

Residents' Understanding of Deprived Urban Neighbourhoods and its Significance for Plans to Move

Abstract

It is one of the purposes of many area-based initiatives in deprived urban neighbourhoods to reduce the magnitude of residents that move away from the area. Especially it is often an objective to keep residents with jobs or with middle-sized incomes to stay to avoid a further concentration of poor people and social problems in the neighbourhood. This paper reports the result of a study of how residents in 12 deprived urban areas in Denmark evaluate their neighbourhood and of the connection between this and their wishes to move away. The study also exposes the differences between different groups among residents concerning their evaluation of the problems and attractions of the neighbourhood. Based on the results from the study some conclusions are made on what should be the most effective strategies for regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods.

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Introduction

Most European countries have had experiences with special problems that have emerged in certain more or less well-defined parts of the cities called deprived or depressed urban neighbourhoods. Many governments have initiated programmes with areas based initiatives to fight against problems in deprived urban areas.

Judging from the research literature there seem to be very different views on what are the core problems in deprived urban neighbourhoods and even more on what are the main reasons why they appear. In a recent book (Skifter Andersen 2003 and in 2002a) I have argued for an understanding of deprived urban neighbourhoods as 'excluded places'. This exclusion is caused by self-perpetuating social, cultural, financial and physical changes in the areas, which increasingly make them diverge from the rest of the city. The development in these areas tends to make 'ordinary' people flee to other parts of the cities making room for an increasing concentration of low-income and socially excluded groups and thus increasing the spatial division of social groups. This effect is even more serious when looking at the segregation of ethnic minorities where the forces in work are much stronger

With this starting point I have argued for (Skifter Andersen 2002b) that area-based initiatives could contain three *types of strategies*:

1. *Efforts against exclusion of neighbourhoods*: Initiatives that focus on how to stop and reverse the self-perpetuating processes in the areas that make them increasingly stigmatised and unattractive compared to the rest of the city.
2. *Area based efforts against social exclusion*: As a supplement to general welfare policies it can sometimes be relevant to have efforts concentrated in deprived urban areas for two reasons: 1. to combat special effects produced by area deprivation that tend to increase social exclusion and 2. because local private resources perhaps could be mobilised to support public efforts
3. *General efforts against segregation*: Initiatives that attack conditions, which tend to increase segregation. It could e.g. be differences between tenures or rules for allocation of dwellings in social housing.

The first type of strategy is the most important and has as one of its central purposes to influence the flow of people (and capital) in and out of the areas. It is a critical objective to reduce the number of residents moving away from the neighbourhood, especially residents who function well socially and have employment. It is also important to be able to attract these groups to move into the area.

Knowledge about which conditions in a deprived neighbourhood is most repulsive to the groups of people, one wants to keep in or attract to these areas is therefore very important as a guidance for area-based initiatives. In this article is reported a study of how residents in 12 deprived urban areas in Denmark evaluate their neighbourhood and of the connection between this and their wishes to move away. The study also exposes the differences between different groups among residents concerning their evaluation of the problems and attractions of the neighbourhood. The article starts with a discussion of the results of other studies of neighbourhood satisfaction and causes of mobility. This forms a basis for the formulation of hypotheses for the empirical investigation. The Danish data is then used first to examine Individual variations among residents in deprived neighbourhoods in their evaluation of different local social and physical problems. Secondly is examined the connection between residents' evaluation of problems and their opinion on the reputation of the neighbourhood. Finally is investigated the connections between evaluation of problems in, poor reputation of the neighbourhood and plans among residents to move away from the area.

Mobility, neighbourhood satisfaction and the perception of places

Residential satisfaction is in the mobility literature seen as an intervening variable between background variables, such as individual characteristics, and mobility. Mobility studies, going back to the pioneering work of Rossi (Rossi 1955), has explained the process of residential mobility by stages as:

1. Dissatisfaction with the current dwelling and/or its neighbourhood is acknowledged by the individual
2. A wish to move and demands to another dwelling or neighbourhood are formulated
3. Information on alternative dwellings are obtained
4. A decision to move is taken

It is a well-known fact from the comprehensive literature on residential mobility that for every household, during the course of time greater barriers against mobility are build up. As formulated by Speare, Goldstein and Frey (1974):

"Many empirical studies note another aspect of mobility in the social and economic bonds a community resident or potential mover forms with the immediate environment.... as a result of a gradual assimilation process.... relation between the bonds on the one hand and mobility on the other will be inverse and mobility will be inhibited by ties to the immediate neighbourhood or area. The greater in magnitude and intensity the bonds for an individual at his current residence, the higher his tolerance for dissatisfaction will become, everything else being equal"

One of the dominant theories called the stress-threshold theory (Wolpert 1965, Brown and More 1970) explains mobility as a product of that changes occurs in the housing needs of households during the course of time, which causes 'stress' in the housing situation, and that barriers against mobility are build up. When stress exceeds barriers the household will move. Changes in the household situation, like marriage, divorce, birth of children, major income changes etc. are thus important reasons for mobility, while dissatisfaction alone more seldom leads to moving. Families in certain phases of the life-cycle are more mobile than other regardless of their housing situation. Some of the most important background variables explaining mobility are thus age, family situation and job career. Rossi (1955) developed a successful index of mobility combining an index of 'potential mobility', containing such variables, with another index of dissatisfaction with the current dwelling and neighbourhood. In a Danish study of deprived Danish social housing estates (Skifter Andersen, 1999) it was shown that the most important individual factors explaining mobility was age, income, ethnicity, gender and children in the quoted order.

Dissatisfaction with dwelling or neighbourhood is in the literature seen as the crucial basis for the mobility process, but there are many different understandings of this concept and of what elements is contained in housing and neighbourhood satisfaction or dissatisfaction. As stated by Burrows and Rhodes (1998) will dissatisfaction always be a function of both objective realities and sometimes highly subjective evaluations. Personal domestic well being is as strongly influenced by our perceptions of material phenomena as by the material phenomena it self.

The meaning of neighbourhoods as places is socially constructed and different groups give these places different meanings. Perceptions on the geographical extent of a certain neighbourhood can also be different among groups. It has thus been shown that middle class residents hold a more comprehensive image of neighbourhoods than lower-class residents covering a much wider territory and including a larger number of and greater variety of elements (Knox 1995, pp. 262).

There has been a divide between literature made by planners/geographers and sociological literature on the definition and meaning of places. In the first there has been an emphasis on the physical boundaries and aspects, while the latter mostly finds that a place is defined by its use and social practices (Giddens 1984, Massey 1995).

In many studies residential satisfaction has been measured by putting forward one single question to the residents: are you satisfied/dissatisfied with your dwelling/neighbourhood. As stated by Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) there are good reasons to question if such a simple measure of satisfaction is usable for understanding residents' relationship to their environment and as a basis for prediction of their actions, for instance moving away. It is a well-known fact from many studies that people most often express a high degree of general satisfaction with their residence. There are, however, often other reasons for this than a high positive evaluation of dwelling and neighbourhood. People, that do not have a possibility to move away, will always tend to be positive if they don't want to acknowledge that their life has failed (Lu 1999). It has also been shown in mobility studies that dissatisfaction with negative conditions will be reduced during the course of time as residents get accustomed to them (Speare, Goldstein and Frey 1974). Furthermore a low general dissatisfaction can reflect a lack of concern about the neighbourhood because the dwelling is seen as just a place to sleep and actual life and social relations is taking place in other parts of the city (Ærø 2001).

As a consequence of the above-mentioned problems in measuring general satisfaction, it can not always be expected that there is a direct connection between residents' evaluation of different specific conditions and

their general appreciation of the residence. People are more disposed to express dissatisfaction with some of the specific conditions in the neighbourhood than to make a general devaluation of their neighbourhood. Moreover, different people do not put the same weight on different qualities and properties in the neighbourhood. Thus Burrows and Rhodes, in their effort to construct a composite measure of area dissatisfaction, analysed the connection between general expressed dissatisfaction and residents evaluation of 17 different problems in the neighbourhoods. They found it difficult to construct a specific combination of problem evaluations that produced good predictions of the general dissatisfaction.

It is, however, still to be expected that wishes to move be connected with dissatisfaction with different conditions in dwelling and neighbourhood and the subjective evaluation of these conditions among individual residents. It must also be expected that the evaluation of properties and qualities by the neighbourhood most important to the quality of life of individual residents also will be most important in determining dissatisfaction and wishes to move. It is therefore relevant to seek for knowledge on, what determines neighbourhood satisfaction and quality of life, in research on which neighbourhood conditions are important for moving. In the following some of the main findings on the importance of different kind of neighbourhood conditions from such studies are reported.

Residential satisfaction is often split up into housing and neighbourhood satisfaction. But there is evidence that the two are not independent. The study of Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) thus showed that there was a connection between the two kinds of satisfaction - people dissatisfied with their house being three times more likely to be dissatisfied with their neighbourhood. One explanation could be, as mentioned above, that people who have decided to move - and have the possibility to do so - in general have created a negative evaluation of both dwelling and neighbourhood. Housing dissatisfaction and plans to move could therefore make a contribution in explaining neighbourhood dissatisfaction.

Elements in neighbourhood satisfaction

The elements in explaining neighbourhood dissatisfaction have been classified in different ways. Johnston (1973) suggested, as a result of a study, that neighbourhood preferences are based on three underlying evaluative dimensions, which are invariant with area of residency in the city:

1. The 'impersonal environment', composed mainly by the physical attributes of the neighbourhood
2. The 'interpersonal environment' composed mainly of the social attributes of the neighbourhood
3. The locational attributes of the neighbourhood in relation to the city and its services

Knox (1995) refers to a study from U.S.A. where Johnstons methodology was used. The conclusions were that there was some evidence that similar neighbourhoods evoked similar cognitive responses, but that they were far from identical in different kinds of neighbourhoods.

Basolo and Strong divided determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction into individual characteristics of residents and neighbourhood characteristics. The latter was composed of

1. physical environmental conditions,
2. locational characteristics,
3. local services/facilities and
4. sociocultural environment

Galster et. al. (2002) in a principal component analyses of indicators of neighbourhood quality in six American cities identified six factors that explained two-thirds of the total variation:

1. Social disadvantage (female headship rate, teen birthrates, welfare usage, share of black people)
2. Housing and tenure type (share of single-family homes, owner-occupied).
3. Prestige (share of college degrees, share in managerial, professional and technical occupations, median home values)
4. Business and employment (number of businesses and jobs)
5. Crime (violent crime rates)
6. Housing vacancy (residential vacancy rates, units lacking minimal plumbing)

Moreover, Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) organised their variables in 6 different types:

1. Positive social features (friendly neighbours, community spirit)
2. Negative social features (crime and safety, bad neighbours)
3. Environmental features (general appearance of the area, leisure facilities, noise)
4. Quality of neighbourhood facilities (schools, public transport, street lighting)
5. Access to neighbourhood facilities (supermarket, post office, corner shop)
6. Housing satisfaction.

Early American research based on 'ecological urban theories' (reported by Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson 2002) argue that high-density living, coupled with relatively anonymity of the individual and increased social disorder puts greater tensions on daily life. It could also be argued that the increasing number of foreign ethnic minorities in some urban neighbourhoods in Europe could add to these tensions. Therefore satisfaction is expected to be inversely related to the size of the neighbourhood and to the density and heterogeneity of the population, for instance the share of ethnic minorities.

Another approach has been the so-called 'systemic model' (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974) that proposed that satisfaction depends more on social factors linked to the individuals length of residence, the social stability of the neighbourhood, the presence of family and friends and the amount of social interaction.

Many studies have found that fear of crime or lack of safety are very important for neighbourhood satisfaction, where high incidents of crime can considerably reduce the usually high neighbourhood satisfaction among residents without plans to move. There are not always a direct connection between actual crime rates and the perceptions of local crime among residents (Basolo and Strong 2002). The perceived crime is found to be more important to satisfaction than the actual. As stated by Ærø (2004) and Costa Pinho (2000) the feeling of safety is not only connected to observed crime but also to conflicts between residents or groups of residents. These conflicts can sometimes be grounded in experiences with other residents not acting in accordance to what is felt as usual norms and behaviour. This is another argument for that a social and ethnic heterogeneous neighbourhood has a higher probability of neighbourhood dissatisfaction.

Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) found in their study of ordinary neighbourhoods that the most important factor explaining neighbourhood satisfaction, besides housing satisfaction, was physical conditions expressed as "general appearance of the neighbourhood". Other important factors were noise, friendliness of neighbours, 'community spirit' and safety. Also Basolo and Strong (2002) concluded that physical conditions were important - like cleanliness and traffic. They also found that social relations were of great influence on satisfaction. Also in other studies (Carp et al. 1982 and Frascascator et. al 1987) it has been found that physical problems, like lack of maintenance, litter, graffiti, noise and pollution, and social relations have a great effect on peoples satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

One should, however, be careful to conclude from the high importance of the physical appearance of the neighbourhood that aesthetics is one of the most important dimensions of neighbourhood satisfaction. Physical problems of an area can also be interpreted as visible signs of low status and social problems (Skifter Andersen 2003).

Individual factors explaining dissatisfaction

Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson (2002) suggest that high individual resources are a very important factor in explaining area dissatisfaction, because it is essential to the individuals possibility to choose another dwelling or neighbourhood if wanted. This argument can be true, as argued above, when looking at general measures of dissatisfaction and also of wishes to move, but are not necessary of great importance to the evaluation of specific conditions of the neighbourhood. A greater satisfaction is also expected of those who have lived longer in the neighbourhood. Other individual variables, which are reported to have been used in studies of satisfaction, are age, unemployment, education and extent of social networks. But the study of Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson did not show that socio-demographic background variables were good predictors of neighbourhood satisfaction. Burrows and Rhodes, however, in their study of deprived neighbourhoods found that important variables were employment situation, social class and single mothers, while age and income were not.

The importance of image and reputation

A concept that has been used in some studies of residential satisfaction is the 'reputation' or 'image' of the neighbourhood. A possible definition of image is 'the set of meanings by which an object is known and through which people describe, remember and relate to it. This is a net result of the interaction of a person's beliefs, ideas, feelings and impressions about an object' (Rijpers and Smeets 1998). Thus the image or reputation is a simplified generalised picture that summarises all the good and bad conditions in a neighbourhood. It is also assumed by the individual that other people has the same or a very similar image of the neighbourhood

Rijpers and Smeets (1998) identified three types of images: 1. 'The internal image', which was the one that was common among residents of the neighbourhood, 2. 'The External image' according to people living outside the neighbourhood and 3. 'The self-reflecting image', which was the image residents believed was found among outsiders. Their study found some differences between what conditions in the neighbourhood were important in these three different kinds of images. The internal image was mostly influenced by the social composition of residents, the visual quality of the build environment, social inconveniences and accessibility of facilities. The external image was mostly explained by social inconveniences (like vandalism, safety and behaviour of residents) and by quality of buildings (appearance of the neighbourhood, types of dwellings, maintenance, diversification of buildings). Finally the self-reflecting image was somewhat similar to the internal image, but social inconveniences and visual qualities were more important.

An earlier Danish study based on data from 500 social housing estates with social problems (Skifter Andersen 2002a) showed that the most important social factors explaining poor reputation was share of ethnic minority groups, social conflicts, noisy residents and problems with vandalism. Furthermore, larger estates, with bad location, many small dwellings and bad maintenance were more vulnerable to having a poor reputation. Moreover, it showed that the risk for this was relatively larger in smaller towns and cities. In the same study it was shown that poor reputation was a major factor in explaining mobility out of the estates.

The connection between area dissatisfaction, plans to move and actual moves

In a recent article Kearns and Parkes (2003) have reported a study of the connection between area dissatisfaction, plans to move and actual moves in some British urban neighbourhoods. Only ten per cent of the respondents in their survey were residents in poor neighbourhoods. The study showed that moving intentions were related to dissatisfaction with the dwelling, its immediate surroundings and the whole neighbourhood in the quoted order. By conditions included in the surroundings were: Disorder (burglary, safety, vandalism/graffiti), environmental (among others rubbish and litter, general appearance, conditions of open spaces, traffic and noise) and social (close neighbours, privacy). Neighbourhood conditions consisted of access (work and transport), facilities (shopping, public services) and people (people, family). Especially the variables in "disorder" and dissatisfaction with people in the neighbourhood were shown to be good predictors of plans to move. It was also shown that neighbourhood decline - the perception of that things were getting worse - had great importance.

The study by Kearns and Parkes showed some differences between intended and actual moves. 48 per cent of those who planned to move actually had left their home five years later, while 14 per cent of those who planned to stay had moved. It was concluded that residential perceptions of the dwelling and neighbourhood had less influence on actual moves than on earlier moving intentions irrespectively of when the move was done. But it was still found that dissatisfaction with the surroundings had importance - especially crime, safety and vandalism. One must, however, keep in mind that the vast majority of respondents did not live in deprived neighbourhoods.

The greatest difference between plans and actual moves were found among homeowners. This points to tenure as an important variable in explaining moving plans and actual moves, where owner-occupation can reduce intentions of moving away from the neighbourhood and also reduce execution of moves.

An earlier Danish study (Skifter Andersen 2002a) of 500 deprived social housing estates showed that poor reputation and poor visual appearance were important factors in explaining high mobility rates.

Data from the evaluation of area-based initiatives in 12 Danish deprived neighbourhoods

As a part of an evaluation (Skifter Andersen and Kielgast 2003) of a special Danish urban regeneration programme, called "Kvarterloeft" data was collected in 12 Danish neighbourhoods that participate in the programme. In the first part of the programme that ran from 1997 to 2003 seven neighbourhoods were involved, while the second part consisted of five other urban areas. In Table 1 is shown some characteristics of the neighbourhoods.

Table 1. Characteristics of the 12 neighbourhoods studied

| Name of neighbourhood | Name and size of city - no. of inhabitants | Location of area and year of construction | Size of area, no. of inhab. | Degree of deprivation |
|-------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>First phase 1997-2003</i> | | | | |
| Femkanten | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Outer parts of older city, 1920-40 | 6.500 | Higher |
| Kgs. Enghave | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Outer parts of older city, 1920-40 | 13.500 | Middle |
| Hombladsgade | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Near centre, before 1920 | 16.300 | Lower |
| Avedøre Stationsby | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Suburb, 1970ties | 5.900 | Middle |
| Sydvestkvarteret | Kolding, 63.000 | Near centre, mixed | 5.400 | Lower |
| Tøjhushaven | Randers, 63.000 | Near centre, before 1920 | 1.000 | Lower |
| Aalborg Øst | Aalborg, 163.000 | Suburb, mixed, 1960- 70 | 14.500 | Middle |
| <i>Second phase 2001-2008</i> | | | | |
| Nordvestkvarteret | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Outer parts of older city, 1920-40 | 15.000 | Middle |
| Nørrebro Park | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Outer parts of older city, 1900-20 | 16.000 | Middle |
| Brøndby Strand | Copenhagen, 1.7 mill | Suburb, 1970ties | 11.000 | Lower |
| Vollsmose | Odense, 184.000 | Suburb, 1970ties | 10.000 | Higher |
| Vestbyen | Horsens, 58.000 | Near centre, before 1920 | 3.500 | Lower |

As can be seen from the table many different kinds of neighbourhoods were included in cities of different size. Seven are located in the Greater Copenhagen Area, five in smaller and middle-sized cities in the provinces. Four areas are located quite near the city centre, four in the suburbs and four in between in Copenhagen City. Most of the areas have from 5.000 to 16.000 residents. Also the degree of deprivation differ much between the neighbourhoods. Though, in general Danish neighbourhoods have not reached the same extent of deprivation as has been seen in many other European countries.

As part of the evaluation of the first seven neighbourhoods, data was collected both at the start of the regeneration in 1998 and at the end in 2002. The data consists of both interviews with residents on their evaluation of different conditions and problems in the neighbourhood and on their plans to move or stay, and data from public registers on the interviewed persons and on the whole neighbourhood. For the areas in the second phase the same kind of data was collected at the beginning of the initiatives in 2002. For each of the three data sets 1800 residents was selected and about 1000 participated in the interviews. Thus, in total about 3.000 respondents are included in the data.

The conditions in the neighbourhood evaluated by the residents were:

1. Physical conditions
 - a) Aesthetic appearance of buildings, streets and squares
 - b) Lack of green areas
 - c) Complaints over traffic and noise
 - d) Complaints over dirt, litter, physical decay and graffiti
2. Social problems and safety
 - a) People that behave badly
 - b) People drinking in the streets
 - c) Drug users
 - d) Theft and burglary
 - e) Vandalism
 - f) Violence and street fights
 - g) Domestic disturbances and noise from neighbours
 - h) Feeling of safety

3. Social relations and affiliations
 - a) General relations to other residents
 - b) Engagement in local activities
 - c) Moved to area because of having friends and relatives there
 - d) Will stay in area because of social relations and engagement

4. Social life, activities and services
 - a) Public institutions
 - b) Meeting places and haunts
 - c) Social life and activities
 - d) Feeling of community spirit in the neighbourhood

The residents were also asked to give their evaluation of the reputation of the neighbourhood. People that thought it to be bad or not very good were asked to give the main reason for this.

Residents were also asked if they planned to move away. Respondents who planned to move were asked about the reasons divided into the following reasons: 1. Housing, 2. Neighbourhood and 3. Forced moves. The respondents who planned to stay were asked for what reasons divided into housing and neighbourhood. Moreover, residents were asked for reasons why they moved to the neighbourhood.

The data from public registers contained information on housing, demographic variables, income, welfare payments, employment, education and ethnic origin for every resident in the neighbourhoods and for the respondents in the survey.

Hypotheses and methods

The purpose of this study has been twofold. The first objective is to examine if there are differences between different residents in their evaluation of specific conditions in deprived urban neighbourhoods. The second objective is to examine what consequences negative evaluations of the neighbourhood have for decisions to move away from it.

We have based the analyses on the model shown in figure 1.

Plans to move are expected to be influenced by individual satisfaction - or dissatisfaction with housing or with the neighbourhood. It is however also dependent on the personal situation of households which is decisive for their potential mobility.

Neighbourhood satisfaction is determined by three factors: 1. How attractive and desirable the neighbourhood is to the resident, 2. The degree of personal affiliation to the neighbourhood and 3. The reputation and status connected with the area.

These three factors are seen as a product of the residents' evaluation of different conditions in the neighbourhood divided into: 1. Social problems and safety, 2. The residents personal social relations, 3. Social life, activities and services, and 4. Physical appearances and nuisances.

Finally respondents evaluations in principle is determined by their personal characteristics and by the properties of the neighbourhood.

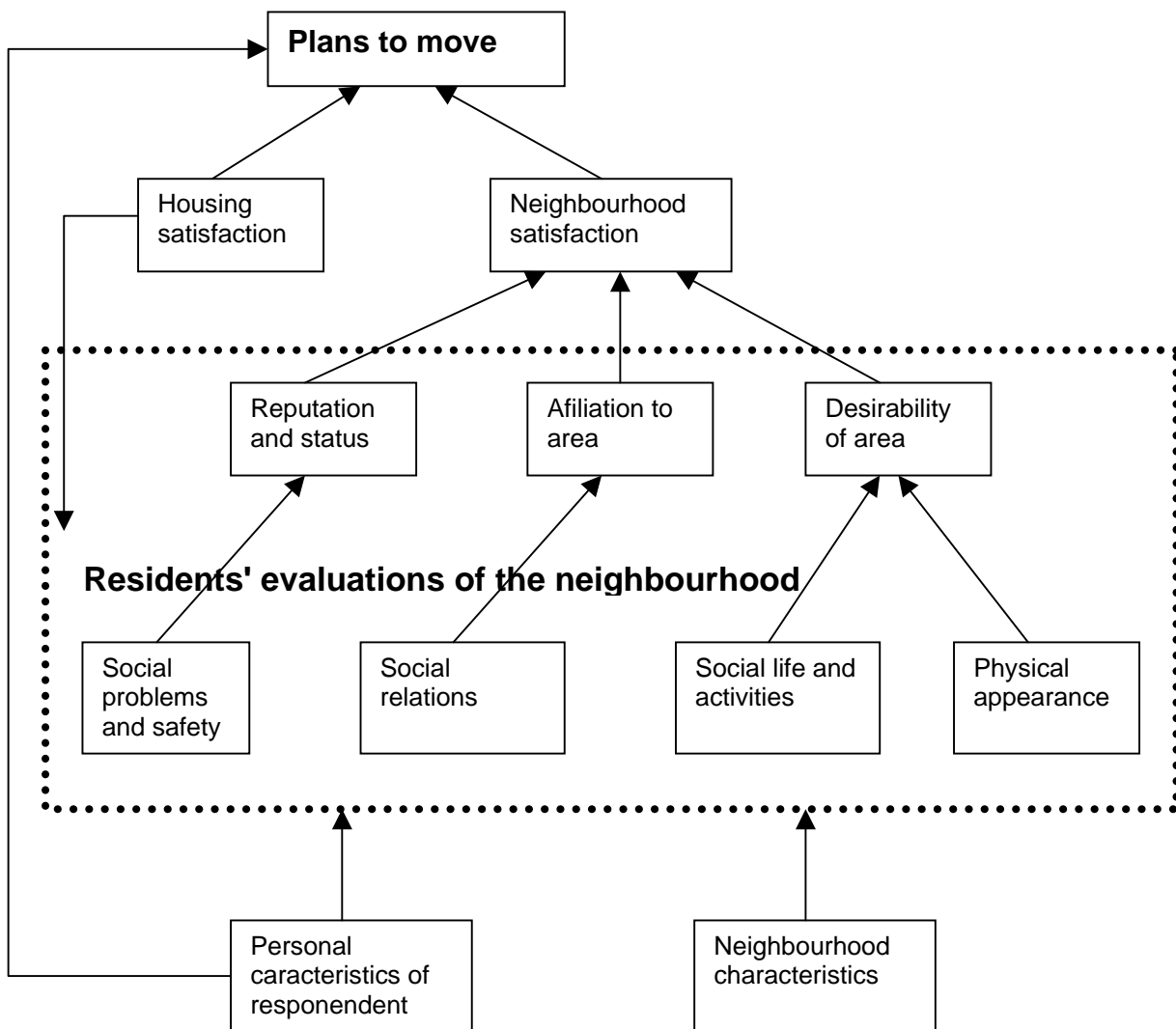


Figure 1. Model of studied relationships between personal characteristics, evaluations of neighbourhood conditions and plans to move.

Hypotheses on factors determining residents evaluation of and satisfaction with their neighbourhood

The hypotheses formulated below are based on the previous studies referred above. Many of these studies are, however, conducted in ordinary urban neighbourhoods, while this study is concerned with only deprived neighbourhoods. We expect that complaints - especially over safety and social problems - will be of greater importance for wishes to move away in these neighbourhoods. The Danish neighbourhoods in the study have not, however, reached the same degree of deprivation as has been seen in some other countries.

We have the following hypotheses concerning what influence residents' evaluation of their neighbourhood:

- Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:** The extent and character of the residents' needs for using the neighbourhood in daily life and their needs for different kinds of local services and attractions influence their evaluations of conditions in the neighbourhood. We expect families with children, elderly and unemployed to have greater needs for using the neighbourhood, while younger people without children will be less concerned with, and less critical to, their neighbourhood. An exception for the latter group could be an interest in having local meeting places like cafes and bars.

Families with children is expected to put weight on the local supply of public services and on green areas. They will together with the elderly be sensitive to inconveniences like noise, traffic and physical decay.

- b) **Needs of safety:** Elderly, families with children and women are expected to be more vulnerable to insecurity and anti-social behaviour in the neighbourhood. We also expect residents in blocks of flats to be more disturbed by social inconveniences than residents in detached housing.
- c) **Affiliation and social ties:** High affiliation to the neighbourhood, as a result of having social ties to other residents - family and friends -, will tend to reduce dissatisfaction.
- d) **Habituation:** Residents that have been living in the neighbourhood for longer time and getting used to inconveniences will tend to be less dissatisfied
- e) **Housing dissatisfaction:** Dissatisfaction with the dwelling will increase expressed dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood
- f) **Options to choose:** Residents that don't have a choice on the housing market, and don't have the options to choose residence in another area, if wanted, will be less critical to the neighbourhood. Thus families with higher incomes are expected to be more dissatisfied than low-income groups. Ethnic minorities have some problems on the Danish housing market in getting access to private housing why we expect them to be less dissatisfied.
- g) **Decided to move:** Residents that have made a decision to move - or are likely to do so - will be more critical to the neighbourhood to justify their decision.

Hypotheses on factors explaining plans to move away from the neighbourhood

Based on the mobility literature we expect that plans to move will depend on the following factors:

- a) **Individual mobility factors:** age, life-cycle phase etc. Younger people - especially singles have a greater potentiality for moving, while elderly people very seldom wants to move
- b) **Opportunities on the housing market:** Economic resources. People with lower incomes and fewer possibilities on the housing market will be more inclined to accept their housing situation and more seldom have plans to move. Residents with higher income and longer education are expected more often to move.
- c) **Housing situation:** Housing quality, housing space and housing type. Families in smaller dwellings and in housing lacking modern facilities will more often have a wish to change their residence. When they have decided to do so they will also be more critical to the neighbourhood and look for other locations. It is a frequent wish among Danes to live in owner-occupied detached housing, for which reason residents in blocks of flats and in social housing could be more inclined to move
- d) **Social relations in and affiliation to** the neighbourhood. Residents with close social ties to family and friends in the neighbourhood will more seldom plan to move. We also expect that residents that have been living in the neighbourhood for longer time more seldom plans to move
- e) **Reputation and social status** of the neighbourhood. When a neighbourhood has got a very poor reputation it will be embarrassing for residents to tell other people where they are living and there are examples that people living in such areas have difficulties in getting bank credits and get insurance. A poor reputation will therefore increase residents plans to move
- f) **Dissatisfaction with area conditions:** Social problems and safety, social life and activities, physical appearance and nuisances. We expect that visible and embarrassing social problems and especially crime and safety will be very important factors. Physical nuisances could also be important in severe cases. Physical decay that signals a social comedown could be important. Aesthetic properties of buildings, streets and squares are important to some people, not to other. Also dissatisfaction with social life and activities is expected to have a smaller importance for plans to move.

Statistical method

The statistical method used in the study is logistic regression where the dependent variable is logic - either true or false. The results of the analyses are shown as odds ratios, which indicate the relative increase in the probability that the dependent variable is true when an independent variable is increased by one unit. Odds ratios above 1 indicates a positive influence of the independent variable while odds ratios below 1 points to a negative connection. The size of the odds ratios can only be compared for independent variables having comparable units. This means that they can only be compared in the tables for logic variables only having the value 0 and 1. Only statistical significant results are shown. The predictive efficiency of the found regressions models is measured by the per cent of cases where the model has predicted the right outcome of the dependent variable and by Nagelkerke R^2 .

Investigation of individual variations among residents in the evaluation of deprived neighbourhoods

Our object is to uncover how different groups of residents evaluate neighbourhood conditions. Our problem is that the data comes from different neighbourhoods with different kinds of problems that influence the evaluations from residents. To compensate for these differences are introduced the average evaluation from all respondents in an area as an independent variable.

There have been carried through analyses of evaluations of 1. Physical conditions in the neighbourhood, 2. Social problems and safety, 3. Social life, activities and public services.

In all analyses the individual background variables have been the same, namely - in according with the hypotheses:

- a) Personal demands and needs for neighbourhood:
 - Have children?
 - Age over 65?
 - Permanently unemployed?
 - Single?
 - Age less than 30?
- b) Needs of safety:
 - Children?
 - Age over 65?
 - Women?
- c) Affiliation and social ties
 - Will stay because of friends and family?
 - Have good relations to other residents
 - Moved to area because of family and friends?
- d) Habituation
 - Number of years since moving in
- e) Housing dissatisfaction
 - Lacking modern facilities?
 - Housing space pr. resident in dwelling measured as (area of dwelling - 25 m²)/ number of persons
 - Block of flats?
 - Social housing?
- f) Options to choose
 - Income
 - Without employment in the last year?
 - Length of education?
 - Ethnic minority?
- g) Decided to move
 - Have plans to move?

The area variables have always contained the average per cent of respondents in the neighbourhood with negative evaluation of the analysed condition.

Complaints over conditions in area

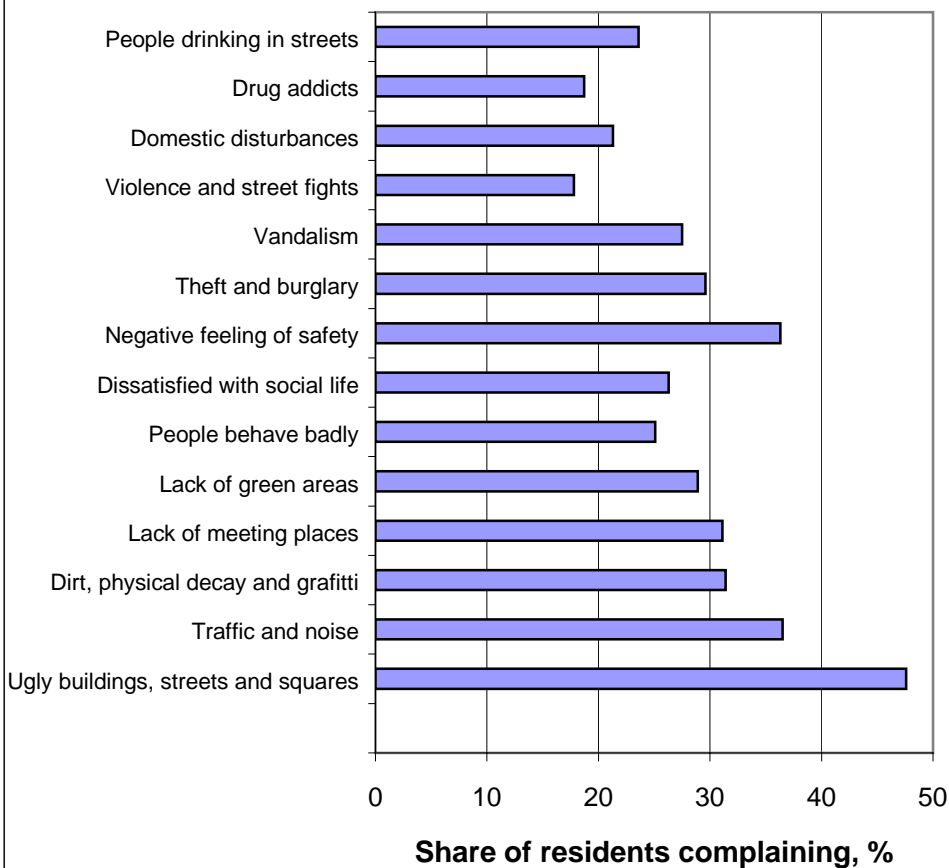


Figure 2. Share of residents complaining over different conditions in their neighbourhood.

Dissatisfaction with the physical environment

Dissatisfaction with the physical environment includes:

- Bad aesthetic appearance of buildings, streets and squares
- Lack of green areas
- Complaints of traffic and noise
- Complaints of dirt, litter, physical decay and graffiti

In Table 2 are shown the results of a logistic regression explaining the variation in residents' dissatisfaction with these four different physical conditions. For each condition two models have been constructed - one including plans to move and one without. This has been done to examine if correlation between plans to move and some of the other independent variables can distort the results of the regression. It can be seen from Table 2 that this is only a minor problem.

Table 2. Odds ratios for variables explaining differences in residents' dissatisfaction with physical conditions.

| | Aesthetic appearance | | Green areas | | Traffic and noise | | Physical decay | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move | Minus plans to move |
| Average dissatisfied in area % | 1,042 | 1,042 | 1,052 | 1,054 | 1,050 | 1,051 | 1,049 | 1,049 |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | 1,108 | 1,110 | | | | | | |
| Without work? | | | | | | | | |
| Length of education | | | | | | | | 1,005 |
| Have children? | | | 1,304 | 1,33 | | | | |
| Age over 65? | 0,453 | 0,437 | | | | *0,767 | | |
| Age 18-30 years? | 1,397 | 1,500 | 0,819 | | | | | 1,232 |
| Couple? | | 0,851 | | | 1,246 | 1,224 | | |
| Ethnic minority? | 0,548 | 0,559 | | | | | 1,837 | 1,739 |
| Number of years since moving in | | | | | | | 0,981 | 0,981 |
| Lacking modern facilities? | | | | | | | | |
| Housing space | | | | | | | | |
| Block of flats? | | | | | | | | |
| Social housing? | | | *0,824 | | | | *0,798 | |
| Have affiliation to area? | | | | | | | | |
| Have plans to move? | 1,432 | | 1,433 | | 1,802 | | 1,698 | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 63,6 | 63,0 | 76,7 | 76,0 | 66,2 | 65,0 | 70,2 | 70,7 |
| Nagelkerke R ² | 0,137 | 0,132 | 0,158 | 0,150 | 0,179 | 0,164 | 0,256 | 0,252 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

In general the constructed regression models are only able to explain a minor part of the variation in dissatisfaction with physical conditions in the neighbourhood (Nagelkerke R² between 0,120 and 0,26). This points to that important factors could be missing in the analyses. One explanation could be that there are different conditions in different parts of a neighbourhood that have influence on people's dissatisfaction. Another explanation could be that cultural and other individual differences, on which we do not have data, play a mayor role.

For all the analyses the average dissatisfaction for the whole neighbourhood is a very significant variable. This mirrors that there are great differences between the areas.

In the following we draw some conclusions i relation to the earlier formulated hypotheses:

Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:

The results of the analysis do not quite support all our hypotheses here. As expected families with children are more often dissatisfied with green areas, while younger people are less often. But families with children are not a significant variable in explaining other kinds of physical complaints. Young people and singles tend to be more dissatisfied with the aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood. Moreover, elderly less often makes complaints over physical nuisances and it does not matter, if residents are without employment.

Needs of safety:

Physical decay can be seen as a sign of social problems and insecurity. But elderly and families with children are not, as expected, significantly more dissatisfied. It could, however, be seen as a confirmation of this hypothesis that ethnic minorities very often make complaints of dirt, litter, physical decay and graffiti.

Affiliation and social ties

Affiliation to the area does not have importance for evaluations of physical conditions.

Habituation:

Habituation does not matter except for complaints of dirt, litter, physical decay and graffiti. As expected, dissatisfaction declines with length of residence.

Housing dissatisfaction:

Housing conditions do not have much importance for residents' evaluation of physical conditions in the neighbourhood. Only tend residents in social housing to be more satisfied with green areas and have fewer complaints of dirt, litter, physical decay and graffiti than in other tenures

Options to choose:

There is some support to this hypothesis as higher income groups are more critical to the aesthetic appearance and people with higher education more often make complaints over physical decay. It is also so that ethnic minorities, which often have very few possibilities on the housing market, seldom are dissatisfied with the aesthetic appearance. There could, however, also be a cultural explanation for this.

Decided to move

It can be seen from the table that there are a very significant connection between plans to move and dissatisfaction with physical conditions in the neighbourhood. One could argue that this is because dissatisfaction leads to plans to move and because of correlation between variable explaining plans to move and variables explaining dissatisfaction. In the table are, however, also shown analyses, where plans to move are not included. There are only slightly differences in these results compared to the analyses with plans to move included as a variable.

Dissatisfaction with social problems

Dissatisfaction with social problems includes:

- People that behave badly
- People drinking in the streets
- Drug addicts
- Domestic disturbances and noise from neighbours

In Table 3 are shown the results of a logistic regression explaining the variation in residents' dissatisfaction with different social problems.

The constructed regression models are not very powerful in explaining the variation in dissatisfaction with the various social problems found in the neighbourhoods (Nagelkerke R². Between 0,05 and 0,12. This again points to that the experience of these problems could vary much, dependent on where one is living in the area. The results have the following importance in relation to our hypotheses:

Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:

In total our hypotheses are not quite supported. They are to some extent supported by the fact that people without employment, who spend more of their time in the neighbourhood are much more dissatisfied with drug addicts. But elderly, unexpectedly, are less bothered by social problems and families with children less often complain over domestic disturbances. This could also be because an important source of this is noise from children, which these families will be more tolerant of. At the same time younger people are more often dissatisfied with people drinking in the streets and with domestic disturbances. However, couples are more often dissatisfied than singles, who tend to be less concerned with the neighbourhood. Women are more bothered by people drinking in the streets than men.

Table 3. Odds ratios for variables explaining differences in residents' dissatisfaction with social problems.

| | People that behave badly | | People drinking in the streets | | Drug addicts | | Domestic disturbances | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|--------|
| | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | |
| Average dissatisfied in area % | 1,052 | 1,056 | 1,060 | 1,061 | 1,064 | 1,068 | 1,039 | 1,043 |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | | | | | |
| Without work? | | | | | 1,335 | 1,308 | | |
| Length of education | | | *1,006 | 1,007 | | | | *1,006 |
| Woman? | | | 1,303 | 1,297 | | | | |
| Have children? | | | | | | | 0,710 | 0,697 |
| Age over 65? | 0,720 | 0,607 | 0,591 | 0,586 | 0,648 | 0,549 | | *0,720 |
| Age 18-30 years? | | | | 1,275 | | | 1,402 | 1,529 |
| Couple? | | | 1,250 | 1,254 | | | | |
| Ethnic minority? | 0,661 | 0,677 | 1,496 | 1,557 | | | *1,321 | 1,306 |
| Number of years since moving in | | | | | | | | |
| Lacking modern facilities? | | | | | | | | |
| Housing space | | | | | | | *0,992 | 0,990 |
| Block of flats? | | | | | | | 1,502 | 1,505 |
| Social housing? | 1,240 | 1,231 | | | | | | |
| Have affiliation to area? | | | | | | | 1,536 | 1,620 |
| Have plans to move? | 1,975 | | 1,567 | | 1,752 | | 1,991 | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 75,3 | 74,9 | 76,3 | 76,4 | 80,6 | 81,0 | 78,7 | 78,6 |
| Nagelkerke R ² | 0,079 | 0,054 | 0,068 | 0,061 | 0,083 | 0,068 | 0,116 | 0,099 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

Needs of safety:

Visible social problems can increase residents' feeling of insecurity. But the groups we expect to be most concerned about safety - elderly and families with children - tend to make fewer complaints over social problems.

Affiliation and social ties

Affiliation to the area only affects dissatisfaction with one aspect of social problems - domestic disturbances. The analysis does not support the hypothesis that more affiliation reduces complaints over this aspect.

Habituation:

There are no significant effects of length of residence

Housing dissatisfaction:

There is only some support for this hypothesis. It can be expected that housing dissatisfaction is less for residents with more housing space. It can be seen that more space reduces complaints over domestic disturbances, but this could also be a result of that better physical conditions in the dwelling reduces noise from neighbours. Dissatisfaction is more common in blocks of flats and in social housing.

Options to choose:

Income is not a significant variable, but higher education promotes dissatisfaction with people drinking in the streets and domestic disturbances. Ethnic minorities make more often complaints over alcoholics and domestic disturbances than Danes. This could be a result of cultural differences. At the same time they are less often less dissatisfied with people behaving badly.

Decided to move

The analyses confirms that plans to move increases dissatisfaction considerably.

Dissatisfaction with crime and security

Dissatisfaction with crime and security includes:

- Theft and burglary
- Vandalism
- Violence and street fights
- Feeling of safety

In Table 4 are shown the results of a logistic regression explaining the variation in residents' dissatisfaction with crime and safety.

Table 4. Odds ratios for variables explaining differences in residents' dissatisfaction with crime and safety

| | Theft and burglary | | Vandalism | | Violence and street fights | | Feeling of safety | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|
| | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | |
| Average dissatisfied in area % | 1,050 | 1,051 | 1,042 | 1,045 | 1,075 | 1,077 | 1,047 | 1,050 |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | | | | | |
| Without work? | 1,423 | 1,395 | *1,222 | *1,221 | 1,520 | 1,508 | | |
| Length of education | | | | | | | | |
| Woman? | | | | | | | 2,467 | 2,468 |
| Have children? | | | | | | | 1,396 | 1,349 |
| Age over 65? | | | | | | | | |
| Age 18-30 years? | | | *1,192 | 1,365 | | | 1,305 | 1,385 |
| Couple? | *1,180 | *1,182 | | | | | | |
| Ethnic minority? | | | | | | | 0,604 | 0,590 |
| Number of years since moving in | *1,006 | | | | *0,990 | 0,998 | | |
| Lacking modern facilities? | 1,386 | 1,443 | | | *1,292 | *1,328 | | |
| Housing space | | | | | | | | |
| Block of flats? | | | *1,245 | 1,295 | | | | *1,204 |
| Social housing? | | | *1,195 | *1,209 | | | | |
| Have affiliation to area? | | | | | | | | |
| Have plans to move? | 1,473 | | 1,857 | | 1,368 | | 1,422 | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 70,5 | 70,6 | 72,7 | 72,4 | 82,1 | 82,1 | 67,0 | 66,7 |
| Nagelkerke R ² | 0,068 | 0,060 | 0,070 | 0,049 | 0,077 | 0,072 | 0,110 | 0,106 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:

The hypothesis that people who are spending more time in the area are more bothered by nuisances is supported by the fact that unemployed residents more often make complaints over theft, vandalism and violence. Singles are less concerned about crime than couples. Elderly, however, do not differ significantly from the all residents. Moreover, young people, somewhat unexpected more often make complaints over vandalism.

Needs of safety:

The hypothesis is confirmed by that families with children are more concerned about safety, while the variable elderly is not significant. It is not expected that young people more often make complaints over insecurity. An explanation could be that young people more often experience crime because they are on the streets in the evening.

Affiliation and social ties

Do not have a significant importance for dissatisfaction with crime.

Habituation:

Conflicting results. Complaints over violence decreases with length of residence while complaints over theft and burglary increases. No effect is found on feeling of safety.

Housing dissatisfaction:

Is confirmed by the fact that people living in dwellings lacking facilities are more dissatisfied with theft and burglary and with violence, while housing space is not significant. Residents in blocks of flats and in social housing more often make complaints over vandalism.

Options to choose:

Neither income nor length of education is significant. Ethnic minorities tend to be much less concerned with safety than Danes.

Decided to move

Plans to move very significantly increases dissatisfaction with all kinds of crime and safety.

Social life, activities and services

Social life, activities and services includes:

- Dissatisfaction with meeting places and haunts
- Dissatisfaction with social life and activities
- Satisfaction with the community spirit in the neighbourhood
- Satisfaction with public institutions

In Table 5 are shown the results of a logistic regression explaining the variation in residents' dissatisfaction/satisfaction with these conditions.

Table 5. Odds ratios for variables explaining differences in residents' dissatisfaction with meeting places and social life and their satisfaction with community spirit and public services

| | Lack of meeting places | | Dissatisfied with social life | | Good community spirit | | Good public institutions | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move | | Minus plans to move |
| Average in area % | 1,045 | 1,046 | 1,056 | 1,057 | 1,043 | 1,047 | 1,031 | 1,033 |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | | | | | |
| Without work? | *1,227 | | | | | | *1,222 | *1,213 |
| Length of education | | | | | 0,995 | 0,993 | 0,993 | 0,992 |
| Woman? | | | *0,838 | *0,840 | | | 1,211 | 1,210 |
| Have children? | | | | | | | 2,160 | 2,128 |
| Age over 65? | 0,734 | 0,699 | 0,552 | 0,528 | 1,544 | 1,869 | | |
| Age 18-30 years? | | | | | 0,697 | 0,576 | 0,615 | 0,570 |
| Couple? | | | | | | | | |
| Ethnic minority? | 1,380 | 1,320 | 1,660 | 1,671 | | | 1,576 | 1,531 |
| Number of years since moving in | | | *0,991 | 0,990 | | | 1,009 | 1,010 |
| Housing space | *0,994 | 0,993 | | | | | 0,993 | *0,995 |
| Block of flats? | | | | | | | | |
| Social housing? | *0,825 | | | | | | | |
| Have affiliation to area? | | | | | 1,392 | 1,462 | 1,283 | 1,317 |
| Have plans to move? | 1,342 | | 1,327 | | 0,337 | | 0,648 | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 69,2 | 69,4 | 74,1 | 74,1 | 72,2 | 71,0 | 67,5 | 66,7 |
| Nagelkerke R2 | 0,057 | 0,052 | 0,072 | 0,067 | 0,168 | 0,109 | 0,185 | 0,176 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:

As could be expected unemployed residents more often make complaints over lack of meeting places in the neighbourhood. Elderly are, however, less often dissatisfied with meeting places and social life in the neighbourhood and more satisfied with "good community spirit in the neighbourhood". Also women more often criticise social life. Woman and families with children, who are the primary users of public institutions, are more often satisfied than other residents, but employed people are more dissatisfied. Young people are, unexpectedly, concerned with the community spirit of the neighbourhood and the public institutions and are more critical these conditions.

Needs of safety:

Is not relevant in this connection

Affiliation and social ties

The variable is not significant for complaints over lack of meeting places and social life, but affiliation to the area increases satisfaction with "community spirit" and with public institution.

Habituation:

As expected, dissatisfaction with social life decreases with length of residence. Satisfaction with public institutions increases.

Housing dissatisfaction:

Residents with less housing space tend to be more dissatisfied with meeting places. That could also be because they have greater needs for places to stay outside the dwelling. But they tend to be more satisfied with public institutions. In social housing there are more complaints over lacking meeting places.

Options to choose:

Income is not significant, but more educated people more often are dissatisfied with public institutions and with community spirit. Ethnic minorities are very dissatisfied with meeting places and social life in the neighbourhoods, but they are satisfied with public institutions.

Decided to move

Plans to move again are very significantly increasing dissatisfaction with all the four studied conditions.

Investigation of causes for opinions on poor reputation

In the survey respondents were asked about their opinion on whether the neighbourhood had a good or poor reputation and the reasons for a possible poor reputation. In Table 6 are shown the average answers for all three data sets.

Table 6. Residents' evaluation of the reputation of the 12 Danish neighbourhoods, and of the reasons for poor reputation (per cent).

| The reputation of the neighbourhood is: | | Main cause for not very good or poor reputation is: | |
|--|-----|--|-----|
| Very good | 12 | Social problems | 75 |
| Reasonably good | 35 | Area is bleak and ugly | 6 |
| Not very good | 29 | Too much noise and pollution | 1 |
| Bad | 20 | Bad press | 14 |
| Don't know | 4 | Other | 4 |
| All | 100 | All not very good or poor reputation | 100 |

The answers on reputation in this survey can be interpreted as what above is called 'The self-reflecting image' - the image residents think is common among people not living in their neighbourhood. In average half of the residents think their neighbourhood has a bad or not so good reputation. This covers great differences between the areas from 12 to 77 per cent. As can be seen social problems in the neighbourhoods are the most common mentioned reason for poor reputation, while physical problems and

appearance does not have much importance. In some areas a bad press sometimes is mentioned as a cause of poor reputation.

As shown in figure 1 we expect that poor reputation have a connection with social problems and lack of safety, but it is also possible - as shown in Table 6 - that complaints over physical nuisances in some cases can be a reason for a negative image.

Table 7. Odds ratios for variables explaining differences in residents' evaluations of the reputation of their neighbourhood and the reasons for poor reputation.

| | Reputation bad or not very good | | Reason for poor reputation is social problems | Reason for poor reputation is physical problems |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| | | Minus plans to move | | |
| Average dissatisfied in area % | 1,039 | 1,039 | 1,042 | 1,271 |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | |
| Without work? | 0,598 | 0,681 | 0,737 | |
| Length of education | 1,009 | 1,010 | | |
| Woman? | | | | 0,635 |
| Have children? | | | 0,793 | 1,940 |
| Age over 65? | 0,614 | 0,557 | 0,556 | 2,527 |
| Age 18-30 years? | 0,685 | | | 2,232 |
| Couple? | | | | |
| Ethnic minority? | 0,330 | 0,344 | 0,458 | |
| Number of years since moving in | | | | |
| Housing space | 0,993 | 0,991 | 0,993 | |
| Lacking facilities? | | | | 0,496 |
| Block of flats? | 0,734 | 0,736 | 0,678 | |
| Social housing? | *1,195 | *1,202 | | |
| Have affiliation to area? | | *0,823 | | |
| Have plans to move? | 1,809 | | 1,747 | |
| <i>Evaluations of neighbourhood</i> | | | | |
| Good public institutions? | 0,649 | 0,625 | 0,763 | 0,340 |
| Ugly buildings, streets and squares? | 1,438 | 1,459 | 1,273 | 4,468 |
| Too much traffic and noise? | | | | 2,055 |
| Dirt, physical decay and graffiti? | 1,252 | 1,287 | | |
| People behave badly? | 1,712 | 1,778 | 1,822 | |
| Dissatisfied with social life? | 1,306 | 1,318 | | 1,920 |
| Negative feeling of safety? | 1,238 | 1,269 | 1,335 | |
| Bothered by vandalism? | 1,315 | 1,369 | 1,254 | |
| Bothered by violence? | 1,576 | 1,518 | 1,828 | |
| Bothered by domestic disturbances? | *1,230 | 1,301 | 1,294 | |
| Bothered by drug addicts? | 1,316 | 1,362 | 1,576 | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 66,8 | 66,9 | 72,1 | 97,1 |
| Nagelkerke R2 | 0,302 | 0,292 | 0,263 | 0,221 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

The regression analyses look at the connection between residents' evaluations of reputation and their evaluations of different conditions in the neighbourhood. In the first analysis the dependent variable is, if the respondent think that the reputation is either bad or not so good. In the two following analyses we look for explanations of why residents think that either social or physical problems are reasons for bad poor reputation. The used dependent variables are:

- The reputation of the neighbourhood is evaluated as bad or not very good
- Social problems are the main reasons
- Physical nuisances are the main reasons

The analyses follow the same method as the analyses above of the connection between evaluations and characteristics of respondents and the neighbourhood in general. But in this case we have also included residents' evaluation of conditions in the area as independent variables. The results of the logistic regressions are shown in Table 7. It can be seen from the table (Nagelkerke R²) that the explanatory power of these models is quite better than the previous.

The results of the regressions on poor reputation can be interpreted as:

- Residents having a bad image of their neighbourhood are more often
 - Younger than 65 years
 - In employment
 - With longer education
 - Danes - ethnic minorities very seldom find that the neighbourhood has a poor reputation
- The respondents of a negative reputation can be assumed also to be dissatisfied with their housing situation, because they are more often living in:
 - Dwellings with less housing space pr. person
 - Social housing
- Residents not living in blocks of flats, however, more often think reputation is bad
- Residents with plans to move are more negative
- Residents with affiliations to the neighbourhood (families and friends etc.) are less negative
- Negative evaluations of conditions in the neighbourhood are important for poor reputation in the following order:
 1. Bothered by people who behave badly
 2. Bothered by violence and street fights
 3. Ugly buildings, streets and squares
 4. Bothered by vandalism
 5. Bothered by drug addicts
 6. Dissatisfied with social life
 7. Bothered by domestic disturbances
 8. Dirt, physical decay and graffiti
 9. Negative feeling of safety
- The quality of local public institutions influences residents' opinion on the reputation of the neighbourhood. It can be assumed that this especially relates to the schools.

The analyses of reasons for explaining poor reputation by social or physical problems show somewhat surprisingly that families with children put less weight on the social problems but more on the physical. Also young people more often explain poor reputation by physical problems.

Residents living in dwellings lacking facilities tend to put less weight on physical problems in the neighbourhood, while less housing space increases the negative image caused by social problems. Residents in blocks of flats much more seldom have a negative image caused by social problems than people in other types of housing in the neighbourhood. It is difficult to explain this result. It must be expected that social problems more often are found in blocks of flats, but on the other side people living outside could have a distorted picture of these problems.

As could be expected negative evaluations of social problems also results in explaining poor reputation caused by social problems and the odds ratios in general are higher except complaints over vandalism. Physical reasons most often are ugly buildings, streets and squares but also traffic and noise.

Investigation of causes for plans to move from the neighbourhood

In Table 8 is shown the average answers from all the neighbourhoods to the question if the respondent plans to move away within the next two years and also the most important cause for doing so.

Table 8. Share of residents (per cent) that planned to move away from the neighbourhood within two years and their causes for moving.

| | Share of all residents | Share of potential movers |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Plans to move | 27 | 100 |
| <i>Causes for moving</i> | | |
| Cannot find suitable dwelling in neighbourhood | 7,3 | 27 |
| Have to move away because of new job etc. | 1,7 | 6 |
| Rent is too high | 1,7 | 6 |
| Want to move children to new school | 1,4 | 5 |
| Not good for children to live here | 3,2 | 12 |
| Not dissatisfied with neighbourhood but want another | 5,2 | 19 |
| Is in general dissatisfied with neighbourhood | 6,8 | 25 |

In average 27 per cent of the respondents planned to move away from their neighbourhood within two years. This is not much taking in consideration that in average 17 per cent of the Danish population change residence every year, but perhaps some of the respondents who planned to stay wanted to move inside the neighbourhood.

It is seen from the table that 27 per cent of the potential movers wants to leave the area because of lack of suitable dwellings in the neighbourhood - it could be detached houses, which are uncommon in these neighbourhoods. Other 19 per cent are also not dissatisfied with the area but just wants to live in another kind of neighbourhood. Only 25 per cent want to leave because of a general dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood. Moreover, 17 per cent want to leave because of either bad schools or bad conditions for children.

In the following regression analyses we have looked at what factors can explain the wish to move and the given reasons for this. The dependent variables are if respondents plan to move and if the reason is either 1. general dissatisfaction with neighbourhood, 2. Dissatisfaction with schools, 3. Dissatisfaction with conditions for children or 4. Not dissatisfied with the neighbourhood but want other kinds of surroundings.

The independent variables can be divided into:

- *General mobility factors*: age, couples? children?, number of years since moving in
- *Other individual characteristics*: Women?, ethnic minorities?, income, length of education
- *Housing situation*: Social housing?, owner-occupied?, housing space per person(calculated as above), lacking facilities?, blocks of flats?
- *Social relations* to the area: Have affiliations?, have good relations to neighbours?
- Bad or not so good *image*?
- Complaints over social problems, crime, safety and social life
- Complaints over physical nuisances

The results of the logistic regression analyses are shown in Table 9. Especially the first model is relatively good at explaining the variation in plans to move.

In the following we discuss to what extent the results confirm our hypotheses formulated above.

Individual mobility factors

Plans to move decrease, as expected, very significantly with age. In general plans to move are not more common among families with children or singles, but the reason dissatisfaction with schools is extremely common among families with children and also bad conditions for children, which also could be a reason for moving among people without employment. Couples do less more often want to move because of dissatisfaction with the area in general, which means that singles do.

Opportunities on the housing market.

Higher education increases mobility - especially caused by dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood. Income is not significant except for the reason: dissatisfaction with conditions for children. This could also be a reason for ethnic minorities, who in general not differs from the Danes in their plans to move.

Table 9. Odds ratios for variables explaining variations in plans to move away from the neighbourhood within two years and the reasons for doing so.

| | Plans to move | | Reasons for moving | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|
| | | Dissatisfaction with area | Schools | Children | Wants another area |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | 1,291 | |
| Without work? | | | | 2,493 | |
| Length of education | 1.010 | 1,016 | | | 1,014 |
| Woman? | | | *1,965 | | 0,691 |
| Have children? | | *1,455 | 4,454 | 2,03 | |
| Age | 0,952 | | 0,959 | 0,97 | 0,948 |
| Couple? | | 0,658 | 2,663 | | |
| Ethnic minority? | | | | 2,356 | |
| Number of years since moving in | | 0,955 | | | |
| Housing space | 0,99 | | | 1,022 | |
| Lacking facilities? | | | | | |
| Block of flats? | 0,679 | | | | |
| Social housing? | *1,246 | 1,769 | | | |
| Owner-occupied | 0,516 | | | 0,084 | *0,541 |
| Have affiliation to area? | 0,725 | | | | 0,566 |
| Have good relations to neighbours? | 0,397 | 0,508 | 0,357 | 0,354 | |
| Thinks area has a poor reputation | 1,628 | 2,927 | 9,864 | 5,544 | |
| Good public institutions? | 0,792 | | | | |
| Ugly buildings, streets and squares? | | | | | |
| Too much traffic and noise? | *1,214 | | | 1,673 | 0,666 |
| Dirt, physical decay and graffiti? | 1,312 | | 2,331 | 2,094 | 1,778 |
| Lack of green areas? | *1,247 | 1,630 | | | |
| People behave badly? | 1,363 | 1,446 | | 2,537 | |
| Dissatisfied with social life? | | | | | |
| Negative feeling of safety? | | *1,365 | | | |
| Bothered by people drinking? | | | | | |
| Bothered by theft and burglary? | | | | | |
| Bothered by vandalism? | 1,356 | | *1,911 | | |
| Bothered by violence | *0,756 | | | | |
| Bothered by domestic disturbances? | 1,419 | *1,425 | | *1,606 | |
| Bothered by drug addicts? | 1,363 | 1,835 | *1,943 | | |
| Percentage of cases explained | 76,2 | 93,2 | 98,2 | 97,1 | 94,8 |
| Nagelkerke R2 | 0,275 | 0,177 | 0,275 | 0,285 | 0,105 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

Housing situation.

Residents with less housing space tend more often to have plans to move away from the neighbourhood, but not because of dissatisfaction with conditions for children. Fewer people somewhat unexpectedly want to move in blocks of flats. This can, however, be explained by correlation between this variable and the variables on living in social housing or owner-occupied housing. If these two variables are omitted from the model the variable on living in blocks of flats will be insignificant. As expected owner-occupiers more often

plan to stay and very significantly less often want to move because of conditions for children. In social housing plans to move is more frequent and very significantly because of dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood.

Social relations in and affiliation to the neighbourhood.

Affiliation to the neighbourhood and good relations to neighbours very significantly reduces plans to move. Good relations to neighbours especially have importance for plans to move because of conditions for children. This points to that local social relations are very important for families with children. Affiliation to the area especially reduces plans to move caused by wishes to live in other kind of neighbourhoods.

Reputation and social status of the neighbourhood.

Poor reputation is very significantly correlated with plans to move. More than 70 per cent of the residents, which planned to move, also thought that the neighbourhood had a bad or not so good reputation, while only 45 per cent of those, who planned to stay, did. One can discuss if this is because plans to move make a negative evaluation of the image of neighbourhood or it is because poor reputation increases plans to move. The connection between the two variables is particularly strong in the cases where the reason for moving is schools and conditions for children.

Dissatisfaction with area conditions

Dissatisfaction with different social problems has great importance for plans to move while crime only play a minor role. The most significant variables are here domestic disturbances, drug addicts, people that behave badly and vandalism. Violence has the wrong sign, which could be a result of a strong correlation between this variable and poor reputation. Correlation with other variables is also an explanation of why the feeling of safety does not seem to have importance. If the analyses of plans to move is conducted without the variables on crime and on reputation, negative feeling of safety comes out with a significant odds ratio of 1,262. The most important physical nuisance is dirt, physical decay and graffiti, but there is also some significance of traffic and noise and of lack of green areas. The aesthetic appearance has not significant importance. Nor have dissatisfaction with social life, but public institutions have.

The four models explaining different reasons for plans to move (the last four columns in table 9) have, as could be expected, very different outcomes. For plans to move primarily motivated by general dissatisfaction with the area the most important social problems seem to be drug addicts followed by that people behave badly, domestic disturbances and negative feeling of safety. Lack of green areas has some importance here while the other variables on physical nuisances are not significant.

Dissatisfaction with schools as reason for moving has a significant relation with the respondents' evaluation of the physical appearance of the neighbourhood concerning dirt and physical decay and graffiti. Complaints over social problems are not significant except for vandalism and drug addicts.

Physical problems like traffic and noise, and dirt, physical decay and graffiti play also an important role for moving because of dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood as a place for children to grow up, while social problems are less important (only domestic disturbances is somewhat significant).

Finally we look at explanations of why some families want to leave the neighbourhood without being dissatisfied with it in general. They are much concerned with the physical appearance of the neighbourhood, less with traffic problems.

Causes for plans to move among different groups of residents

The reasons for having plans to move are not the same for different groups of residents. This can be seen from table 10 that shows the results of five different regression analyses for respondents respectively 1. In employment, 2. Unemployed as either early pensioner, on social benefit or on unemployment benefit, 3. Old age pensioners, 4. People of Danish origin, 5. Ethnic minorities and 6. Families with children.

There are some marked differences between the results for people *in employment* and the results for all respondents earlier shown in Table 9. Among residents in employment people with higher education are somewhat more likely to move away, and plans to move to a greater extent decrease with age. Moreover, the duration of residence comes in as a significant factor. Employed residents living in social housing tend to

be more determined to move, while it does not have any significance if they live in owner-occupied housing or blocks of flats. Affiliation to the neighbourhood means more to this group while good relations to neighbours have less importance. Poor reputation is a significant reason for plans to move, but not to the same extent as for all respondents. Some physical and social nuisances do not have significant importance. That applies to traffic and noise, people that behave badly and violence. But instead the feeling of safety in general has importance. Moreover, complaints over dirt, physical decay etc., lack of green areas and vandalism have more importance for employed people than in general. They seem to be more concerned with the physical environment.

Table 10. *Odd ratios for variables explaining variations in plans to move away from the neighbourhood within two years among different groups of residents.*

| | Em- ployed | Unem- ployed | Old age pensioners | Danish origin | Ethnic minorities | Families w. children |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Have plans to move? | 27,3 % | 26,1 % | 6,3 % | 26,3 % | 32,4 % | 28,1 % |
| Income in 100.000 DKK | | | | | | |
| Without work? | - | - | | | | |
| Length of education | 1,015 | | 1,053 | 1,011 | | 1,014 |
| Woman? | | | | | | |
| Have children? | | | | | | - |
| Age | 0,964 | 0,949 | - | 0,953 | 0,968 | 0,946 |
| Couple? | | 1,694 | | | | |
| Ethnic minority? | | | | | - | |
| Number of years since moving in | *0,978 | | | | *0,935 | |
| Housing space | 0,983 | | 0,949 | 0,991 | | |
| Lacking facilities? | | 2,791 | | | *3,147 | |
| Block of flats? | | 0,535 | | 0,579 | | |
| Social housing? | 1,483 | | | | | |
| Owner-occupied? | | 0,074 | 34,43 | 0,419 | | 0,283 |
| Have affiliation to area? | 0,668 | | 0,205 | 0,766 | *0,551 | 0,597 |
| Have good relations to neighbours? | 0,503 | 0,162 | | 0,474 | 0,170 | 0,355 |
| Thinks area has a bad reputation? | 1,527 | 3,048 | | 1,616 | 2,521 | 2,147 |
| Good public institutions? | 0,706 | | | *0,823 | *0,567 | |
| Ugly buildings, streets and squares? | | | | | | |
| Too much traffic and noise? | | *1,537 | *0,297 | | 3,617 | |
| Dirt, physical decay and graffiti? | 1,584 | | | 1,272 | | |
| Lack of green areas? | 1,35 | | | 1,295 | | |
| People behave badly? | | | 7,713 | 1,391 | *1,855 | |
| Dissatisfied with social life? | | | | | | |
| Negative feeling of safety? | 1,332 | | | | | |
| Bothered by people drinking? | | | | | | |
| Bothered by theft and burglary? | | 2,308 | 0,337 | | | |
| Bothered by vandalism? | 1,389 | | | *1,273 | | 1,914 |
| Bothered by violence? | | 0,591 | | | 0,352 | 0,55 |
| Bothered by domestic disturbances? | 1,481 | 1,705 | 6,456 | 1,470 | | *1,529 |
| Bothered by drug addicts? | *1,353 | | | 1,357 | | 1,837 |
| Percentage of cases explained | 76,6 | 78,3 | 94,0 | 77,1 | 77,5 | 75,4 |
| Nagelkerke R2 | 0,257 | 0,354 | 0,322 | 0,272 | 0,376 | 0,248 |

*) Significance between 0,05 and 0,10. All others below 0,05

The unemployed residents are a diverse group with different degrees of inclination for moving. Early pensioners seldom want to move, people on social benefits have a higher frequency of plans to move than the average, while people on unemployment benefits have plans as often as the average for all residents.

It can be seen from Table 10 that the factors explaining plans to move for this group are somewhat others than for the employed. Singles are less inclined to move than couples. Among important housing reasons for moving are lacking facilities and living in blocks of flats, while unemployed living in owner-occupied housing in the areas very seldom want to move. Good relations to neighbours and bad reputation are much more significant factors than for employed residents. The only important complaints over physical and social problems are traffic and noise, theft and burglary, which is a very significant one, and domestic disturbances.

Old age pensioners very seldom want to move, especially if they have spacey dwellings and have affiliation to the area. Only pensioners in owner-occupied dwellings have, however, very strong wishes to move compared to other pensioners. Other very strong reasons for moving are complaints over that people behave badly and over domestic disturbances.

The Danish residents want to move for nearly the same reasons as all residents, but social housing is not a significant factor. Lack of green areas and physical decay are more important factors, while affiliation to the area and good relations to neighbours are less.

Only 12 per cent of the respondents belong to ethnic minorities, which is a somewhat lower percentage than their share of the total population in the areas. It is a general experience that it is more difficult to get these groups to participate in surveys, partly because of language problems. Ethnic minorities have reasons for moving which are quite different from Danes. The only important housing reason is lacking facilities. It is surprising that housing space is not a significant factor since it is well known that ethnic minorities in Denmark have much less housing space than Danes. Affiliations to the area and especially good relations to neighbours are very important factors explaining wishes to stay in the neighbourhood. Ethnic minorities seem to be more sensitive to bad reputation than Danes. Important complaints are traffic and noise and people that behave badly, while lack of green areas, physical decay and vandalism do not seem to have significant importance.

The last group examined in Table 10 is families with children. Education and age have a greater effect on plans to move in this group than for all respondents. Housing conditions are not significant except for owner-occupation, which to a greater extent reduce potential mobility than for other residents. Also affiliation to the neighbourhood and good social relations to neighbours have a stronger effect in reducing mobility. Complaints over physical problems are not significant, while bad reputation and some social problems have a stronger effect - the significant variables are vandalism, domestic disturbances and drug addicts.

Conclusions

An important objective for area based regeneration of deprived urban neighbourhoods is to reduce the flow of people leaving the neighbourhoods to reduce the risk of empty dwellings, to avoid social instability and to stop a development where socially well functioning residents are replaced by more residents with social problems. It is therefore important to gain knowledge on conditions in a deprived neighbourhood compounding residents' dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood and increasing their intentions to move away. Especially, it is important to uncover conditions that bother the kinds of resident one wish to keep in or attract to the neighbourhood.

Three main questions has been examined in this study:

1. What determines residents' dissatisfaction with different conditions in deprived neighbourhoods? What are the differences between different groups of residents in the way they evaluate their Neighbourhood?
2. What are the main reasons for a neighbourhood having a poor reputation among residents?
3. What determines if residents have plans to move within two years - especially the importance of their evaluation of neighbourhood conditions and poor reputation?

The study is based on a survey among 3000 residents in 12 more or less deprived Danish neighbourhoods who were asked about their evaluation of 1. Physical appearance and nuisances, 2. Visible social problems,

3. Crime and insecurity and 4. Social life and public service. Moreover they were asked about their opinion of the reputation of the neighbourhood, if they planned to move away within two years and why.

What determines residents' dissatisfaction?

Hypotheses for the study were that when residents express dissatisfaction with neighbourhood conditions it could be influenced by:

- a) Personal demands and needs for using the neighbourhood:
- b) Needs of safety and vulnerability to crime
- c) Affiliation to the neighbourhood and social ties
- d) Habituation - length of residence
- e) Housing dissatisfaction
- f) Options to choose - extent of resources to obtain housing somewhere else
- g) Decided to move

It was expected that residents without work, who used more time in the neighbourhood and were more dependent on it, would be more critical to negative conditions in it. This was confirmed with regard to unemployed residents in working age, but not for elderly, who tended to be much less critical. As expected families with children more often were dissatisfied with green areas, while it was unexpected that young people, who one would expect to be less interested in the neighbourhood, often made complaints over all four dimensions of dissatisfaction.

It was expected that families with children and elderly would be more concerned with crime and safety than other residents. This only applied to families with children, while elderly more seldom made complaints.

Residents with different kinds of strong affiliation to the neighbourhood - measured by their relations to neighbours, and if family and friends were motives to move to the area or stay there - were not, as expected, less dissatisfied.

Longer time of residence to some extent reduced dissatisfaction but not on visible social problems. This result could be influenced by the strong correlation between this variable and elderly.

As many other studies this one results also points to a connection between housing dissatisfaction and neighbourhood dissatisfaction. Residents living in smaller dwellings, lacking facilities or in blocks of flats tend to be more dissatisfied with conditions in the neighbourhood. Moreover, tenants in social housing more often are dissatisfied with social problems, safety and social life, but not with physical conditions.

Higher income or higher education, which give expectations of higher future incomes, results in that residents have greater possibilities to choose on the housing market and thus to move to another neighbourhood. The hypothesis was that residents with fewer options to move away would be less critical to their neighbourhood. This is confirmed by the study in the way that residents with higher education or income more often made complaints over negative conditions. However, this did not apply to problems of crime and safety. Regarding these problems there was no significant difference between residents with lower and higher income or education.

Ethnic minorities have difficulties on the Danish housing market in getting access to especially private housing and thus have fewer opportunities to leave the neighbourhoods. It was to a great extent confirmed by the study that ethnic minorities have fewer complaints over many problems in the neighbourhood than Danes have. There are, however, some interesting exceptions. Ethnic minorities more often are bothered by signs of physical decay (dirt, litter and graffiti) and by people drinking in the streets. They are also more dissatisfied with lack of meeting places and with social life in the neighbourhood. These results points to a special cultural dimension which were not covered by our hypotheses.

Finally it is shown that residents, who have decided to move away from the neighbourhood, are much more critical on nearly all dimensions than residents who want to stay.

What determines poor reputation?

While satisfaction with a neighbourhood refers to the residents' own evaluation, the reputation or image of a neighbourhood refers to what the residents think is a common evaluation among outsiders. Reputation is much about the social status of a neighbourhood. This is also shown here where one third of the respondents and two thirds of those, who think there is a poor reputation, give social problems as main cause of a bad image.

Factors explaining opinions among residents on poor reputation do, with some exceptions, to a great extent follow the same patterns as factors explaining dissatisfaction. Complaints over poor reputation are more often found among residents younger than 65 years, in employment and with longer education. Ethnic minorities very seldom find that the neighbourhood has a poor reputation. The respondents of a negative reputation can also be assumed to be dissatisfied with their housing situation, because they are more often living in dwellings with less housing space per person. They are also more often living in social housing. Residents not living in blocks of flats, however, more often think reputation is bad. Residents with plans to move are more negative, while residents with affiliations to the neighbourhood (families and friends etc.) are less negative.

Negative evaluations of conditions in the neighbourhood are very important for the perception of reputation. Complaints over crime, safety and antisocial behaviour have most importance, but physical appearance and physical nuisances also count.

The evaluation of local public institutions also influences residents' opinion on the reputation of the neighbourhood. It can be assumed that this especially relates to the schools.

What determines plans to move away from the neighbourhood

Hypotheses for the study were that, when residents have plans to move away from the neighbourhood within two years, it could be influenced by:

- a) Individual mobility factors like age, life-cycle phase etc.
- b) Opportunities on the housing market - actual and potential economic resources.
- c) Housing situation and dissatisfaction
- d) Social relations in and affiliation to the neighbourhood.
- e) Reputation and social status of the neighbourhood.
- f) Dissatisfaction with different area conditions

The study confirms that plans to move decrease with age and to some extent with length of residence. Families with children are more inclined to move for the reasons: general dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood, with schools (very significantly) or with conditions for children.

It is also confirmed that opportunities on the housing market has some importance since residents with higher education more often want to move, while higher income and ethnic minorities are not significant.

Housing dissatisfaction increase the propensity to move as less housing space does. Homeowners have very significantly less often plans to move while tenants in social housing have more often.

There is a strong connection between residents' perception of the reputation of their neighbourhood and plans to move. Bad reputation is a special strong factor for some of the groups that tend to stay in the area - unemployed and ethnic minorities, but also for families with children.

Affiliation to the neighbourhood and good relations to neighbours also very significantly reduces plans to move, while poor reputation increases the frequency.

Among complaints over neighbourhood conditions social problems and antisocial behaviour are the most important reasons for plans to move especially dissatisfaction with domestic disturbances, vandalism and drug addicts, but also some physical factors as dirt, litter and graffiti, traffic and noise and lack of green areas, are important. If one examines the cases, where dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood has been pointed to as the main reason for moving away, also negative feeling of safety is significant.

This general pattern of factors explaining plans to move for all residents is different for different groups of residents. For residents in employment it does not have any significance if they live in owner-occupied housing or blocks of flats. Affiliation to the neighbourhood means more to this group while good relations to neighbours have less importance. The feeling of safety in general has importance. Moreover, complaints over dirt, physical decay etc., lack of green areas and vandalism have more importance for employed people. They seem to be more concerned with the physical environment.

Families with children are more inclined to move - especially if they have higher education. Only homeowners want more often to stay. Also affiliation to the neighbourhood and good social relations to neighbours have a stronger effect in reducing mobility. Complaints over physical problems are not significant, while bad reputation and some social problems have a stronger effect on plans to move - the significant variables are vandalism, domestic disturbances and drug addicts.

Consequences for the design of area based regeneration in deprived neighbourhoods

In this study has been uncovered what factors explain residents' dissatisfaction with deprived neighbourhoods and their plans to move away from it or stay. We know from other studies (Kearns and Parkes 2003) that planned moves not always result in actual moves. It has also been revealed that reasons for actual moves are not quite the same as reasons for planned moves and that dissatisfaction with area conditions plays a minor role in actual moves. These studies have, however, been conducted in ordinary neighbourhoods where social problems, safety and physical nuisances are much smaller problems. In deprived neighbourhoods it must be expected that dissatisfaction with area conditions is much more important for actual moves and that factors explaining plans to move to some extent also will have influence on actual moves.

It must also be remembered that the social development of a neighbourhood is not only determined by people moving away but just as much by the social composition of newcomers. An earlier study in deprived social housing estates (Skifter Andersen 2002a) indicate that the factors influencing the composition of newcomers are not the same as the determinants of why residents are moving away from the neighbourhoods.

From this study it is still, however, possible to draw some conclusions on what could be important for preventing a further negative social development of deprived neighbourhoods, based on the produced knowledge on why different kinds of residents want to move out of the areas.

Essential causes of dissatisfaction in deprived neighbourhoods are visible social problems and crime, which causes feelings of insecurity among residents. Area based initiatives should therefore first of all take action against these problems. From Denmark there are good experiences with activities and job programs for youngsters doing criminal acts. Also drop-in centres for offenders, drug addicts and alcoholics has been good measures to stabilise their problems and make them less visible and troublesome to other residents.

Dissatisfaction with physical conditions in general has not as much importance for moves out of the areas. It could, however, have influence on newcomers. But physical nuisances that mirror social problems - like vandalism, bad maintenance, litter, and graffiti - has importance because they are the visible signs of social decay. Good outdoor maintenance and fight against such appearances are thus important tasks in area based initiatives.

For families with children problems in local schools could be an important reason for moving away. It is important to tackle such problems.

Residents' perception of the reputation and social status of the neighbourhood also seem to be important for moving. These perceptions vary much among residents and are created on the basis of feelings and more or less on accidental experiences. They are very much subject to influence. A strategy for area regeneration could therefore be to try to change residents' (and potential newcomers) image of the neighbourhood. Not only by reducing the problems that are the roots of a poor reputation but also by giving information with a more just picture, and by conscious building up a better image.

The shown very significant importance of social ties for stability in the neighbourhood points to that area based initiatives also should be pointed against increasing social capital. Support of social activities that creates social networks and establishment of meeting places and facilities for this are thus important measures.

The study show, that owner-occupation in general reduces plans to move from the neighbourhoods. The question is if this can be accepted as an argument for establishing mixed tenure areas by transforming social housing to owner-occupied dwellings. It is, however, only for the groups without work that homeownership has importance for plans to move, while it is insignificant for residents in employment. So it does not seem to be of importance for the groups one is most interested in keeping back. Moreover other studies (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998, Beekman et. al 2001) show that the social coherence is weaker in mixed tenure neighbourhoods. The most important advantage by mixed tenures could be a change in the general image and poor reputation of neighbourhoods (Cole and Shayer 1998).

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