence in an area (in their case over 30 per cent Hispanic) can support place attachment, allowing the ethnic group to form an enclave and feel at home, as long as this is not allied to the poverty, discrimination and poor physical conditions experienced by African-Americans.

In one of the few European studies of social diversity and place attachment, Dekker and Bolt (2005) summarise the US evidence (based mostly on the work of Charles, 2003) as showing that place attachment, or what they term '*...identification with the neighbourhood*'... '*is enhanced by a homogenous composition of residents*' (p.2453).

However, they qualify this by noting ethnic variations in the outcome such that *'...ethnic minorities feel more comfortable about living in a mixed neighbourhood and are therefore more likely to feel attached to their neighbourhood in mixed areas than are White people'*, the latter preferring areas where White people predominate (p.2453).

In their own work, Dekker and Bolt examined place attachment<sup>3</sup> (as one element of social cohesion) in two post-war Dutch housing estates, both of which had above average levels of social renting and of ethnic minority presence. They did not so much investigate the direct impact of social diversity on social cohesion as the impact of people's satisfaction with the resident composition of the estates; thus, this is an interesting study of the effects of perceptions of diversity. They found that ethnic minorities have higher place attachment than Native Dutch residents and that this is due to their higher satisfaction with the population composition (which is between 40 and 50 per cent ethnic minority in the two estates). Native Dutch residents on the other hand have lower feelings of attachment and this may be due to the fact that they have a less attractive situation than the average Native Dutch person in the two cities in question and would aspire to live in areas with higher social status and fewer ethnic minority residents. Thus, social diversity in ethnic terms is an important influence on place attachment, but it is intertwined with issues of area social status.

## Policy relevance

Each of our main issues of inquiry, place attachment, neighbourhood stability and social mix, feature prominently in current policy agendas, both for deprived areas and for communities in general.

### Place attachment

Place attachment can be seen as fundamental to the government's aims relating to social capital and the empowerment of communities. The UK government's neighbourhood renewal strategy aimed *'...to revive and empower communities'* so as *'...to build community confidence and encourage residents to help themselves'* (SEU, 2000, p.5 and p.10). This amounts to an attempt to rebuild the reduced social capital which is considered a cause of decline in deprived neighbourhoods: goals of social stability and self-help are said to be founded upon the *'...vital resources of social capital'* (ibid., p.24). One aspect of community renewal where this type of approach is most prominent is in combating anti-social behaviour, where residents in deprived areas are co-opted to take on responsibilities and to work hard to achieve crime and nuisance reduction (Atkinson, 2006), and the government's strategy involves *'...fostering community spirit'*, and *'raising confidence and self esteem'* (SEU, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Dekker and Bolt constructed two measures of place attachment: 'social belonging' which contains elements of social capital and social status; and 'spatial-emotional' belonging, which contains elements of attachment, identity and involvement.

Thus, social capital has featured prominently in regeneration, urban policy and other policy sectors in recent years (see Kearns, 2003) and is assumed to have a recursive relationship with residential stability and place attachment: each reinforcing the other. The longer people stay in an area and the more committed or attached they are to it, the more likely they are to engage with their co-residents to develop the social capital required for community renewal.

Components of place attachment also feature in other government policies. The Sustainable Communities Plan includes as one of its key requirements for sustainability that there is '*...a sense of place*' (ODPM, 2003) and that communities have '*...environments in which people can take pride*'. The corollary is that physical improvements in deprived areas may support the development of attachment, and Brown and Perkins (1992) argue that changes in the environment can enhance people's attachment to place. Related documents refer to the social and cultural dimension of sustainable communities as including '*...a sense of community identity and belonging*' (Egan Review, 2004). Similarly, the community cohesion agenda, which aims to '*...help micro-communities to gel or mesh into an integrated whole*' is taken to require those communities to develop common goals and a shared vision '*...which would seem to imply that such groups should occupy a common sense of place as well*' (Home Office, 2001, p.70).

The importance of place was reasserted by the Lyons Inquiry into Local Government (Lyons, 2007). His argument was that '*...a degree of local choice*' which allows for variation in public services between communities was part of a healthy system of governance that can handle social and economic problems, and uncertainty and diversity at the local level. By acting within such a framework, local government can work towards '*place-shaping*' that includes '*...building and shaping local identity*' (p.3). Similarly, in its white paper on the future role of local government as a service provider (DCLG, 2006), the government has argued that in order to reshape public services around citizens and communities, the latter groups must be empowered to influence service planning and priorities and to hold providers to account. In doing this, i.e. through involvement and consultation, one expected outcome is the development of a stronger sense of community (see Chapter Five). Thus, through its place-shaping role, local government could enhance people's sense of belonging and emotional attachment to places.

### **Neighbourhood stability**

With respect to deprived areas, residential mobility is a key issue for policy. The national strategy for neighbourhood renewal highlights the problem of the sustainability of neighbourhoods and talks of '*vicious cycles*' such as '*...if people start to leave an area, high turnover can destabilise communities*' (SEU, 2001, p.18; see also the review of this strategy in PMSU/ODPM, 2005).

Reducing turnover is cited as a goal of the New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme: '*...the future of NDC areas is tied up with residential mobility*'; and '*One*

*indication of success for a Partnership might be reflected in an increase in the proportion of households who decide to stay rather than move on' (Lawless et al., 2003, p.226-227). This is proving to be a difficult objective to achieve, as a later report indicates; after four years '...it is perhaps surprising to see virtually no change in the proportion of local residents wishing to move. NDC averages remain considerably above national benchmarks' (Beatty et al., 2007, p.19).*

The concern here is with both turnover and place attachment, i.e. policy is hoping to reduce the number of people in deprived areas who wish to move (which the evaluation finds is only marginally affected by environmental improvements) and to increase the numbers wishing to remain in an area. Neighbourhood improvements may prove vital in this regard, for Brown and Perkins (1992) argue in relation to 'housing renovations' that '*...place attachments are not static either; they change in accordance with changes in the people, activities or processes, and places involved in the attachments' (p.282); They point out that, 'If people fail to make the changes in their environment that provide support for their desired identities and goals, then attachment can erode. Thus, attachments are responsive to human aspirations and experiences' (p.282).*

A different type of neighbourhood instability problem was also identified and included in the government's Sustainable Communities Plan, namely the Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Programme, begun in nine pathfinder areas in 2002 to tackle widespread problems of low demand, derelict and empty housing, and abandonment. The causes of these problems, concentrated in the Midlands and North of England, were a mixture of housing issues – typically high proportions of terraced houses as well as a high presence of local authority housing; economic issues – weak local economies, low incomes and low levels of economic activity; in some cases a large ethnic minority population; and out-migration from inner urban areas to suburbs (see Leather et al., 2007). In a sense, HMR was tackling two facets of place attachment underlying neighbourhood instability: enforced attachment for those stuck in low demand areas and unable to obtain suitable market values for their houses; and weak attachment to places with 'outmoded' residential environments amongst those with enough resources to exercise choice.

## **Social mix**

Reviews of British housing and urban policy have remarked on the fact that there has been a focus on mixed communities since the early 1990s (see Kleinhans, 2004; Robinson, 2005). There have been several phases to this emphasis on creating more mixed communities. First, social problems on housing estates were traced to the 'unbalanced' nature of the communities concerned, in terms of household types and income groups (see Page, 1993). Second, the social exclusion analysis developed under New Labour highlighted the 'closed' and 'isolated' nature of many deprived communities, with poor links to other places, partly as a function of the absence of owners and employed people living locally through whom poorer people could form bridges to opportunities elsewhere (see SEU, 1998).

Third, with regard to the development of new settlements or the expansion of existing ones (Urban Task Force, 1999), sustainable communities were said to require *'...a well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes'* (ODPM, 2003, p.5). This was to aid both social inclusion and sustainability by enabling areas to meet the changing needs and aspirations of people through the life course. There has been very little research into the impact of housing tenure mix upon place attachment (and hence community sustainability). Rather tentatively, for example, Brown *et al.* (2003) use their finding that home ownership helps predict place attachment to argue in respect of renters, that *'...perhaps mixed tenure blocks will provide better place attachment opportunities for all residents'*, though this is not really based on an analysis of mixed tenure situations.

Finally, in relation to housing, mixed communities feature in the debate about the future role of social housing to address the question of how, in the context of shortages of affordable housing, the social housing sector can play a positive role and contribute to national well-being (Maclennan, 2007). In his review for the government, Hills (2007) points out that it is not enough simply to ensure that new developments are mixed, but that the existing social housing stock is changed. However, to do this requires a wide range of actions ranging from not only the more conventional redevelopment of housing estates, but more importantly attempts to reduce polarisation through allocations policies, retaining high income tenants through high quality management, and boosting the incomes and employment prospects of existing residents (p.184).

Whereas the foregoing policy concerns were mainly related to the mixing of households of different types and levels of income, a new dimension was added through the community cohesion agenda post-2001. Problems of *'self-segregation'* (Ouseley, 2001), *'entrenched segregation'* (LGA, 2004) and *'parallel lives'* (Home Office, 2001) were to be tackled via housing policies to *'...promote residential integration and increasing ethnic mix'* (Robinson, 2005, p.1421). Cohesive communities were defined by government as those where *'...the diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued'* and *'...where people are confident they belong and are comfortable mixing and interacting with others, particularly people from different racial backgrounds or people of a different faith'* (LGA, 2004, p.7).

The definition of cohesive communities in use after 2001, which included *'...strong and positive relations being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in school and within neighbourhoods'* was supplemented by the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (CIC) to acknowledge *'local specificity'* and *'local processes'* as well as a national sense of belonging. The CIC wished to make the point that hospitality, mutual respect and a recognition of people's contributions to society should be extended both to those *'...who already have deep attachments'* and to those *'newly arrived'* (CIC 2007a, paras. 3.12-3.16). In other words, place

attachment at a local level is important to integration and cohesion, but should not be seen as a qualification for the civil treatment of ethnic minorities and immigrants.

The role of place in contributing to community cohesion and integration, in the context of 'superdiversity' and immigration, was considered for the CIC by Vertovec (2007), who made two key points of relevance to our interests here. First, he clarified that transnationalism need not hinder integration: many migrants may feel their strongest sense of belonging to somewhere outside the UK, but nonetheless '*...belonging, loyalty and sense of attachment are not parts of a zero-sum game based on a single place*' (p.20). Second, citing work by COMPAS for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Vertovec emphasised the role that '*engagement spaces*' play in generating capacity for the social integration of people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. When we consider the types of engagement spaces referred to – including homes, streets, school-gates, public service institutions and public spaces – it is clear that what is being discussed here is the role that functional place attachment has to play in the integration of diverse communities.

However, Vertovec contests the notion that '*...deep and meaningful interaction*' (CRE, 2007) or interactions which are '*...in depth and sustained*' (CIC, 2007b) between people from different backgrounds are the key to developing a sense of belonging and social integration. Rather, he stresses the role and predominance of '*ephemeral*' or '*commonplace interactions*' and the need to promote civility and positive relations in these contexts which stretch across the neighbourhood, workplace, adult education and other public spaces of shopping, leisure and entertainment. Thus, he points out that residential segregation may be less important than social segregation. By extension then, we might say that in situations where ethnic minorities develop strong place attachment within segregated areas or in residential clusters, this may to some extent hinder integration but it ought by no means be seen as a barrier to it.

From this we can see that social mixing via residence in the same place, including between income groups, tenures, generations, and ethnic groups, is considered desirable for a number of public policy reasons including: combating social exclusion; reducing anti-social behaviour; achieving sustainability of settlements; and promoting community cohesion, integration and inter-ethnic harmony. This, of course, could run against the notion that people seek to achieve a degree of 'distinctiveness' through their attachment to their place of residence (as discussed above).

## Research aims and objectives

Having reviewed the field, our research sought to examine further the relationships between place attachment, neighbourhood instability and social mix within deprived areas, and to address the following questions:

- What factors influence residents' place attachment in deprived areas?
  - How significant are functional and emotional attachments?
  - What is the relationship between the two main types of attachment?

- Does high residential turnover impact upon people's place attachment in deprived areas?
  - If so what are the reasons for this?
  - Are residents aware of high turnover where it exists?
- Does social mix impact upon people's place attachment in deprived areas?
  - If so, what are the reasons for this?
  - What dimensions of social mix are viewed positively or negatively by residents?
  - Is there evidence that people prefer to live in homogeneous or mixed areas?
  - How important to place attachment is the degree of 'fit' or correspondence between people's own characteristics and the dominant population characteristics of an area?
- Does place attachment help retain people in deprived areas?
  - What factors make people want to leave an area (even when they are attached)?
  - What factors make people want to remain in an area?

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## Chapter Three

# Data sources, data quality and methods

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### Quantitative data

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#### Data sets used

Following a review of publicly available surveys, the Citizenship Survey was identified as the most appropriate. This is a biennial survey conducted since 2001 now coordinated by the government department, Communities and Local Government. It is a face-to-face household survey, which gathers data on four distinct areas:

- Person's neighbourhood.
- Active communities.
- Racial prejudice.
- Citizenship.

It is conducted with approximately 10,000 people, with a 5,000 boost sample of minority ethnic groups. At the start of the project, the latest data were for 2005.

Neighbourhood-level variables from the 2001 Census and the ID 2004 were attached to the individual data. Matching was carried out at the level of SOAs – units with an average population of 1,500. Neighbourhood-level variables were converted to bands to preserve neighbourhood anonymity; values for each variable were reduced to between 10 and 20 values. The variables provided information on each area's demographics, housing tenure and conditions, socio-economic status and area deprivation, area stability (turnover) and social mix (Appendix A).

#### Measuring neighbourhood characteristics

At many points in the analysis, we are concerned with how the nature of a neighbourhood influences the degree of attachment that individuals report. The Census and the ID provide measures of the characteristics of each neighbourhood which are 'objective': they are based on the same boundary for every resident; and the score for each area is based on a standard measure. These include measures of area deprivation, population turnover and social mix, as detailed below. In addition, the Citizenship Survey contains a range of 'subjective' measures of neighbourhood characteristics through the questions on respondents' views of their area. These are subjective in the sense that: it is the respondent who defines the boundary of the neighbourhood; and it is the respondent who determines how to judge or rate the area; two respondents in the same neighbourhood could hold very different views on its 'subjective' characteristics.

Eight questions on neighbourhood rating were selected initially. Each was based on a statement or question about an aspect of the neighbourhood where respondents were asked for a response on a four- or five-point scale. Most of the questions or statements were phrased in a positive sense (*'To what extent would you agree or disagree that people in this neighbourhood pull together to improve the neighbourhood?'*, for example) but two questions were posed in ways that would generally be seen as negative (*'People in this neighbourhood do not share the same values'*, for example). Responses to those latter two questions have been inverted to make comparisons easier. The eight questions were reduced to three groups by looking at the patterns of responses to them (using correlation coefficients and factor analysis) (Table 3.1). The first group combines four questions into a measure of social cohesion or social networks<sup>4</sup>: in these cases, people who respond positively feel that their area is one where people pull together, participate to solve problems and are willing to help neighbours, and they feel that their area is close-knit. The second group covers two questions on values or trust, while the third identifies issues of safety and crime. Before combining the questions, each was reduced to just two categories; one to cover people who 'strongly agreed' or 'definitely agreed' with the question or statement, and the other to cover all others. The result showed that between 44 and 46 per cent of respondents had the maximum score showing that this approach was robust. It is worth noting that we have not been able to measure the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood (such as built form, aesthetics, quality of green space etc.), which could impact on some people's attachment to a place.

**Table 3.1: Views of the neighbourhood**

Group	Question	Contribution to Score
Views on neighbourhood: cohesion/networks (Score range 0-4)	People pull together	0-1
	Likely that people would participate	0-1
	People willing to help neighbours	0-1
	Close-knit neighbourhood	0-1
Views on neighbourhood: values/trust (Score range 0-2)	People share same values	0-1
	People can be trusted	0-1
Views on neighbourhood: safety/crime (Score range 0-2)	Safe walking at night	0-1
	Not worried about being victim of crime	0-1

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005.

<sup>4</sup> These variables mostly measure perceived or latent qualities of reciprocity and collective interest. Social networks are only indirectly rather than directly measured here.

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## Qualitative data

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The qualitative data were gathered using in-depth interviews in four case study areas. For a combination of analytical and practical reasons, all four case study areas were located within a single city-region (Greater Manchester). As well as minimising travel, this meant that a number of background variables would be held broadly stable, including the state of the local economy and housing market. Within this, the four case study areas were chosen to be fairly deprived (in the bottom two deciles on the ID) but to have various levels of stability and social mix. One case study had both stability and low levels of mix and acts in effect as a kind of contrast area. One was chosen to have instability but low levels of mix. Two were chosen to have stability but high levels of mix (one with ethnic mix and one with tenure mix). To protect the confidentiality of respondents, the areas are referred to by their 'type'. A fuller description of the case study areas can be seen in Appendix B.

For the purposes of selecting respondents, the areas were defined in terms of SOA boundaries and were selected based on their characteristics as identified by Census and ID data. For several reasons, the residents' perceptions of their areas may be different to our 'objective' definitions: resident definitions of their neighbourhoods may not fit with the SOA boundaries; areas may have changed since the Census; and resident perceptions (of turnover or social mix) may differ from the 'objective' measures. All these issues are explored in the analysis below.

At the individual level, a decision was made to focus on younger adults, 20 to 40. As explained in Chapter Four on the drivers of place attachment, this is the key period for many adults in making a transition from relative disinterest in issues of neighbourhood to seeking out a place to settle down and start a family. Mobility rates fall rapidly after the age of 25 while average levels of attachment rise sharply. From previous research, we also know that deprived areas see a net inflow of adults in their 20s but then a net outflow of older adults (Bailey and Livingston, 2007). The decisions of this group about where to settle and their ability to form attachments in deprived areas will therefore have a particularly significant bearing on the future of these areas. The sample was also constructed to cover men and women, and people with differing household situations since these can also impact on attachment.

Respondents were recruited by a market research company in the Manchester area (PH Research) with interviews then carried out by the authors. The company were instructed to recruit ten participants in each of the four areas, with broadly equal numbers of men and women, being representative of the ethnic mix of the area, and covering the following groups:

- Three adults aged between 20 to 25 with no children.
- Three adults aged between 25 to 35 with at least one child, but no school aged children.
- Three adults aged between 20 to 40 with at least one school aged child.
- One other from any of these three groups.

The final breakdown of characteristics can be seen in Table 3.2. The recruitment was relatively successful with the research contractors managing to meet their targets in most groups. However, the one group where the balance of respondents was not representative was gender, with only 10 male respondents compared to the 29 females recruited. This may in part be because recruiting happened during the day and that males were more likely to be at work. It may also be a reflection that males are less likely to agree to participate in this type of research. Results from the quantitative data (Chapter Four) suggests that females are more likely to be attached than males but that the difference is only small. Of the planned total of 40 interviews, 39 were successfully carried out. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and then analysed using the Atlas.ti software package. Content analysis was used to identify relevant themes in the data.

**Table 3.2: Case study respondent characteristics**

	Sex		Age: 20 to 25 no children	Age: 20 to 30 pre-school children	Age: 20 to 40 school children
	M	F			
Stable, Limited mix area	2	8	3	2	5
Unstable, Limited mix area	3	7	3	4	3
Stable, High ethnic mix area	2	7	2	3	4
Stable, High tenure mix area	3	7	3	2	5
Total	10	29	11	11	17

### Respondents' understandings of place and neighbourhood

While not directly asked to describe what was understood by place or neighbourhood, it was clear during responses to questions that meanings varied across the sample. When people referred to their 'neighbourhood', they meant both the physical place but also the community in which they lived. For example, one individual, when asked to identify the boundaries of her neighbourhood, only indicated the street where she lived and the streets where her friends lived. Very few interviewees highlighted the physical environs or a sense of place separately from the community. Only three respondents made specific reference to having an attachment to the physical environment.

When respondents talked about their neighbourhoods, the boundaries they had in mind did not necessarily correspond with those of their SOA used as the basis for selection. This is in part due to the unintuitive nature of the SOA boundaries but mostly because definitions of neighbourhood vary considerably from one individual to the next. Indeed a respondent's concept of their neighbourhood can change

depending on what aspect of their neighbourhood they are referring to. In general, however, the interviewees' perceptions of the characteristics of their areas had a good agreement with our 'objective' measures. Residents in the 'high turnover' case study area saw it as unstable while those in the other three case studies saw their areas as fairly stable. Residents in the 'socially mixed' areas also saw their areas in those terms. The main exception to this picture is that residents in the 'high turnover' area also saw it as having become significantly more mixed in terms of ethnicity in recent years. This is discussed in more detail in the next chapters.



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## Chapter Four

# Place attachment

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### Introduction

Place attachment as we have outlined can be seen as important to policy in deprived areas firstly in its possible importance in retaining people in these neighbourhoods and secondly in encouraging people to engage with the areas in which they live. This section of the report examines the individual and neighbourhood factors which appeared to influence levels of place attachment. It looks at individual socio-demographic characteristics such as age, educational attainment or length of residence, and at characteristics of neighbourhoods such as area deprivation. It starts by looking at the factors that influence attachment in every neighbourhood, drawing largely on the quantitative data, before moving on to look at deprived areas in particular, drawing more heavily on the qualitative evidence. The chapter will answer the following questions:

- What factors influence residents' place attachment in deprived areas?
- How significant are functional and emotional attachments?
- What is the relationship between the two main types of attachment?

In the quantitative data we define attachment quite narrowly as we were restricted to using the questions available in the Citizenship Survey. The qualitative phase provides the opportunity to explore how respondents talked about attachment in more depth, and to examine the factors that appeared to promote or inhibit the development of attachment in a range of neighbourhoods with relatively high levels of deprivation. For comparability, we replicated the Citizenship Survey questions in the interview but respondents were also asked to talk about how they felt about their neighbourhood, the strength of practical or social ties to the place and their satisfaction with it as a place to live. In addition, the interviews asked how people came to live in the area, their experiences since living there and their intentions for the future.

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### Measuring place attachment

As discussed above, place attachment can be defined in a number of ways but it has, at its core, the idea of a positive emotional or affective bond to a place. There is no direct question on attachment in the Citizenship Survey. Instead, attachment was measured by combining the answers to two questions:

- *'How strongly do you feel you belong to your neighbourhood?'* and
- *'Would you say that this is a neighbourhood you enjoy living in?'*

On its own, each question might be regarded as a rather limited measure of attachment. Belonging to an area need not be a positive statement while enjoying an area need not indicate any sense of attachment to it. Taken together, however, the combination of belonging to and enjoying a neighbourhood strongly suggests a positive sense of attachment.

Responses to the two questions are closely related (Table 4.1). Two measures of attachment were constructed using two different cut-off points, representing attachment and strong attachment. Clearly this kind of measure greatly simplifies the reality where individuals may be more or less attached and, indeed, may be attached in different ways. Nevertheless, it is a useful basis on which to start the analysis. With the narrower measure, a respondent is seen as 'strongly attached' when they definitely enjoy the neighbourhood and they feel very strongly that they belong to the area; 26 per cent are strongly attached on this basis. With the broader measure, a respondent is described as 'attached' if they definitely enjoy the neighbourhood and they feel either fairly or very strongly that they belong to the area; a further 29 per cent are attached on this basis giving 55 per cent in total while 45 per cent are regarded as not being attached.

**Table 4.1: Neighbourhood belonging by neighbourhood enjoyment**  
(N=9,077)

		Enjoy living in neighbourhood (%)			
		Yes, definitely	Yes, to some extent	No	Total
<b>Belong to neighbourhood</b>	Very strongly	26.5	4.1	0.6	31.2
	Fairly strongly	28.8	13.1	1.1	43.0
	Not very strongly	8.5	8.8	2.6	19.8
	Not at all strongly	1.4	2.7	2.0	6.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>65.1</b>	<b>28.6</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Notes: Results based on core sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005.

It is also possible to create a (more or less) continuous measure of attachment using the same questions. Each question can be given a score ranging from 0 to 3 to give them equal weighting (Table 4.2). The combined measure therefore has a possible score between 0 and 6. This allows us to use all the information that the two questions provide and it might be seen as more appropriate since it captures different levels of attachment. Conceptually it may be slightly weaker. For example, a score of 3 can come from very strongly belonging to an area you do not enjoy, or definitely enjoying an area to which you have no sense of belonging. As Table 4.1 shows, however, such cases are rare (0.6 and 1.4 per cent respectively).

**Table 4.2: Constituent scores for linear measure of place attachment**

Belong	Score	Enjoy	Score
Very strongly	3	Yes, definitely	3
Fairly strongly	2	Yes, to some extent	1.5
Not very strongly	1	No	0
Not at all strongly	0		

It was possible to check the validity of the quantitative attachment measures using data from the case studies. During the qualitative interviews, respondents were asked the two questions on belonging and attachment from the Citizenship Survey and were classified into 'not attached', 'attached' and 'strongly attached' on the same basis as above. This provides an opportunity to compare answers to the Citizenship Survey questions with responses to a direct question on how attached people felt in relation to their neighbourhood. In the latter question, no definition of attachment was offered, rather interviewees were asked to define attachment as they wanted. The question was asked in an open way and responses used to classify interviewees into the same three levels of attachment (not attached; attached; strongly attached).

Looking at the qualitative sample, the Citizenship Survey questions indicated that 15 per cent of interviewees were 'attached' and 8 per cent 'strongly attached'. Using the direct attachment question, the figures were significantly higher (41 and 14 per cent respectively). Nevertheless, there is a very high correlation between the two measures ( $R=0.7$ ). As such the Citizenship Survey questions do appear to provide a reliable guide to people's self-defined measure of attachment.

## Drivers of attachment across all neighbourhoods

The Citizenship Survey data provides a picture of how levels of place attachment varied across a large, representative sample of people living in neighbourhoods across England. The simplest way of exploring the factors that influence attachment is through tables showing average scores for different groups (Tables 4.3 and 4.4 on page 40 and 41). A more sophisticated approach uses multiple regression models to show the influence of each factor in controlling all the other factors. Figure 4.1 on page 42 shows the results of the linear regression model using the continuous measure of attachment as the dependent variable; very similar findings were achieved using the dichotomous measures of 'attachment' and 'strong attachment' in logistic regression models. The figure shows the standardised regression coefficients (the 'Betas') to illustrate the relative importance of different variables.

**Table 4.3: Place attachment by individual characteristics**

N=9,151

		Attached (%)	Strongly attached (%)	Mean attachment
ALL		54.8	26.3	4.4
Sex	Male	53.1	24.1	4.3
	Female	56.4	28.3	4.4
Age	16-19	38.2	15.0	4.0
	20-24	38.0	13.5	3.9
	25-34	42.6	14.4	3.9
	35-49	53.8	22.5	4.3
	50-64	64.1	34.1	4.7
	65-74	69.0	40.5	4.8
	75+	67.9	43.1	4.9
Family type	Households without children	56.0	28.1	4.4
	Households with children	51.7	21.4	4.3
Ethnicity	White	55.4	26.9	4.4
	Asian	54.3	25.4	4.4
	Black	40.0	19.1	4.0
	Mixed	42.9	18.5	4.1
	Chinese or other	40.5	13.1	3.9
Employment	In employment	53.1	22.7	4.3
	Unemployed	38.1	14.8	3.8
	Inactive	58.9	33.0	4.5
Qualification	Degree or equivalent	54.4	22.9	4.3
	Higher education below degree level	56.0	25.2	4.4
	A level or equivalent	47.9	18.8	4.2
	GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	52.6	22.2	4.3
	GCSE grades D-E or equivalent	51.8	21.6	4.2
	Foreign and other qualifications	55.4	29.0	4.3
	No qualifications	53.1	28.7	4.3
Occupational Group (NS-SEC)	Higher and lower management	57.9	26.3	4.5
	Intermediate; small employers; lower supervisory	56.8	27.1	4.4
	Semi-routine and routine	51.7	26.8	4.3
	Other (never work/ long-term unemployed/student)	45.1	20.8	4.1
Tenure	Owner occupier	59.1	28.2	4.5
	Social renting	43.4	24.8	4.0
	Private renting	42.8	15.9	4.0
Civic activity	Civically active	64.1	36.3	4.7
	Not civically active	53.9	25.3	4.3
Years resident in area	0 to 1	37.6	10.4	3.8
	2 to 5	46.3	16.5	4.0
	6 to 15	52.8	23.0	4.3
	16+	63.4	35.7	4.7

Notes: With the exception of ethnic groups, results based on main sample. Results for ethnic groups based on ethnically boosted sample. All results weighted. Attached includes strongly attached.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005.

**Table 4.4: Place attachment by neighbourhood characteristics**

		Attached (%)	Strongly attached (%)	Mean attachment
Deprivation decile	Least deprived	69.0	32.8	4.8
	2	68.5	31.9	4.8
	3	64.1	30.0	4.7
	4	65.4	31.8	4.7
	5	60.2	29.9	4.5
	6	56.6	26.7	4.4
	7	49.4	26.2	4.3
	8	46.9	24.2	4.1
	9	41.6	21.4	3.9
	Most deprived	40.2	23.2	3.9
Social cohesion/networks	High	39.9	76.8	5.1
	Low	16.5	38.9	3.9
Values/trust	High	34.5	69.1	4.8
	Low	19.0	42.5	4.0
Crime/safety	High	28.3	61.7	4.6
	Low	24.6	49.3	4.2

Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted. Attached includes strongly attached.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

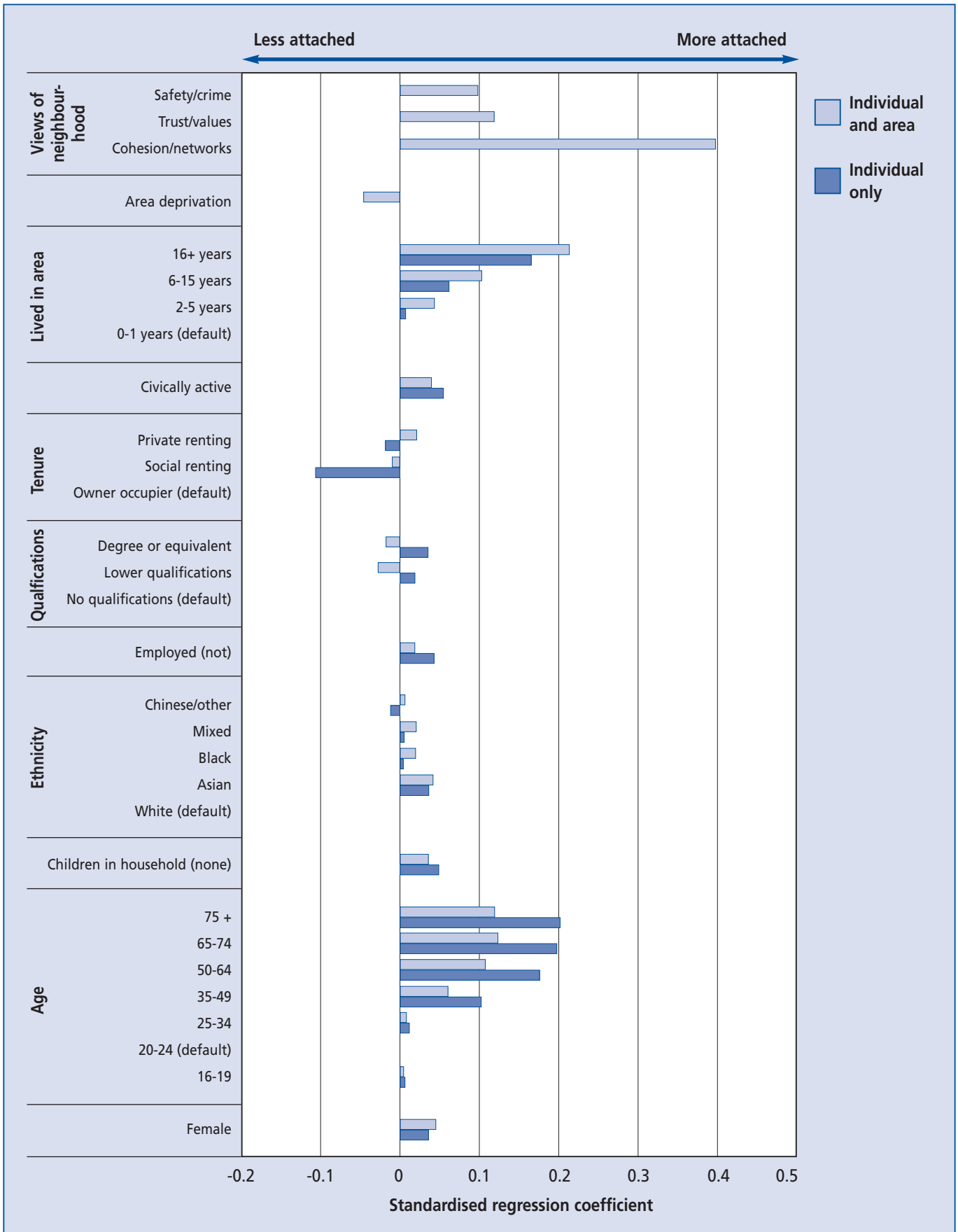
**Table 4.5: Proportion attached by age and length of residence**

Age	Length of residence			
	0 to 1	2 to 5	6 to 15	16+
16-19	19%	49%	35%	41%
20-24	33%	32%	43%	43%
25-34	36%	39%	46%	49%
35-49	43%	49%	52%	62%
50-64	40%	59%	61%	67%
65-74	48%	56%	64%	72%
75+	50%	42%	62%	72%

Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005.

Figure 4.1: Linear regression model – individual and area drivers for attachment



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

For individual characteristics, the results can be summarised as follows:

- Of the individual characteristics, age and length of stay in a neighbourhood had the greatest impacts on place attachment. Older people and those who had lived in the area for longer had significantly higher levels of attachment. The two factors operate independently of each other as Figure 4.1 opposite shows. In combination they produce very marked differences in attachment levels (Table 4.5 on page 41). For example, someone 65 or over with 16 or more years residence is nearly *four times* as likely to be attached as a 16-19 year old with less than two years residence (72 per cent compared with 19 per cent).
- Other individual factors had more modest impacts. Attachment levels tended to be higher for: women; households with children; and people from the Asian ethnic group. Variables related to economic status, educational attainment and housing tenure had no significant impact on attachment once other factors had been 'controlled for'.
- People who are civically active are more likely to be attached although there are questions about the direction of causality here. It may be that civic engagement leads to a greater sense of attachment but it could equally be argued that feeling more attached to an area leads people to take action to protect or enhance the area.

Overall, however, the modelling work shows that the individual characteristics measured in the Citizenship Survey were not particularly useful for identifying people with stronger or weaker attachment. On their own, they explained just 10 per cent of the total variance (the adjusted R<sup>2</sup> for the model using individual characteristics only).

Neighbourhood factors explained far more, particularly the respondents' views on the neighbourhood; including these raised the amount of variance explained to 34 per cent. Results for the neighbourhood factors can be summarised as follows:

- More deprived neighbourhoods have substantially lower attachment than less deprived – 40 per cent in the most deprived decile, compared with 69 per cent in the least deprived (Table 4.5). In large part, this reflects differences in people's views about their neighbourhoods, especially the rating of the area in terms of social cohesion or networks. Once those differences have been controlled for, more deprived areas have only slightly lower attachment levels (Figure 4.1).
- Of the views on the neighbourhood, the most important factor is social cohesion or networks. People who feel their neighbourhood is cohesive and close-knit report significantly higher levels of attachment. The other two factors – trust/values and safety/crime – are also significant but of less importance.

As views of the neighbourhood play such a strong role in influencing attachment, it is useful to examine briefly who holds positive or negative views about their

neighbourhood. The results in Table 4.6 show the average score for each of the groups, with higher percentages representing more positive views of their neighbourhood:

- Women and older people tend to rate their neighbourhood slightly higher in terms of cohesion/networks but markedly lower in terms of safety/crime.
- Length of residence in the neighbourhood appears to have almost no impact on any of the three views about the area. We might have expected people who had been resident in a neighbourhood for longer to have rated it more highly in terms of cohesion and networks in particular but that was not the case.
- People in more deprived areas tend to rate their neighbourhood lower on all three factors.

**Table 4.6: Views on neighbourhood by gender, age, length of stay and deprivation**

		Cohesion/networks Mean score Range 0-4	Trust/values Mean score Range 0-2	Safety/crime Mean score Range 0-2
All		2.9	1.4	1.3
Gender	Male	2.9	1.4	1.4
	Female	3.0	1.4	1.1
Age	16-19	2.6	1.3	1.3
	20-24	2.7	1.3	1.3
	25-34	2.8	1.4	1.3
	35-49	3.0	1.5	1.3
	50-64	3.1	1.5	1.3
	65-74	3.1	1.5	1.1
	75+	3.1	1.5	1.1
Length of stay in neighbourhood (Years)	0 to 1	3.0	1.4	1.3
	2 to 5	2.8	1.4	1.3
	6 to 15	2.9	1.4	1.3
	16+	3.0	1.4	1.2
Neighbourhood deprivation decile	Least	3.2	1.7	1.4
	2	3.2	1.6	1.4
	3	3.2	1.6	1.4
	4	3.2	1.5	1.3
	5	3.0	1.5	1.4
	6	2.9	1.4	1.3
	7	2.7	1.3	1.1
	8	2.6	1.3	1.1
	9	2.5	1.1	1.0
	Most	2.4	1.1	1.0

Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Place attachment in deprived neighbourhoods

We can explore the attachment in deprived areas in more detail using both the quantitative and qualitative data.

First of all, we can use the results above to identify the reasons why deprived areas have lower attachment on average. Deprived areas are not very different from the average in terms of either the age profile of residents or length of stay. While these factors have a significant influence on levels of attachment overall, they do not help us understand the difference between deprived and non-deprived areas. The main reason is that deprived areas have low ratings on views of the neighbourhood, especially in terms of cohesion/networks. The low rating on this factor explains **half** the difference between deprived neighbourhoods and the average. The three factors together explain **two-thirds** of the difference.

The quantitative data can also be used to explore whether the drivers of attachment are the same in more or less deprived places by producing separate models for areas with different levels of deprivation (Figure 4.2 on page 46). Overall, the impression is of great similarity. In all types of neighbourhood, the same factors – age, length of residence and views about the neighbourhood – are the most important drivers of attachment. In addition, however, there are a number of modest differences:

- In the most deprived neighbourhoods, being there longer and being older do not appear to produce as much of an increase in attachment as in other neighbourhoods.
- In most areas, having children is associated with higher levels of attachment but there is no increase in more deprived areas.
- In more deprived areas, having higher qualifications is associated with slightly lower levels of attachment.
- In the most deprived areas, issues of safety/crime appear to be slightly more important as determinants of attachment than in less deprived areas.

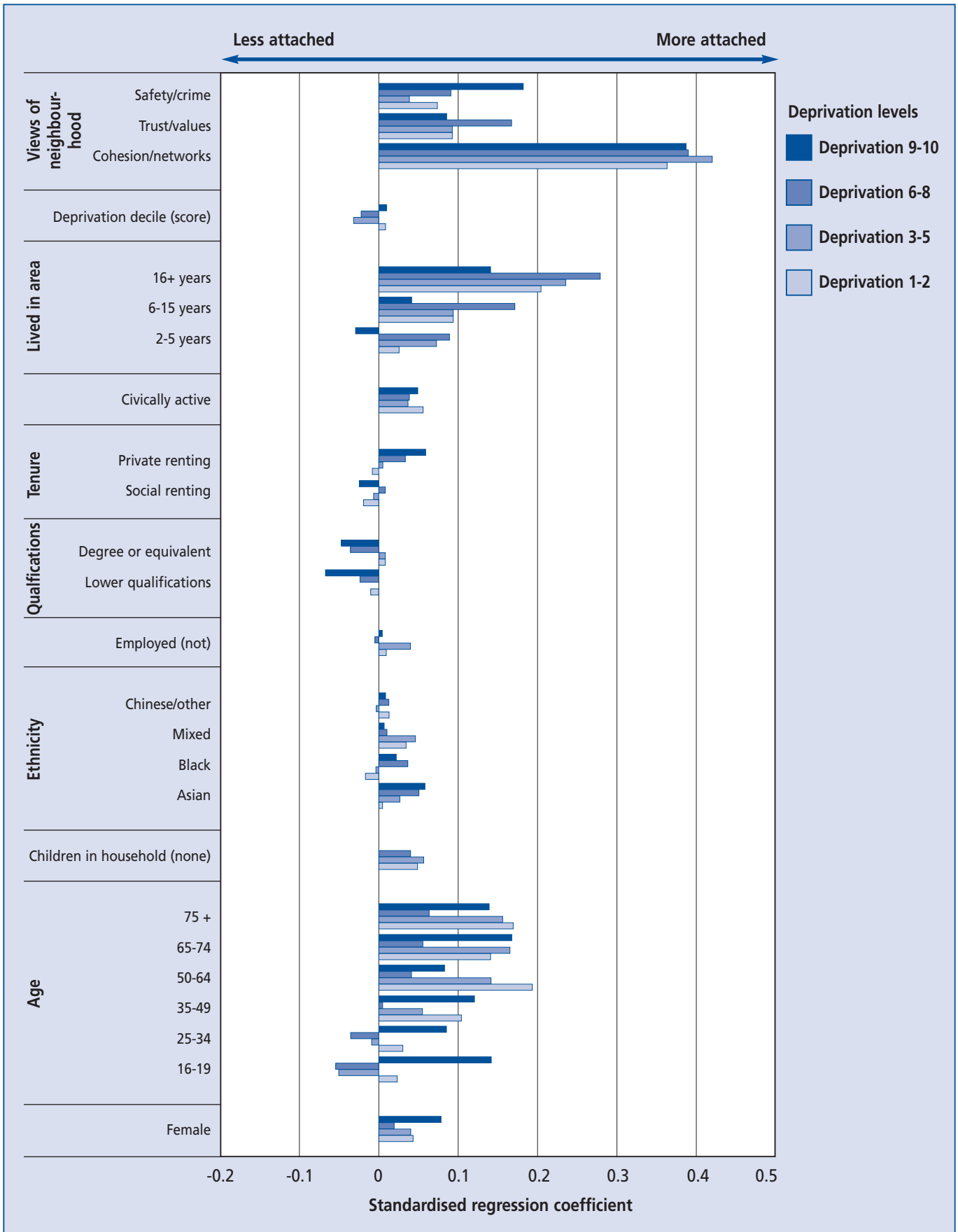
This analysis is of course limited by the nature of the questions asked in the Citizenship Survey. More detailed insights are provided by the qualitative interviews where there was an opportunity to explore in more depth the factors that individuals believed were important for attachment. Two themes which came through echo particularly strongly aspects of the quantitative analysis. These are: the importance of ties to family and friends, with family being especially significant; and the impacts of crime and insecurity.

### Family and friendship networks

When asked to explain why they felt attached to an area, the most common reasons given were to do with social networks, and connections to family in particular:

*Just because of my family and because I have always lived here.* (Unstable, Low mix area: female, single)

Figure 4.2: Drivers of attachment by level of neighbourhood deprivation



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

At the same time, many of those who expressed a desire to move to another area wanted to do so to be closer to family or friends:

*Interviewer: Yes, in terms of how you feel about an area...I mean is it important, do you think, to have family and friends in an area?*

*Interviewee: Yes, because I have always found it hard to make new friends, so it is nice to be around the ones that I do have. It is just...I had a lot of trouble when I was younger – and I know it sounds weird, but I did feel safe on [previous estate]...I would like him [son] to be round where I grew up – somewhere nice, because it's quiet and peaceful, and I knew if anything went off then I'd be safe. It is just family ties – it's been the family home for 25 years now. (Unstable, Low mix area: single child).*

### **Crime and insecurity**

Where respondents expressed low levels of attachment to their neighbourhood, problems of crime or insecurity were the most common reason given for this. Some people indicated that they had lived in a neighbourhood for most of their life but, because of what they perceived as increases in crime and anti-social behaviour, they no longer felt attached to it. Many of those who were attached indicated that a rise in crime would be the main factor which would persuade them to leave.

For many interviewees, the problem was lower-level crime or what is frequently termed 'anti-social behaviour'; there were some people in each of the case study areas who reported feeling intimidated by groups of young people in public places. Young people were frequently seen as the perpetrators of anti-social behaviour although some respondents also pointed to underlying problems; several reported that they felt that there was 'nothing for teenagers to do' in their neighbourhood. In other cases, more serious crime was also a problem: damage to property, threats of personal violence and actual violence. The Stable/Low mix area appeared to be the quietest with respondents reporting the main concern to be a perceived threat from young people hanging around the local shops. At the other end of the spectrum, interviewees in the Unstable/Low mix area reported problems of drug dealing, youth gangs and a number of murders in recent years.

In every case study area, the majority of respondents indicated that they believed that the neighbourhood they lived in was deteriorating in relation to crime, especially anti-social behaviour. Many also believed that this was happening everywhere and not just within their neighbourhood. It is not possible to say what basis this had in fact rather than being a view influenced by media and political focus on these issues.

Individuals varied in how they reacted to problems of crime. One respondent reported being strongly attached despite the murder of a close relative while another remained strongly attached despite nine months of being targeted by local teenage gangs:

*Only when we had the trouble with all the lads. What it was – my little boy and his mate was out on his bike and he left it outside, his bike, and someone came*

*up and nicked them. So us being the way we are, "no way are you nicking our bikes". So Lee [her partner] went down on his brother's bike down to the bottom end, and he went to go...he saw them running down the back and there must have been about 15 of them – ages from 15 to 9 or 10. So he just walked up to them and he just said "look, give me the bikes". So they actually gave him the bikes, but he dropped his phone and as he went down, one of the lads whacked him. And he just reacted and hit him – well it was a 15 year old kid, but he only slapped him. Well we must have had about 20 lads all aiming for him, but he had our little son with him and I was pregnant at the time, and they all came down and said "go on", in front of my son again...and they were all like "come on, he's here, he's here". One lad was even threatening me. I was like, "well come on, I'm not bothered". But then we had to get (... unclear) it wasn't very good, wasn't very nice. But now they are all fine and dandy with him because they actually asked us what went on – and this lad that smacked him, he didn't tell the lad's [dad] he hit him, so they are all apologetic now and they are all fine. But that wasn't nice...But we had about nine months of that. (Unstable/Low mix area: female living with partner and school-aged children)*

This level of attachment following a poor experience within a neighbourhood was very much a minority view. For the majority of people to have strong attachment to a neighbourhood, it is important that they feel safe, and it seems to be perceived safety rather than actual safety that matters.

It is possible that the influence of family ties and of concerns with crime or insecurity on place attachment are linked. Having the support of strong networks of family and friends may be important in coping with these problems. Networks may be a source of support but may also have a defensive value. One respondent had recently moved in to the Unstable/Low mix area which she described as 'quiet' in comparison to place where she had come from. In the latter area, she had been the victim of serious crime on a number of occasions. Earlier in the interview, however, she indicated that she was worried about the level of safety in her current neighbourhood and wanted to move back to her former area:

*It is just...I had a lot of trouble when I was younger – and I know it sounds weird, but I did feel safe on [previous estate], but I was beat up a lot by certain people, but it is one of them that you still walk round with your head up high. It is just... it was somewhere where I had grown...it was the way the estate worked. I mean it wasn't just when you got beatings – but you just learned to get on with life there. And if certain people found out what happened, they went round and sorted it out – it was just the way it worked. (Unstable/Low mix area: young single mother)*

### **Length of stay, routes in and links elsewhere**

As a result of the young age profile of the qualitative sample, there were several respondents who had moved in to their area within the last year or two. Some reported very positive feelings about the area and consequently described themselves

as feeling attached to it already although their knowledge of the area was fairly limited.

*Yes, it does, I mean the way we connected with the school straight away here and the response that we got from them and how nice they were and how going out their way and how forward they are with you. It is like...it just makes you feel better all the time – if you have got people like that and they are making you feel better about the area, and then the next day you are going out and you are going to the doctors and you register and they are being the same with you. So it is just all bonus points for the area all the time. So every day you are thinking, “do you know – it’s even better”. There is always something you are saying, “do you know what, it’s great round here”. And it just gets better and better and better for us, because we have only just been here. We have not had a down side to it yet, and hopefully we won’t. (Stable/Mixed tenure: male from couple with school-aged children)*

In several cases, these people had moved to the area from a negative situation in another area: following the breakdown of a relationship, or problems of domestic violence or anti-social behaviour, for example. The ‘relief’ at getting away from those problems seemed to spill over into positive attitudes towards the new area.

Another group of short-term residents held quite negative views about the same areas. Several in this group were living relatively close to where they grew up and still had strong attachments to their former neighbourhood. They had had little choice when they moved into their current area, accepting the social housing that was offered to them. Most wanted to return to the neighbourhood they grew up in. Sometimes these respondents linked their dissatisfaction with their current area to problems of crime or anti-social behaviour. At the same time, they might report similar problems in their old neighbourhood which did not seem to diminish their attachments there.

### **Positive and negative experiences**

Our evidence shows that experiences can have a strong impact on a respondent’s attachment although individual responses will vary, as the discussion of the impacts of crime showed. As well as identifying what experiences might be important in generating or inhibiting attachment; the research was interested in the fragility or strength of attachment in the light of an individual’s experience. Respondents were asked directly about positive and negative experiences. They found it easier to remember negative experiences, often having to be prompted to identify positive ones. The longer an individual stayed in a neighbourhood, the less important single experiences were to how they felt. When asked if past experiences impacted on how attached they felt, many long-term residents said that they did not.

*Well the more you get to know and the longer you stay in a place, the more confident you get, don’t you? (Unstable/Low mix area: male living with partner and pre-school child)*

### 'Testing' of new arrivals

There were a small number of interviewees who clearly felt they had been targeted when they first arrived in their area. Some appeared to accept this process as normal and to be expected. This perspective may have been linked to the fact that these people now felt accepted within the neighbourhood – there was a feeling of having 'graduated' or having 'passed the test' and they now felt safe.

*Because when you first move up there is always a worry – or because you don't know what it is like at night time on the streets up here concerning kids, it's a problem all over, isn't it? You know, when I first move up here, with some of the young ones, I did have hassle. But now, as time has gone on, because they know me we don't get it now. In fact, I would say they look out for me. So it has swung round, hasn't it? I mean first of all I was getting grief off them...[unclear...] small confrontation – it never came to a full confrontation, but there was always that possibility there – you were like the new one. But like I say, it has swung. And then over time your confidence grows as well because you get to know people on the street. (Unstable/Low mix: male living with partner and pre-school child)*

### Practical connections

As noted in the background section, practical connections to an area may be seen either as a form of place attachment or as a factor which leads to attachment. We adopt the latter approach here.

Practical connections would appear to play a fairly limited role in developing emotional attachments to the neighbourhood. The one exception is for parents with children in school within the neighbourhood. If children are happy and settled in a local school, parents had generally developed positive feelings for the area. This can be despite otherwise negative views of the area.

*I think something that would make me more attached is...I think I already feel quite attached because she is at school. I think if she wasn't at school I wouldn't feel as attached as I do. I think one of the reasons is because she has made her own friends at school and you kind of get to know the teachers a bit more and kind of get to know the other parents and stuff. So yes, I think because she is at school I feel more strongly, yes. (Stable/Low mix: female lives with partner and pre-school child)*

The significance of school to a respondent's attachment to the neighbourhood appears to be greater for parents with primary school children. Secondary schools have larger catchment areas and tend to lie outside the neighbourhood anyway.

### Children

It is clear that finding a place where children would be happy – or where parents believe children would be happy or do well – was a major factor for parents or potential parents. Although primary schools could be a factor influencing attachment, it was clear that some people felt that their neighbourhood would not be a good place to raise children.

*I don't know, because if I had kids I would move off straight away. I wouldn't want my kids being brought...I wouldn't want my kids here because the kids are horrible round here. The kids are worse than the older ones. (Unstable/Low mix area: female, single)*

*I don't know, because in one sense I would like him to, so he has got friends and he feels a part of it – I don't want him to feel isolated. But in the other sense, I don't want him getting in with the wrong crowds either – and the way that things are going and seeing the children as they are, some of them, not all of them – I just don't want him to end up in with the wrong crowd. Because I could do a fantastic job as a parent, but then they could undo all that good work, you know, so that is one of my fears. (Unstable/Low mix area: female, single parent with pre-school child)*

This finding has some support from the models for more or less deprived areas in Figure 4.2. In less deprived areas, having children was associated with slightly higher levels of attachment but there was no such increase in the most deprived areas.

## Attachment and retention in an area

From a policy perspective, one of the key interests in place attachment is whether it acts as a bond that will keep people resident in an area. The issue is whether there are things that policy can do to encourage people with choices to remain in more deprived neighbourhoods for longer, so that these areas become more socially mixed.

It is clear that attachment to an area does not prevent people from wanting to move. Many of the interviewees would have lived in less deprived neighbourhood if they had had the chance and that included many of those who were strongly attached to their area. Indeed, some expressed a wish to live in more affluent neighbourhoods in the wider locality but maintain links to existing community. Other respondents retained strong attachments to the neighbourhoods in which they had grown up and wished to return to them. The main factor keeping individuals where they were was lack of choice. Many individuals had had little choice at the time they entered the neighbourhood.

The main factors which respondents indicated would encourage them to remain in their current neighbourhood were the same factors that produce attachment in the first place: stronger family and friendship networks; and improved or continuing safety/security. Other factors were mentioned but with less force than these two. For parents, children being happy in school was an important factor. This could be for a positive or negative reason; it was seen by some as tying them to the neighbourhood or for others it made them feel positive about the area. Some people did mention the physical environment (street-scaping, more green areas and people looking after their houses). Others mentioned very specific facilities the presence of which might persuade them to stay, so for instance wanting more things for the kids to do, or more locally available courses. Some respondents in the Stable/Low mix area, which

was predominantly owner occupier, expressed the view that they liked the neighbourhood but that they were keen to move into bigger houses, with larger gardens. However, this was not a view expressed outside of this case study area.

## Summary

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Both qualitative and quantitative data support the view that the most important neighbourhood-level factor influencing place attachment is the level of social cohesion or networks. People who feel their neighbourhoods are cohesive and close-knit report significantly higher levels of attachment. The other two neighbourhood factors, trust/values and safety/crime, are also significant but of less importance. Deprived neighbourhoods have substantially lower attachment than less deprived areas and to a large extent this reflects differences in people's views about their neighbourhoods, especially the rating of the area in terms of social cohesion or networks. Once differences in these neighbourhood characteristics have been controlled for, deprived areas have only slightly lower levels of attachment than the average.

In the deprived neighbourhoods in which we carried out interviews, social networks and safety/crime were both important factors in determining the levels of attachment respondents felt. There was evidence as well that good social networks could be important as a defence against problems with crime and safety. Most respondents recognised that the areas they lived in were deprived and given a different set of financial circumstances would choose to live in a different area. However, this was secondary to their networks and feelings of safety in the area in which they lived.

The material on crime and anti-social behaviour illustrates the ways in which some people living in deprived neighbourhoods have to work hard to 'get by'. Poverty research generally has argued that living in poverty requires a great deal of 'agency' (particular knowledge or skills to maintain a life) (Titterton, cited in Lister, 2004). It also suggests that there are important material, relational and personal resources which may shape an individual's ability to cope in a given situation, e.g. when being targeted as an 'outsider' or new arrival in an area. Access to a car is a possible means of isolating yourself from a given neighbourhood or maintaining links to other places. Family networks provide support and back-up in the face of particular threats.

If place attachment is seen as important in helping regeneration efforts then fostering or preserving social networks would appear to be an important part of the process. However, needs-based allocations systems for social housing have been criticised for taking little account of choice or individual preference but, equally, the current choice-based systems would not necessarily give preference to people with local connections.

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## Chapter Five

# Place attachment and turnover

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### Introduction

In this section, the analysis focuses on the impacts of population turnover on place attachment. In the background section, it was argued that turnover was likely to erode attachment. In policy terms high turnover is seen as problematic undermining social cohesion and social networks in an area and undermining regeneration efforts in deprived areas. The hypothesis that turnover erodes attachment can be explored using both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data are used first to set deprived areas in a broader context by looking at the impacts of turnover on attachment for all neighbourhoods. More detailed analysis for deprived areas then follows, drawing on both sources of data. This chapter seeks to explore the following questions:

- Does high residential turnover impact upon people's place attachment in deprived areas?
- If so, what are the reasons for this?
- Are residents aware of high turnover where it exists?

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### Measuring population turnover

For this work, instability is measured by population turnover. Turnover is measured by the number of people moving into or out of an area in a given period. We also include people who move within each neighbourhood. There is a case for excluding them from the measure if such localised moves are considered not to impact on social connections. Previous research (and our own observations about localised moves in our case study areas) suggest that many moves 'within' a neighbourhood do impact on social connections; people move to be closer to family or friends or in order to get away from neighbours they dislike (Keenan, 1998). We therefore include within-area moves as part of the measure of turnover and, for consistency, we count them as 'leavers' and as 'arrivals'. Our data are drawn from the Census and it records migration over a one year period. Turnover is therefore measured as follows:

$$\text{Turnover} = \frac{\text{In-migrants} + \text{Out-migrants} + (2 \times \text{Within-migrants})}{\text{Population}}$$

The extent to which a given move does disrupt social connections will obviously vary depending on a range of factors: distance moved; behaviours of individuals concerned, e.g. in maintaining social ties etc. The mean gross turnover for England

in 2001 was 20.5 per cent, with a minimum of 5 per cent and maximum of 144.6 per cent based on 2001 census. A fuller discussion on the measurement of turnover can be read in Bailey and Livingston (2007).

### **Perceptions of turnover in case study neighbourhoods**

The case study areas were selected to give contrasts in terms of levels of turnover, using the migration data from the 2001 Census for each SOA. To check this selection, interviewees were asked their perceptions of turnover and, in general, there was close agreement with the Census data. The Unstable/Low mix area had gross turnover of 28 per cent according to the Census, putting it in the top quintile. Virtually all residents from this area thought it had relatively high turnover. Even those who felt their own block or street was stable perceived the wider neighbourhood to be unstable. Similarly most respondents in the three 'stable' areas indicated that their neighbourhood had little movement in or out, with people remaining in the neighbourhood for some time. The one limited exception to this was one street in the Stable/Mixed tenure area which residents identified as being unstable. This view of the street was verified by the number of for sale signs, the levels of renting indicated by respondents and the frequency of neighbours changing as reported in interview.

## **Attachment and turnover nationally**

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The initial results suggest that turnover has a fairly strong relationship with attachment. Dividing neighbourhoods into deciles based on turnover, attachment falls steadily as turnover rises: from 66 per cent in the lowest turnover decile to 49 per cent in the highest turnover. When the relationships with other variables are taken into account, however, the direct impacts of turnover weaken and become less linear. Figure 5.1 shows the regression coefficients for the turnover variable only in three separate models. Controlling for individual characteristics alone (Model 1), attachment appears to fall slightly once turnover reaches around 18 per cent but then changes little as turnover rises further. Once other neighbourhood characteristics have been taken into account (i.e., area deprivation in Model 2 and the subjective measures of neighbourhood quality in Model 3), the impacts of turnover are further reduced although the 'U' shape remains; attachment is highest in neighbourhoods with the lowest turnover (up to 18 per cent) and in those with the highest turnover (above 27 per cent) (Figure 5.1). Overall, adding turnover into the model adds very little to our understanding of attachment (the increase in adjusted R2 from adding turnover is less than .01 and therefore much less than the effect of adding deprivation).

In subsequent analyses, turnover is reduced to three bands: low (up to 18 per cent); moderate (18 to 26 per cent); and high (27 per cent and above). With these groupings, moderate turnover neighbourhoods have significantly lower attachment than the other two although the absolute scale of the effect is small (0.11 lower on the continuous measure of attachment).

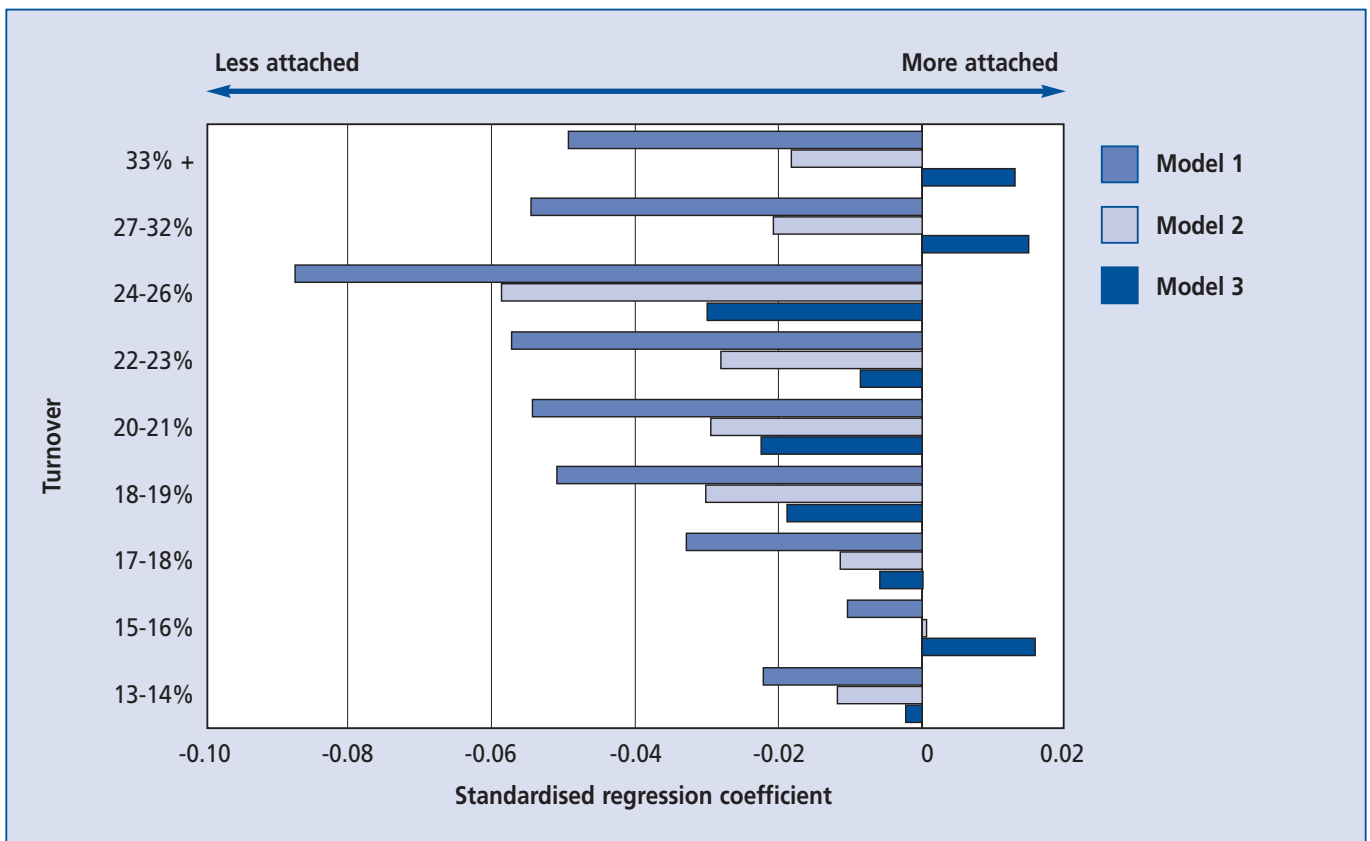
**Table 5.1: Place attachment by area turnover (deciles)**

Population turnover	Attached (%)	Strongly attached (%)	Mean attachment
0-12%	66.4	31.9	4.7
13-14%	58.7	29.3	4.5
15-16%	61.7	32.2	4.6
17-18%	58.5	29.1	4.5
18-19%	54.1	28.3	4.3
20-21%	53.3	24.5	4.3
22-23%	53.0	23.7	4.3
24-26%	46.6	20.8	4.1
27-32%	49.2	23.3	4.2
33% +	48.8	20.4	4.1
<b>All</b>	<b>55.3</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>4.4</b>

Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted. Attached includes strongly attached.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

**Figure 5.1: Impacts of turnover on place attachment – regression model**



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted. Model 1 – individual characteristics and turnover; Model 2 – includes area deprivation; Model 3 – includes neighbourhood views .

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Attachment and turnover in deprived neighbourhoods

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As already noted, levels of turnover vary between neighbourhoods with the same level of deprivation. It is therefore possible to explore whether turnover has an impact on attachment in deprived neighbourhoods in particular. We can do this using the quantitative data by including the turnover variable in the models for neighbourhoods with higher or lower deprivation. Doing this adds little to the previous analysis. Turnover has slightly more impact on attachment in more deprived neighbourhoods than in others but the overall picture remains the same. It is still the moderate turnover neighbourhoods that have the lowest attachment but the effects are quite modest.

The qualitative data provided a slightly different picture, however, with turnover seen as having negative impacts on attachment although the strengths of the responses differed. In low turnover neighbourhoods, stability was seen as giving an opportunity to develop familiarity with neighbours and build up trust.

*Yes, I like the fact that it is a stable area and you get to know people and see familiar faces all the time, yes. (Stable/Low mix area: female living with partner and pre-school child)*

For those that identified their area as having high levels of turnover, it was universally seen as having a negative impact on attachment by creating uncertainty and insecurity. Many of these respondents saw the people being housed in vacant properties as a potential threat, often linked to anti-social behaviour.

*Well the class of people that seem to be moving in, it just seems to get worse and worse. And it is as if they throw anybody on here, and it affects morale with people, especially like the older end...And I think the movement of people keeping coming on certainly has a negative affect because of the people, the type of people that are coming on. It just seems to be...it feels like they are just putting any waifs and strays on. (Unstable/Low mix area: female single mother with pre-school child)*

At times, the issues around turnover were linked to changes in ethnic mix and/or issues around supposed asylum seekers. This was seen as an additional source of concern by some (White) respondents.

Those who lived in stable areas were asked what impact they thought that high turnover might have in their area. While some thought it unlikely that it would cause any problems for them, others gave replies that had some resonance with the view of those living in unstable areas.

*I think it might do if the ones who I have known and the ones I speak to even, if they moved out, my heart might drop a little bit thinking it is like opening unfamiliarities and... (Stable/Low mix area: female single parent living with son)*

Some respondents suggested that neighbourhood instability led to a loss of community, with people more likely to withdraw:

*Different ways because there are not that many people interacting with each other now, is there? They don't know each other. At one time they knew everyone – now they don't. So people usually just stick to what they know. (Unstable/Low mix area: male living with partner and pre-school child)*

*...all the houses that were empty were people that had come and gone, and they were the type of people that I told you about – that brought the trouble to their house. And the trick is just to keep yourself to yourself. (Unstable/Low mix area: female living with partner and school-aged children)*

Instability appeared to have least impact on younger respondents without family. This group generally had lower levels of attachment and appears less embedded in the neighbourhood community.

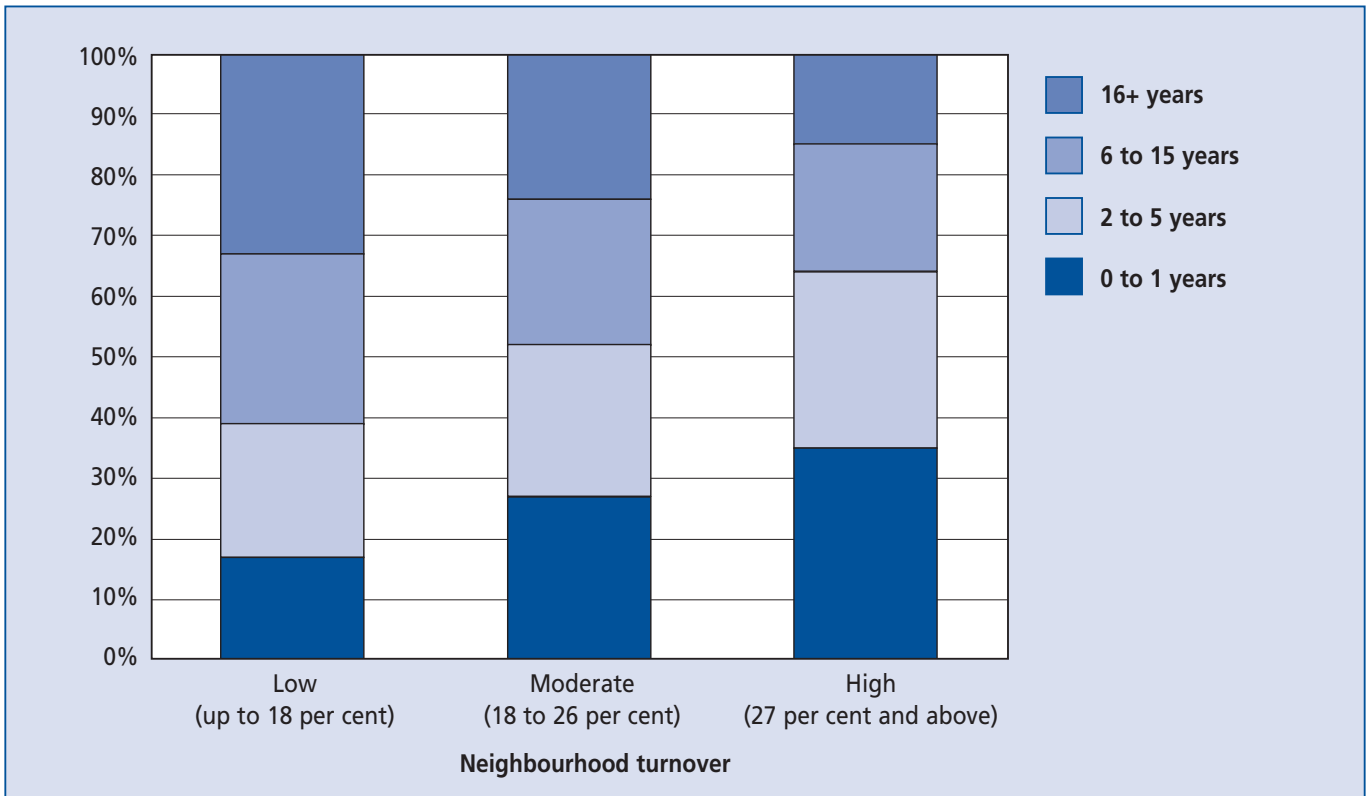
## Indirect impacts of turnover on attachment

The qualitative research appears to show significant impacts of turnover on attachment in deprived neighbourhoods while the previous quantitative analysis does not. This tension can perhaps be explained by noting that the impacts of turnover may be indirect. The modelling work does not show turnover as having a strong direct impact on attachment *once other factors have been taken into account*, but it does show that length of stay has a major impact on attachment. Turnover is of course associated with length of stay; high turnover neighbourhoods have fewer long-term residents (Figure 5.2, page 58). The proportion of people with 16 or more years residence falls from 32 per cent in low turnover neighbourhoods to just 15 per cent in areas with a high turnover.

Other indirect effects might be through the relationship between turnover and views of the neighbourhood (Figure 5.3, page 58). In the qualitative analysis, several respondents noted that people tend to withdraw from social contact in their area when there is high turnover. In the Citizenship Survey, high turnover is associated with lower scores on all three aspects of the neighbourhood and this can be confirmed more formally by modelling the factors that determine views of the neighbourhood. Turnover has a significant negative impact although it is worth noting that neighbourhood deprivation had a much stronger impact.

Both these findings help to understand why higher levels of turnover would tend to erode attachment indirectly, but neither helps explain why the relationship is U-shaped.

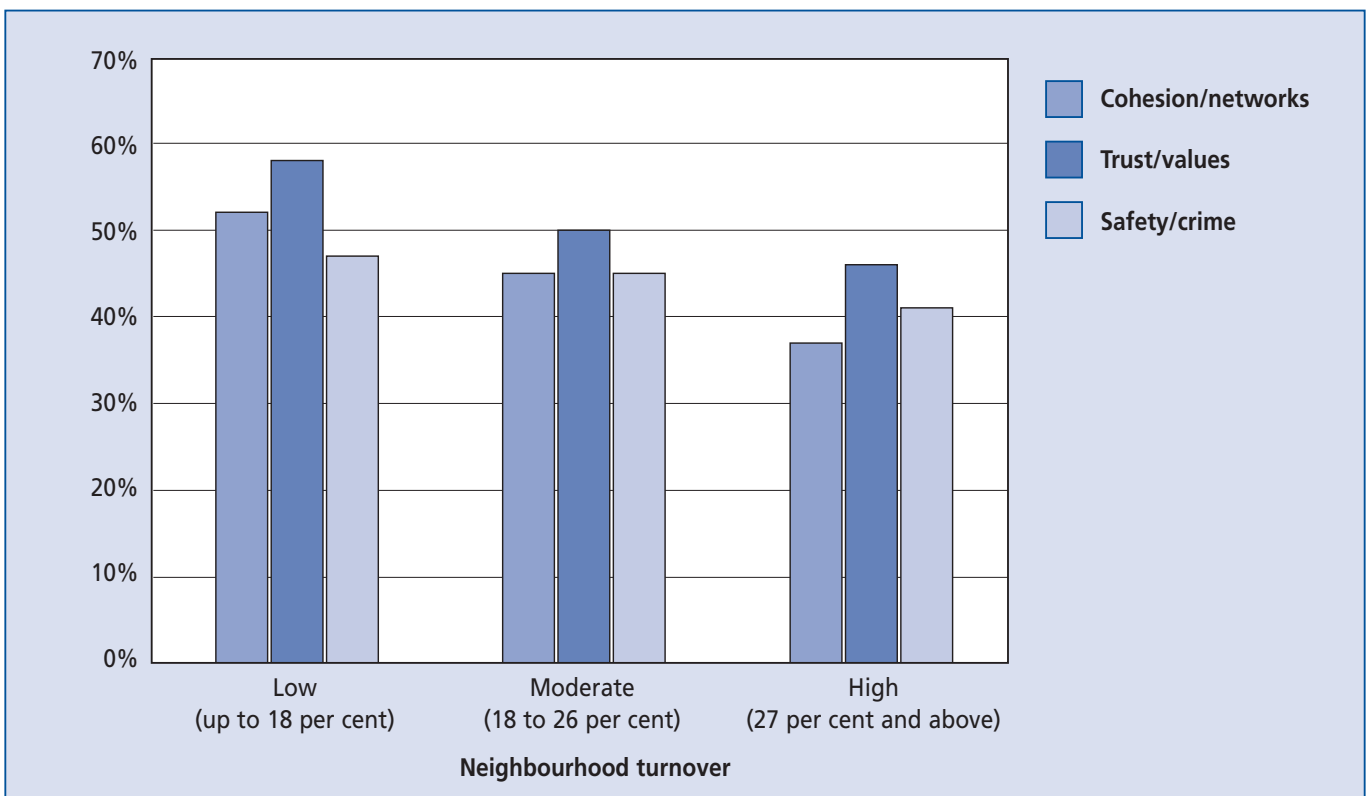
**Figure 5.2: Length of stay by neighbourhood turnover**



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

**Figure 5.3: Views of the neighbourhood by population turnover**



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted. Figure shows the proportion of people giving the highest rating for their neighbourhood on each variable.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Summary

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Turnover does have an impact on place attachment but the effect is mainly indirect rather than direct. In neighbourhoods that had high turnover, average length of stay was lower and this reduced individual's attachments to the area. Turnover also had an impact on the development of individual's social networks or their patterns of social interaction in the deprived neighbourhoods studied here. Once length of stay and the extent of social connection were taken into account, turnover had little additional impact on attachment.

Interviewees in all four case study areas said that high turnover threatened attachment. Most directly, it meant that people were not familiar with their neighbours and had not had time to build up trust. More generally, high turnover was associated with low-demand council housing and the feeling that an area was being used as a 'dumping ground' for problem households. In these areas, there was anxiety about whether the next person to move in would be a good neighbour or not. This was linked to more general concerns about problems of insecurity in deprived neighbourhoods which also erode attachment. High turnover also resulted in people withdrawing from social contact with neighbours, limiting the opportunities to build trust and attachment.



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## Chapter Six

# Place attachment and area social mix

### Introduction

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Current policy has tended to emphasise the importance of social mix seeing it in part as a means of combating the problems that accompany concentrations of poverty and deprivation. This policy has tended to focus on tenure as the means of creating areas which are mixed in terms of income, although there is also reference to a desire to encourage a mix of household sizes and ages. Ethnically diverse (multicultural) areas are also often seen as socially advantageous compared with concentrations of single minority groups. However, place attachment is often identified with homogeneous areas as attachments are thought to form more easily between people with common backgrounds, interests, cultural or religious affiliations, or lifestyles. There may be a tension therefore between policies that promote social mix and those that seek to encourage place attachment. This chapter examines the relationships between different dimensions of area mix and place attachment and will consider the hypothesis that place attachment is higher in more homogeneous areas.

This chapter will address the following questions:

- Does area social mix impact upon people's place attachment in deprived areas?
- If so, how strong are the relationships?
- How do the relationships vary between different dimensions of social mix?
- What dimensions of social mix are viewed positively or negatively by residents?

### Measuring social mix

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There are different dimensions on which a neighbourhood might be mixed. These include:

- economic status;
- ethnicity; and
- demographic, values or lifestyles (including age, household types, or beliefs).

Some of these we can measure through Census data as follows:

- economic status: housing tenure; employment status; social class based on occupation (NS-SEC); educational qualifications; and accommodation types;
- ethnicity: Census ethnicity categories;
- demographics: household types.

## Measures of segregation: The Entropy Measure

There are a number of statistics which can be used as a means of measuring segregation or mix. One approach measures mix on a simple scale – each area is more or less mixed. A recent paper identified the 'information theory index H' or Entropy Measure as the most appropriate to use when assessing segregation where three or more groups are being considered (Reardon and Firebaugh, 2002). The Measure provides a number between 0 and 1, where a score of 1 represents the most mixed areas (where all the groups are equally represented) and a score 0 represents the least mixed (where 100 per cent of the population belong to one group). With four groups, for example, the most mixed area would have one quarter of the population in each group. The Entropy Measure treats all groups as equal regardless of their relative proportions in the population as a whole. Entropy scores were calculated for area ethnicity, family type, tenure, social class (NS-SEC) and educational qualifications. These scores were then grouped into the corresponding deciles (ten groups, each containing one tenth of all areas in England).

The Entropy Measure is a useful starting point for looking at mix but it has a number of limitations. First, it is affected by the number of groups used. Take ethnicity, for example. If we have two groups (e.g. White and others), the most mixed areas would have 50 per cent in each group. If we have four groups (White, Asian, Black and others), the most mixed areas would have 25 per cent in each group. The Measure might identify a different group of neighbourhoods as 'the most mixed', depending on the number and composition of the groups used. Second, we also need to decide where to make the divisions between groups. It is clearly a major simplification to see the category such as 'White' or 'Asian' as defining a distinct, homogeneous group. It is even less clear where to make cut-offs with variables such as occupational group. Third, the measure obscures potentially important differences between areas with the same score: an area where residents regarded themselves as 'White' would have the same entropy score as one where all residents regarded themselves as 'Asian' or as 'Black'. Fourthly, the populations of groups are not evenly distributed; the 'White' ethnic group is by some margin the largest group. An area might be regarded by policy-makers or practitioners as being 'mixed' if it has just 20 or 30 per cent of residents from minority ethnic groups, but it might still have a relatively low score on the Entropy Measure since one group remains dominant. An alternative approach (using Cluster Analysis) is discussed below.

## The Entropy Measure and deprivation

The relationship between social mix, as measured by the Entropy Measure, and area deprivation varies but it is far from clear that deprived areas are uniformly suffering from a lack of social mix. The relationships depend on the status of the 'dominant' (or largest) group in the social dimension under study. With tenure and employment, for example, the largest group is also the most affluent (owner occupiers or those in employment). As a result, more deprived areas tend to have less of this group, making them more mixed than average. With NS-SEC and education, however, the largest

group is the most deprived (people in 'routine occupations/never worked' and those with 'no qualifications/level 1 only'). The most deprived areas are therefore regarded as having low levels of social mix on these measures. Care needs to be taken when interpreting the Entropy Measure. For all its limitations, however, the Measure represents an objective and absolute measure of mix.

### **Measures of segregation: Cluster Analysis**

An alternative way of measuring segregation or mix is to group areas with similar characteristics together, forming 'types'. Some of these groups might represent areas with similar scores on the Entropy Measure but quite different combinations of groups. With ethnicity, for example, we might distinguish between areas with a strong majority of White people and those with a strong majority of Asian people – and another group of areas without a single dominant ethnic group. Cluster Analysis is designed to do this for us. We can link back to the first approach by calculating average entropy scores for each cluster or type to show which are the most mixed on that measure.

### **Recognising mix**

While our four case study areas were selected to have differing levels and types of social mix, we were also interested in interviewees' perceptions of the level of mix. Social mix is not a concept that many people have consciously considered. When asked whether they felt similar to or different from their neighbours, respondents often took some time before they understood what was being asked. This made it difficult to explore in the interviews although that is not to say feelings of difference or similarity are not important to attachment. Although we tried to identify two case study neighbourhoods that were mixed in terms of ethnicity or tenure composition, it was differences in ethnicity and values that were most commonly identified by respondents when discussing social mix. The frequency with which ethnicity comes up may be more to do with its exposure in the media rather than a reflection of its impact on an individual's attachment. The frequency of values as a theme may reflect the connection to the behaviour of others and the importance of security to an individual and their feelings of attachment, but also a reflection that people do not recognise difference in income or class.

Most respondents' views of the ethnic mix in their case study areas appeared to coincide with the area designation based on the 2001 Census definition. However, respondents in both the Stable/Low mix area and the Unstable/Low mix area also talked about racial or ethnic differences and changes in their areas. While the study produced no evidence of changes within the case study areas there was quite clear agreement amongst respondents as to the nature of change. In the Stable/Low mix area, the change appears to be through the movement in of people from the 'accession countries' of central and eastern Europe. In the Unstable/Low mix area, many respondents highlighted the movement in of 'asylum seekers' from outside the

European Community as the most significant change. The Unstable/Low mix area has high turnover and what appears to be a number of hard-to-let properties, and it is quite conceivable that the area may have undergone significant change since the Census through the re-letting of these properties. Recent studies on migrants suggest that the measurement of ethnic mix using the most recent Census (2001) may not be the most accurate picture of current area ethnic mix (Audit Commission, 2007; Spencer *et al.*, 2007). Problems of enumerating ethnic minorities and the recent migration from the EU accession states may mean that census estimates of ethnic mix are now out of date.

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## Place attachment and social mix nationally

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### Absolute social mix (based on entropy scores)

We can use the entropy scores we have generated to consider the impact of absolute social mix on place attachment. At the most basic analysis the average levels of attachment for each entropy decile (Table 6.1 on pages 65-66) can be compared. For ethnicity and tenure, higher levels of mix have lower levels of attachment with the opposite being the case for qualifications where higher mix appears to be preferred to lower mix. However, other factors may be influencing these results. For instance, ethnically mixed areas tend to be more deprived so lower attachment may reflect a dissatisfaction associated with living in a deprived area rather than with ethnic mix. To get a clearer picture of the impact of these different dimensions of mix on attachment it is important to separate out the different influences. Each dimension of entropy was entered independently into the multivariate model described in Chapters Four and Five to assess its impact on place attachment.

The results of the models can be seen in Figure 6.1 (page 67). Standardised coefficients for each of the entropy models have been placed on Figure 6.1 to aid comparison but it should be emphasised the entropy scores were not entered into the models together. Once other factors have been adjusted for in the models, the different dimensions of social mix had little impact. Factors like age, length of residence and neighbourhood views remained the strongest influences on attachment. However, some results from the analysis are worth highlighting:

- Increasing ethnic mix does appear to have a negative impact on attachment with those in the more mixed areas less likely to express attachment to their neighbourhood.
- Those living in areas with at least some mix in the qualification dimension were more likely to be attached.
- People indicated lower attachment in areas with high accommodation mix, i.e. where dwelling types were varied, mixture of flats, terraced, detached etc..
- Tenure mix had a small positive impact on attachment up to a point, but had slightly negative effects in the most mixed areas.

**Table 6.1: Area entropy measures by attachment**  
N=9,151

		Attached (%)	Strongly attached (%)	Mean attachment
Deciles of entropy for ethnic groups	Least mixed	63.5	33.5	4.7
	2	59.7	29.4	4.6
	3	58.6	28.1	4.5
	4	59.2	27.9	4.5
	5	61.5	30.8	4.6
	6	52.3	23.3	4.3
	7	54.4	24.2	4.3
	8	49.7	22.7	4.2
	9	47.2	24.0	4.2
	Most mixed	39.8	17.5	3.9
Deciles of entropy for family type	Least mixed	52.2	22.7	4.2
	2	49.8	21.7	4.3
	3	54.7	26.2	4.4
	4	59.3	27.4	4.5
	5	56.4	27.7	4.4
	6	57.8	28.1	4.4
	7	58.6	31.6	4.5
	8	59.6	29.3	4.5
	9	49.7	25.9	4.2
	Most mixed	52.2	21.4	4.2
Deciles of entropy for tenure	Least mixed	67.5	31.2	4.7
	2	65.5	30.8	4.7
	3	59.8	29.2	4.5
	4	61.3	30.4	4.6
	5	58.8	27.3	4.5
	6	51.9	24.2	4.3
	7	45.7	22.6	4.1
	8	45.2	19.6	4.1
	9	44.7	23.5	4.0
	Most mixed	42.9	21.5	3.9



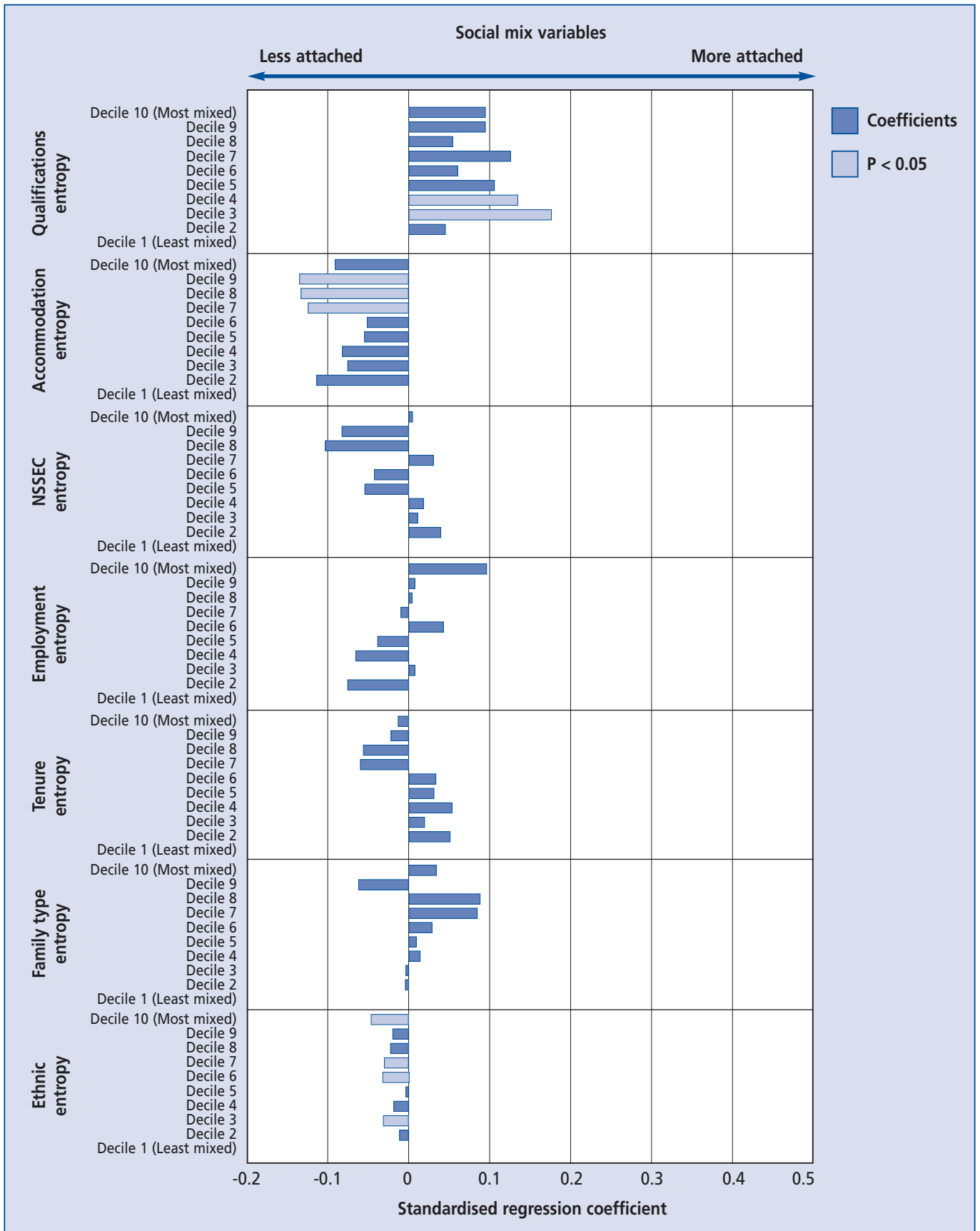
**Table 6.1: Area entropy measures by attachment – continued:**

		Attached (%)	Strongly attached (%)	Mean attachment
Deciles of entropy for NS-SEC	Least mixed	43.5	23.7	4.0
	2	49.9	26.0	4.2
	3	54.4	26.7	4.4
	4	56.3	26.8	4.5
	5	54.1	25.0	4.4
	6	61.8	28.7	4.6
	7	63.4	31.0	4.6
	8	57.5	27.7	4.5
	9	55.2	25.3	4.4
	Most mixed	49.4	20.8	4.2
Deciles of entropy for accommodation type	Least mixed	49.9	25.4	4.3
	2	49.3	23.4	4.2
	3	53.0	28.1	4.3
	4	53.2	25.3	4.3
	5	59.4	26.4	4.5
	6	54.4	28.1	4.5
	7	54.1	25.3	4.3
	8	56.6	26.1	4.4
	9	59.1	26.8	4.5
	Most mixed	59.3	28.1	4.5
Deciles of entropy for qualifications	Least mixed	42.6	22.8	4.0
	2	45.0	23.4	4.1
	3	52.9	27.0	4.4
	4	56.0	26.2	4.4
	5	56.0	26.6	4.4
	6	58.5	27.6	4.5
	7	57.4	26.7	4.5
	8	58.9	29.2	4.5
	9	59.0	27.2	4.5
	Most mixed	60.3	25.0	4.6
	Total	54.8	26.3	4.4

Notes: With the exception of ethnic groups, results based on main sample. Results for ethnic groups based on an ethnically boosted sample. All results weighted. Attached includes strongly attached.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

Figure 6.1: Standardised coefficients from linear regression models including entropy



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted except for results on ethnic entropy. All entropy models contained individual characteristics, turnover, area deprivation and neighbourhood views.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Social mix based on clusters

While entropy gives us an objective measure of mix, results are difficult to interpret due to the unintuitive nature of the statistic. The use of Cluster Analysis allows us to define neighbourhoods by different types of mix or archetypes. So we can examine the impact of mix in areas that can more directly be related to policy goals.

Cluster Analysis was used to define archetypal areas defined by different levels of mix for three of the social mix dimensions, *ethnicity*, *tenure*, and *qualifications*. These dimensions were chosen primarily for their relevance to policy and on the basis of the results from using entropy scores. Final clusters are defined by the mean percentage for each of the constituent groups in the cluster as shown in Table 6.2. Clusters have been given names which represent the majority and largest minority groups in the cluster.

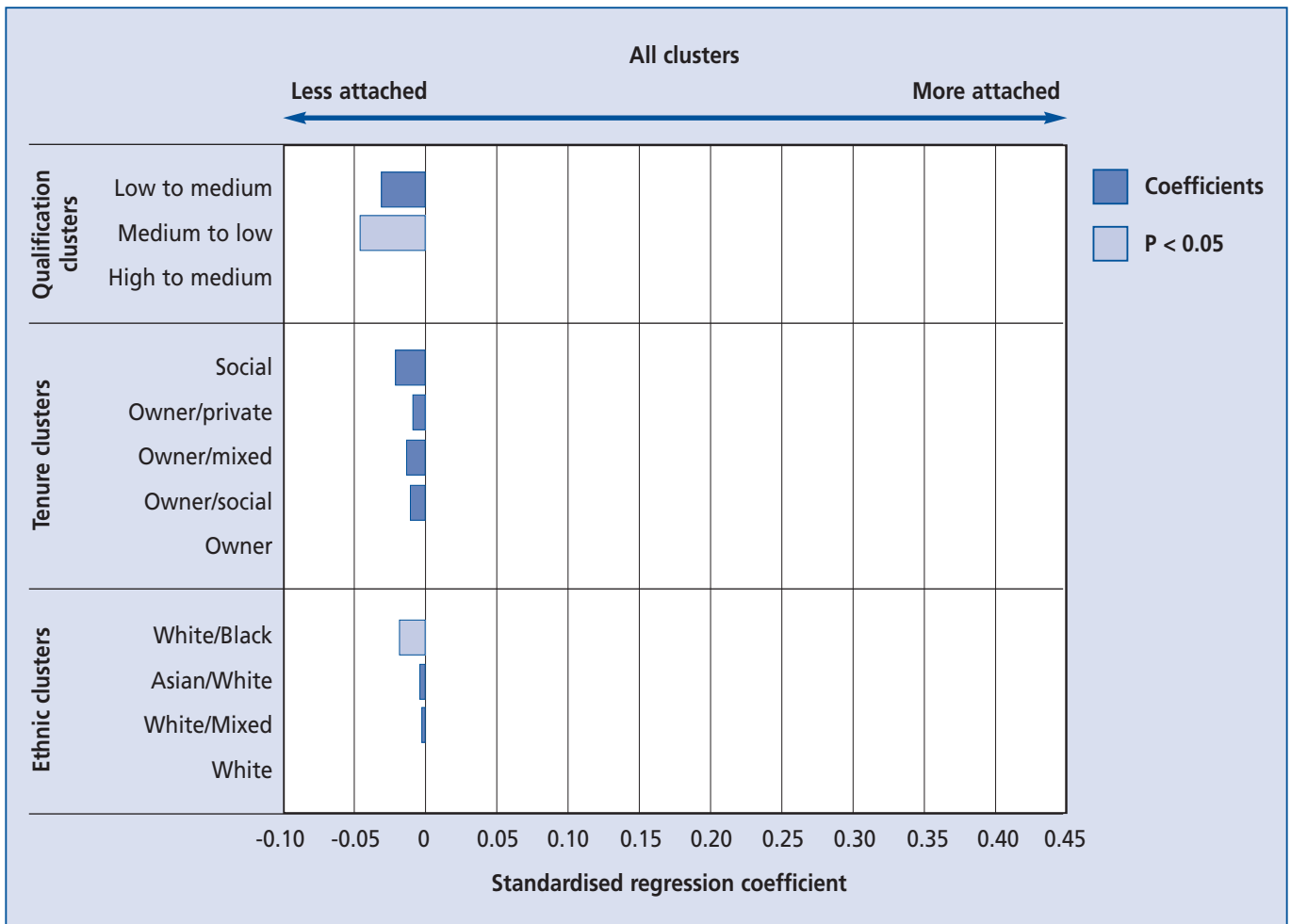
**Table 6.2: Final clusters for three dimensions of social mix, showing mean composition**

	ETHNIC CLUSTERS				
	White	White/Mixed	Asian/White	White/Black	
% White	96.8	76.9	34.0	54.4	
% Asian	1.2	11.9	54.2	12.8	
% Black	0.5	5.8	7.4	24.8	
% Chinese	0.3	1.1	0.6	1.3	
% Mixed	0.9	2.9	2.6	4.7	
Mean ethnic entropy score	0.11	0.56	0.67	0.79	
	TENURE CLUSTERS				
	Owner/social	Owner	Owner/mixed	Owner/private	Social
% Owner occupiers	54.7	90.0	73.2	47.1	28.9
% Social housing	36.1	3.8	13.7	14.8	61.0
% Private renting	9.2	6.2	13.1	38.1	10.2
Mean tenure entropy score	0.83	0.35	0.67	0.89	0.78
	QUALIFICATION CLUSTERS				
	High/medium	Low/medium	Medium/low		
% No qualifications	20.2	48.9	31.8		
% A level or other	39.6	41.3	48.0		
% Degree or above	40.2	9.8	20.3		
Mean qualifications entropy score	0.89	0.69	0.86		

Clusters for the different dimensions were added independently to the model in the same way as entropy scores to assess their relationship with place attachment. The impact of area social mix as measured by the clusters for these three dimensions also appears to be weak, with their effect in the model small compared to other factors (See Figure 6.2)., The main findings are as follows:

- Those living in White/Black clusters (also the most ethnically mixed on the Entropy Measure) had weaker attachment than people in the other ethnic cluster areas. Note though, that the majority White ethnic group dominates the analysis.
- Those in the High to medium qualifications cluster are more likely to be attached than people living in the other clusters. Area levels of qualification also act as a proxy for income and as such the higher attachment in areas with higher qualifications may be a reflection of affluence as well as social and cultural identification.
- Attachment is highest in areas which are overwhelmingly owner occupied ('owner' cluster) though the negative impact of other clusters is very small.

Figure 6.2: Standardised coefficients from linear regression models including clusters



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted except for results on ethnic clusters. All entropy models contained individual characteristics, turnover; area deprivation and neighbourhood views.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Attachment and social mix in deprived neighbourhoods

As already noted the evidence from the quantitative data of a relationship between attachment and social mix is not strong, with any effects appearing at best weak. While social mix may not appear to have a big impact on place attachment overall, it may be more important in more deprived neighbourhoods. It is possible using the qualitative data collected to consider the impact of social mix in different types of deprived neighbourhoods. The qualitative data also allows a more contextual consideration of individuals' attachments and the importance of area mix. The four case study areas were selected to have contrasting levels and forms of social mix. Two had limited mix, one was mixed on tenure, and the other in relation to ethnicity.

Broadly speaking area social mix is not an issue for people in deprived areas with most respondents not recognising mix nor perceiving it as an influence on their lives or their attachment to their neighbourhood. However, this finding is contextually specific and there were some differences within the different case study areas.

### Ethnic mix

Ethnic mix was the one dimension of area mix which respondents appeared to recognise, however, its impact on place attachment was varied and depended on the context within the particular case study area.

In the Stable/Ethnic mix area, respondents almost universally saw 'mix' as positive and it did not have a negative impact on their attachment. All the White respondents expressed a tolerance for other (non-White) ethnic groups. Similarly, respondents from minority ethnic groups indicated that they had few problems with their neighbours because of race.

*Yes, yes, but for all the mixed race and creeds and cultures and everything on this street, I can honestly say that none of them are trouble causers or...a lot of them, especially the new ones, they just keep themselves to themselves. (Stable/Ethnic mix area: White female living with husband and school aged children)*

While categorised as mixed, the dominant group in the area is clearly the White group (81 per cent) with no other group representing a dominant minority group (akin to our 'White/Mixed' cluster). In addition, the composition appears relatively stable. Some White respondents in this neighbourhood did indicate that they would not like to live in an area dominated by another ethnic group:

*I think it is, yes, I think it's because when you do get areas...I mean [Neighbouring Area] just down the road, and that is a mainly Asian area, whereas that can be intimidating for anyone who is not in that community. So if it's mixed about, then I think it's better. And from my point of view, colour means nothing – it's just not something that bothers me at all. (Stable/Ethnic mix area: White male, single living with parents)*

However, almost all those interviewed, including those from minority ethnic groups, indicated that ethnic mix did not impact on their attachment to the neighbourhood.

In stark contrast, some White respondents in the Unstable/Low mix area expressed very strong views about other ethnic groups and the impact that ethnic mix had on how they felt about the area:

Partner: *It's not Britain any more – we have been sold out.*

Interviewee: *They come into the shop and people are stood there in the queues and they are going “blah blah blah” [commenting on people talking in a different language] – it's ignorant. And people are stood in the queue like this, but you can't do anything because that's racist, so it is all just...I can see it coming to a head really, because we already have had a stabbing, didn't we, by the [particular ethnic group].*

Partner: *We have been sold out. They have sold this country out – we don't even know what nationality we are any more.*

Interviewee: *So there is going to be a lot of hostility – I can see it in the summer, it is going to kick off again.* (Unstable/Low mix area: White female living with partner and school-aged children).

Other White respondents in the same area had quite tolerant views about different ethnic groups moving into the estate. While all the case study areas had individuals who raised ethnicity as an issue for how they felt about the neighbourhood, it was only in the Unstable/Low mix area that it was a particularly strong theme. There are a number of possibilities as to why that might be the case. The neighbourhood is in a locality where there is a history of racial tension over the last 4-5 years. This strength of views, may also be a reflection of recent but significant ethnic change. Furthermore, the expressions of ethnic tension may be in part a reflection of the high turnover in the area. This may tie into the earlier findings, which suggest that high turnover undermines feelings of security and trust, and ethnic tensions could be another expression of this.

*And the asylum seekers – there has been a lot of people...that was on the news not long ago, was it [the] Council were given a cash incentive to take on asylum seekers, and they did. And I am not racist at all because I have got Asian friends and whatever, but the amount that are now creeping in onto the estate. And again, there has been crime from it – I had a friend who had a run in with a big Black guy on [street name], and he ended up getting stabbed on Christmas Eve.* (Unstable/Low mix area: Female single mum with pre-school child)

### Other dimensions of mix

While some respondents mentioned other dimensions, factors like income or class were not generally seen as components of difference, though they were mentioned as elements of similarity. So, for instance, when asked if they felt similar or different to other respondents, some said they were similar because everyone in the neighbourhood was ‘working class’, or ‘nobody round here has much money’.

## Values

The other main area of mix that respondents indicated had an impact on how attached they felt to an area was 'values' and again this appears linked to issues of familiarity or security. Some respondents highlighted that it was important for people living in the area to have respect for others.

*No, I think it is important for people to have respect for each other, and that's it. And some people just don't have respect, and they just disrespect people, and that is a real important thing in my life. If someone has not got the respect for me, I certainly won't give it them back.* (Stable/Low mix: female living with partner and pre-school child)

For one attached individual the link to behaviour was clear. She currently felt attached and those around her shared her values but where areas had problems she clearly linked this to their values:

*Yes, probably because if I was living around not very nice people, drug addicts and things like that, people who let their children do what they want and run wild – I wouldn't feel comfortable or safe around those people. So if they have got their values, and they think of their kids – I feel safe being around those people. So therefore I feel safe being here.* (Stable/High tenure mix: female single with school-aged children)

For others, values were not an issue and they expected others to have different values to them.

*Yes, it makes it more entertaining. It's boring if everybody thinks the same way, isn't it?* (Stable/High tenure mix: female single)

As has already been said many respondents recognised that difference was not one-dimensional and understood that it was possible to be different in one way but similar in others. In some of the dimensions we might have hypothesised difference to be important for attachment, but such difference wasn't recognised by respondents. People were more likely to recognise class, and income as dimensions in which they felt similar. However, when people did feel different to others in the area it was more likely to be because of perceptions of differences in values.

## Summary

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The evidence for a relationship between attachment and social mix is weak. This is reflected in both the qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative evidence shows that the different dimensions of mix have little impact on attachment and where there is evidence of an impact the size of the effect is small. Individuals' views on their neighbourhood, their age and the length of time they have lived in an area are much more important factors for attachment. There is some evidence that ethnic

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and qualification mix may have some limited impact on place attachment generally. Similarly the qualitative evidence for a relationship between attachment and social mix in deprived areas is also weak; most people didn't recognise social mix as an issue. In the case study area, which was chosen for its ethnic mix, people indicated that this was something that didn't concern them and some saw it as positive. For some respondents in the 'Unstable/Limited mix' area changes in the ethnic mix in the neighbourhood were perceived as a problem, with people expressing concern over those that were moving in. These views seemed to be tied into problems caused by high turnover and the issues of trust and security that arose from rapid change. Generally, mixed values (often associated with parenting) were highlighted as the dimension of mix which most impacted on how attached people felt towards their neighbourhood. This was also related to issues of security and safety. However, it is important to reiterate that any relationships between place attachment and social mix are weak and secondary to the other factors.

The question of how well you 'fit' your neighbourhood may be more pertinent and will be discussed in the next section.



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## Chapter Seven

# Place attachment and neighbourhood fit

### Introduction

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The analysis of mix so far has been at an area basis and has not taken into account the correspondence or 'fit' between the individual and the neighbourhood they are living in. The extent that one's personal characteristics match the profile of the neighbourhood may be a more important factor in deciding an individual's attachment to the area than area mix. The previous chapter examined whether the area level of mix in a number of dimensions had an impact on individuals' place attachment. This analysis treats all those living in an area that has a low level of mix as the same. However, in any one dimension even the most homogeneous areas have individuals who do not correspond with the area. The impact of being in the minority or majority in any dimension may be more important in forming attachments than the level of area mix. So, for instance, a White person living in an area which is predominantly Asian may have lower place attachment compared to someone who lives in an area which is more mixed but with higher levels of other White people.

This section of the report examines the impact that 'residential correspondence' has on place attachment. Three dimensions of social mix and their impact of correspondence on place attachment within each of these dimensions will be considered. The chapter seeks to answer the following questions:

- Is there evidence that people prefer to live in homogeneous or mixed areas?
- What dimensions of social mix do residents view positively or negatively?

### Measuring residential correspondence

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There are a number of methods to measure an individual's correspondence to different dimensions of mix, which would allow the examination of its relationship with place attachment. One way is to use the clusters that have been identified for the analysis in the previous chapter. For example, an individual's ethnic group can be used to consider the impact of living in different types of ethnically defined cluster, so a White resident in a White cluster will have high level of correspondence on the ethnic dimension. By modelling certain groups separately we can look at the specific relationship of attachment to the different clusters already defined. The strength of this approach is that it is possible to examine the response to different types of mix, which is important for groups which are the minority.

It is also possible to develop a measure of correspondence for each dimension for each individual, which is based on the distance of the person's personal characteristics from the area's characteristics. So, for example, an ethnic correspondence score for a

respondent who had indicated that they were Asian would be the proportion of Asian people in their SOA. For a respondent who was White it would be the proportion of White people in the SOA. It is also possible to extend this approach to creating a combined score which measures an individual's overall correspondence. So for instance a Chinese person living in social housing with no formal qualifications who lives in an area which is predominantly White, owner occupied and with high qualifications will have a very low correspondence.

## Residential correspondence Cluster Analysis

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In the last chapter we concentrated the Cluster Analysis on three dimensions of social mix, ethnicity, tenure and qualifications. These dimensions were chosen primarily for their relevance to policy and on the basis of the results from using entropy scores. For these reasons and for the sake of consistency we have used the same clusters as the basis of this correspondence cluster.

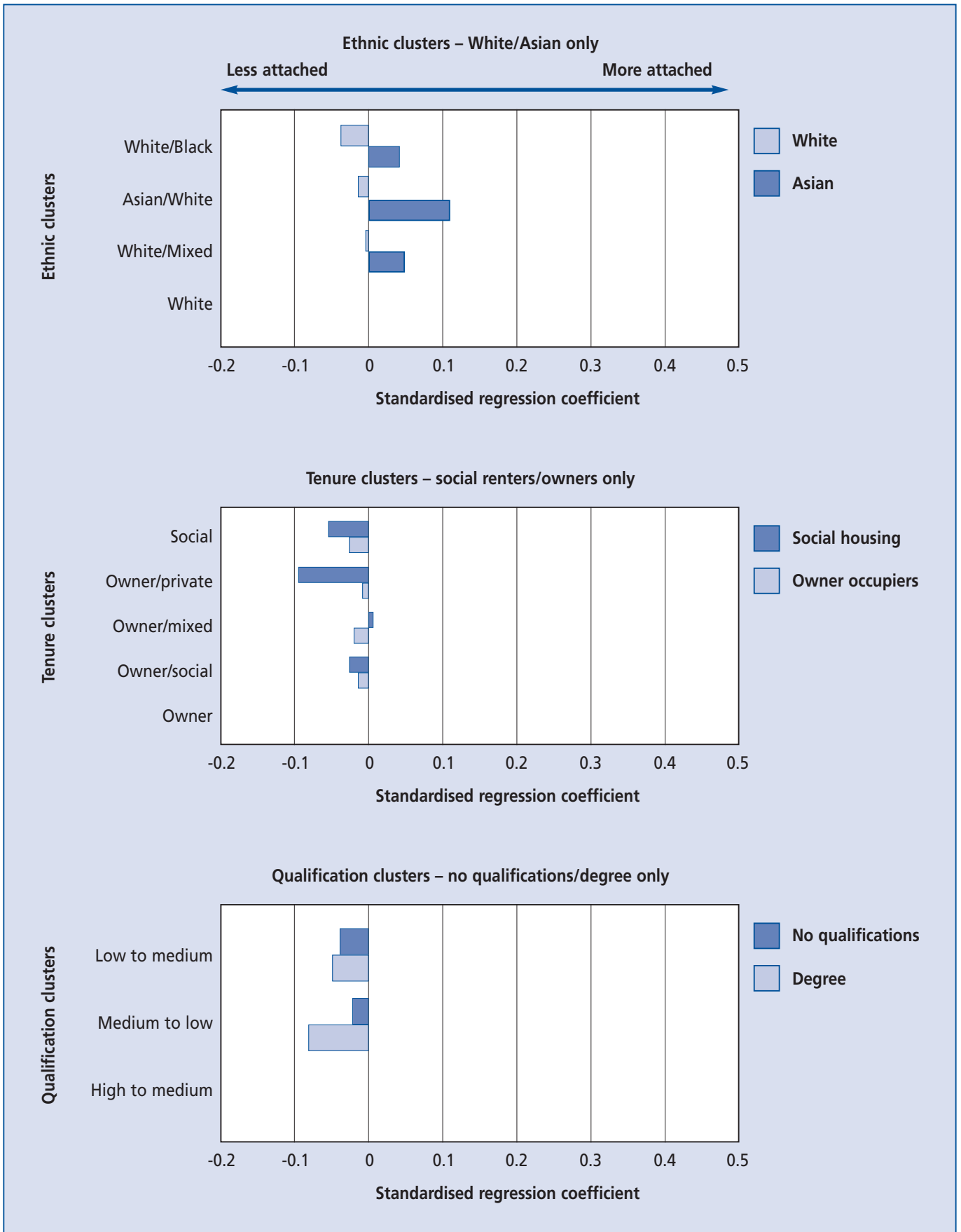
### Ethnic clusters

It is perhaps in the ethnic dimension that the issue of residential correspondence has had the highest profile and might be expected to have the largest impact on place attachment. The following analysis focuses on two ethnic groups, Asian people and White people. This is because the numbers in the other ethnic groups are too small, especially when broken down into the different clusters, to provide a meaningful analysis at a small area level. Two regression models which included ethnic clusters were created using firstly White and then Asian respondents respectively. This allows the attachment of respondents in different clusters to be assessed for the different ethnic groups.

The model for White respondents shows only a weak effect on attachment of living in the different clusters (Figure 7.1). White people are more likely to be attached to predominantly White areas with White/Black areas having the strongest negative relationship with attachment compared to the 'White' clusters. However, the results are weak and only significant in the White/Black areas. These results would suggest that correspondence in a neighbourhood is less important than the type of neighbourhood. The correspondence is lowest for White respondents in the Asian/White area yet there is no significant difference in attachment in these clusters compared to the White clusters. This result is also reflected in the analysis of the correspondence measure which indicates a small but significant likelihood of attachment when correspondence is higher.

The picture is different for the Asian respondents whose attachment is most likely to be strongest in the area where correspondence is higher, as in the Asian/White cluster (Figure 7.1). Attachment is weakest in the White cluster with respondents more likely to have higher attachment in the other two clusters, White/Black and White mixed. Again the analysis using the correspondence measure reinforces the results from this Cluster Analysis, with attachment more likely to be higher where individual respondents' correspondence is higher.

Figure 7.1: Standardised coefficients from linear regression for correspondence



Notes: Results based on main sample, weighted except for results on ethnic clusters.

Source: Citizenship Survey 2005 and 2001 Census Area Statistics, Commissioned Tables C0572 © Crown copyright.

## Tenure and qualification clusters

The analysis of tenure focused on the two predominant types of tenure (owner occupiers and social renting). The results suggested that both social renters and owner occupiers were more likely to attach to the areas which were predominantly owner occupied. The effect is stronger for those in social housing than for owner occupiers, with social renters less likely to be attached in areas other than the predominantly owner occupier areas. The relative satisfaction of owner occupiers in areas other than the predominantly owner occupier areas suggests that those who have bought their own homes are more likely to feel attached to their neighbourhoods. However, if we make the presumption that owner occupier neighbourhoods will tend to be the more affluent areas the results may be a reflection that respondents were more likely to attach to affluent areas rather than areas where owner occupation is the dominant tenure.

Similar results were found in the qualification correspondence Cluster Analysis. The Cluster Analysis was repeated for those with no qualifications and compared to those with degree level education. Any differences between the two qualification groups was small. Both degree level and the no qualification groups had a higher likelihood of attachment in the higher qualification clusters, which diminished for the other clusters, where lower levels of education were predominant. However, the effect was stronger for those with degree level education than for those with no qualifications. The qualifications cluster where the areas are dominated by the high to medium level of qualifications amongst residents may be a proxy for affluence. The analysis of both the tenure and qualifications clusters show that the types of area that people are more likely to be attached to are those that could be described as more affluent.

Using the alternative correspondence measure there is a small positive impact on the likelihood of attachment for both tenure and qualifications correspondence. So where a person's individual characteristics match with those of their neighbourhood there is a higher likelihood that they will be attached but this effect is small. When we consider correspondence for owner occupiers, social renters, those with high level qualifications and those with none separately, this confirms the findings for both tenure and qualifications clusters. Owner occupiers and those with degrees have slightly higher attachment levels if correspondence is high. Correspondence for social renters and those with no qualifications does not appear to have any relationship with attachment.

## Overall correspondence

To date we have taken single dimensions of social mix and looked at the effect on attachment on an individual's correspondence. However, the impact of correspondence may be more complex. Combinations of correspondence scores on a number of dimensions may have an effect that is stronger than any single dimension of mix. Combining the correspondence scores, as described earlier, it is possible to create an overall correspondence score based on the ethnic, tenure and qualification

score. This score was added to the regression model. The relationship between correspondence and attachment appears to be stronger when scores are combined. However, the increase while significant is not large. It now has a similar strength of relationship to factors such as safety and crime but cohesion/networks remains the variable with the strongest impact on place attachment

## Summary

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Cluster Analysis in the chapter suggests that correspondence may be less important than types of mix. For some dimensions of mix, like tenure and level of qualifications, in clusters where affluence would be expected to be high, attachment is strong. This is true for all groups of people, social renters, owner occupiers, those with high and low qualifications. Where the converse is true and areas are more deprived, then attachment is more likely to be weak. In both tenure and qualification mix affluence appears to have stronger association with attachment than correspondence per se. In the dimension of ethnicity, White people and Asian people both indicate a stronger attachment to areas where their correspondence is highest. However, White people living in the Asian/White areas are more likely to have a stronger attachment than those living in the White/Black areas where they are in the majority, which seems to suggest that the type of area is of more importance than the person's fit with the neighbourhood.

Combining correspondence scores for the different dimensions suggests that higher levels of correspondence on a number of dimensions has a stronger positive effect on attachment than any one dimension on its own but that correspondence still remains secondary to factors like strong local networks.



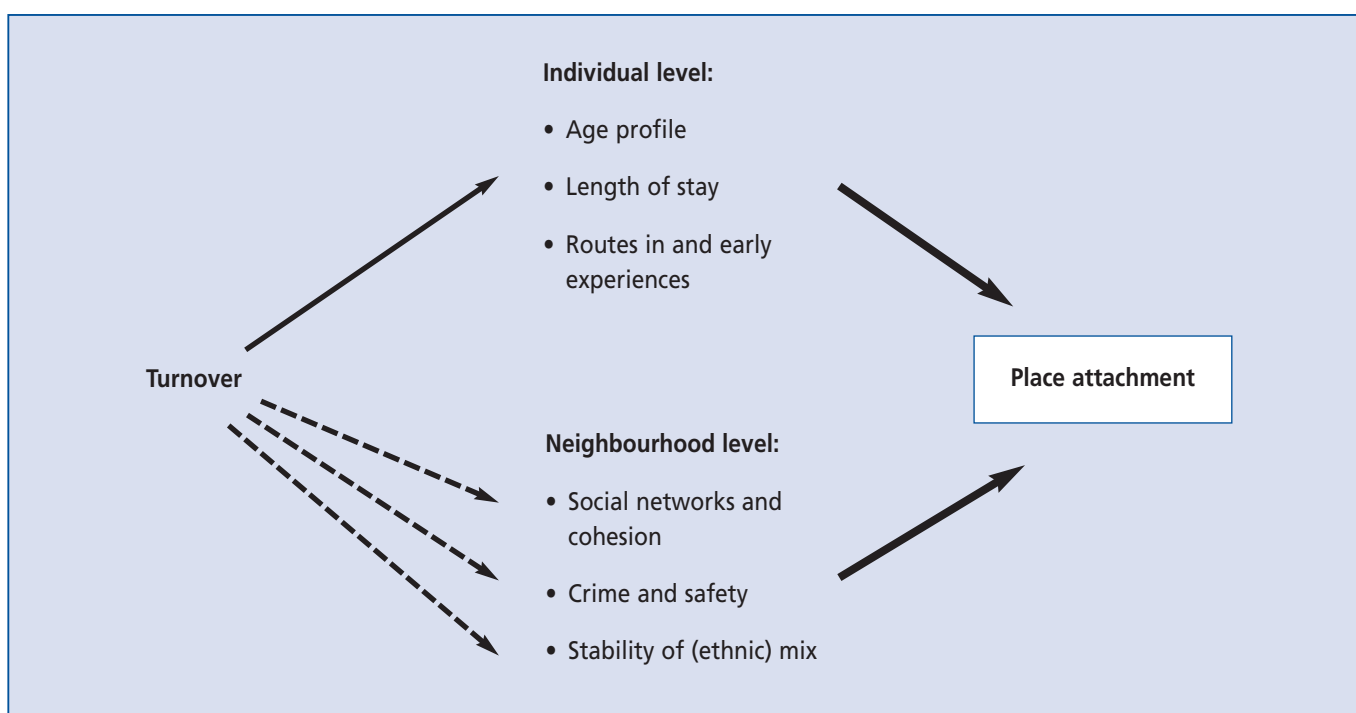
## Chapter Eight

# Conclusions and policy recommendations

### Conclusions

Place attachment appears to be affected both by individual factors and by neighbourhood context (see Figure 8.1), with the drivers of attachment being similar in deprived and non-deprived areas. In all areas, the individual factors which have the strongest impacts on place attachment are age and length of stay: older people and those with longer residence in an area tend to have higher levels of attachment. These two factors operate independently of each other. The qualitative evidence suggests that how an individual comes to be in into an area can have a bearing on how their attachment develops subsequently. Where people have a strong attachment to another neighbourhood (usually the place where they grew up), this can limit their attachment to their current neighbourhood. This problem was reported by respondents in social housing who had not been able to get access to a home in the neighbourhood where they grew up. In addition, early experiences in an area could also be important although individuals differed widely in how they reacted to adverse circumstances such as being the victim of crime or harassment. Certain neighbourhood characteristics also have an important bearing on attachment – most importantly the level of social networks/cohesion in an area, but also crime/safety problems.

Figure 8.1: Drivers of place attachment



Deprived areas have significantly lower levels of attachment on average than more affluent areas. This difference can be largely attributed to the lower rating of deprived areas in terms of these neighbourhood characteristics, especially social networks/cohesion. Once these factors are taken into account, the differences between deprived and other areas are small. These results might be seen as surprising in the light of some of the literature on social cohesion which suggests that deprived communities can often be characterised by strong networks (Brown and Werner, 1985). The literature on social capital has also suggested that deprived areas are characterised by high level of 'bonding' capital as noted in Chapter Two. The evidence in this research challenges this view. This is not to say that deprived cohesive neighbourhoods do not exist but that they are not typical of deprived areas as a whole. The research also suggests that good networks or cohesion may be particularly important in helping residents deal with the problems that come with living in some deprived neighbourhoods. Strong networks provide individuals with greater capacity to deal with problems of crime and insecurity.

Turnover does appear to erode place attachment, and this is true of deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods, but the effect is indirect rather than direct. Indirectly, high turnover leads to areas having fewer residents with long-term residence, so that average levels of attachment are lower and it also disrupts or undermines social networks or relationships. In the qualitative work, respondents also talked about turnover contributing to the sense of insecurity and uncertainty in deprived areas; people did not know their neighbours as well and they were concerned each time a property became vacant about who would move into it. Once length of stay and the strength of networks have been taken into account, turnover has little further impact on attachment.

Our findings do not support the idea that social mix automatically has a negative impact on levels of place attachment. What does emerge is that there are differences depending on which dimension of social mix we are talking about. How an individual 'fits' into their neighbourhood can also be important but, again, the picture is complicated; in some cases, people prefer being in an area where they are part of the 'majority' but in other cases, they have higher levels of attachment when they are part of the minority. There are also complicated relationships between deprivation and social mix. On some measures, deprived areas are more mixed than non-deprived, although the assumption in policy is usually that deprived areas are relatively homogeneous.

With educational attainment and with housing tenure, for example, attachment appears to be greater in areas with moderate levels of mix (using the Entropy Measure). People with low educational attainment and those who are social renters report the highest levels of attachment in areas where they are part of the minority group, rather than in areas where they are the majority.

The research finds evidence that ethnic mixing has a small negative effect on place attachment overall. On average, individuals' report slightly higher levels of attachment

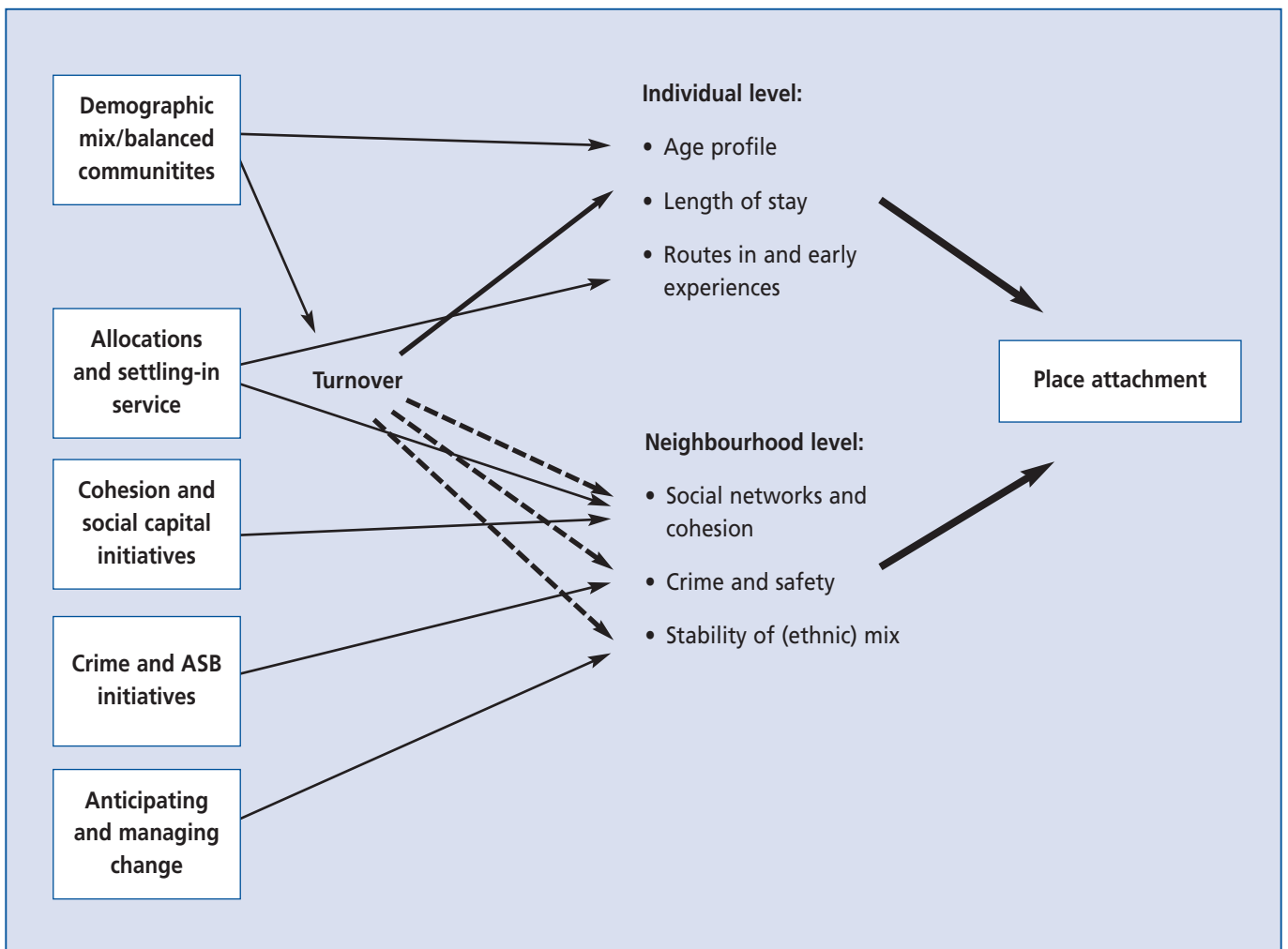
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in places where their own ethnic group is in the majority but attachment is affected as much by the kind of mix in an area as by the level of mix. Even here, the effects of mix are weak compared with other factors. What did appear to be problematic was rapid change in social (ethnic) mix. We should also take great care when interpreting these findings. It is possible that the lower attachment in areas with a particular mix does not reflect a reaction to those ethnic groups but a reaction to other aspects of these areas not currently measured in this research.

## Policy recommendations

The research has not involved examining specific interventions to promote place attachment in a given location nor has it been possible to examine the benefits or consequences of raising place attachment for factors such as neighbourhood satisfaction, civic engagement or intention to remain in the area. Nevertheless, if raising attachment is accepted as desirable, it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the kinds of intervention that are most likely to be beneficial. These are summarised in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2: Policy interventions



Low levels of attachment are directly affected by the age profile of an area and the average length of stay of residents. Indirectly, attachment is affected by turnover as it reduces the latter and erodes social networks or cohesion. Previous research has identified that the main driver of turnover in an area is the demographic mix, particularly the age mix (Bailey and Livingston, 2007); an area with large numbers of young adult householders is predisposed to have higher turnover. Promoting more balanced communities with younger and older householders is therefore likely to have a double benefit – improving the age profile in relation to attachment but also reducing likely turnover levels. It is notable in this context that much of the policy discussion of 'mixed communities' has focused on the need for tenure or income mix but has ignored or played down the need to ensure a mix of ages and household types. On the other hand, a recent study suggests that the management of turnover can be difficult and that policy should therefore focus on how to anticipate and ameliorate the effects as far as possible (Spencer *et al.*, 2007).

The evidence also suggests that it might be beneficial to give greater priority to applicants with local area connections in social housing allocations since this helps to strengthen existing networks. Choice-based lettings may offer one way forward here although this priority will always need to be balanced against other goals for allocations systems (such as meeting housing need). However, our finding that people's route into a neighbourhood is important indicates that greater choice about entry into an area could be beneficial for subsequent place attachment. Selective support for new arrivals might also be helpful, and could be targeted on those with least existing support in an area before they arrived.

Our evidence also suggests that a range of neighbourhood-level interventions might also have a role to play. Efforts to support social networks or cohesion, and to reduce crime or increase feelings of safety, are most likely to be successful in this respect. There are, of course, a wide range of initiatives which already do act in these areas, especially in relation to crime and anti-social behaviour. Following the work of the Singh Commission (CIC, 2007) and others, policy attention is now focussing on the promotion of cohesion with a range of local organisations being urged to play their part (Perry and Blackaby, 2007). There have been a range of local initiatives aimed at increasing attachment or promoting community cohesion although it is not clear how successful many of these have been (CLG, 2007).

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# Appendix A

**Table A1: JRF Place Attachment Project: Variables to be attached to Citizenship Survey data-set**  
(All measured at Lower Level Super Output Area scale and attached via postcode)

Domain of interest	Variable	Categories attached	Measure	Definition of categories
Social mix	Age	7	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	0-15, 16-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-64, 65+
	Ethnicity	4	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	White, Asian, Black, Chinese/other
	Family type	5	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Single or couple, couple with children, lone parent with children, all adult household, older persons
	Economic activity	3	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Economically active, economically inactive, retired
	Employment status	6	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Employed full-time, employed part-time, self-employed, unemployed, student, long-term sick
	Social Class/NS-SEC	4	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Managerial and professional (1,2), intermediate and technical (3,4,5), routine (6,7), never worked (8)
	Education	4	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	No qualifications, Level 1/2, Level 3, Level 4/5
Stability	Gross turnover	Label	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	% gross turnover in decile categories (based on previous year's population)
	Net turnover	Label	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	% net turnover in decile categories (based on previous year's population)
Housing	Tenure	3	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Owner occupation, private renting, social renting
	Accommodation	5	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	Detached house/bungalow, semi-detached house/bungalow, terraced house, flat, shared dwelling
	Occupancy rating	3	Categorical (20 bands of equal width)	-1 or lower, 0, +1 or higher
	Density	Label	deciles	Number of persons per hectare in decile categories
Area type	Urban/rural	Label	–	England and Wales divided into 2 area types: urban or rural (source: CA/ONS)
	Local authority type	Label	–	Classification of LAs into 15 groups (source: ONS)
	City region	Label	–	Britain divided into 43 large city-regions (source: Coombes)
	Neighbourhood type	Label	–	ACORN 17 groups (source: CACI)
	Deprivation	Label	deciles	England Index of Multiple Deprivation decile categories (source: ODPM)

Source: 2001 Census unless otherwise stated.

## Appendix B

### Case study areas

A profile of the four case study areas with a comparison with Manchester city region and England can be seen in Appendix B. However, the following is a brief description of each of the case study areas.

#### **Stable, Limited mix area**

This case study area is part of a fairly small town which lies to the west of Manchester. The main industries in the town up until the 1980s were mining and textiles. The properties in the SOA were nearly all terraced housing built around the beginning of the last century. The dwellings and the area in general appear well cared for, with many respondents investing in their own properties in recent years. Most properties are owner occupied with small numbers of private renting. The current Index of Multiple Deprivation places the area in the 9th most deprived decile.

The area has a mixed age population. However, the area may be undergoing a change becoming less attractive to those with families. Respondents with families indicated that they would prefer to move out for more space and larger gardens. Despite this the area appears very stable, with most respondents interviewed having lived most of their life in the area. At the time of the Census, the area was of limited mix using a number of criteria. This appears to be largely still the case but many respondents talked about increasing numbers of eastern Europeans moving into the area into the private rented sector.

#### **Unstable, Limited mix area**

This case study area was within a post-war council estate located close to a large town to the north of Manchester. The property appears to be of a good standard and is a mixture of semi-detached, terraced, maisonettes and flats. Most of the properties have sizeable gardens. Respondents reported that those outside the estate see the area, as a one of the 'worst' in the locality. The estate is bordered on two sides by motorway and on the other two sides by main roads, so that it is relatively cut-off and clearly identifiable. The current Index of Multiple Deprivation places the area in the most deprived decile.

The area is one of high turnover and this is reflected in those who were recruited for interview, with most having only lived in the area for a short period (less than five years). The areas of the estate that are the most unstable are around the shopping area, but there are other pockets of high turnover around the estate.

While the Census shows limited mix, respondents talk of changes over the last few years. Parts of the estate have very high turnover and there have been a number of asylum seekers housed in the estate recently, according to respondents. However, these changes may be small and anxieties may reflect issues in the locality.

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### **Stable, High ethnic mix area**

The third case study area is part of Manchester city itself and lies to the south east of the centre. The SOA includes parts of a number of different neighbourhoods rather than being identifiable as a distinct area. The area covers parts of two areas, which respondents identified as being very different neighbourhoods despite being very similar in nature and the difficulty in distinguishing the boundaries. Most respondents had lived in their respective area for most of their lives and tended to identify with one of the two neighbourhoods. The SOA borders a relatively affluent area of Manchester, which many of the respondents also identified with. The tenure of most accommodation is social renting (70 per cent). The SOA has a mixture of semi-detached, terraced and flats. Most of the houses were built in the 1950s and appear in good condition and have good-sized gardens. The current Index of Multiple Deprivation places the area in the most deprived decile.

The area was stable with those coming to the area staying in the area for a considerable length of time. Many of the respondents interviewed had lived most if not all of their lives in the area. The area was perceived by those interviewed as being a relatively good area, one which was difficult to get placed in social housing. Some indicated that while the area was 'OK' there was an acknowledgement that it was not somewhere that they would live if they had a choice.

The area is also a high ethnic mix area. This in reality means a reduced percentage of the White majority (81 per cent) with a number of other ethnic groups making up the remainder. There was no other dominant ethnic group outside of the majority White group.

### **Stable, High tenure mix area**

The fourth case study area lies to the east of Manchester. The current Index of Multiple Deprivation places the area in the 9th most deprived decile. The neighbourhood is the least deprived on paper of all the areas chosen. The estate has a very particular identity with most of the respondents recognising the estate as their neighbourhood. The locality is a relatively deprived area and much of Hyde is similarly deprived. The estate was originally council owned, however, significant of the property has been bought through the right to buy. The balance between the three tenures is 63 per cent owner occupied, 32 per cent is social rented with 5 per cent privately rented. The accommodation in the area is a mixture of terraced, semi-detached, and flats, built some time after the war.

The case study area was chosen as a stable area with high tenure mix. While categorised as a stable area it was clear from respondents that a certain street in the estate had a higher turnover than others streets in the neighbourhood. While instability is not as obvious as in unstable area, it is clear that those living on the street experienced significant change in the numbers of people moving in and out. The overall gross turnover for the area is 17.7 per cent.

Table B1: Profile of case study areas

	Stable, Limited mix	Unstable, Limited mix	Stable, High ethnic mix	Stable, High tenure mix	Manchester	England
<b>Age</b>						
0 to 14	16-20	16-20	21-25	21-25	20.0	19.1
20 to 29	11-15	5-10	11-15	11-15	12.8	12.5
30 to 39	11-15	11-15	16-20	16-20	15.9	15.8
40 to 49	11-15	11-15	11-15	11-15	13.2	13.5
50 to 64	21-25	21-25	16-20	16-20	17.3	17.6
65 plus	16-20	16-20	16-20	16-20	14.4	15.5
<b>Ethnicity</b>						
Other	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5	0.3	0.4
Mixed	0-5	0-5	6-10	0-5	1.3	1.3
Chinese	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5	0.5	0.4
Black	0-5	0-5	0-5	0-5	1.1	2.3
Asian	0-5	0-5	6-10	0-5	5.1	4.5
White	95-100	95-100	81-85	95-100	91.8	91.0
<b>NS-SEC</b>						
% Managerial and professional	26-30	11-15	11-15	11-15	24.1	27.1
% Intermediate and technical	26-30	16-20	16-20	26-30	23.0	23.6
% Routine	16-20	31-35	26-30	31-35	22.7	20.9
% Never worked	21-25	31-35	31-35	16-20	23.2	21.6
% Full-time student	6-10	0-5	6-10	6-10	7.0	6.7
<b>Tenure</b>						
Owner occupiers	91-95	36-40	21-25	61-65	69.8	71.1
Social renting	0-5	46-50	66-70	31-35	20.9	18.0
Private renting	0-5	11-15	6-10	0-5	9.3	10.9
<b>Employment</b>						
Inactive	31-35	46-50	46-50	31-35	35.0	32.8
Unemployed	0-5	6-10	6-10	0-5	3.6	3.4
Employed	61-65	46-50	46-50	61-65	61.5	63.7
<b>Turnover</b>						
Net turnover	0-5	-5-0	0-5	0-5	-0.1	0.1
Gross turnover	11-15	26-30	11-15	16-20	20.6	21.5
<b>ID</b>						
Overall	2	1	1	2		
Income	3+	1	1	3+		
Employment	2	1	1	2		
Health	2	1	1	2		
Education	2	1	1	1		
Crime	1	1	1	3+		
Living environment	1	3+	1	3+		

---

## Appendix C

### Interview schedule

Area: ..... Date: .....

Stability: .....

Mix: .....

Age: ..... Checked: .....

Household type: ..... Checked: .....

Name: .....

Address: .....

.....

### Brief introduction to project

The University of Glasgow is carrying out a research study looking at how people feel about their neighbourhood. The study is taking place in four neighbourhoods in the Greater Manchester Area. The research has been funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Explain why chosen.

### Consent

Check that respondent has read and understood the information sheet.

Consent form signed.

### Housing history

*I'd like to start by asking you some questions about your history in the area.*

- How long have you lived in the area?
  - Have you always lived in this house/flat? [Probe on local moves]

- Where did you live before you came to this area?
  - How far did they move?
  - New to that part of the town/city? New to region?
- How did you come to live in this area? Probe on:
- Was this where you had wanted to live?
  - Extent of prior connections to the area – lived here before; friends/family locally before moved in; been here for school/work/other reasons before; no previous connections/experience.
- When you moved here how long did you think that you might stay?
  - Permanently or for the foreseeable future.
- Did you consider this a good place to live at the time you moved here?
- What do you think most people's views in \_\_\_\_\_ are of this area?

### **Living in the area – practical connections**

*I would like to ask you some questions about your connections to the area.*

- Do you use local facilities very much or do you tend to go elsewhere for things like shopping, recreation and so on?
  - Probe on shopping; sports/recreation; parks/green spaces; other leisure; religion/faith; doctor/dentist and other health services
  - Any other local facilities? Any local festivals/events?
  - Do your children go to the local school or have they done so in the past (where appropriate)? If too young, are they likely to in future?
- Are you involved in any local groups, clubs in the neighbourhood?
- Probe on reasons for use/non-use
- Probe on changes over time
- Do you have a car or have use of a car?
  - Probe on extent – how many/how long?

- 
- Do you work/go to college?
    - In a typical weekday how many waking days do you spend in the neighbourhood?

### **Living in the area – personal connections**

- Do you have many friends or family in this area?
  - Family living near by? Who? How important?
  - Proportion or number of friends? Who? How important?
- How well do you know your neighbours? Get on with neighbours?
  - What sort of contact with them? Nodding terms, use for practical help, emotional support?
- Probe on changes over time

### **Living in the area – experiences**

*I would like you to think about your time in the area and the things that have happened here to you in this area in the past.*

- Any particularly positive experiences of their time in the neighbourhood?
  - Positive things associated with the neighbourhood – friends made here etc.
  - Positive things that have happened while living here – e.g. birth of child.
- Any particularly negative experiences of the neighbourhood?
  - Associated with neighbourhood – e.g. victim of crime.
  - Not associated – e.g. breakdown of relationship.
- Does living here reflect the sort of person you are?

### **Attachment questions – Citizenship Survey and others**

Would you say that this is a neighbourhood you enjoy living in?

1. Yes definitely
2. Yes to some extent
3. No

How strongly do you feel you belong to your immediate neighbourhood?

1. Strongly
2. Fairly strongly
3. Not very strongly
4. Not at all strongly
5. Don't know

- If yes, why?
  
  - Do you feel strongly attached to this area?
    - If yes, why?
  
  - Probe on *changes over time* – always felt the same?
    - Satisfaction increased or decreased over time – Is area getting better/worse as a place to stay?
      - When/why?
    - Sense of belonging – increased/decreased?
      - When/why?
  
  - *Relate current and past satisfaction to experiences, and to practical and personal connections*
    - Do you think that that [good/bad experience] had an impact on your sense of belonging?
    - Do you think that you started to feel less a part of the area after [friends/family] had left?
  
  - *Perhaps try hypotheticals*
    - Do you think you'd feel a stronger sense of belonging or that you'd feel more a part of the area if...[made more use of local facilities? Had children who went to school locally? Had more friends/family in the area?]
    - Would anything increase your sense of belonging to this area?
  
  - *Activism/civic engagement*
    - Awareness of any local efforts
    - Involvement
      - When/what and why?
      - Now? why stopped?
-

## Area stability

- Do you think that this area has a high turnover of people – lots of people moving in or out each year?
  - Direct experience – any friends/family or neighbours moved in last year or two?
  - If yes, does this affect life in this area?
- Impacts?
  - Probe to links to attachment
    - E.g. when you see others leaving, does that make you think about doing the same?

## Social mix

*I would like to talk to you about living with people in your area with people you see being either similar to you or different from you.*

- Thinking about the neighbourhood as a whole, do you think that you live in quite a mixed area in terms of the types of people that live here? Or would you say that most people were quite similar?
  - Probe for mix on:
    - Income/wealth or occupations
    - Household type/demographics
    - Ethnicity
    - Values
  - If yes, how does it affect life in this area?
  - How changing?
- Do you think that you are similar or different to most people around here? [Residential correspondence]
  - How similar or different?
  - How changing?
- Views – positives/negatives? Impacts?
  - Probe on links to attachment

## Future intentions

*Finally, I'd like to ask you about your intentions for the future.*

- Future intentions?
  - What would encourage you to go and what would encourage you to stay?
  - Probe for links to attachment
    - E.g. attached but still want to leave for other reasons...

## **Finish**

- Ask whether they have any questions about the study or any final comments they'd like to make.
- Thanks for time and give voucher.

---

## More books from CIH and JRF

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### Mixed tenure, twenty years on – Nothing out of the ordinary

*Chris Allen, Margaret Camina, Rionach Casey, Sarah Coward and Martin Wood*

Mixed tenure features strongly in current policy yet there have been no studies of long-established estates which were originally built on these principles. This study fills that gap, looking at three estates designed with tenure mix in mind and which are now 'mature' and can show whether the benefits are real or illusory.

Case studies of mixed tenure also often focus on adults' attitudes and miss those of children and young people – yet the benefits of mixed schooling (for example) are acknowledged by educationalists.

By looking at established estates from younger as well as older residents' perspectives, this topical study fills two important gaps in our knowledge and makes an important contribution to the debate on how to achieve more sustainable communities.

Amongst the conclusions reached in this report are:

- There is a clear case to be made for mixed tenure. Areas with a limited social range of residents, housing design similarities and a comprehensively-planned environment help to produce civilised communities and a relative absence of tenure prejudice. Mixed tenure might therefore be a useful policy tool to prevent anti-social behaviour.
- Well-planned mixed tenure developments are better able to offer support to extended family networks and this is important both for divorced and separated people who form new families and for inter-generational support.

The study is an important addition to the evidence about mixed tenure and should be considered by all those planning 'sustainable' communities – for whom the long-term outcomes should be as important as any immediate results.

ISBN 1 905018 04 5 £15.95

### A good place for children? Attracting and retaining families in inner urban mixed income communities

*Emily Silverman, Ruth Lupton and Alex Fenton*

This important report presents a challenging mix of debate and findings about how mixed income new communities (MINCs) are working for families. This has a number of implications for government, local authorities and RSLs, housebuilders and the providers of local public services.

In particular, it poses policy and practice questions regarding:

- The mix of housing types needed to ensure that families can be attracted to – and then retained in – MINCs.
- The costs of achieving income mix.
- The importance of an attractive and safe physical environment and social infrastructure of schools, community facilities and services.
- How can social mixing be achieved?

The research team focused on four MINCs, where an income and social mix of market-rate families together with families living in affordable housing was part of the vision for a sustainable community.

- Two of them, Hulme in Manchester and New Gorbals in Glasgow, remodelled existing social housing areas.
- The other two, Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village in London were wholly new, and built on brownfield sites.

There is currently great enthusiasm for planning for income mix in new housing developments in order to achieve more sustainable communities.

Key messages from the report include:

- MINCs lack affordable and/or well-designed family-sized homes.
- MINCs could be made to work better for family households and, in so doing, could have a valuable part to play in the revitalisation of Britain's inner cities.
- Place-making rather than housebuilding needs to be part of the vision.

ISBN 1 905018 11 8 £16.95

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## More than tenure mix – Developer and purchaser attitudes to new housing estates

Rob Rowlands, Alan Murie and Andrew Tice

As social mix has become central to government policy, this report examines the delivery of mix through housing tenure on new housing estates. It particularly focuses on developer attitudes to producing mix and to the experiences of purchasers in living on these estates. The report poses a number of policy and practice questions regarding:

- What is tenure mix and what is its connection to social and income mix.
- The attitudes of private house builders to developing mixed tenure estates.
- The experiences of households in non-social housing on mixed tenure estates.
- The extent to which mixing tenure affects property prices.
- The ingredients which contribute to successful and sustainable new housing estates.

The research utilised interviews with national house builders, seven case study estates and a social survey of non-social residents in five estates. In all of the estates, a form of tenure mix had been employed to meet wider objectives including the provision of affordable housing, rebalancing of the local housing market and to create social mix.

Mixed tenure aims not only to achieve social mix, but also to promote interaction within communities. It depends on the planning system, which determines numbers and outputs, but the desired outcome is a qualitative improvement in community life.

Against this background, the key messages in the report include:

- Mixing tenure cannot deliver social or income mix on its own.
- Developers accept that mixed tenure is unavoidable and many want to work towards a better solution.
- Purchasers accept that mixed tenure is inevitable in all neighbourhoods.
- The role of the private rented sector is misunderstood by policy makers.
- Qualitative approaches must be adopted if estates are to be successful.

ISBN 978 1 905018 17 8 £15.95

## Creating and sustaining mixed income communities: A good practice guide

Nick Bailey, Anna Haworth, Tony Manzi, Primali Paranagamage and Marion Roberts

This key tool aims to help private house builders, local authorities and housing associations meet the substantial challenge of developing successful mixed income communities.

The guide chimes with central and local government drives to create communities that bring together people of different income levels in settings combining both rented and owned homes.

Researchers found evidence of successful well-established and new housing developments which integrate different tenure and home size so that it is impossible to identify tenure solely by appearance.

They also identified four essential elements to develop successful mixed neighbourhoods:

- a clear assessment of local housing needs and market conditions;
- a briefing and masterplan process which produces a full range of housing types and sizes, located in an attractive environment;
- a vision promoted and sustained by all stakeholders;
- a locally based and unified system of housing and environmental management embracing all stakeholders and including substantial community involvement.

The good practice guide by Nick Bailey and others from the School of Architecture and the Built Environment is based on detailed evaluations of key mixed housing estates across England and Scotland. Nine case studies with different approaches were selected. These were in Birmingham, Caterham, Barnet, Manchester, West Mailing, Glasgow, London, North Shields and Northampton.

Detailed interviews were carried out with residents, housing officers, developers and planners. Extensive photographs from the chosen areas feature in the glossy publication and are available for media coverage.

The guide also draws from other JRF-sponsored research reports on mixed communities.

Nick Bailey, who led the team of researchers said at the launch:

*"Tenure mix is an important prerequisite to a successful community, but so too are the masterplan, the design quality of the homes and public facilities such as parks, the quality of schools and access to jobs. In the end, the success of mixed developments depends on whether they are places where people choose to live, and whether the mix of tenures and range of sizes of homes is retained through responsive management practices in the long term."*

ISBN 978 1 905018 19 2 £16.95

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