European Spatial Research and Policy

Volume 19, No. 1
2012

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PART I

GEOGRAPHIES OF AGEING AND WELLBEING
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FOREWORD

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE, AGEING AND SOCIETAL CHALLENGES IN EUROPE

All advanced economies are becoming older, and Healthy Ageing has been listed as one of priority themes of the smart growth dimension of Europe 2020 (European Commission, 2010a), the European Union's development strategy. More recently, healthy ageing has been promoted as a flagship research priority for many countries, including UK, the Netherlands, Sweden and Finland. Clearly, ageing is on the international policy agenda.

Societal ageing has two major drivers, namely ageing due to health-care improvements afforded by the large cohort of baby-boomers, and also ageing due to the slowdown in the subsequent replacement ratios. In some sense the former driver is a good news story as it derives from improvements in the health-related quality of life. In contrast, the latter driver of ageing is a rather more complex story, and the positive and negative distributional impacts of this latter driver fall differently on different social groups. In particular, these intergenerational effects imply that the working life expectancy of future generations will increase, while the pension returns are likely to fall. In OECD countries, the current retirement group is the wealthiest social cohort in history, having benefited from both the post-World War II economic boom of the 20th century and the mortgage repayment effects of the 1970s inflation. In contrast, the current younger age groups face many years of low growth, low pension accumulation effects, and low housing equity gain, the effects of which have been exacerbated by the 2008 global financial crisis. Older age groups appear to be in more favourable circumstances than younger age groups. In addition, these demographic distributional shifts have no spatial implications *per se*. As such, these observations raise the question as to why we should be in any way concerned today about the

phenomenon of ageing in Europe and in particular why geographers should be concerned.

The reason why we should be concerned, and geographers in particular, is due to another closely-related modern demographic phenomenon which has very profound geographical implications, namely that of migration. One of the key features of modern globalisation is that people are becoming increasingly geographically mobile, not only internationally, but also more noticeably, inter-regionally (DGRegio, 2008). Nowadays, people are increasingly accustomed to moving for work, and also to moving multiple times during their working lives, and the advent of the European Single Market has accelerated these trends. However, given the nature of modern globalisation, in advanced economies, in terms of long term local development potential, the most important group of migrants are the highly-skilled cohorts. Increasingly, young highly-educated university graduates are moving in larger numbers to particular places (Goll, 2010), or rather to particular types of places; places which are dominated by knowledge-intensive activities and occupations and high amenity environments. These high amenity environments are most typically high income urban areas, and as this happens, the areas from which they move away naturally age in profile. For the young migrant these trends pose no serious challenges, but for the regions which they leave the remaining population profile ages rapidly. Moreover, to the extent that the out-migrants are also the highly-skilled and highly-educated, the areas from which they originate experience an adverse combination of an increasingly ageing population, a declining population, a population whose wealth and incomes are declining, and ultimately problems of dereliction and social decline. These adverse trends pose very serious challenges for the remaining ageing communities. Such difficult local experiences, however, are in very marked contrast to the experiences of the places into which these young migrants move. The more fortunate destination locations into which these younger highly-educated groups move exhibit an increasingly highly-skilled and educated population, a growing population, and an increasingly youthful population relative to the regions of origin. Although these places also experience processes of ageing, they do so at a much slower rate and in a manner which is much less problematic.

Meanwhile there are other localities that are ageing, but which do not represent major challenges for society in the ways that those described above do. These are the ageing and wealthy regions. They are primarily high natural-amenity environments towards which retired and wealthy people move for lifestyle and leisure reasons; people who are able to cash in on years of equity gains described above. Increasingly in Europe, many of these localities are in the southern European countries, which are characterised by inflows of northern European migrants with two residences, who move between countries according to the season.

Recent European Commission labour market research (ESPON, 2010) demonstrates that the most significant demographic marker defining the differing fortunes of localities is the distinction between localities facing population inflows and

population growth, as against localities facing population outflows and population decline. This is not to say, however, that areas facing population inflows experience no demographic challenges. Rather, many of the demographic challenges in these types of places are largely hidden, and the most serious ones operate within the buoyant core cities. For example, prosperous urban localities tend to face increasing land prices, housing costs, and congestion problems. At the same time, the outsourcing and off-shoring associated with globalisation has affected most severely the employment opportunities of the middle-skills, middle-incomes and middle-age groups, who are increasingly forced to compete with lower skills cohorts in order to survive. This depresses the wages of both groups while leaving the higher skills groups unaffected. The only way that both of these lower skills groups are able to respond to increased local costs of living is to move to lower quality housing, the result of which is that many of our prosperous cities are becoming increasingly spatially segregated. Buoyant cities are increasingly typified by neighbourhoods of 'haves' and neighbourhoods of 'have-nots', which coexist but do not interact. Part of the urban emphasis (DGRegio, 2009) of European regional policy is aimed at promoting the *inclusive growth* agenda of Europe 2020 (DGRegio, 2010a) so as to reduce these segregation effects (DGRegio, 2010b).

In general, as people become more mobile, and as mobility is increasingly associated with skills, the result is that places become increasingly different (European Commission, 2010b). The long term provision of public services such as health and education therefore becomes ever more complex, and differing needs in different places are manifested by increasingly diverging population profiles. For five decades the widespread existence of social safety nets in industrial countries has helped to cushion many of the worst effects of economic restructuring. The modern era of globalisation, however, implies that there will be more profound community provision and engagement challenges in the coming decades that in previous decades, as national and regional authorities have less and less influence over the destinies of their own local constituencies and communities. While education and health-care investments are essential elements in helping us achieve our community and societal potential, it is not only the levels of these investments which matter, but also the locations in which they are provided. As places become more different to each other due to these complex demographic and social trends, the nature of the issues associated with the provision of these public goods and services will become ever more complex. These challenges are probably most marked in the case of rural regions which are sparsely populated, declining, and ageing, and also in the increasingly segregated and marginalised urban regions. All of these challenges are very much *place-based*, and geographers are right to be concerned about such matters.

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INTRODUCTION

As a response to ageing societies, policies in the global northwest have begun to target societal concerns around ageing in the context of Healthy Ageing policy frameworks. In recent years, such policies have been criticized for giving priority to individual responsibilities and responses (such as the promotion of exercise, healthy food programmes and diet regimes), whilst undervaluing the role that the physical, social and economic environments play in determining health outcomes for older adults (see e.g. Cardona, 2008). The discourse on ageing has therefore been marked by dominant paradigms of decline and burden (Ranzijn, 2002; Cardona, 2008). In addition, academic interest has been concentrated in the medical sector as well as bio gerontology, which means that the focus has been on ageing as disease. The implication has been that representations circulate that suggest youthfulness and health can be bought and that an individual is to be blamed for not ageing success-fully (see e.g. Biggs, 1997). Critical social gerontologists, such as Jason L. Powell (2001) have contended that differentiated experiences based on social class, gender or ethnicity have remained out of sight. Cardona (2008, p. 477) further argues that there is little room in such discussions for 'other possibilities of "successful" ageing within narratives of disability or illness', or for viewing old age not as loss but as affording new freedoms and new relationships as older adults manage to reconstruct their identities based on the structural conditions in which they find themselves (e.g. retirement, welfare institutions). Ultimately, sociologists such as Laz argue that age is 'something that we *do*' (Phoeniz and Sparkes, 2009, p. 221, original emphasis). This means that the ways in which age and ageing is experienced and valued differs between different contexts and interactions of people with institutions, discourses and social structures.

Exploring the conditions of older adults' lives, choices they make in creating their own contexts for ageing well, and the day-to-day experiences of ageing in different spatial, social and economic contexts contributes to changing knowledges of older people as well as changing representations. This is significant, because, as Asquith (2009, p. 260) pointed out:

> How older people are represented in our culture provides a template for how governments provide services for older people, and how individuals (young and old) interact with each other as aged beings.

The role that geographers can play in uncovering different stories of older adults' lives is important because of their particular engagement with space, place

and policy-implications. Again using Asquith's (2009, p. 266) words: 'It is only when we consider the structural factors influencing localized interactions that we can better understand the role that social integration plays in ageing well'. Overall, the engagement of geographers with geographies of older adults is still relatively scarce. Some work has begun to address the regional differences in where ageing is occurring and what the implications may be in policy terms (see e.g. recent work by Kurek, 2011 on Poland and Nancu *et al*., 2010 on Romania, the articles in this special issue by Fernández-Carro; de Jong and Brouwer, and Bricocoli and Marchigiani extend the work at the national and regional scale). Others, using qualitative methodologies, have called for the inclusion of older adults' biographies in historical geographies of place (Andrews *et al*., 2006). In 2009, the *Professional Geographer* devoted a special issue to Geographies of Ageing with articles addressing issues at the regional, local and personal level (see e.g. the introduction to the special issue by Hardill, 2009). A recent European, multidisciplinary contribution to the discussion of ageing and wellbeing, worthy of *European Spatial Research and Policy* readers' consideration, was made by participants of the International Conference on Challenges of Ageing in Villages and Cities whose contributions were published as a UNESCO MOST report (Kovacs, 2010).

Some work connecting explicitly geography, ageing and wellbeing was carried out by Wiles *et al*. (2009) and Smith (2009). Wiles *et al*. (2009), for instance, argue that attachment to place contributes to wellbeing, in particular for older adults. They tend to develop more intimate knowledge of their environment over time. Holland *et al*. (2005) maintain that such knowledge can increase older adults' sense of control over their place and, as a result, their wellbeing. Place attachment and a sense of wellbeing is not necessarily restricted to well-maintained neighbourhoods, as Allison Smith's (2009) study shows. In her qualitative study on deprived urban neighbourhoods in Manchester and Vancouver, she argues that some older adults experience a high level of attachment. Over time, they have become experts in 'navigating' their neighbourhoods, and as a result, they feel comfortable in them. Using Smith's terms, older adults who experience a high level of 'environmental press' can remain strongly attached to a deprived neighbourhood, because of their long-time and intensive involvement in it. Smith argues that such attachment to place can result in a higher quality of life, or wellbeing. A number of articles in this issue follow in the footsteps of Smith's qualitative work (i.e. the articles by Lager *et al*. and by van Hoven and Douma). A quantitative study conducted amongst almost 2,000 older adults in four cities and several villages in three different regions in the Netherlands (van der Meer *et al*., 2008) complements Smith's findings. The data suggest that environmental press is experienced as problematic when older adults also experience personal and household vulnerability. In this Dutch study, these combined vulnerabilities seem to occur mostly in deprived neighbourhoods.

Smith's work connects with a broader body of literature on wellbeing. Concerning the focus of this special issue, it is useful to briefly highlight common understandings of the concept of wellbeing. Wellbeing has been used extensively as a measure to study quality of life in the field of sociology (Diener and Suh, 2000). It represents an area of scholarship 'that includes people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgements of life satisfaction' (Pavot and Diener, 2004, p. 114). When looking at people's perceptions of their own wellbeing, the concept of subjective wellbeing (SWB) is often used. Subjective wellbeing is generally seen as consisting of the cognitive indicator of life satisfaction, and the affective indicators of positive and negative feelings. These indicators have most often been measured in quantitative terms, and the relation between age and subjective wellbeing has also largely been studied quantitatively. In general, wellbeing is reported to be stable over the life course; positive and negative affect decreases slowly with ageing, and negative affect gradually increases again in the age-group of 60–80 (Lucas and Gohm, 2000). Similarly, Steverink and Lindenberg (2006) found that the total need for SWB that people experience remains stable with ageing. In addition, wellbeing as experienced by older people has been reported to correlate positively with variables such as socio-economic status, being married, being female, being in good self-reported health, aspirations for self-development, interest in others, feeling control over the environment, and having many and good social relationships (Rioux, 2005).

In a recent commentary on the need for interdisciplinary research on population ageing, Stolk *et al*. (2009, p. 716) have highlighted that wellbeing (physical, mental, and social wellbeing) is affected 'by the interplay of factors at multiple societal levels'. These levels are pertinent to the discussions the authors of this special issue provide and we therefore cite at length:

– at the macro level, national institutions regulate access to and quality of prevention, care, and pensions, while population dynamics (e.g. migration) and demographic processes (e.g. declining fertility rates) affect the opportunities and constraints for different institutional solutions;

– at the meso level, informal communities and social networks as well as formal organisations can provide crucial resources for social and material support, thus constituting essential elements for prevention and mitigation of health related problems;

– at the micro level, individuals do not only differ in their health behaviour, physical and mental predispositions, but also in disease related risk factors accumulating during their life course.

We would add to the micro level the relevance of agency, i.e. the ability of people to actively construct and reconstruct their identities as older adults in the different spatial, social and economic circumstances.

In this special issue we hope to keep the focus on older adults in geography ongoing. With a view to the journal's focus on research and policy, this issue

addresses, in broad terms, the relationship between housing and wellbeing for older people. In so doing, it includes different geographic scales: the international, national, and more local: the neighbourhood. The case studies in the special issue were carried out in various European countries: the Netherlands, Italy and the United Kingdom.

The first two papers in this special issue focus on (inter)national migration behaviour of older adults and its effects on both the moving adult as well as on the age-composition in the in-migration and out-migration areas.

Celia Fernández-Carro discusses, at the European level and in a comparative way, why older people move or stay in their present housing situation. She considers the role of structural barriers or opportunities, such as the organisation of the housing market (social housing versus home ownership) and the status of social policies addressing the needs of older people as a part of differences between national cultures. Fernández-Carro focuses on the household level by considering relationships of dependency (such as being cared for or providing care) within a household, and household composition. From her analysis, three broad categories of countries can be distinguished: areas with high (Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands), medium (France and Germany) and low mobility (Mediterranean countries). She suggests that more dynamic residential behaviour can be attributed to well-developed welfare policies, high levels of rental housing, and more individualised lifestyles but recommends further research to explore underlying factors in more depth.

The contribution by Petra de Jong and Aleid E. Brouwer focuses on the moving behaviour of older adults in the Netherlands. Their results are largely in line with the results given by Fernández-Carro. Dutch older adults have several motives for moving at an older age and the motivations differ by background variables such as education, former living area and composition of the household as well as by age. Furthermore, the direction of the movement differs by background and age as well. With the ageing of the population it is helpful to have insights into the kind and direction of movements by older adults, also since appropriate housing for older adults will fall short if new buildings will not be developed in the coming decades. The current stock does not provide enough adequate housing, in both design and location.

The three papers by Massimo Bricocoli and Elena Marchigiani, Bettina van Hoven and Linden Douma, and Debbie Lager, Bettina van Hoven and Louise Meijering go some way in illuminating the role of neighbourhoods in improving older people's housing experiences and their wellbeing.

Bricocoli and Marchigiani's article focuses on housing policies in Italy that often lead to an inappropriate designation of housing for older people as well as an inflexibility in reallocating housing. The habitat-microareas programme in Trieste serves as a case to explore how a number of health care providers and social services have begun to redevelop their approach to care for older people. By adopting

a neighbourhood approach, they aim to mobilise more local resources as well as draw on the capabilities of older people themselves. In so doing, a range of locations and amenities previously not designed to cater for the needs of older people have become a part of a broader network of care at the local level, thus increasing people's wellbeing.

Van Hoven and Douma's research in Newton Hall (United Kingdom) similarly looks at structural conditions and 'the personal' in ageing and wellbeing. However, the case does not address an intervention but assesses the relational aspects of ageing, specifically the way in which the built environment can offer both spaces of inclusion (e.g. through informal chat) and exclusion (by establishing barriers to accessing urban spaces) within one and the same location. The article further highlights the agency of older people who are proactive in making use of spaces for creating and maintaining social networks thus contributing to their own, high level of wellbeing.

Although the scale of the neighbourhood is also the subject of the article by Lager, van Hoven and Meijering, this paper focuses on a senior cohousing community for Antillean migrants to the Netherlands. Again, the example demonstrates the self-organising capacities of older people. However, rather than the cohousing community serving as a means to preserve and dwell in the migrants' past, the community turned out to be a means for migrants to connect to the Dutch community.

Based on the articles in this volume, we conclude that older people's wellbeing is impacted by different geographic contexts. Housing markets and social policies can create certain conditions for older people that can enhance or reduce their wellbeing and for some, this is a push factor in relocating to a different residence. Fernández has discussed this at the European level whilst de Jong and Brouwer have illustrated this at the national level of the Netherlands. Zooming in more, Bricocoli and Marchigiani look at ways in which formal and informal sources come together to address shortcomings of both housing markets and social policy in the case of Trieste. The authors already implied the capabilities of older people themselves and this is the level at which van Hoven and Douma and Lager *et al.* provide their examples discussing the cases of Newton Hall (UK) and Groningen (Netherlands). In particular these latter two articles demonstrate that older adults, who are involved in (re)creating their everyday places, tend to experience relatively high levels of wellbeing.

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INVITED ARTICLES

Celia FERNÁNDEZ-CARRO*

MOVERS OR STAYERS? HETEROGENEITY OF OLDER ADULTS' RESIDENTIAL PROFILES ACROSS CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Abstract: Traditionally, the emotional attachment older adults have to their homes and the economic and health burden caused by residential moves have had a deterrent effect on mobility during old age. In spite of this static general trend, 20% of older Europeans change their residential location after the age of 65. Some studies point out that this percentage will increase in the coming decades along with the onset of baby-boom cohorts reaching older ages. The main objective of this article is to describe the residential mobility trends during old age in some European countries and identify the main features of those elderly that move after 65, using data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE).

Key words: residential mobility, older adults, Continental Europe.

1. INTRODUCTION

Population ageing, due to life expectancy increase, is one of the most significant demographic features of western societies. According to Eurostat data, population older than 65 years old residing in EU15[1] reached 17% in 2004. In view of the projections made by Eurostat, this figure is expected to almost double by 2025. By then, individuals over 65 will represent 32% of the total population of EU15. However, it is important to point out that the changes in the older population have not only taken place in a structural sense, but also in a qualitative way (Harper, 2006). According to Arber and Evandrou (1997), improvements in four life spheres

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(economic, residential, physical and mental health and socio-emotional) have contributed to transform the living context at older ages. Thus, the life expectancy extension and the living conditions and resources improvements have triggered transformations in the behaviour traditionally associated with older adults (Bloem *et al*., 2008; González Puga, 2004; Grundy and Jitlal, 2007; Tatsiramos, 2006). Regarding the housing dynamics, some authors have concluded that the changes undergone by older population will be strongly determined by the growth of older adults' residential mobility over the next decades (Bonvalet and Ogg, 2008) and the increase in the length of the time that older adults live independently in their own dwellings (Tomassini *et al.*, 2004; Oswald and Wahl, 2005). In addition, the progressive increase of population aged 80 and over has been also accompanied by increased probability of living in a nursing home during the last stages of old age (Castle, 2001), a circumstance that also will affect the transformation of the residential pathways during old age.

This article compares the residential behaviour of the older adults population in Europe in terms of mobility or stability. For this purpose, people who established their current dwelling after having reached the age of 65 will be called 'movers' and people who established their current dwelling before reaching said age will be referred to as 'stayers'. Given the huge diversity of residential structures in the European context, this study intends to be an initial approach to identifying the features of older adults' mobility profiles in the EU15. This article also aims to highlight the distinctive features of the older adults population who change their residence during old age, examining the similarities and differences among European countries.

2. HOME AND WELLBEING LINKAGE DURING OLD AGE

The meaning of home is not the same throughout the life course. Each life stage involves a specific housing demand and implies a particular need of living conditions (Oswald and Wahl, 2005). Specifically during old age, the influence of the residential context on the wellbeing is higher than during other life stages such as early adulthood. The reason for that is, firstly, that older adults stay at home more compared with the rest of the population (Butler, 1986). Due to the decline of physical functions or changes in their routines after retirement, they tend to reduce their social networks and daily habits to the domestic sphere. These transformations can unleash negative effects on older people's wellbeing in a psychological and physical sense, such as isolation, dependence on relatives or loneliness (Boyce *et al*., 2003). As Evans *et al*. (2002) have shown, housing quality has a positive effect on the perceived wealth and life satisfaction of older adults.

At the same time, the residential dynamics are shaped not only by individual needs, but also by household or family needs (Dykstra and van Wissen, 1999).

The relocation choices of older individuals are closely linked with their kinship living decisions. Because of that, it is necessary to consider the ties established between family members as a determinant factor in the mobility paths, both to provide or to limit the movement.

Secondly, the importance of housing at older ages lies in the emotional attachment that older people have to their homes. This emotional attachment arises from the fact that most important life events take place in the domestic sphere, especially in the family dimension, such as the birth and bringing up of children (Clapham, 2005). The preference of the vast majority of older adults is to remain in their own private dwelling until some disability or chronic disease forces them to move to an institution (Costa-Font, 2009). Also in a psychological sense, at old ages the dwelling symbolises independence and autonomy which determine older people's wellbeing (Gurney and Means, 1997). Nevertheless, the emotional attachment that older people have to their homes can lead to an imbalance between the residential needs and the real conditions of the dwelling they reside (Cortés and Laínez, 1998). This imbalance results from many older adults living in dwellings acquired in previous life stages, when their needs were different. The mismatch between housing conditions and residential needs at older ages occurs in three different ways; a mismatch in the dwelling (lack of bathroom or shower, shortage of space, number of rooms), a mismatch in the building (no elevator or stairs, age of the building, number of dwellings, access), and a mismatch in the neighbourhood (noise, pollution, parks in the area) (Cortés and Laínez, 1998). In consequence, a dissatisfactory housing context can affect the wellbeing of older people, increasing their vulnerability and causing a worsening of their life quality.

Regarding the macro level factors that encourage older adults to remain at home, public policies in Europe, with different implementation degrees depending on the country, have been structured to benefit 'ageing in place'. 'Ageing in place' consists of different socio-economic measures addressed to support older people at home until it is absolutely necessary for them to move. At this point, the 'ageing in place' is the widely promoted residential way of ageing in western societies.

Based on this, some authors have suggested new hypotheses about the residential behaviours of elderly Europeans. On the one hand, some consider that mobility rates of elderly Europeans are increasing. For instance, Bonvalet and Ogg (2008) carried out a research on residential mobility patterns of the French older population to find out if they will continue to be the same in the future or if increased mobility can be expected. In their research, the authors concluded that over the coming decades the current baby-boom group will reach older ages and this will lead to higher rates of mobility for this life stage. Higher divorce rates among people over the age of 60 or wide-spreading secondary residence ownership are some of the identified factors that might promote mobility during old age if we compare them with the mobility patters of previous generations.

On the other hand, a different hypothesis considers the effect of this mobility increase on the residential dynamics of the whole population. As Kendig (1984) and Malmberg (2010) have shown, the study of mobility and old age connection is very useful in understanding the effect that the duration of older adults' households can have on the housing consumption of other age groups, especially its influence on the housing stock and prices. Thus, the importance of the study of residential paths of older adults' households lies both in new mobility patterns and the consequences that these patterns can have for the entire residential system, i.e. the rest of the population (Myers, 1990).

Now, the question is: are these residential mobility patterns shared by all the European countries?

3. DATA AND METHODS

This analysis draws on data that come from the first wave (2004) of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). The total sample is composed of 31,115 European households of individuals aged 50 over.[2] Each wave is composed of thematic modules recording information about diverse aspects of older adults' life such as demographic characteristics, financial situation, family composition and residential context. The sample of older adults analysed in this paper comprises households headed by one person aged 65 and over (N = 6,454 individuals).

For the specific purpose of this paper, it was necessary to make some adjustments. Firstly, the number of analysed countries was reduced to eight. Following the response criteria, regions with higher percentages of answers in the selected variables were used, i.e. the Scandinavian region (Denmark and Sweden), Central Europe (France, Germany and the Netherlands) and the Mediterranean region (Greece, Italy and Spain).[3] Countries with many missing responses for some variables, namely Austria, Switzerland and Belgium, were deleted. The dependent variable that measures the mobility of the older adults is not specified in the questionnaire, so it has been constructed through the question *how long have you been living in the current dwelling?* Then, the analysis assumes that the people who started living in their current accommodation after 65 made their last residential move during old age.

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[2] For the 2004 wave, SHARE was developed in Austria, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden.

[3] Note that the countries are identified in the figures and tables by the ISO code abbreviation, except for Greece: Denmark (DK), France (F), Germany (D), Greece (EL), Italy (IT), Spain (E), Sweden (SE), the Netherlands (NL).

To model the older adults' transition rates the Cox Proportional Hazard Model has been used. The observed sample comprised the older adults who made their last residential change after 65. This type of statistical model assumes that the covariates shift the baseline hazard function and has the advantage that the model does not make any assumption about the shape of the hazard over time.

4. OLDER ADULTS MOBILITY TRENDS IN EUROPE

The data analysis reveals that most elderly Europeans (80%) established their current home before they reached 65 years of age. The remaining 20% of the older population have started to live in their current dwelling after 65. As shown in table 1, there are remarkable differences between European nations. The analysed countries can be sorted in two groups based on the percentages of residential mobility during old age. The first one is formed by Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands. These countries present the highest percentages of residential movements made during old age, exceeding 30% in all cases. The second group includes the countries with the lowest rates of mobility of population aged 65 and above. In all cases these rates reach 15%, half of the previous group rates. France, Germany and the Mediterranean countries, Italy, Greece, and Spain are included. Especially Italy presents lower residential mobility rates during old age.

Table 1. Last residential move by country (65 and over households) (in %)

Age	D	SE	NL	E	IT	F	DK	EL	Total
Before 65	85	69	69	86	91	86	65	87	69
After 65	15	31	31	14	9	14	35	13	31

Source: SHARE, wave 1.

With regard to average age at which the last residential change took place, we observe that for the individuals who established their last domicile before the age of 65, the average age is 40, though with some important variations among countries. In line with table 1, table 2 shows that the highest average ages for the last residential change after 40 can be found in those countries that evidence more mobility during old age (Denmark, France, Sweden and the Netherlands). However, the difference in average age is smaller in the case of residential moves of those who changed their residence after the age of 65. Only in Italy this average age does not reach 70. For Spain and Greece, for instance, which are countries with low residential mobility rates, the average age for these changes – after 65 years old – is similar to countries with higher mobility rates.

Table 2. Mean age at the last residential move (65 and over households)

Age	D	SE	NL	E	IT	F	DK	EL	Total
Before 65	39.2	44.0	44.2	38.2	37.0	41.7	44.1	39.6	40.6
After 65	70.7	72.5	72.1	72.2	68.4	71.1	72.2	72.0	71.7
Total	43.8	52.8	52.9	42.8	39.9	45.9	53.8	43.6	46.6

Source: SHARE, wave 1.

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of the ages at which older people established their current residence. As shown, for most of them it was in two moments of their life course. These moments coincide with a change in life stage. The first one corresponds to transition to adulthood – at this age they left the parental home and established their own households; normally, this transition implies a residential move.
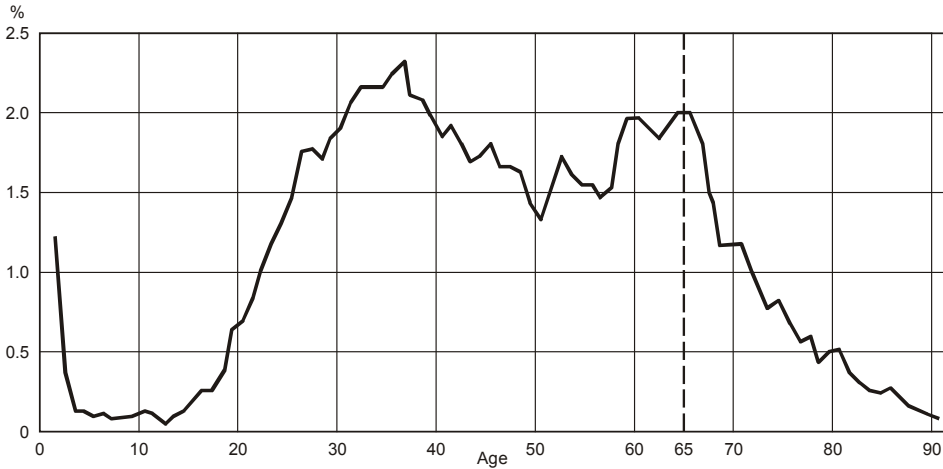
Fig. 1. Age of the last residential move (65 and over households)
Source: SHARE, wave 1

The second moment at which the older cohorts established their current residence was around the beginning of the older age life stage. These residential changes start at 55 and decrease at the age of 66–67. This life stage coincides with the retirement period that has been commonly identified with the beginning of old age and with emancipation of the children.

Figure 2 presents two age distribution values for people more than 65 years old who made their last residential change. Spain has been selected as a country representative of the group of countries with lower levels of mobility during old age, and the Netherlands has been chosen as a representative of the countries where the domicile changes during old age are more frequent. This way,

the graph shows that while older adults in Spain established their current home mainly between the ages of 30 and 40, in the Netherlands this move was generally made at a more advanced age. Regarding the other countries, Denmark and Sweden's distribution patterns are similar to those of the Netherlands, even surpassing the peak observed around the age of 65. The Mediterranean countries, Italy and Greece, present a curve which is very similar to the curve presented by Spain, with highest residential mobility indicators during the first stage of adulthood. France and Germany both represent a mixed pattern with high percentages of older people changing their residence between the ages of 30 and 40, similarly to the Mediterranean countries.
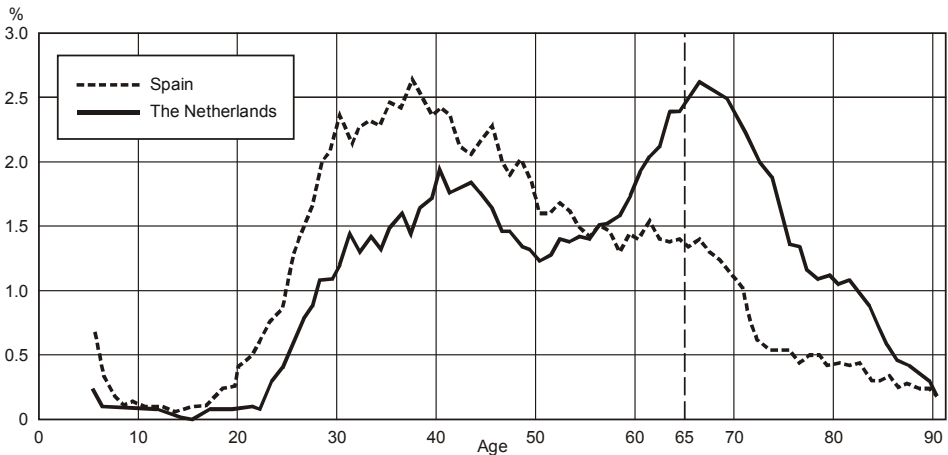
Fig. 2. Age of the last residential move (selected countries)
Source: SHARE, wave 1

Figure 2 shows the age distribution for the last residential move of older adults aged 65 and above. Although the trend varies depending on the territory, most of the last residential movements were made after the age of 65. After these years of mobility increase, around the age of 65, the percentage of older adults that made their last residential move at older ages decreases.

Figure 3 illustrates relevant regional differences within the European context. These variations can be divided into two main groups in respect of the mobility profiles: those with high mobility rates and those with low mobility rates. According to the results presented in the first table, the differences between the two groups of selected countries remain also for older ages. Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands are territories with higher percentages of residential changes during old age. Between the ages of 65 and 70, 2.5–3% of these countries' elderly population made their last residential move. Some of the variations could be explained by differences in the retirement age depending on the territory.
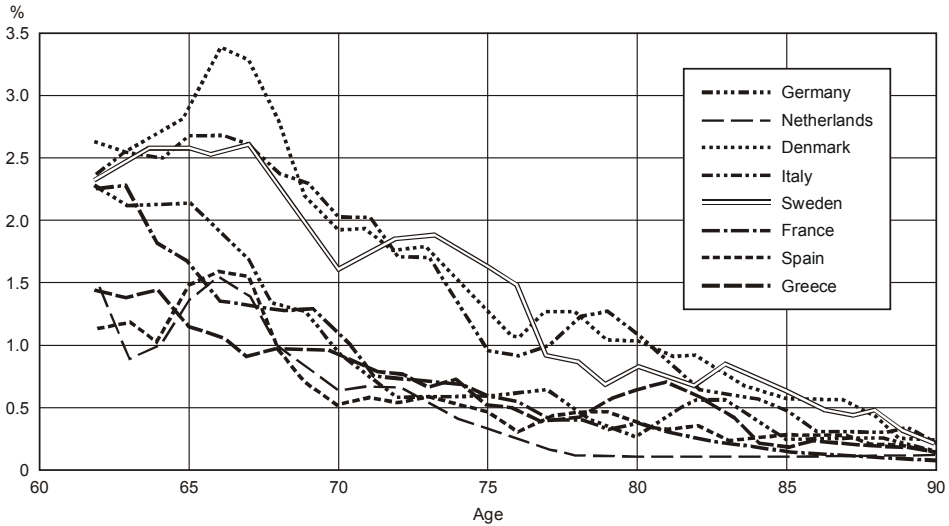
Fig. 3. Age of the last residential move after 65 (%)
Source: SHARE, wave 1

The second group shows some heterogeneity in the early years of old age, France and Germany being the countries with higher percentages of moves. After the age of 70, this trend in France and Germany declines and presents values that are similar to those of the Mediterranean territories. Italy, Spain and Greece have the lowest rates of mobility, and Italy is a country with less mobility in older ages. In the case of Spain, the population that has moved to their current dwelling at the age of 80 and above reaches the level of countries such as the Netherlands.

The differences in percentages for all countries tend to diminish as older adults exceed the age of 90. However, the Scandinavian countries, Denmark and Sweden, still remain as territories with a higher rate of mobility.

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF OLDER ADULTS IN EUROPE

This sample is composed of persons born in 1939 or before. In table 3 are summarised the percentages and numbers used in the analysis. Regarding the socio-demographic features, more than half of the elderly Europeans are married and 48% live in couples without other members of the household.

Figure 4 illustrates variations in older households composition depending on the pattern of mobility during old age and the territory they live in. They follow a structure very similar to the general distribution of households in each country.

In view of this, it is usual for homes to be formed only by older adults in the Northern and Western European countries, while in the Mediterranean region a higher rate of inter-generational cohabitation can be found.

Table 3. Description of the sample

Variable	Categories	N	%
Sex	Male	2,947	45.66
	Female	3,507	54.34
Marital status	Married	3,528	54.66
	Registered partnership	62	0.96
	Never married	394	6.10
	Divorced	324	5.02
	Widowed	2,146	33.25
Household type	One person	2,476	38.36
	Couple alone	3,092	47.91
	With family	798	12.36
	With others	88	1.36
Descendants	Children	6,164	95.50
	No children	290	4.50
Care role	Giving help	1,435	22.23
	Not giving help	5,019	77.77
	Receiving help	1,807	29.32
	Not receiving help	4,357	70.68
Health	Having long-term illness	3,818	59.16
	Not having long-term illness	2,636	40.84
Type of tenure	Owner	4,208	65.20
	Tenant / Subtenant	1,567	24.28
	Others types (Rent free and Member of a cooperative)	679	10.52
Type pf dwelling	House	3,620	57.92
	Farm	249	3.98
	Building	2,231	35.70
	Special dwelling for elderly	150	2.40
Area	Big city	992	15.37
	Suburbs or outskirts of a big city	1,124	17.42
	Large town	1,373	20.99
	Small town	1,482	22.96
	Rural area or village	1,483	22.98
Groups of countries	Italy, Spain, Greece	2,450	37.96
	France, Germany	1,815	28.12
	Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands	2,189	33.92

Source: SHARE, wave 1.
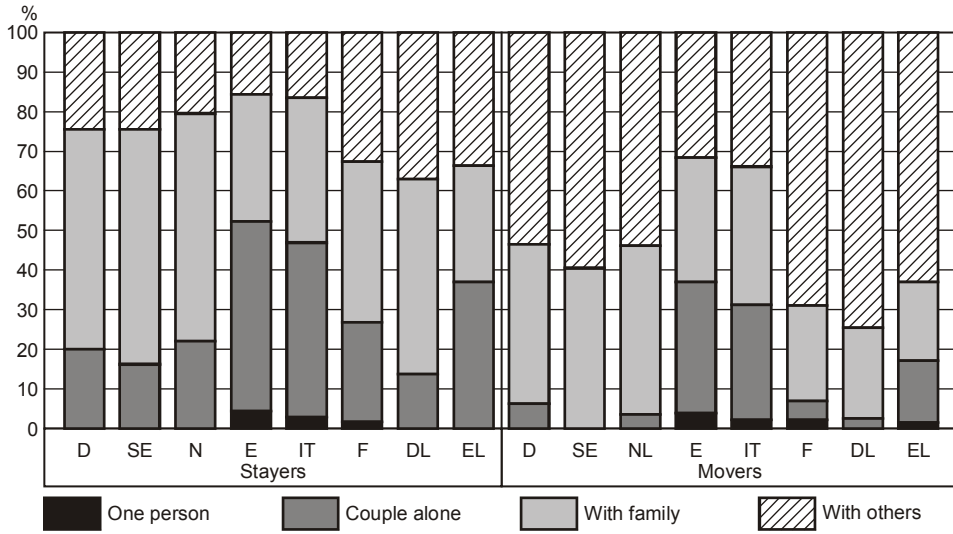
Fig. 4. Household composition by mobility status
Source: SHARE, wave 1

Taking into account the mobility status, in the case of stayers, i.e. households established in their current domicile at a young or mature age, there is a higher rate of people in single person households. However, the profile presented by non-mobile households during old age in the Mediterranean countries is slightly different. The proportion of households with families among the elders who have lived in their residence for longer periods is especially relevant. Children in the family usually emancipate at an older age, particularly in Spain, Italy and Greece, which causes different generations to cohabit in the same home.

Observing the results, the proportion of single person households among 'movers' grows in relation to the 'stayers' population. Many of those residential movements can be generated by biographic events such as divorce or death of the spouse, which trigger mobility. Moreover, the absence of spouse/family may be a motive for mobility due to lack of commitment with inter-generational relationships and bonds between members of the same household. Regarding the family features, practically all of them have children (95%).

As regards care role variables, 22% of the older adults declare giving help to someone inside their social network (family, friend or neighbourhood). In contrast, 29% of the elderly Europeans admit that they need to be helped by someone to develop their daily routines. The older adults that declare to suffer a long-term illness exceed 50% of the sample.

The most important finding from the structural variables is that the most common type of tenure is ownership. 65% of the elderly Europeans are owners of

their dwellings; 24% of the population aged 65 and over are tenants or subtenants. For those who do not show residential mobility during old age, ownership is the main tenure type. However, for households older than the age of 65, which have made residential changes during old age, rental is the most common form of tenure. An increase in other types of tenure can also be observed.

From the spatial perspective, the different tenure structures of each country can be visualised (figure 5). The Mediterranean countries, in spite of a slight decrease in ownership for those who established their current dwelling after the age of 65, still maintain the highest values in Continental Europe in the two mobility categories.
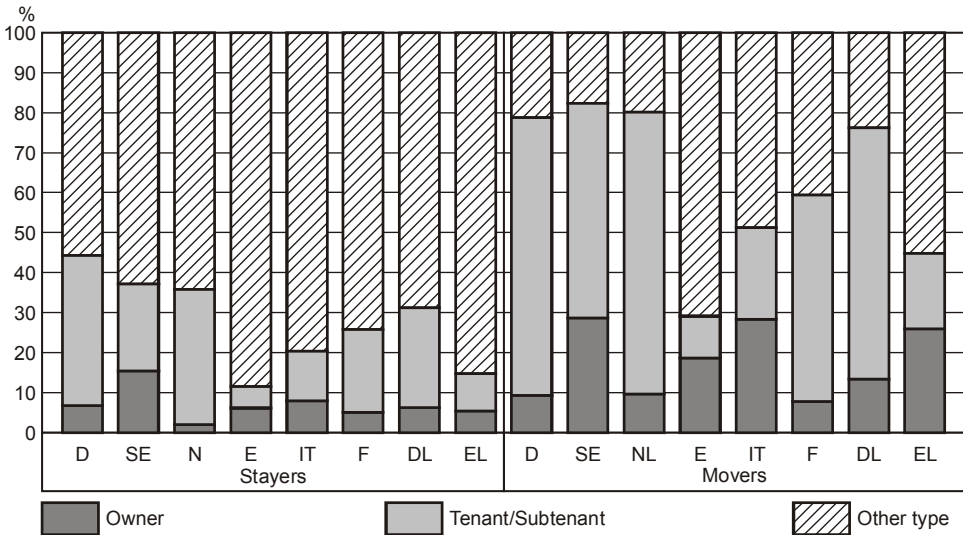
Fig. 5. Type of tenure by mobility status
Source: SHARE, wave

In Western European and Scandinavian countries the percentages of elderly people living under rental systems are much higher compared to the southern countries. Especially in the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark, people who rent during old age outnumber those living in the Mediterranean area. This trend is particularly significant in the population of older adults who established their current dwelling during old age. The category 'other types' also shows higher proportions of mobile elderly, mainly in Spain, Greece and Italy, where the rent free is a more common type of tenure, and in Sweden, where the proportion of older people living in cooperatives is higher.

Table 3 shows that percentages of elderly Europeans living in different areas are very similar, but slightly higher in small towns and rural areas.

6. THE PARAMETRIC MODEL

The results of the parametric model of the possibility to make a residential change after the age of 65 are presented in table 4. As it shows, gender is an important factor for relocation at older ages; the possibility of females to make a move after 65 is 21% higher than in the case of males. Regarding the marital status, the older population that has never been married is more likely to change their dwelling than those married. Widowed older adults also have more possibilities to change their location during old age. The type of household, with the exception of those older people who are living with family members other than their spouse or children, does not seem to have significant effect on the relocation choices.

Table 4. Proportional Hazard Model

Variable	Categories	Hazard Ratio	Std. Err.
Sex (Ref: Male)	Female	1.2155***	0.0585
Marital status (Ref: Married)	Never married	1.9841***	0.5009
	Divorced	1.1797	0.1418
	Widowed	0.6755***	0.0669
Household type (Ref: One person)	Couple alone	1.1578	0.1179
	With family	0.8739	0.0776
	With others	1.6237**	0.4133
Ref: having children	Not having children	1.0260	0.0191
Ref: to give help	Not give help	1.0981***	0.0136
Ref: to receive help	Not receive help	0.9219***	0.0121
Ref: to have a long-term illness	Not have long-term illness	1.0083	0.0112
Type of tenure (Ref: Owner)	Tenant / Subtenant	1.1878***	0.0469
	Others types of tenures	1.0926***	0.0481
Type of dwelling (Ref: House)	Farm	0.4169***	0.0650
	Building	1.0745	0.0583
	Special welling for elderly	0.4116***	0.0451
Area (Ref: Big city)	Suburbs	1.0196	0.0750
	Large town	0.9925	0.0686
	Small town	0.8093***	0.0601
	Rural area/village	0.8781	0.0724
Group of countries (Ref: Spain, Italy, Greece)	France, Germany	1.3143***	0.0835
	Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands	1.3528**	0.0640

* p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01. N = 6,545.
Source: SHARE, wave 1.

The model also shows that inter-generational exchange of support could affect the possibility to move during old age. On the one hand, when older people assume

the role of caregiver, they are less likely to make a change of dwelling. Thus, giving help to someone, mainly to relatives, appears as a constraint on mobility during old age. On the other hand, if older adults need to receive care the transition rate is higher compared with those who do not need any help in their daily routines. The results for those that have a long term illness are not significant.

The next variables examine the effect that macro level circumstances have on the moves after 65. As some studies have shown, the type of tenure has a significant influence on residential mobility (Rossi, 1955; Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Clark *et al.*, 2003; Feijten, 2005). Some studies point out that owners are less mobile than tenants or subtenants. These results confirm this trend; older adult tenants are 18% more likely to make a residential transition after 65. The results also show that older people living on farms or in dwellings with special features for the elderly are less likely to make a residential transition after 65 compared with those living in houses. People who live in residential complexes for older people, too, are less likely to move. The reason probably is that the residential move had already made to settle there. The model also shows that older adults living in small towns change residence more often than older adults living in a big city.

Regarding the spatial variable, the possibility of moving after 65 is higher in Northern or Western European countries than in the Mediterranean region; especially in Denmark, Sweden or the Netherlands, where the transition rate coefficient is 35% higher.

7. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

As the results have shown, the socio-cultural context of each country influences the residential patterns of older adults. One of the most relevant features of older adults' residential profiles in Continental Europe is diversity of behaviours depending on the reference region. At this point, it is correct to say that there are two main residential mobility trends in Continental Europe. Furthermore, a mixed trend can be identified as a third mobility pattern. There are countries which have a high rate of mobility. This group includes the population of over 65 years old in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands. These countries feature housing markets with a high level of rental systems, apart from a developed welfare state, which fosters a more dynamic residential behaviour for the elders (Boelhouwer and van der Heiden, 1993). Secondly, there is an intermediate trend including countries like France and Germany, which in spite of not having such high levels of residential changes like the above mentioned territories, have greater rates of mobility than the Mediterranean countries, especially around the stage of retirement.

Finally, the last trend is represented by Mediterranean countries, which show a profile of low mobility during old age. As a general conclusion, it could be

asserted that residential stability during old age is the main feature of residential dynamics of the elderly in the south of Europe. As Allen *et al*. (2004) pointed out, a combination of features is essential to understand this residential immobility trend of the elderly in Southern Europe. On the one hand, it is the importance of family when taking decisions on relocation choices, especially during old age, and on the other hand, the widespread extension of home ownership as a main tenure type in the residential systems of Southern Europe. Moreover, there is also an important lack of public policies exclusively addressing this population, which translates in the absence of residential alternatives to the private housing market.

At the same time, there is initial evidence to point out that the exchange of support among family members influences the mobility decisions of older people. As noted by Mulder (2007), the fact that family is the largest care provider at older ages amplifies the intensity of the linkage between older adults and their relatives to make decisions about mobility. Moreover, this connection between household members can not only generate mobility but can also limit it. According to the results, the care role that older people assume inside the household, as provider or recipient of care, affects the possibility to make a move in later life. As the literature supports, the residential behaviours of older adults are determined not only by their own preferences and needs, but also depend on their links with their family members.

The transformation of the socio-demographic profile experienced by the population of older adults in the last decades has encouraged researches seeking a more accurate understanding of the residential choices during old age and their effect on wellbeing. The study of older adults' residential patterns can serve as a relevant support to public policies that help improving the living context of those groups. Based on these findings, the general assumption that older adults rarely move must be questioned, at least in some European territories. At this point, it is fundamental to take into account the socio-cultural context of older population when analysing the mobility during old age, and therefore international comparisons become particularly useful. Such comparisons will help to relate the factors at macro level, such as the demographic structure or the housing market of each territory, and the processes at micro level which have an influence on decision-making, inter-generational relationships and biographical events. Another important future line of research is to deepen the knowledge of the factors that promote residential stability or residential mobility during old age with special attention on family relationships and the role of the welfare systems depending on the national context.

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RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF OLDER ADULTS IN THE DUTCH HOUSING MARKET: DO INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HOUSING ATTRIBUTES HAVE AN EFFECT ON MOBILITY?

Abstract: The ageing of the population will change many societies in unprecedented ways.The changing age composition does not only create a burden on existing income systems and health care systems, but also affects the geographical mobility of populations. The objective of this paper is to provide some first insights into the moving behaviour of older adults in the Netherlands. By using data of the Housing Research Netherlands (HRN) 2009 survey, it was possible to investigate whether or not later-life residential mobility is influenced by individual characteristics and housing attributes. The responses of migrants and non-migrants are compared by conducting several two-way-chi-square analyses. The results of these descriptive analyses demonstrate that migrants indeed differ from non-migrants and that these differences are mostly related to housing attributes.
Key words: mobility, residential behaviour, older adults.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the Netherlands, in the year 2011, 16% of the population was aged 65 and older. By the year 2040 this figure will rise to approximately 26% (CBS, 2011). Several factors contribute to the ageing of the Dutch population. An important factor is the increase in life expectancy. In general, improvements in health care and increasing prosperity have resulted in a steady expansion of the number of older adult people over the last 50 years. This trend is expected to be reinforced in the upcoming decennia with the coming of age of the baby boom cohort (those born between 1945 and 1970). This rise in the number of older adults will persist until approximately

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the year 2030, after which the number of older adults will drop due to the decreasing birth rates from the 1970s and onwards (van Iersel *et al.*, 2010).

The effect of these factors has been that the old-age dependency ratio, defined as the number of persons aged 65 and older as a percentage of the 20 to 64 year olds, gradually increased from 18.8% in 1970 to its current level of 25.2%. The old-age dependency ratio is expected to peak at 48.7% in 2040 (CBS, 2010). As the number and proportion of older people in our society changes, these processes will have numerous implications (Kim, 2011). The increase of older adults, together with a decrease in the number of younger people, will place an enormous burden on existing income systems, health care systems, social services and retirement programs. Older adults are likely to demand a wide array of new services to meet their unique and diverse needs (Choi and Dinse, 1998). The changing age composition will also affect the geographical mobility of populations (Plane and Rogerson, 1991), reshaping the physical environment as we know it (Kim, 2011).

This research aims to provide more insight into the residential moving behaviour of older adults in the Netherlands. This paper will first present theoretical frameworks which have been applied to the residential mobility of older adults. Next, the discrepancy in defining the older adults in the literature will be discussed. The paper will continue with several descriptive analyses demonstrating the difference between older adults that moved and older adults that did not move between the years 2007 and 2009. Lastly, some suggestions for future research are given.

2. THEORIES OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN LATER LIFE

Research into the residential moving behaviour of older adults often starts from the framework developed by Litwak and Longino (see Bloem *et al.*, 2008). Litwak and Longino (1987) suggest that three types of moves are typical in late life and that these moves coincide with significant life events. The first type of movement (i.e. retirement moves) entails the relocation of older adult after retirement and is motivated by a desire for amenities and comfort. The second type (i.e. comfort moves) centres on older adults moving closer to children or other family members able to help with care when one becomes less able to manage everyday tasks due to increased disability or worsening health (Pope and Kang, 2010). Finally, older adults might relocate to a nursing home or other institutional setting when care needs increase and institutional care is required because family caregivers are no longer able to provide the appropriate level of support (i.e. care moves) (Litwak and Longino, 1987; Longino *et al.*, 2008). Each type of movement is thought to occur at a successive point in the life course (Bloem *et al.*, 2008).

Another established theoretical framework is the push and pull framework, or Retirement-Migration-Model (Wiseman, 1980). Here moves of older adults

are categorised into those motivated by push factors and those motivated by pull factors. Push factors are 'the life events or circumstances that loosen an individual's attachment to his or her current residence and lead him or her to consider relocation' (Gonyea, 2006, p. 563). Common push factors include neighbourhood decline, the death of a spouse, and an inability to function in one's environment because of worsening health (Pope and Kang, 2010). Pull factors are 'life events or circumstances that occur at another location and draw an individual toward a new residence' (Gonyea, 2006, p. 563). Older adults might move for amenities, the opportunity to live closer to family or support network, or to have more affordable or safer housing (Bonvalet and Ogg, 2008). More often than not, older people move for a combination of reasons (Oswald *et al.*, 2002), such as economic security, family crisis, comfort, and health (de Jong *et al.*, 1995).

Both conceptual frameworks have guided recent research on the residential mobility of older adults (Walters, 2002). A different view on residential mobility can be derived from the framework put forth by Lawton and Nahemow (1973). This framework focuses on the fit between older adults and their living environment (Pope and Kang, 2010). According to Lawton and Nahemow (1973), a poor fit between older adults and their environment can result in extreme stress and burden. From this perspective, deteriorating competencies can lead to incompatibility between the individual and his or her housing, which can then result in additional health consequences (Pope and Kang, 2010). For instance, arthritis might lead to an inability to navigate stairs, increasing the likelihood of a fall and even greater physical disability (Erickson *et al.*, 2006). As a preventive measure, older adults might relocate to an environment that better fits their physical abilities, such as a single level home with no stairs (Pope and Kang, 2010). The importance a good fit is also illustrated by Gabriel and Bowling (2004, p. 675) who argue that living in a 'home and neighbourhood that is perceived to give pleasure' does significantly contribute to higher quality of life perceptions among older adults.

3. THE DUTCH HOUSING MARKET FOR OLDER ADULTS

Since the mid-1980s, 'the real-estate market for older adults' has been referred to by many terms including 'senior welfare industry', 'senior industry', 'mature market', and 'senior citizen market' (see e.g. Lazer, 1986; Greco, 1987). In addition to a plurality of terms, defining of the older adults market has also resulted in various age cut-offs (Kim *et al.*, 2003). Some define 'older adults' as people over 65 years of age; others have taken a broader approach and included people as young as 55 years (Axelson and Penfield, 1983; Moehrle, 1990; Schwenk, 1995). In addition to that, several age groups have been used (see Harrison, 1986; Täuber,

1983; Abdel-Ghany and Sharpe, 1997). This discrepancy in the different defini-
tions of the term 'older adults' may make generalised data difficult to interpret.
In general, a lower limit of 55 years of age is accepted when defining the 'older
adults market' (Shoemaker, 2000). In this paper the older adults market is defined
as 'people of 55 years of age and older who are consumers of housing products
and (social support/health care) services for older adults'.

The residential mobility of this population group is analysed by using data from
the Housing Research Netherlands (HRN) 2009 survey. This survey is set up to
provide more insight in the developments occurring on the Dutch housing market,
and is carried out every three years by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The HRN
data are based on a large cross sectional survey in which information is gathered
about the housing situation of people living in the Netherlands. Besides informa-
tion about the housing situation the survey also contains socio-demographic and
socio-economic information, as well as information about the mobility (inten-
tions) and housing preferences. The research population is representative of the
Dutch population aged 18 years and older, who are not living in an institution. The
HRN dataset of 2009 includes 78,071 observations, of which 29,129 persons are
aged 55 years or older.

4. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF THE DUTCH

A total of 11,809 persons in the HRN 2009 survey stated to have moved between
2007 and 2009. If we look at residential migration by age, it becomes clear that
the residential mobility peaks at the age group 25–34 (see figure 1). From previ-
ous studies it is known that those in their early twenties often undergo a rapid
sequence of changes in residence (Plane and Jurjevich, 2005). They complete
or leave university or college and typically make one or more early-career job
changes and alter their housing and household arrangements – switching partners,
entering into first marriages, and perhaps filing for first divorces. As adults pass
through their thirties and forties, mobility progressively ceases while people settle
into careers, conceive and rear children, buy houses, and pay mortgages (see, for
an overview Plane and Jurjevich, 2005).

It is often thought that the traditional retirement age of 65 is the peak age of late
life migration, but figure 1 demonstrates that a majority of older adults migrate
at an earlier age. It has become rather common for those in their fifties and early
sixties to contemplate later career job changes made in conjunction with later-life
migration (Plane and Jurjevich, 2005). From figure 1 it furthermore becomes clear
that when adults move, they tend to move within the municipality they are already
living in. This is even more so for those aged 55 years of older.
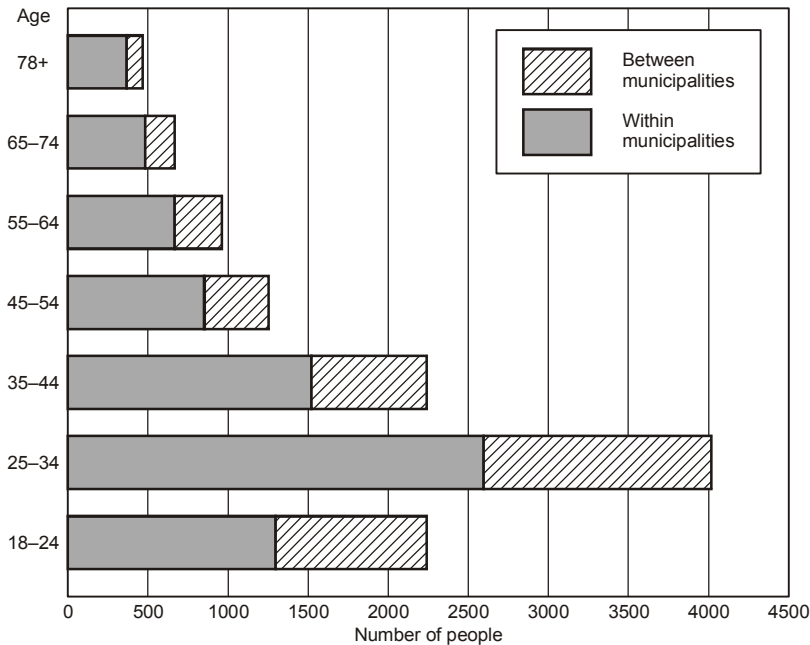
Fig. 1. Residential migration by age (HRN 2009)

The adults that do decide to move to another municipality, in general, move towards less populated municipalities (see figure 2). This pattern is even more visible for the older adults: the older people are, the more they tend to move away from larger municipalities. This pattern is in accordance with the geographical patterns of internal residential mobility of older adults found in other European countries. Previous research has shown that older adults (55+) are more likely to leave than to move to big cities (e.g. highly populated municipalities) (Fokkema *et al.*, 1996). It is often thought that this negative balance of residential mobility of older adults is caused by problems which big cities mainly have to contend with, such as decrease in the accessibility of the neighbourhood due to an increasing amount of traffic, and an increase in (fear of) crime. In addition, the majority of houses in the big cities are flats with no elevator, and the houses are relatively small. These could have a negative effect on the living conditions of the population in general and the older adults in particular. This is contrary to the hard-to-fight 'myth' where older adults only move towards larger urban areas in order to be closer to services and amenities (cf. Pope and Kang, 2010; Walters, 2002). Elderly have different motives for moving, either life course events or push and pull factor driven, which can also lead to settlement in smaller less-urban areas. Furthermore, in the Netherlands, services for elderly are not only concentrated in the higher order urban areas.
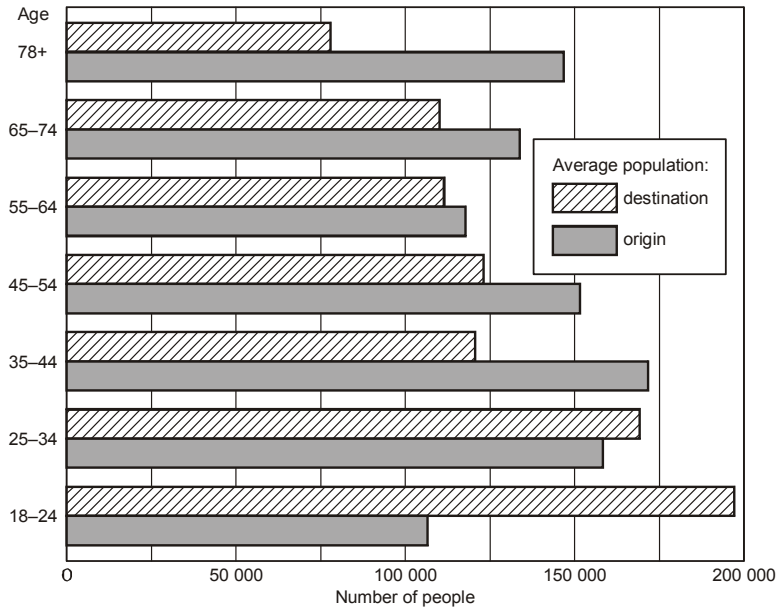
Fig. 2. Average population size of origin and destination municipalities
by age (HRN 2009)

5. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OLDER ADULT MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS

From the literature and figures above we expect the following developments in the migration behaviour of the Dutch older adults. With increasing age, the tendency to relocate will decrease. The propensity to move is, however, influenced by personal characteristics such as education, health status and life events (such as retirement). Next the personal characteristics, features of the dwelling and (changing) characteristics of the living environment can also act as triggers for relocation.

In order to test whether or not residential mobility is indeed influenced by individual, dwelling and living environment characteristics, the HRN 2009 data is examined by conducting several chi-square tests. A chi-square test is used to see if there is a relationship between two categorical variables. For this paper we cross tabulated the variable 'migration' with several categorical variables representing characteristics of the individual, of the dwelling, and of the living environment (see table 1). The variable migration has two categories: you either moved in the last two years (i.e. migrant) or you did not (i.e. non-migrant). The variables age, education, health, work status and household composition are related to the characteristics of the respondent. The variables tenure, type, size and level are related to the characteristics of the current dwelling.

Table 1. Results of the chi-square tests

Specification	P-value	
Migration * Age	0.16	
Migration * Education	0.36	
Migration * Health	0.00	*
Migration * Work status	0.00	*
Migration* Household composition	0.00	*
Migration * Tenure	0.00	*
Migration * Type	0.00	*
Migration * Size	0.00	*
Migration * Level	0.00	*
Migration * Urbanity	0.13	
Migration * Deprivation	0.00	*
Migration * Nuisance	0.00	*
Migration * Cohesion	0.05	*
Migration * Attachment	0.00	*
Migration * Nature	0.37	
Migration * Services	0.00	*

Lastly, the variables urbanity, deprivation, nuisance, cohesion, attachment, nature and services are included as characteristics of the living environment. By doing a two-way-chi-square analysis it is possible to compare if the responses of migrants and non-migrants in the HRN data of 2009 differ significantly.

The variable age consists of three categories: 'pre-older adults' (ages 55–64); 'young-older adults' (ages 65–74); and 'old-older adults' (ages 75 and over). The chi-square results demonstrate that there is no statistically significant relationship between the age distribution of older adults and migration. This indicates that the age distribution of migrants does not differ significantly from the age distribution of non-migrants (see figure 3).

Based on previous research we expected mobility to decreases with age (see Bonnet *et al*., 2010; de Jong, 2011). Although figure 3 clearly demonstrates that persons aged 65 years or older are indeed found to be less mobile than people aged between 55 and 64, it also demonstrates that migrants aged 55–64 are not overrepresented compared to non-migrants aged 55–64. The results of the chi-square test further indicate that the level of education of migrants does not differ significantly from the level of education of non-migrants. In general higher educated are more mobile than lower educated, but the distribution of higher educated among migrants does not differ from the distribution of higher educated among non-migrants.
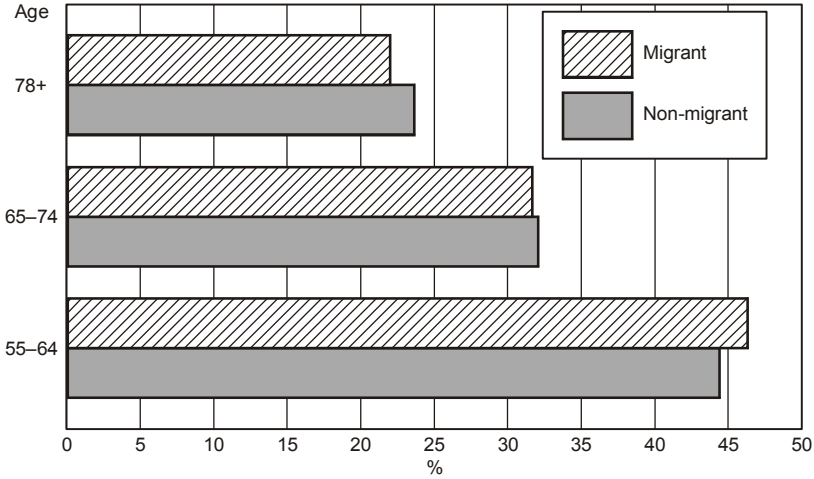
Fig. 3. Age distribution

There is a statistically significant relationship between health limitations of older adults and migration. According to Pope and Kang (2010), one of the most common push factors includes the inability to function in one's environment because of worsening health. Compared to non-migrants, migrants indeed (significantly) experience more moderate and severe health limitations (see figure 4), indicating that they might have moved as a reaction to their deteriorating health. However, in general we find that people with no health limitations are more mobile compared to people with moderate or severe health limitations. This could suggest that older adults moved in anticipation of getting older (i.e. deteriorating health).
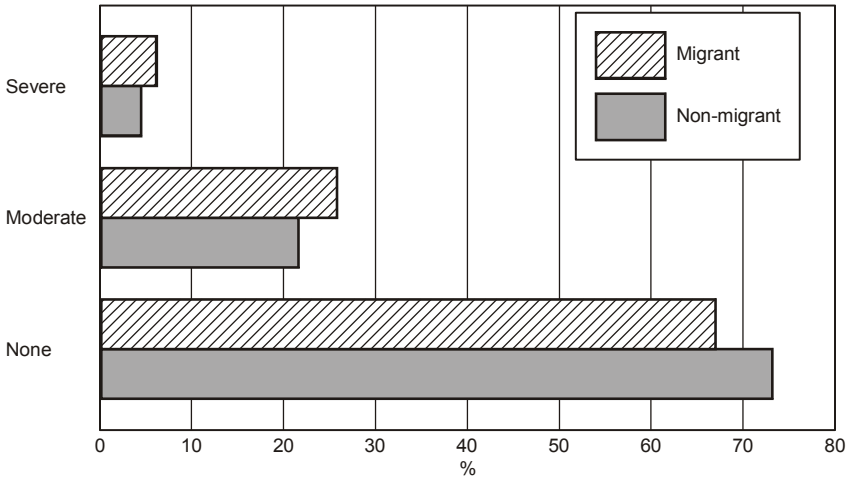
Fig. 4. Health limitations
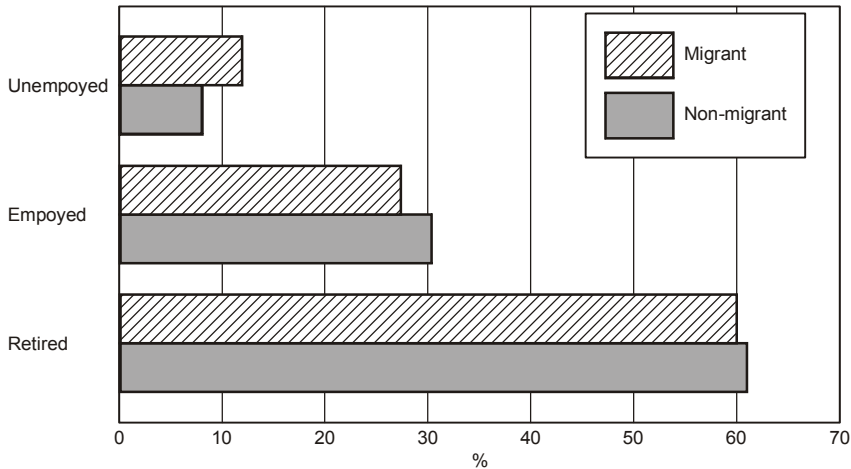
Fig. 5. Work status

In line with Litwak and Longino (1987), figure 5 demonstrated that retirees are more mobile than either employed or unemployed older adults. The distribution in work status significantly differs from the distribution of work status of non-migrants. Compared to non-migrants, migrants are more often unemployed and less often employed. The chi-square results further demonstrate that there is statistically significant relationship between the household composition of older adults and migration. The household composition of migrants differs significantly from the household composition of non-migrants. This significant difference in household composition is mostly due to the fact that migrants are more often single compared to non-migrants (45% vs 40%). The majority of migrants are pairs without children (48%).

All characteristics of the dwelling are significantly associated with the migration of older adults. This illustrates that the characteristics of the dwellings of migrants differ significantly from the characteristics of the dwellings on non-migrants. Compared to non-migrants, migrants more often occupy rental dwellings and less often own their house. The majority of migrants are public renters. There is also a statistically significant relationship between type of dwelling and late life migration. Among the migrants the majority lives in an apartment (68%), among the non-migrants the majority lives in a house (64%). In general, older adults predominantly reside in houses (e.g. single family homes). This illustrates that late life migrants show a remarkable difference in behaviour on the Dutch housing market.

Compared to non-migrants, migrants more often reside in smaller scaled dwellings (see figure 6). They also seem to prefer single level houses: 56% vs 31% for non-migrants. This result corresponds with Pope and Kang (2010), who claimed that older adults might relocate to environment that better fits their physical abilities, such as a single level home with no stairs, as a preventative measure.
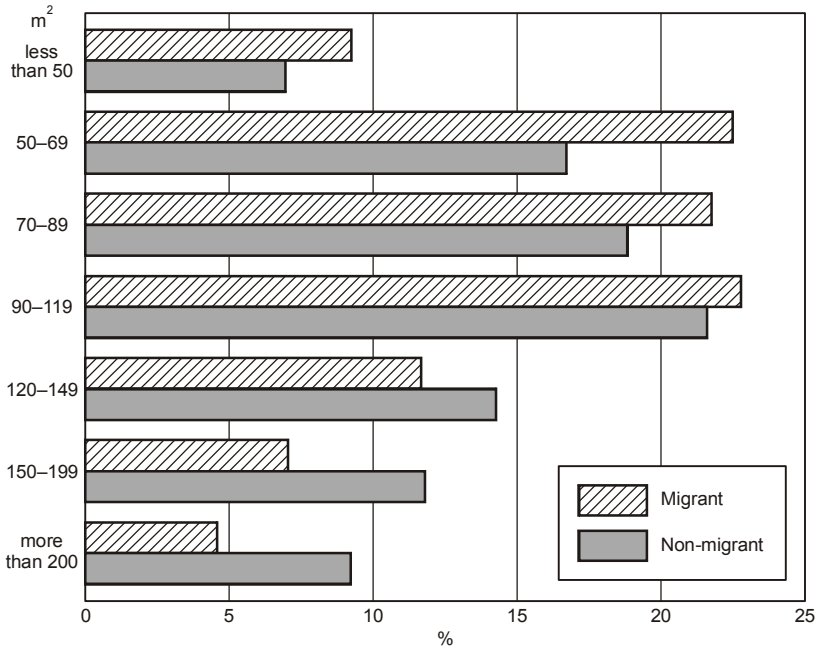
Fig. 6. Size of dwelling
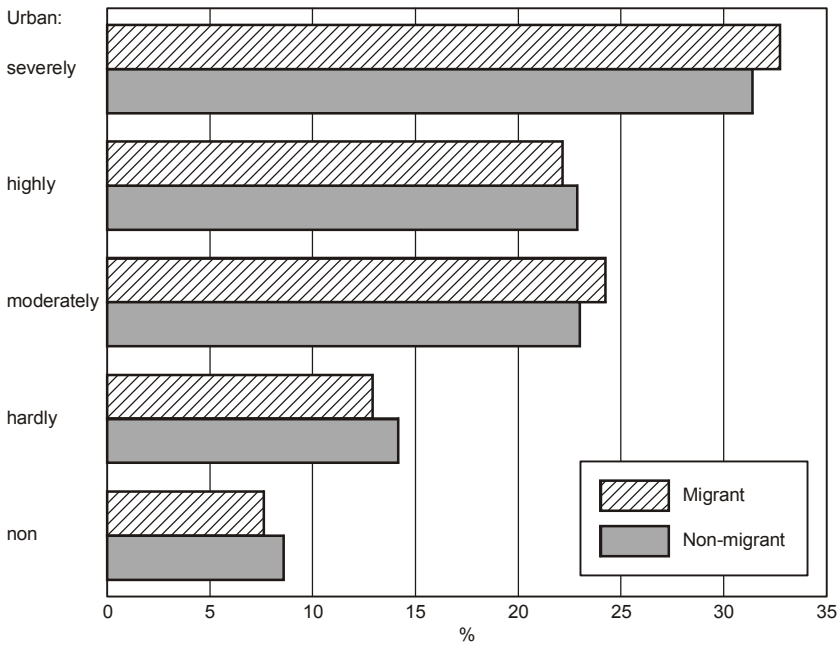
Fig. 7. Urban level of the municipality
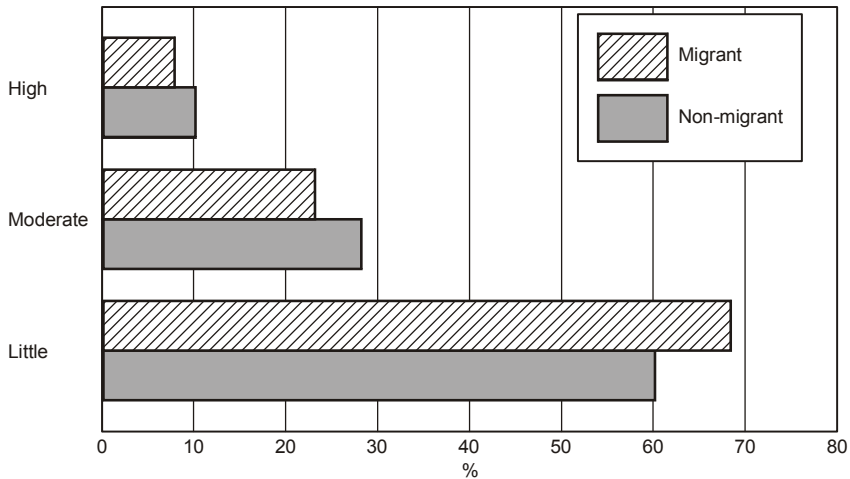
Fig. 8. Level of deprivation

The chi-square results demonstrate that there is no statistically significant relationship between the urban level of the municipality in which older adults reside and later-life migration (see figure 7). This indicates that the urban level of the municipality does not differ significantly among migrants and non-migrants. It is, however, interesting to see that a majority of the migrants report that they have moved towards severely urban municipalities. This is contrary to what we expected to find based on the pattern illustrated in figure 2. A possible explanation for this is that the relocations of older adults within the same municipality predominantly take place within the more urbanised municipalities. The older adults who decide to move to different municipality most probably decide to move to less urbanised municipalities. Compared to non-migrants, migrants live in neighbourhoods with significantly less deprivation (see figure 8), less nuisance and higher levels of social cohesion. This is in line with results found in previous research (see e.g. de Jong, 2011).

Not surprisingly, older adults that have moved in the last two years tend to be less attached to their current neighbourhood than older adults that did not move (see figure 9). Previous research indicates that one of the strongest influences on feeling at home at a specific location is the length of residence in an area (Bonaiuto *et al*., 1999). This could explain why migrants experience a significantly lower level of neighbourhood attachment. However, the majority of migrants (59%) did report that they feel attached to the neighbourhood they relocated in. This possibly means that later-life migrants are moving towards areas they have lived in before and therefore have positive sentiments (i.e. attachment) towards this area.
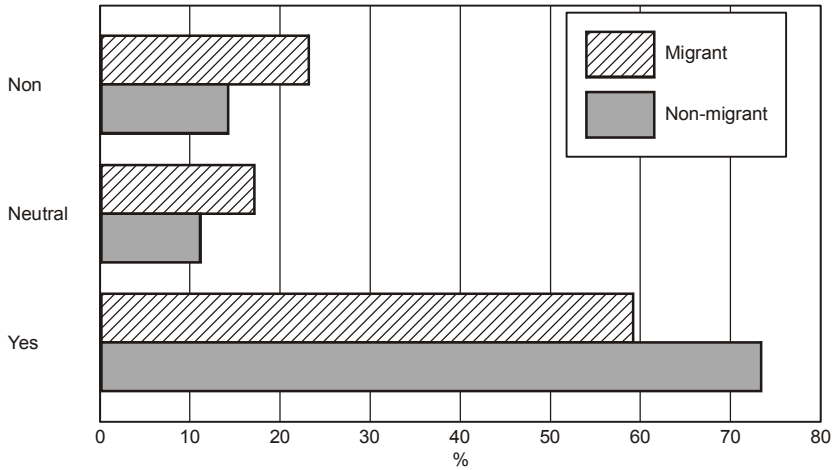
Fig. 9. Neighbourhood attachment

According to the literature overview the residential mobility of older adults can be motivated by a desire for amenities and comfort. Here you can think about natural amenities as well as amenities in the form of services. We found no evidence for the effect of nature. Migrants and non-migrants reported to be equally satisfied with the amount of nature in their neighbourhood (82% vs 81%). We did find an effect for services. Compared to non-migrants, migrants live in areas where there is a richer supply of services for elderly. However, the majority of migrants (79%) still moved to areas with little services for elderly. These results, therefore, do not confirm that older adults tend to move for amenities.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In the real estate market for older adults, one of the biggest challenges in the upcoming years is to provide suitable housing conditions. For the period 2006 to 2015 it has been estimated that there is a shortage of 406,000 houses in the Netherlands suitable for older adults (Sogelée and van Galen, 2007). This estimate is based on the current shortage of appropriate housing, the expected extra demand due the ageing of the Dutch population, as well as the expected extra demand due to fact that more and more older adults prefer to live extramurally (e.g. ageing in place). For the realisation of appropriate housing conditions for older adults, the Dutch government depends on the construction of so-called 'nultreden woningen' (i.e. single level dwellings) (van Iersel *et al*., 2010). The growth in the proportion of older adults in (Dutch) population is expected to continue after 2015, indicating that the current housing policy might not be sufficient in the long run. From this,

an important question is whether we should continue and intensify the current housing policy, or whether we should diversify the building of new dwellings for older adults? With respect to the indication of the obvious diversity in moving-age as well as diversity in background characteristics, the diversification of new-built dwellings clearly has the preference.

The contribution of this study is that we find evidence for differences in moving behaviour within the group of older adults. The two-way-chi-square analyses results from the HRN 2009 survey on the migration behaviour of Dutch older adults confirm that Dutch older adults do not behave the same in the housing market. The differences in residential moving behaviour can be ascribed to different attributes; individual as well as housing and living environment characteristics. These findings are in line with the expected results from the life course frame work (elderly tend to move when life-course events are apparent, such as retirement and health deprivation), the push-pull model (certain dwelling attributes can act as pull-factors, but neighbourhood decline can be seen as an important push factor). The results of these descriptive analyses do not reveal the specific motivations of older adults for relocation, but this will be addressed in future research.

Older adults are healthier, stay healthy for a longer time and perceive higher quality of life when living in a dwelling and neighbourhood that is perceived as pleasurable (Gabriel and Bowling, 2004). This underlines the importance of the current study and reflects the growing awareness that ageing requires timely and adequate reactions in (housing) policy. In order to contribute to a better grounding of housing policy with respect to the growing diversity within the older population, further insight into the diverse housing preferences and residential mobility patterns is necessary. Further research on the moving behaviour of older adults and their specific wishes for their dwelling and living environment can be done in different ways. Investigating the desired neighbourhood characteristics and dwelling specific characteristics by older adults can be done through large surveys (e.g. conjunct analyses, ranking, stated preferences) and can be elaborated by in-depth interviews and/or focus groups where older adults can discuss the current housing stock and indicate which features do not conform to their wishes. Qualitative research might also help older adults 'predict' their own wishes for the future.

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Massimo BRICOCOLI*, Elena MARCHIGIANI**

GROWING OLD IN CITIES. COUNCIL HOUSING ESTATES IN TRIESTE AS LABORATORIES FOR NEW PERSPECTIVES IN URBAN PLANNING

Abstract: Significant ageing processes are affecting many regions across Europe and are changing the social and spatial profile of cities. In Trieste, Italy, a joint initiative by the public Health Agency and the Social Housing Agency has developed a programme targeting conditions that allow people to age at home. The outcomes of the programme stress the need to redesign and reorganise the living environment as a way to oppose to the institutionalisation of older people in specialised nursing homes. Based on intensive field work, this contribution presents and discusses the original and innovative inputs that the case study is offering to the Italian and European debate.

Key words: ageing, council housing estates, public action, urban planning, welfare policies, Trieste, Italy.

1. AGEING AND URBAN CHANGE: EMERGING PATTERNS AND ISSUES

Demographic changes are among the most striking transformations that European cities face in the near future (Hungarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2011).[1] An increase in the average age, associated with the decline of the young and working population, will affect the profile of our societies and have important effects on the arrangement of healthcare services and the living environment.

In several European countries the trends of demographic decrease and ageing processes observed in depopulating regions (such as rural and mountainous areas)

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[1] For the 27 EU Member States, between 2008 and 2060, forecasts predict an increase of the average age from 40.4 to 47.9 years. An increase is also to be expected in the share of population over 65 years from 17.1% to 30% (with a growth in absolute numbers from 84.6 to 151.5 million people) and in the population over 80 from 4.4% to 12.1% (corresponding to a growth from 21.8 to 61.4 million people) (Giannakouris, 2008).

have begun to generate significant problems regarding accessibility of services, especially for people suffering from reduced mobility. Even more critical situations can currently be recognised in suburban areas. Sprawled settlements imply difficulties for an extensive provision of services. Mobility heavily depends on individual car use and the overall settlements layout turns out to be unable to meet the demands of new demographic and social structures (Beauregard, 2006; Siebel, 2010). All over Europe, the economic base which propelled suburbanisation has recently been facing a severe crisis. As some researchers have assessed (Siebel, 2004, 2010; Menzl, 2010), the new organisation of labour as well as demographic change are two of the relevant factors that make the city a more suitable environment to live in. Renewed interest in dense urban contexts as places for living is largely due to improved accessibility of services, from healthcare to culture (Schüller *et al*., 2009; Breckner, Menzl, 2011). However, within cities, some different conditions have to be stressed. While older adults with higher incomes can afford to reorganise their housing arrangements so as to have better access to services, major challenges in terms of public policies concern those who cannot easily reorganise their housing condition and, specifically, those living in council estates where spatial decay and severe social and economic disadvantages are concentrated (Power *et al.*, 2010).

In Italian cities, as regards housing conditions for older adults, two main directions can be seen: market-led initiatives resulting in the construction of nursing homes (which nevertheless benefit from public co-funding) and public policies and programmes supporting ageing at home (Carabelli and Facchini, 2010). While across the country the market for nursing homes is registering growth, research conducted on institutionalised residential solutions for older adults stresses their effects in terms of impoverishment of social quality, reduction of individual capabilities, high costs of construction and management expenses as well as high costs borne by the users (Bifulco, 2003). As a matter of fact, a differential treatment of people's living environment also entails important factors such as strong social polarisation and exclusion of people suffering from disadvantaged economic conditions who cannot afford to access nursing homes (Hillcoat-Nallétamby *et al*., 2010). Nevertheless, the inputs offered by critical considerations have not curbed the expansion of the profitable activity connected to the displacement of older adults to large residences (Bifulco, 2005; Bricocoli and Savoldi, 2010).

While ageing at home is still widely diffused in Italy, for many older adults it may be the only option, although not ensuring wellbeing when adequate services and contextual support are lacking. Moreover, due to current demographic change, fewer individuals can benefit from the support of family networks on which a weak welfare system has relied until recently (as in most southern European countries) (Allen *et al*., 2004). The main point of discussion therefore concerns the conditions in which the home environment functions as a place which promotes autonomy (Kummerow, 1980). The actions aimed at supporting the autonomy of the older adults still focus on basic home health services. In this sense,

a lot has to be investigated to understand how joint innovation in the provision of health care services and in the redesign of the urban living environment may provide quality of life and wellbeing for those ageing at home (Hillcoat-Nallétamby *et al*., 2010). In spite of the relevance given to these themes by European policies and programmes (European Commission, 2010a, b; AAL, 2010), the development of integrated socio-spatial policies has been limited (Laboratorio Città Pubblica, 2009). In Italy, urban studies and planning research are not yet focusing on the effects and perspectives that demographic change will have on cities in terms of the reorganisation of the built environment. Local governments, urban planning and urban design seem to highly underestimate these issues as well.[2]

The aim of this paper is to discuss how urban design can help to improve the conditions of people ageing at home. The hypothesis is that space-based interventions – albeit important – must be intertwined with the rethinking of public policies dedicated to community development and innovation in social and healthcare services. In reference to these issues, the case of Trieste emerges for its innovative features (Monteleone, 2007) and appears to be an interesting front-line laboratory; both at the national and international level. On the one hand, it is anticipating some demographic phenomena that will be mainstream across the nation.[3] On the other hand, it has been developing an extraordinary set of experiences in the promotion of health through the dislocation in the whole city of public community services, providing a highly territorialised orientation of local welfare and health policies. For these very reasons, we have been putting Trieste under observation for some years, promoting research and field work in the form of design laboratories developed in different neighbourhoods by joint initiatives of the Department of Civil Engineering and Architecture of the University of Trieste and of the Department of Architecture and Planning of the Polytechnic of Milan.[4]

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[2] Given the lack of awareness and discussion of these issues at the national policy level, it is up to the local authorities to develop concepts and policies (Ministero del Lavoro, della Salute e delle Politiche Sociali, 2009; Pennacchi, 2009). In this sense it is relevant to underline that, in Italy, health and social policies are the direct responsibility of regional governments, providing a variety of conditions and solutions across the country.

[3] Among the Italian provinces, Trieste displays the highest rate of older adults over 65 (30.2% of the population; the average at the national level being 20%) and the highest proportion of persons over 80 (11.2% against an average of 6% at the national level). Equally relevant is the gap between other indicators such as the ageing index (the number of over 65 in every 100 people under 15 years old: 250 in Trieste, 144 in Italy) (Istat, 2010; Mania, 2010).

[4] Between 2005 and 2008, ASS1 was among the partners of the University of Trieste in the national research programme *The 'Public City' as a Design Laboratory*, in the frame of which several workshops were organised in some micro-areas (Marchigiani, 2008; LaboratorioCittàPubblica, 2009). In 2008, the ASS1, the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Trieste, the School of Architecture and Society of the Polytechnic of Milano and the Faculty of Humanities of the University Cà Foscari of Venezia organised the international workshop *Living in Giarizzole* (coordinators Massimo Bricocoli and Elena Marchigiani; Bricocoli and Marchigiani, 2009). The Summer school organised in Zindis in 2010 within the EU Intensive Programme is the last event of this series.

More specifically, we will refer to the field work conducted during an international summer school promoted in September 2010 in the form of a design workshop. Investigations and design proposals have concentrated primarily on the intertwining between the dynamics of structural change in the local population, housing conditions and the living environment, and the emergence of new demands and design proposal for the reorganisation of space in council housing estates. Results show to what extent changing the spatial conditions which allow ageing at home can effectively improve people's wellbeing and counteract the growing demand for health care and specialised residential solutions.

2. WELLBEING AND AGEING AT HOME: A QUEST FOR INTEGRATION IN LOCAL PUBLIC POLICIES

Devices oriented to promote ageing at home are too often formulated on the basis of two separate perspectives. On the one hand, efforts are made to develop solutions for the refurbishment and upgrading of flats according to ergonomic layouts and home automation techniques (Huber, 2008). On the other hand, the focus is on health and social assistance to individuals, without any concern for the role that community networks and a good living environment play for the wellbeing of the older adults (AAL, 2010). However, the assumption that the urban and living environment are relevant and concrete ingredients of welfare policies has to be viewed in the frame of a more general reinterpretation of the set of values that define wellbeing in other terms than the limited measure of GDP (Bauman, 2008; The Economist, 2010). The purpose of creating conditions that allow ageing at home as long as possible is actually and urgently calling for new ideas on how the reorganisation of the physical urban environment may support the innovation of the provision of social and health services in the community, as well as the promotion of policies supporting social innovation and targeting the reduction of inequalities (Barton *et al.*, 2003; Mac Callum *et al.*, 2009; Tornaghi and Vicari Haddock, 2009).

The conditions producing urban coexistence are in fact significantly influenced by the spatial effects of social and health policies. Services can be either specialised and closed to the context or territorialised and oriented to the development of local capabilities (Sen, 1985). This strongly depends on policy design and on the allocation of public funding (European Commission – Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs, 2009). In terms of the spatial organisation of services, there is an evident need for a more careful consideration and analysis of the interconnections between urban transformation processes, welfare, planning and urban development policies (Borlini and Memo, 2008; Cremaschi and Eckardt, 2011). This perspective is even more relevant today as

the availability of public economic resources is shrinking. Therefore, the choice of shifting existing expenditure from traditional pillars into more innovative policy options is to be considered highly strategic by the state (Power *et al*., 2010). The reallocation of funding from one sector to another may obviously produce significant conflicts among different departments as well as among different lobbies and stakeholders, but it is an important option in terms of developing new policies without additional funding. An example of what could be called 'zero fund policies' is the case of converting public money spent in sanitary health care (institutionalisation in hospitals plus pharmaceutical subscriptions) into investments for health promotion mainly aimed at providing sustainable conditions for ageing at home.

All over Europe, the urgency of overcoming ordinary and sectoral approaches in favour of a more integrated public action has been particularly stressed in the case of council housing estates. In social housing neighbourhoods the design and provision of welfare policies are more visible and have often produced social, economic and environmental marginalisation (Barton *et al*., 2003; Power *et al*., 2010) but neighbourhoods also performed as laboratories in which social innovation and community development have been fostered (Moulaert *et al*., 2010).

2.1. The Focus on Council Housing Estates

In Italy these large parts of the 'public city' have been the most relevant contexts so far to analyse the wellbeing of people ageing at home and social marginalisation dynamics (Cremaschi and Eckardt, 2011; Laboratorio Città Pubblica, 2009; Zajczyk and Mugnano, 2005). Here, in fact, the social and economic composition of the population is a result of the rules for the allocation of dwellings. Given the systematic shortage of and, at the same time, the high demand for low-cost housing for rent, housing policies tend to concentrate on the most disadvantaged social groups in these areas (Bifulco and Bricocoli, 2010). Further, contradictions result from the mismanagement of council housing estates, which very rarely allows a good matching between the housing need and the available units. Many older adults, for example, live in flats which are not suited to their needs but cannot be easily swapped. Others are newcomers who are allocated dwellings without considering the proximity to social and family networks that could support them.

Research on council housing estates characterised by high rates of older adult tenants also provides an opportunity to rethink the provision of services and the spatial layouts of the living environment which would benefit the whole local community.

These are relevant points of discussion in the face of the already mentioned tendency (market-driven) to design standardised solutions based on a uniform model of ageing and of the older adults. Field work and research projects show

that differences often increase in the second half of life (Huber, 2008). This evidence forces a rethinking of the way in which houses and public spaces are organised in relation to the needs of a diverse population. The emergence of diversified demands concerning the urban environment, as well as mobility and transportation and open spaces, induces a shift of attention towards the quality of services and places in the public realm (not only in the private dimension of dwelling), and thus calls for a redefinition of design and urban policies with reference to a plurality of users and life styles at the neighbourhood level (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Cremaschi and Eckardt, 2011).

3. TRIESTE: A FRONT-LINE FOR SOCIAL INNOVATION

As far as the redesign of health care is concerned, the case of Trieste can be recognised as particularly advanced. For some years reconverting resources and shifting budgets from the sanitary pillar to integrated and area-based social projects have been set as strategic objectives for the regeneration of council housing estates.[5] In the estates owned and managed by the Public Housing Agency (Azienda Territoriale per l'Edilizia Residenziale – ATER) high concentrations of older adult people,[6] loneliness and poverty are often combined with urban and environmental decay and low quality of public spaces. Growing demands in the provision of care have been the responsibility of the health and welfare services, not only in cases of acuteness and emergency, but mainly for long-term care and assistance. Here, as in other contexts characterised by high ageing rates, the massive increase of chronic pathologies is one of the main challenges for the health system, and sets the evidence of a crisis in terms of economic sustainability and effectiveness of interventions and services mostly tuned on medical interventions provided by specialised institutions or agencies. The public Local Health Agency of Trieste (Azienda per i Servizi Sanitari nº 1 Triestina – ASS1) recognised, after the first survey in 2005, that the focus on healthcare could also be reconsidered in terms of creating conditions for wellbeing. The strategic decision of addressing this issue as a main drive to redesign the local welfare system may represent a point of interest concerning the Trieste case study for an international audience (Bifulco *et al.*, 2008; Bricocoli, 2010; Breckner and Bricocoli, 2010).

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[5] The stock of council housing in Trieste is significantly larger than the average in Italy: the number of tenants currently corresponds to 9% of the population in the whole Province (about 21,000 people) and to 36% of the people living in rented flats.
[6] In council housing estates 33% of the tenants are over 65 (of which 50% are over 75); 47% of this population has an income at the lowest level and mainly consists of single women (ATER, 2010).

The preconditions for this innovative impulse to reset health and welfare policies in Trieste can be traced back to the pioneering process which led to the closure of the psychiatric hospital. Starting in 1971, the Trieste movement for de-institutionalisation succeeded in the final closure of the hospital, as well as in the design and approval in 1978 of the national reform of mental health (Law 180, the so called 'Basaglia law'[7]) (Basaglia, 2005). This reform stated that no psychiatric asylum should exist in Italy and introduced the reference to a territorial health care system. Rejecting the concept of the mental hospital as a closed institution (Goffman, 1961) called for the construction of new institutions. Over the years this has implied the activation of alternative territorial services, organising homes, job opportunities, places for leisure activities, social life and health care. The involvement of a multiplicity of different institutional and non institutional actors called for intense interdisciplinary work in many different places and organisations in the city (Rotelli, 1999; Breckner and Bricocoli, 2011). At the same time, the de-institutionalisation project marked the shift from a sanitary attitude in curing (not only mental) illness to a focus on social and spatial determinants of health (de Leonardis, 1990). The intervention on the social habitat was therefore recognised as a decisive element for building strategies aimed to promote health and social wellbeing, and created concrete conditions for the shift from 'places of care-taking' to 'taking care of places' (de Leonardis and Monteleone, 2007).

4. THE HABITAT-MICROAREAS PROGRAMME

In Trieste, the organisation of a territorialised health system embedded in the different city districts is actually providing guidance for a whole set of services – alternative to hospitalisation – concerning the health of citizens. The focus on the living environment as the most important setting of social and health practices has become a major reference for public action.

In 2005, focusing the attention on conditions that contribute to feeding a growing demand for health care supported the activation of the experimental programme *Habitat-Microareas. Health and Community Development*, promoted by ASS1 with ATER and the Municipality. This programme first covered ten 'micro-areas' (today they are fourteen): parts of the city of Trieste, with an average population of 1,000 inhabitants, characterised by a significant presence of council housing estates and of particularly high levels of health and social problems. The decision to combine and integrate the work of public institutions usually in charge of

[7] Named after Franco Basaglia, the director of the Trieste psychiatric hospital who has been leading the movement.

supplying sectoral services was taken on the basis of different strategic objectives. These mainly revolved around the need to optimise actions aimed to allow people to age at home and to support their autonomy, in order to reduce social and economic costs generated by a prolonged stay in hospitals or nursing homes. In this sense, Habitat-Microareas offered the institutions involved a relevant opportunity to revise their organizational structure and everyday practices, thus promoting a reorientation of welfare policies in a situation of absolute lack of extraordinary funds and shrinking public funding.

Today, the programme has its own on-site reference point in each micro-area, usually in a flat owned by ATER, where the presence of different actors allows a stronger collaboration. Here, a referent for ASS1 (usually a nurse), personnel from social cooperatives paid by ATER and Municipality, teams of volunteers work on site with the inhabitants.

In order to meet a demand for health services which is potentially limitless, Habitat-Microareas has adopted a radical change of perspective: the citizen is no longer seen as a mere passive consumer of services, but as a carrier of resources that can be activated in the construction of his/her own plan of wellbeing. In this sense, bringing services inside the neighbourhoods and near their inhabitants has allowed the unfolding of a capillary work of direct contact and knowledge of health conditions and needs. On the basis of this work it was possible to articulate different forms of intervention, to coordinate various services acting on the individual and the family, to better manage and maintain public open spaces, to enable opportunities for interaction and socialisation and to recognise the capabilities available in each context (Sen, 1985; Appadurai, 2004). For example, the programme promoted the conversion of standard individual physiotherapy treatments into gym groups led by a specialised professional, to self-organised exercising in open air community spaces and then to aspire to an adequate space which could be used as a gym all the year round. According to a similar approach, the daily home delivery of individual lunch packages was partially substituted by the support to shared cooking and self-organised collective dinners.

Targeting more equity in access to health care and social assistance has therefore resulted in the construction of highly customised paths that, avoiding standardised and universalising modes of service delivery, primarily focus on increasing the quality of everyday life of people with higher frailty, such as the older adults. For the public actor, positive results have proved to be particularly evident not only in terms of improving general health, but also of reducing some important sections of public expenditure. Available data assess the effectiveness and the efficiency of the activation of a large and diverse set of alternative treatments at home, made possible by the reorientation of medical costs (also induced by the inappropriate consumption of drugs) towards interventions for community development and improvement of the living environment.

5. REFLECTIONS ON THE SPECIFIC CASE OF THE BORGO ZINDIS COUNCIL ESTATE

The Habitat-Microareas programme developed in Trieste has helped to strengthen the awareness that the wellbeing of those ageing at home does not only depend on their physical health and the proximity to care services, but also on the spatial configuration of flats, buildings and even the entire neighbourhood (Barton *et al.*, 2003). Within the actions promoted by ASS1, taking care of places has become a real leitmotif. It highlights the strategic role of constructing intersections between welfare policies and the redesign of the living environment, working on the material dimension of space as a key ingredient for the development of people's capabilities (Appadurai, 2004; Bohn, 2008).

In the last years, the motivation to further investigate the practical implications that these issues have on the reorganisation of urban space led to the promotion of joint initiatives in which ASS1 and universities worked together in micro-areas and actively involved the inhabitants. Research activities were structured through an exchange between the knowledge of different institutions and disciplines, as a way of supporting and testing public action's approaches to the construction of new spaces for health and social services. Field work was often organised in the form of design 'laboratories', in which qualitative interviews, surveys, extensive photo reportage and mapping of social practices in the use of private and common spaces were joint with design oriented activities aiming at a redesign of private and public spaces which would support the improvement of everyday living conditions. In the framework of these activities, the most recent is a design workshop organised within an international summer school, held in 2010 and specifically dedicated to investigate the relationships linking processes of ageing, transformations of living environment and spatial reorganisation of services. As part of the three-year programme *Demochange Cities* funded by the EU,[8] the summer school identified its context of analysis and design in the council housing estate named Borgo Zindis located in the outskirts of Muggia (Trieste), where the activation of the Habitat-Microareas programme is scheduled. For two weeks, in collaboration with ASS1 and the local Municipality, 30 students (organised in five different multidisciplinary teams) and 5 professors of sociology, architecture and urban planning from the Universities of Milan, Trieste, Vienna, Cluj-Napoca, Hamburg and Nicosia have been involved in the development of surveys, qualitative interviews, focus groups and meetings with the residents. The

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[8] The EU Intensive Programme *Demochange Cities* is coordinated by Massimo Bricocoli; the summer school held in Trieste in 2010 was coordinated by Elena Marchigiani. The other partner universities are represented by: Ingrid Breckner (HafenCity University Hamburg), Rudolf Poledna (University of Cluj), Alessandra Swiny (University of Nicosia), Gesa Witthoeft (Vienna University of Technology).

aim of the field work was to explore in practice how to redesign collective open spaces to make them more suitable to concretely support the wellbeing of the older adults. Even though many other issues and spatial components could be considered (in particular the redesign of the interiors of flats and the thresholds between buildings and plots), the target has been identified in the reorganisation of public open spaces. The first draft concepts developed by the students were discussed in two major public meetings with representatives from the different institutions and a large group of inhabitants. The intense debate provided reactions and suggestions for the development of five different proposals which were validated in a final meeting. The aim was to provide new inputs for integrating work of the Habitat-Microareas programme and the upgrading of collective areas that ATER is going to start in the frame of an EU Italy-Slovenia cross-border cooperation project.

During the field work, the direct contact with the inhabitants and their daily lives made the need to revise some commonplace and cultural *clichés* that reduce the processes of ageing to rigid categorisations very clear. A main insight concerned a deeper understanding of the various situations, demands and resources that are hidden behind the standard use of the category 'older adults'. The probability of reaching the end of the phase of active and self-sufficient life cannot be simplistically reduced to a generalised age line. It rather must be seen in the biography of each person and be contextualised.

Even in situations characterised by a high concentration of older people, such considerations put into evidence how the organisation of spaces and services cannot be reduced to providing solutions specifically geared to the treatment of the cases judged to be more extreme. Nonetheless, the latter attitude still seems predominant in interventions conceived 'to the size of the older adults'. As the general standards used in the design of flats and public spaces generally continue to refer to conditions of normality according to the parameters of an ideal image of user (male, adult and healthy), so those applied to the design of the living environment for the older adults are very much guided by a so called *geronto-functionalism* (Auer, 2008). An approach which translates into solutions – again developed according to a merely quantitative and technical perspective – exclusively oriented towards the removal of the physical barriers to the mobility of another ideal user (this time, old and, therefore, disabled).

The direct contact with the neighbourhood highlighted a variety of requests. While the older adults did express some specific needs, the wider discussion with the inhabitants insisted on the design of spaces appropriate to the needs of all, able to accommodate people of different ages, physical and mental health, gender, life styles, and income levels (Sandercock, 2000; Paba, 2010). In rethinking the large green areas of Borgo Zindis (which are seen by residents – particularly older ones – as a factor qualifying the neighbourhood) the task was thus to abandon discriminatory approaches. Urban public spaces were considered with reference

to their relational identity (World Health Organisation, 2007); in the proposals for design intervention they were reorganised as places where people can deploy life outside their flats and whose real performances may support community development the activation of the capabilities of the inhabitants. The final public meeting aimed at discussing the design proposals definitely validated this re-interpretation as an aspiration of many inhabitants.

The photo reportage and the mapping of the uses and practices of space (de Certeau, 1980) developed in the first part of the field work also revealed that, beyond the standard public spaces, a whole set of smaller and less visible spaces are used and arranged for specific activities mostly by the older adults. That was the case of a dark cellar re-adapted for gatherings and playing cards, as well as of the informal appropriation of little portions of public space for private gardening, or of the several 'open-air sitting rooms' arranged with old furniture. While these informal practices represent a specific and implicit call for a change in the organisation of open spaces, they raise more general issues in the context of a council housing estate. Tailoring the redesign of common spaces to the aspirations of some tenants has in fact to face the requirements of the general and public purpose of the housing complex. The inhabitants, through their creative practices, stress the inadequateness of a standardised and in-differentiated design of open spaces. On the other side, the necessity to overcome individual appropriation of public space and of supporting collective management emerges as a task for innovative neighbourhood policies (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010).

In this sense, the discussions held with local actors and inhabitants made evident the potentials of an action matching the improvement and redesign of open spaces with the reorganisation of healthcare services at the community level. Moreover, new suggestions for design interventions emerged from the work on Borgo Zindis; they refer to issues that are too often ignored by projects on public spaces. It is the case of actions improving the sense of orientation in urban space and the recognition of single blocks of flat, whereas the aim of making people feel more autonomous and safer in their movements was joint with that of facilitating the arrival at destination of friends and visitors. Equally important turned out to be the reorganisation of a network of pedestrian walkways, designed to connect the stops of the public transport to the most significant places and equipments inside the neighbourhood. Such interventions can have a significant impact on the ability and willingness of people to move out of their houses. Along the walkways, the creation of spaces where to relax outdoors – preferably in the shade and on comfortable seats – was discussed and proposed as an opportunity for social relations also based on chance encounters.

The intensive field work and the interactions with the tenants finally produced a general qualification of the demands of spatial intervention. Far beyond the standard image of a circle of benches under the shadow of a beautiful tree (just to quote one of the most stereotyped visions), the inhabitants of Borgo Zindis raised

a quest for higher quality and variety of open spaces suitable for everyday individual and collective practices, as well as for exceptional and entertaining events.

Another remarkable need was that of spaces for collective uses as the support to new forms of community welfare. Considering that flats are often small and inadequate, the redesign of ground floor spaces may allow to carry out different activities, co- and self-organised by tenants: meeting friends, organising parties, dancing, gardening, cooking and eating together. These activities can contribute to break the isolation of people and, with the support of the operators of the Habitat-Microareas programme, may further evolve in the construction of forms of association and of initiatives of mutual help.

6. TOWARDS THE DESIGN OF NEW WELFARE SPACES

As witnessed elsewhere in Europe, the public policies and activities performed in the council housing estates of Trieste display significant relationships between the regeneration of spatial and social environments, the personalisation within those contexts of care services, the improvement of health conditions, the decrease of the costs for hospitalisation. These experiences offer therefore a concrete possibility to understand and evaluate the innovation perspectives that policies and projects can develop to face the challenges of ageing processes (Moulaert *et al.*, 2010; Huber, 2008).

In terms of the reorganisation of social and health services and with a view to strengthening their connections with the transformation of housing environments, the Habitat-Microareas programme is testing the sustainability (also in economic terms) of a new approach to public action. This approach invests in the territorialisation and specialisation of services in order to support the activation of local communities in the design and development of public policies, as an alternative to a mere counter position of welfare state and market (de Leonardis, 2011). From a public action perspective, it is also to be underlined that, in Trieste, the transformation in the provision of social and health services was not simply based on the self-organisation capacity of individuals and families. On the contrary, it occurred within the guidance of a very sensitive leadership which managed the convergence of different actors and actions (top down and bottom up, public and private). On the one hand, the leadership was mainly expressed in terms of clear identification of strategic objectives to be deeply rooted in the routines of the everyday life of people and services; on the other, the micro-areas were developed as intermediate bodies between citizens and institutions, as permanent laboratories and learning contexts for innovation.

As the design workshop school in Borgo Zindis showed, not less interesting are the challenges that ageing at home offers to the redesign of urban spaces and to

the regeneration of council housing estates. Standing on the frontline of urban and housing research, these challenges highlight issues that, at least in Italy, appear still largely unexplored. An issue that is often not taken into consideration in the design of spaces for older people is, for instance, the demand for places for spending time together. These demands appear to be strongly related to the inhabitants' biographies, as well as to the specific features of the context and to the social asset of the neighbourhood, stressing the limits of standardised and top-down solutions too simply based on age discrimination. Working on the multiple and contextual relations between space and people, the reflections and experiences developed in Trieste clearly show how the challenges set by the current demographic change require further context related investigations in order to provide more articulated and effective solutions in the reorganisation of the living environment and valuable alternatives to institutionalisation.

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'WE MAKE OURSELVES AT HOME WHEREVER WE ARE'[1]– OLDER PEOPLE'S PLACEMAKING IN NEWTON HALL

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to explore older in-migrants' experiences and perceptions of their spatial context at the neighbourhood level, the key aspects in their attachment to the neighbourhood, and the role of place in their experience of ageing. Our qualitative research was carried out in Newton Hall (United Kingdom). The findings show that older people can have a proactive role in terms of placemaking and their own wellbeing. However, the study also reveals that the condition of the spatial context can either support or hinder older people's sense of wellbeing.
Key words: ageing, older people, place attachment, Newton Hall.

1. INTRODUCTION

Becker (2003, p. 130) argues that 'studying the spatial context in which elders live and the meaning they attach to the places they call home is a critical component of studying the ageing process'. However, research on older people has so far failed to take into account the context in which they live. In particular the level of the neighbourhood, as a significant spatial and social context for older people, remains underrepresented (Peace *et al.*, 2005; Smith, 2009). Several authors have argued that positive bonds to the contextual environment, both physical and social, have a positive impact on the wellbeing of older people (Brown *et al.*, 2003; Molcar, 2008; Livingston *et al.*, 2008; Smith, 2009; Wiles *et al.*, 2009). Older people who have positive bonds to places are more confident, secure, and feel more in control than those who do not have such ties. They experience a higher degree of mental and social wellbeing. As a result of positive bonds to place, then, the need for public health and care services may decrease.

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[1] Eric, 75, respondent to the research in Newton Hall.

In spite of the relevance of the person-place bond to the wellbeing of older people, Smith (2009) argues there has been a lack of providing an *insider* perspective in research on ageing (see also Watson, 1988; Diener and Fujita, 1995; McGillivray, 2007). In this article, we explore ways in which older immigrants experience their local context, the housing estate Newton Hall (United Kingdom), key aspects in their attachment to its community, and the role of place in the experience of ageing as 'relational' (see Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Our research shows that Newton Hall offers important amenities within walking distance. At the same time, however, the environment poses challenges to the ageing bodies of the respondents. Nevertheless, and importantly, older residents experience a high degree of social connectedness which contributes to developing a positive bond to the local community as well as a positive experience of ageing. In the following section, we briefly discuss the concept of place attachment in general with a particular focus on ageing. We then introduce the geographic context of Newton Hall and the chosen research approach. The interviews reveal that respondents are capable of making use of and actively shaping positive spaces of ageing in both formal and informal settings. Nevertheless, they are confronted with barriers in the built environment which impede their activities and 'code' their bodies as 'old'.

2. BACKGROUND

In particular research within environmental psychology has shown that places are important for an individual's mental wellbeing (Fullilove, 1996). Twigger-Ross *et al.* (2003) found that people derive much of the sense of who they are and much of their self-esteem, in addition to their personal and unique aspects, from their group memberships or place belongings. Places can be seen as sources of strong emotions/feelings within people. Such feelings, or affective bonds, people experience (both positive and negative) in connection to specific places are what Altman and Low (1992) call *place attachment*. Place attachment usually develops over time via experiences and events in people's lives that are connected to particular locales (e.g. Rubenstein and Parmelee, 1992; Giuliani, 2003). The relationships between people and places are comprised of bonds with both, physical aspects of a place as well as experiencing close, local relationships with people i.e. social aspects of place (e.g. Altman and Low, 1992; Rowles, 1983; Sixsmith, 1986). One can, for example, become attached to a place because of the close vicinity of shops and other amenities required in everyday life. In this case, a place provides opportunities for desired activities and in that way becomes associated with positive emotions and experiences. That kind of an attachment is called place dependence or functional attachment (see Vaske and Krobin, 2001).

People also develop emotional bonds to places because of their relations to and meetings with other people (e.g. friends, family, local community). That kind of attachment develops in interaction with others, implies a deeper psychological and emotional investment within a setting, and can develop into place identity (Twigger-Ross *et al*., 2003). Manzo (2005) argues that places can provide an anchor point and stability within the changing world (and changing neighbourhoods). 'Losing' a significant place then can have a great impact on people's mental wellbeing that can be compared to the feelings evoked by loss of a beloved one (Twigger-Ross *et al*., 2003).

In her study on ageing and place attachment (in Vancouver and Manchester), Smith (2009) focuses on individual characteristics (length of residency; cultural influences; life history) and neighbourhood characteristics in relation to place attachment that emerged as significant from her interviews with older people. At the level of the neighbourhood, Smith enumerates the following: social support, contacts and integration; community participation; access to services and amenities; functional distance; public spaces; perceived control over the environment; neighbourhood satisfaction; perception of the area; perceived choice in the selection of residence; and location. The development of place attachment depends on the presence, absence and interaction of these characteristics. Since these may change over time or may take on different meanings over one's lifecourse (Parmelee and Rubinstein, 1992; Hopkins and Pain, 2007), place attachment is not fixed but dynamic. In the following, we elaborate on the role of some of the above characteristics in developing place attachment.

Familiarity with the neighbourhood might support the residents' sense of safety and perceived control of their environment (Livingston *et al*., 2008; Smith, 2009). In addition, Shumaker and Taylor (1983) argue that place attachment tends to be stronger for residents who feel that their neighbourhood has strong social networks or contacts and for residents who actively participate in the neighbourhood community. Although Rivlin (1987) and Smith (2009) emphasise the importance of access to services and amenities as a factor that underlies the development of place attachment, Livingston *et al*. (2008) found that this merely serves as an entry-level of requirement for residents to be satisfied with their neighbourhood. The latter regard neighbourhood stability as an important condition for place attachment, as 'there are more likely to be well-developed local social relations, but also because the individual is more likely to feel safe and in control and thus to participate in such local interrelations' (Livingston *et al*., 2008, p. 16). This perceived control and the level of satisfaction are determined by the relation between the contextual environment (aforementioned neighbourhood characteristics) and residents' preferences and personal competences. Neighbourhood stability may be negatively affected by several factors, for example rapid residential turnover in the area, the disappearance of neighbourhoods' shops and services, and crime (Livingston *et al*., 2008).

Personal competences refer to 'something characteristic to the person' which determines personal capabilities (Smith, 2009, p. 11) such as a person's health status, financial situation or age, or their ability to deal with change. As a result of deteriorating bodily functions but also the societal context (e.g. perceptions of old age, pension systems etc.), older people's personal competences are likely to decrease (see Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). We would emphasise, following Laz (2003), that age (and ageing bodies) is 'something that is accomplished or performed':

> […] age is a phenomenon we (individually and collectively) work at making meaningful (in general and particular) through various interactions that are framed in the context of institutions and social structures. Certainly, age may not always be equally salient or meaningful in the same way in all situations […]. Age therefore, is constituted in interaction and gains its meaning via interaction in the context of larger social forces (Phoenix and Sparkes, 2009, p. 221).

As geographers, we would add that the spatial context in which the performance of age takes place is worth considering more explicitly as it gives a more nuanced, 'relational' perspective on ageing and wellbeing (Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

3. RESEARCH APPROACH

3.1. Location: Newton Hall

As part of a wider study, our research project was carried out in Newton Hall, located in County Durham (North-East England, United Kingdom). Newton Hall is located approximately three kilometres away from Durham City, in the main urban area of County Durham. According to the Office for National Statistics (2011) Newton Hall had an estimated total population of 7,624 residents in 2001, including 1,137 persons aged 65 years or older.[2] It is noted by the Durham County Council (2010) that Newton Hall, like the rest of Durham City, faces the effects of an ageing population. In Newton Hall, the largest part of the housing stock was built between the 1960s and 1980s and it once was famous for being the largest private housing estate in Europe.[3] Correspondingly, its housing stock is rather uniform and mainly characterised by detached and semi-detached houses. Except for a recently constructed, small, privatised care home for older people, there are no houses purpose-built for older people. Newton Hall has a supermarket, a small

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[2] A census is carried out by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in England and Wales every ten years. At the moment of this writing the results of the census 2011 are not available yet.

[3] A housing estate is a residential area containing a large number of buildings planned and constructed close together at the same time.

shopping centre with several shops, a community building, a sports centre and a public library. The larger shopping centre 'Arnison Centre' serves a large part of Durham City among which is Newton Hall. Figures 1 and 2 provide an impression of the houses and the local shops in Newton Hall.

Fig. 1. Visual impression of Newton Hall, the local shops
Source: Linden Douma

Fig. 2. Visual impression of Newton Hall, overview of Canterbury Road
Source: Linden Douma

3.2. Methods

This article draws on seven in-depth interviews that were conducted with older people in the housing estate Newton Hall. The main data source in this research is semi-structured in-depth interviews (e.g. Valentine, 2005; Dunn, 2010), supplemented by mental mapping (e.g. Saarinen, 1974; Kitchin, 1994; Katsiaficas *et al.*, 2011). The resulting maps from the mapping exercise triggered the discussion with respondents about their neighbourhood. In addition, the maps were used to get an overview of the wider context of the neighbourhood and the importance of places in the neighbourhood to the respondents. The mental mapping exercise was carried during the interview and each of the respondents participated in it. Except for the theme of the map (the neighbourhood), the respondents were free to choose the content, detail, elements and colours of their map.

Interviews were conducted with the aim of understanding people's perceptions of, and responses to, their physical and social environment at the level of the neighbourhood. The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to two hours in length. The questions were mainly based on the factors that help explain the nature of place attachment, as noted in section 2. Topics included are; respondent's personal characteristics; residential life course; neighbourhood characteristics; neighbourhood satisfaction; and the respondent's social life. The semi-structured nature of the interviews enabled some degree of flexibility to the course of the interview but the main topics of the interview were predetermined and covered in each interview. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

3.3. Respondents

The respondents to this study were recruited with the help of two key informants at Age UK County Durham.[4] Specifically, community centres in the Durham City Area were visited, the research was introduced to visitors of the centre and their voluntary participation was requested. The choice of respondents was based on self-selection. The inclusion or exclusion of respondents was determined by whether the older people themselves wished to participate in this research or not. In Newton Hall, all respondents knew each other and lived within walking distance from each other, and all respondents were house owners. Table 1 gives an overview of the respondents to this research.

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[4] Age UK is composed of several charitable organisations, specifically concerned with the needs and interests of all older people. Numerous Age UK organisations exist on national, county, and local scale-levels and together they form the largest charity for older people in the United Kingdom.

Table 1. Some characteristics of the respondents

Name	Age	Gender	Marital status	Length of residency	Previous residence
Peter	81	Male	Married	5 years	Bournemouth
Janice	78	Female			
Maria	76	Female	Widow	11 years	Birmingham
Eric	75	Male	Married	16 years	Moved several times, previous residence: Durham City
Mary	80	Female			
Beatrice	88	Female	Widow	20 years	Southmoor
Dave	95	Male	Widower	30 years	Gateshead

Note: 6 Any names used are pseudonyms.

4. OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS IN NEWTON HALL

According to Smith (2009, p. 24), area perception is 'found to undermine or aid in attachment'. As noted above, area perception is impacted by the physical presence of services, for example (place dependence, Vaske and Korbin, 2001) as well as intangible characteristics, i.e. emotions that develop in the interaction between place and person (place identity, Twigger-Ross *et al.*, 2003). This transpired from our study as well. In the discussion below, we draw attention to the varying role places can play in people self-identifying as 'old'.

4.1. Amenities

During the interviews, the general impression was given of Newton Hall as a convenient place. In terms of available services and amenities, for example, Peter (81) and Janice (78) stipulated the vicinity of amenities and public transportation as a characteristic of their new home. In fact, in the mental maps, these amenities were highlighted as important aspects of the respondents' places (see e.g. Eric's map in figure 3).

Specifically, the Arnison centre, the social club (community centre), the library and the CO-OP (supermarket) were drawn by the respondents, followed by the church, and the post office. Most of these locations were described in the interviews as significant locations for creating and maintaining social networks. During the interview, Eric (75) describes:

We go to the Arnison centre, it is a ten minute walk, we go to the CO-OP and the library and the post office, that's six or seven minutes walk. The doctor's is just up the road there. The hospital is not much further, right. We are in walking distance of anything and where the carwash is, is a bus stop to Chester-le-Street, Newcastle, and down to Durham. Don't need a car.
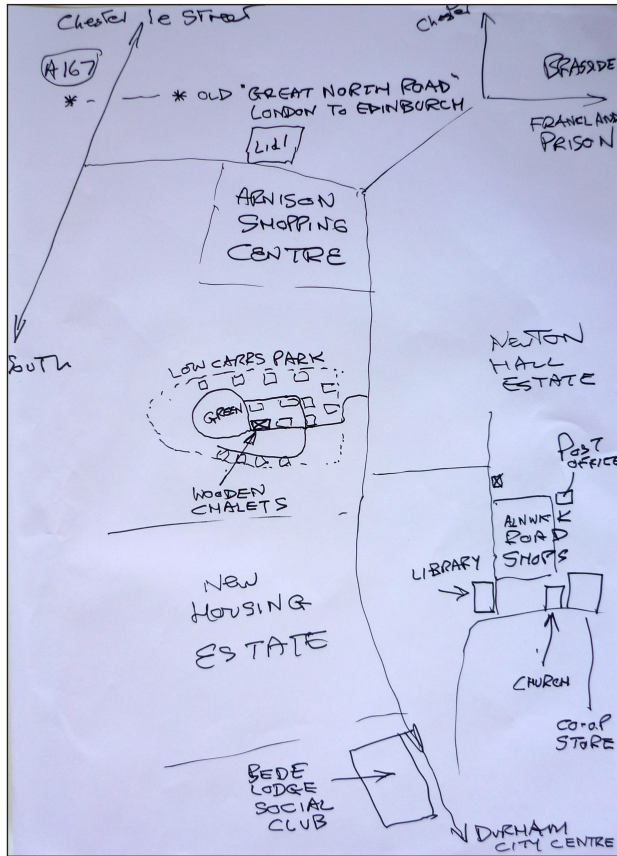
Fig. 3. Mental map of Eric (75)

Beatrice (88) confirms there are 'plenty shops, what you need. I mean at our street here we have got the post office, we have got a café, we have got the betting shop, we have got the chemist, the baker and the beauty farm you know'. At first sight, it appears that the 'environmental press'[5] (Smith, 2009) is relatively low. The respondents are able to do their own shopping and organise many everyday activities as well as (less) frequent visits to their general practitioner by themselves.

4.2. Mobility

All respondents to this research report some health problems, some of which affect the respondents' mobility (e.g. bad knees, arthritis, artificial hip). For that reason, a number of respondents used mobility aids in order to move from place to place,

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[5] Environmental press can be defined as the experienced and perceived demand that is imposed by the environment on its residents.

i.e. Mary (80) has a problem with her balance so she makes use of her walker or her wheelchair, and Dave (95) has an electric buggy. Although the distance to amenities does not pose a significant problem, the details of the route to such amenities do. Indeed, some respondents raise concerns about certain aspects of their neighbourhoods, for example the lack of bus services or the built environment. Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992, p. 146) note that 'normal environments become more constraining as one's capacity to act upon them wanes'.

It is important to note that 'normal environments' are normal only in the context of 'regular', healthy, young bodies (and likely; male, middle-class, heterosexual and white).[6] This distinction is relevant because 'normal environments' impose barriers to some people who use and move through these environments in different ways as do our respondents and therefore identify them as 'not normal'. In the case of our respondents, their physical impairments cause the respondents to read the environment in a different way than younger residents may and they perceive risks in locations others may not, such as the speed by which cars pass by, or the curb of a sidewalk. Peter (81) notes that he would like to see 'a road speed limit of 20 miles per hour. It is dangerous to cross the roads are our age, and the traffic drives pretty fast […]. Something has to be done'. And Dave (95) explains:

> I came to one pathway and the pathway was about this high [about 30 centimetres] and I cannot go off there, I was stuck so I thought 'what can I do'. So I thought 'I go off and lift it off'. And here I am lying on the road. So that I would like, away with the high curbs. All the curbs yes. They should get rid of all the big ones.

Eric (75) and Mary (76) confirm the problem of accessibility, and Eric (75) says, 'Durham is famous for bad pavements'. In the case of travelling from A to B on foot, it seems to be largely the outcome of urban planning that suggests to the respondents that they are 'old'.

In terms of mobility, we would note that a number of respondents also indicate locations several miles away on their mental maps, for example Durham City Centre and Newcastle. Beatrice (88), Peter (81) and Janice (78) still drive a car which allows them to combine trips or to travel a greater distance. The other respondents fall back on family or friends to go to places or they go by bus or on foot. Dave (95), for example, gets a ride from his younger friend Jack of 94 years old. As a result, some activities require coordination with other people or bus schedules which takes away some of their choices, freedom and level of control over their everyday lives. Having said so, Dave (95) reinterpreted his shared trip to the supermarket as comprising added, social value.

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[6] We add this note relating to a body of literature maintaining that architects, planners and local authorities have long prioritised the needs and demands of 'mobile bodies' in designing the city. This focus has resulted in 'design apartheid', whereby space is arranged in such a way that it imposes social and physical barriers in the everyday geographies of disabled people (and other Others). In the city, then, impaired bodies become 'abject', 'dissident' and locked out (see also Gleeson, 1997, 2001; Imrie, 2000, 2001; Kitchin, 1999; Sibley, 1995, 2001).

Overall, it emerged from the interviews that respondents did not ponder on their ageing as problematic. Instead, they named many occasions where they made social connections and had the time to take advantage of social encounters, even when unstructured and unplanned such as in shops and the way to these on the streets. The multitude and quality of social connections gave respondents a positive outlook on ageing as the following section shows.

5. THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

A large part of residents' attachment to their neighbourhood in our study appears to be social in nature (see also Ahlbrandt, 1984; Rivlin, 1987; Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). Cattel and Evans (1999) confirm that, among other factors, friendliness and support of neighbours foster people's sense of attachment to their neighbourhoods. In particular these aspects are much and often mentioned in all of the interviews. Importantly, the social featured as an important factor in decision-making when moving to Newton Hall. For example, when looking for a smaller house when they got older, Eric's (75) choice of words reveals that their decision was an emotional one. He says, 'It is a little world on its own in here […] We fell in love with the site'. Maria (76) reveals a similar sentiment, 'I came here with my son in law and my daughter, […] we came up here, to visit her grandmother. And I thought "nice I like it". Went back home and I decided "I will move"'. And Dave (95) and Beatrice (88), who live there the longest, talk about their community as 'a happy neighbourhood' and a 'very friendly neighbourhood'.

The respondents also gave examples of chance meetings and talking to people during daily routines on the streets. Maria (76) describes:

So I go out and I meet people when I go out. Just stand and talk to them. I went out the other day at 10 o'clock in the morning and I went to the CO-OP, the shop. I got back half past twelve because of the different people I was talking to.

However, social connections are not limited to chance encounters but are experienced in the respondents' immediate neighbourhood as well. In the following quotations, Dave (95), Beatrice (88) and Peter (81) highlight the care extended to individuals by their neighbours.

Dave (95):

I wasn't very well over the New Year period and they [neighbours] kept coming across and go getting groceries for me and things like that. And the neighbours next door they are very kind to me. They give me all sorts of things and they are very good. They are very kind to me. They are very helpful.

Beatrice (88):

> I have lovely neighbours. I mean we ring each other, are you all right, you know. And that's the main thing.

But Peter (81), who has 'only' lived in Newton Hall for five years shares similar experiences and he explains,

> Everybody in this road sends everybody else a Christmas card. Our first Christmas here, we had a Christmas card from everybody, and we didn't know them you see. But in this part of the world, people are very friendly.

Both Dave (95) and Peter (81) attribute the friendliness of the people in their neighbourhood to being a remnant of the former mining industry in this area.[7] Peter (81) uses terms such as 'traditional' and 'camaraderie' to explain people's social consciousness, he concludes that "although it is gone now – there aren't any coal pits now – the camaraderie has remained". Dave (95) suggests that the coal mining history has become a part of the social fabric of the area. He states, 'They are kind people because they are an ex-mining family. The miners are always good kind people'.

5.1. The Community Centre

In addition to neighbourly care and 'chitchat' on the street, Newton Hall also provides designated space for older people to socialise and carry out a variety of activities. The community centre stood out as a location that was specifically meant for people of 65 years and older. This centre, mentioned as social club, luncheon club or senior citizens club, appears to hold a special place in the weekly routines of the respondents. It serves to get to know people, maintain contacts, delivers organised entertainment, provides opportunities to contribute to the organisation of activities or care for members attending and, overall, strengthens the social fabric of the 65+ community. In the following, Dave, Peter, Janice and Beatrice describe their experiences.

Dave (95):

> I retired 16 years ago and we have been relating to the community since then by joining the senior citizens club. Over sixty-five of age which is now closed down as the members became older and fewer but the residue is the luncheon club, so we have about sixteen remaining members that we meet every week. And yesterday we were singing in the community centre.

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[7] County Durham has a history of coalmining. In contrast to most of Durham City's surrounding villages, Newton Hall itself is not a former mining settlement. However, several collieries were located quite close to Newton Hall.

Peter (81):

When we first came here, obviously we knew the family but we couldn't just know them. We had to know other people as well. And so we joined- it was called the over-sixties club wasn't it. And that was very pleasant […]. We got to know people there. It was a good thing for us. Otherwise it is very difficult to get to know people in a strange place.

Janice (78):

I am usually over here [community centre], quite often. On Monday, Tuesday and Thursday and Saturday I help […]. It is quite a busy week; I do not get much time for myself. […] If I haven't here to go to I don't know what I would do. You need something to go to. Some nights you come here and then you have a laugh and that's really what it is all about, enjoying yourself.

Beatrice (88):

I pick up a lady every Monday and I take her to the lunching club. And I take her home.

The in-depth interviews reveal that respondents proactively pursue their own social wellbeing by maintaining contacts with local (older) residents. As a part of this proactive behaviour, they also assist others in become a part of and maintaining social networks. Further, the respondents experience a high degree of social connectedness and support between neighbours. Overall, local social relations appear to be well-developed in Newton Hall and all respondents have a positive sense of attachment to its local community.

6. CONCLUSION

By analysing the experiences of older people's everyday use and interpretation of spaces in Newton Hall, the present study has revealed older people's agency in terms of placemaking by highlighting older people's own active role in actively pursuing and shaping spaces for wellbeing. In our study, we encountered a group of older residents that sometimes struggled with health and mobility problems but that was generally proactive in creating and maintaining opportunities for positive place experiences. They actively made use of designated spaces for older people, such as the community centre, but converted unstructured spaces such as shops or streets to positive spaces for communication as well. Their attitude and behaviour was not restricted to their own daily lives but they were active in giving shape to positive spaces by lending a hand in organising activities at the community centre, or helping others take part by providing a means of transportation. Having said this, the built environment and the regulation of street space by the city imposed real challenges. Respondents mentioned the curbs as a barrier to mobility as well as the lack of a speed limit on roads that were frequently used by the respondents

for their daily routines. In these spaces, they could exercise less control and were more often confronted with the limitations of their ageing bodies. It was in these spaces and on such occasions that the respondents felt 'old' which impeded their sense of wellbeing. Our study therefore shows that people's lived experiences and structural conditions are intertwined.

More broadly, our findings resonate with the work by Smith (2009) in Manchester and Vancouver. We noted earlier that the development of place attachment depends on the presence, absence and interaction of neighbourhood and individual characteristics. We stated that this interplay between characteristics may change over time or may take on different meanings over one's lifecourse (Parmelee and Rubinstein, 1992; Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Our analysis underscores the relevance of looking at place attachment in a more differentiated way since it suggested that people can feel active and 'young' as well as immobile and 'old' *within one day* in the same city. Finally, our findings also support earlier calls for more open cities (Gleeson 1997, 2001; Imrie 2000, 2001; Kitchin, 1999), for public spaces that are more inclusive. More attention to the condition and accessibility of urban space is therefore an important policy implication and one which might increase older people's experience of wellbeing.

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PLACES THAT MATTER: PLACE ATTACHMENT AND WELLBEING OF OLDER ANTILLEAN MIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Abstract: It has been argued that attachment to place increases wellbeing in old age (Wiles *et al.*, 2009). Feeling 'in place' can increase an older person's wellbeing. For older migrants it can be a challenge to live in-between cultures. The objective of the article is to explore how older Antillean migrants derive a sense of wellbeing from attachment to their everyday places. We do so by drawing on in-depth interviews and a photography project with Antilleans who live in a senior cohousing community in a city in the Northern Netherlands. Based on the study, we conclude that the cohousing community acted as a central setting of experience from which the participants explored their wider surroundings and developed new attachments in the neighbourhood.

Key words: ageing, place attachment, wellbeing, Antillean migrants, the Netherlands, senior cohousing community.

1. INTRODUCTION

I missed my own home when I was there [Antilleans], my surroundings here [in the Netherlands]. When I sat in the airplane to go back [to the Netherlands], I always was happy. I go to my own home then. When I entered my home, oh lovely, you were home. It's more your own environment, your own stuff, your own, that is what you miss when you are there[1] (Kiyana).

For older migrants it can be a challenge to live in-between cultures. After moving, many migrants are not financially secured and cannot afford to live in wealthy, well-maintained and well-serviced neighbourhoods. In a study on older immigrants from developing countries to a North-American inner city, Becker (2003), discussed how these groups negotiated risks encountered by living in

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[1] All quotes from the interviews were translated from Dutch into English as accurately as possible.

deteriorating neighbourhoods which implied poor housing, higher crime rates, less safety and poorer public services. Becker found that although these environmental factors affected older people's physical health, some people sacrificed material comforts of living in order to live in close proximity with other elders, their church and community and social services because these elements constituted a sense of home and belonging to them. Having a support-network within a migrant community can alleviate some negative consequences of one's housing situation as the community can help migrants deal with a broad range of affairs they face, from social and mental to administrative ones (Bolzman *et al.*, 2006). Phinney *et al.* (2001) argue that being able to retain a secure ethnic identity and integration into the host society enhance migrant wellbeing. To live in a place where they have the opportunity to meet 'their own people', where they can buy food from their home country, and where they can engage with the local, non-migrant, community, could enable older migrants to cope with living in-between cultures and experience wellbeing (see also Daatland and Biggs, 2006).

In this article, we explore how older Antillean migrants in a city in the Northern Netherlands, have actively shaped the context of their ageing in a senior cohousing community. The Netherlands Antilles, former colonies of the Netherlands, are islands in the Caribbean. Because the islands are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Antilleans have the Dutch nationality and therefore can migrate relatively easily to the Netherlands (Fassmann and Munz, 1992). Since the 1950s, there has been a steady flow of Antillean migrants to the Netherlands, resulting in 138,420 Antilleans living in the Netherlands on January 1 2010, of whom 4,803 were aged 65 and above (CBS Netherlands, 2010). Many Antilleans move to the Netherlands as they are attracted by better employment, education and welfare opportunities (Merz *et al.*, 2009). In addition to work and schooling, some Antilleans come to the Netherlands to join their adult children (Merz *et al.*, 2009). In spite of the perceived opportunities for a better life, Antilleans attain a relatively marginal position in Dutch society, as they are, for instance, relatively often unemployed (Snelet *et al.*, 2006) and often reside in less prosperous neighbourhoods. In spite of this marginal position, the majority of older Antilleans has established a sense of belonging to the Netherlands and desires to age here, whilst at the same time maintain affective ties with the Antilles (Schellingerhout, 2004). In studies on how migrant elders cope with living in-between cultures and how this affects their wellbeing, a place-based perspective remains scarce (for an exemption see Becker, 2003). This article addresses migrant wellbeing by focusing on the importance of experiences in everyday places.

In the following section we briefly outline the role of place and a sense of attachment to this for older migrants' wellbeing. After introducing the research setting and participants, we discuss the self-perceived wellbeing and place attachment of older Antillean immigrants in the Netherlands. The conclusions and discussion make up the final section of the article.

2. THE ROLE OF PLACE FOR OLDER MIGRANTS' WELLBEING

When addressing the importance of place for older migrants' wellbeing, an important body of literature to consult is that on place attachment, where the link between characteristics of place and wellbeing has been most explicit (see e.g. Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992; Smith, 2009; Wiles *et al.*, 2009). Place attachment is seen as 'a set of feelings about a geographic location that emotionally binds a person to that place as a function of its role as a setting for experience' (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992, p. 139). Attachment encompasses ties to places as such, and to the people present in those places. In relation to ageing and wellbeing, the place attachment literature highlights the locations 'home' and 'neighbourhood' as significant places. We address both, briefly, in the following.

The spatial scale of the home has been noted as key location for forming a positive self-image[2] as it is the central setting for important life events and milestones (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). The home contains many treasured moments and memories, many of which are represented through objects, such as pictures, souvenirs and mementos (see also Bih, 1992; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009; Dayaratne and Kellett, 2008). The care for and arrangement of such objects are an important part of identity formation and help preserve a sense of continuity, perhaps especially for migrants (Buitelaar, 2007). In addition, the home environment is usually the most familiar and the setting where rules of access and conduct can be established. In particular for older people, research has demonstrated, it is advantageous for their wellbeing to remain in their own home and a familiar environment. Smith (2009), for example, found that feelings of independence, autonomy and control that can be developed and exercised here have a positive influence on older people's wellbeing. In addition, Rioux (2005) noted that receiving guests in the home and acting as a host(ess) enables older people to display their independence to others and to demonstrate that they are in control over who they grant access. However, someone's attachment to the home can be reduced and wellbeing be diminished when one loses their sense of autonomy and control over the home (Percival, 2002). Reduced mobility or health impairments can reduce someone's ability to manage household tasks and result in reliance on the provision of care. Milligan (2009), for example, argues that when the home becomes the site of care, the presence of care providers can be experienced as an intrusion into one's private life, which can create negative feelings of discomfort and dependence.

At the spatial scale of the neighbourhood, the availability and accessibility of everyday amenities plays an important role to older people's wellbeing. Rubinstein

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[2] Although the spatial scale of the home is often related to positive experiences in many studies, the home can also be a place associated with negative experiences such as domestic violence and oppression (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). For most people, the home is a place that possesses positive as well as negative meanings (see Manzo, 2005).

and Parmelee (1992) and Peace *et al.* (2006) claimed that social involvement in the neighbourhood plays a key role in older people's experienced wellbeing. To know people and to be known by them can provide feelings of safety and belonging. Services and amenities in the neighbourhood provide an environment for social interactions. Wellbeing can be significantly impacted by the way in which the built environment is laid out as the height or width of sidewalks can impair people's mobility when they are using walkers, scooters or wheelchairs. In addition, older people can be relatively more affected by the closure of local shops if they served as informal meeting points (see e.g. Young *et al.*, 2004). Such physical or social barriers can suggest to older people that they do not belong in the public spaces of the neighbourhood (Young *et al.*, 2004).

In the case of this article, we wish to highlight another location as important to older people's wellbeing, the senior cohousing community. In a cohousing community, people own or rent a private home and share common spaces, such as a meeting room and/or garden (Fromm and de Jong, 2009). A cohousing community can have its own building but the homes of the members can also be located in a building where people who do not belong to the community live. Senior cohousing communities in the Netherlands are for people who are 50 years or older (LVGO, 2010). The residents themselves are in control of the rules of access and codes of conduct and usually one of the residents is the initiator of the cohousing community (Stavenuiter and van Dongen, 2008).

People who move to a senior cohousing community often seek companionship and mutual support that they miss in their neighbourhoods, or they wish to live with people with a similar lifestyle. A cohousing community can be a source of wellbeing for older people as it reduces loneliness (Choi, 2004). Living in a cohousing community provides a context in which common interests can be shared and activities can be undertaken. Furthermore, through being with people from the same cohort, one can share memories of the past and similar life experiences (Smith, 2009). McHugh and Larson-Keagy (2005) argue that sharing similar life experiences is a benefit of age-restricted communities as it provides older people with a sense of belonging. For older migrants, living in a cohousing community with other people from the same home country can be of particular importance for their wellbeing, as language and culture can be shared (Fromm and de Jong, 2009; Davidson *et al.*, 2005).

3. A SENIOR COHOUSING COMMUNITY IN THE NORTHERN NETHER-LANDS

It must be noted that the city, in general, offers frequent bus services in all neighbourhoods and all neighbourhoods have a range of shops, or shopping centres, as well as health and other everyday services. The Antillean cohousing

community is situated in the heart of the neighbourhood, with shops, a health centre, a community centre, a library and the weekly farmers' market across the street. The neighbourhood is characterised by the participants as a 'green' neighbourhood with 'lots of parks' and bordering the countryside. Currently, almost one third of the population of the neighbourhood is between the age of 45–65, which means that in the next decades the neighbourhood will be 'greying'.

The Antillean cohousing community was established in 2003 after which it received much media attention identifying the community as role model for others (FGW, 2006). In 1996, a number of older people in the city with a Surinam and Antillean cultural background expressed that they wished to grow old together. Because cultural differences between the two groups initially impeded progress, a spokesperson familiar with both cultures, Kiyana, was appointed. She was involved in consultations with a social housing corporation on behalf of the community's future residents, and later became the community coordinator. In the process of planning the cohousing community, the housing corporation also involved an organisation for people with mental impairments and a group of Dutch seniors in the consultations. As a result, a pre-existing apartment building (former student accommodation) was remodelled in order to accommodate all three groups and their particular requirements. Twenty of the apartments in the building were assigned to the cohousing community, one of which became a shared apartment including a living room to socialise and have coffee or tea. In addition to the apartments, there is a service centre with a restaurant[3] on the ground floor of the building. In order to integrate the different groups of residents, an activity committee was founded by the coordinator of the cohousing community and two of the Dutch seniors. The committee organises activities such as an Easter brunch and a barbeque in the summer. Furthermore, there is a daily coffee morning and a card club that meets twice a week (personal conversation with Kiyana).

4. RESEARCH APPROACH

In this qualitative study, eight older migrants from the Netherlands Antilles from the aforementioned cohousing community were interviewed, and three of them participated in the follow up photovoice project (see Ponzetti, 2003). Access to members of the community was gained by contacting Kiyana. Table 1 gives an overview of key characteristics of the participants in this research.

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[3] The service centre was developed for the mentally impaired residents. Their dinner gets served here, but the other residents of the apartment building can also order dinner and make use of the space.

Table 1. Characteristics of the participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	Reasons for moving to the Netherlands[*]	Years spent in the Netherlands
Teagle	Male	65–70	Married	Economic prospects	20–30
Jennifer	Female	65–70	Married	Joining partner	20–30
Kiyana	Female	70–75	Single/divorced	Education/economic prospects	40–50
Margriet[**]	Female	65–70	Married	Joining partner/children's education	30–40
Melvin	Male	70–75	Single/divorced	Economic prospects	20–30
Omaira	Female	70–75	Single/divorced	Joining children	5–10
Joanie	Female	80–85	Single/divorced	Education/ joining sibling	20–30
Shudeska	Female	50–55	Single/divorced	Joining children	0–5

[*] Some participants moved back and forth between the Netherlands and the Antilles several times during their lives. Therefore, we included several reasons for moving to the Netherlands.

[**] This participant did not live in the retirement community, but was a regular visitor and identified with the community.

Except for Joanie (moved in 2005) and Shudeska (moved in 2009), the participants all moved to the apartment building in 2003. Before the move, the future residents participated in a weekend in which, through role play and activities, they got to know each other and learned about living in a cohousing community.

The interviews evolved around three themes: the respondents' memories of their life on the Antilles, their migration experiences, and their life in the Netherlands.[4] We were particularly interested in how the participants had become attached to the cohousing community and neighbourhood, and how they experienced wellbeing in these places. The interviews were conducted in Dutch and were recorded in order to transcribe them subsequently. The transcripts were coded and analysed using a grounded theory approach (see Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005). Confidentiality was promised and therefore pseudonyms are given to all participants and personal information such as names of family members and addresses are removed from the quotes in this article.

In a follow up project (photovoice), participants were asked to take photos in their everyday lives of objects/situations that contributed to their self-perceived wellbeing. The photos were taken without the interference of a researcher. In-depth interviews were held after the photos were printed, in which the participants could explain the meaning of the pictures to the interviewer. The participants in

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[4] In these three sections it was probed for meaningful places and people, home-making practices, sense of belonging and self-perceived wellbeing in place.

the photovoice project helped us gain more detailed and varied insights into their sense of belonging and wellbeing by discussing photographs of important locations and activities that they themselves had taken.

5. THE ROLE OF DIFFERENT PLACES FOR OLDER ANTILLEANS' WELLBEING

In this section, we describe how attachments of older Antillean migrants to their everyday places influence their self-perceived wellbeing. The cohousing community provided a space, at least to some extent, for migrants to benefit from the qualities of both cultures. The shared space within the community helped preserve valued attributes from their home culture, whilst shared, mixed spaces in the apartment building helped them weigh cultural experiences and re-evaluate each in relation to the other. In so doing, they opened up to Dutch culture, broke down stereotypes and even chose some elements of Dutch culture over their Antillean culture. In the remainder of the article, we illustrate this by briefly discussing the participants' experiences in the space of the cohousing community, the neighbourhood and their private apartments.

5.1. The Senior Cohousing Community

During the interviews, the participants talked about the difficulties of adapting to Dutch culture and the perceived differences between themselves and Dutch older people. Although one barrier is the difference in language, at first the participants spoke largely Papiamentu,[5] they also described the Dutch as less friendly and cheerful than people with an Antillean background. The cohousing community then provided an important context for sharing common behaviour, memories from the past and similar experiences during group meetings (see also Bolzman *et al*., 2006; McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 2005). The participants talked about the cohousing community as a safe haven in which they can express and maintain their Antillean identity. Margriet explained:

> I go back to my roots. Together, we dig up stories about people, […] the Antilles, the old days. For instance, when I say, do you remember these long sticks, blue and beige? That was soap to wash your clothes. But it was sold in pieces, so you could buy half of it, or a smaller part. […] We had scales to weigh everything. A pound of sugar, a pound, everything was packed into bags. And some things like peanuts, they were not weighed. You would have a special box, when you fill it up, it costs that much. […] With people your own age, you can just chat about such crazy things.

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[5] Papiamentu is a Creole language based on Portuguese and influenced by Spanish (Britannica, 2009).

It is important to note that the members of the cohousing community valued the familiarity and support of the group but did not exclude themselves from Dutch society. Instead, the cohousing community proved to be a place that facilitated their social integration as it became a useful starting point. The coordinator of the community played an important role in the beginning, whilst the other communities present in the apartment building, particularly the Dutch older people, turned out to be of ongoing importance. Omaira, for example, joined the card club and the coffee mornings. Through interaction with Dutch seniors, she became more familiar with Dutch culture and consequently more out-going and confident in social contacts beyond the cohousing community. Omaira said:

> If your opinion doesn't match with someone else's opinion, [the Dutch seniors] remain good friends, good neighbours. […]. You have to get used to that, with us [on Curacao] you don't voice your opinion so easily. Sometimes you have your opinion, but you don't express your opinion. Because maybe you are afraid of hurting someone. And then you keep your opinion to yourself, but you have an opinion. […] I learned that from [the Dutch seniors], that you can voice your opinion. And they respect your opinion. I really like that about them.

Kiyana, the coordinator of the community, felt that she too had contributed to the wellbeing of the community members. She had involved the members in activities in the apartment building and the neighbourhood and supported them in practical and social matters. Through these communal activities, she said, the participants became more confident in exploring their proximate environment on their own. Kiyana explained:

> Most of them, they were a bit timid. Timid towards the Dutch people, that is how I got to know them [...] they have opened up to what is happening around them. You can't come here and take Curacao with you, there is more. You are in the Netherlands, and the Netherlands is [a] big [country]. So enjoy it. Take something of it. […] Look, now they are having conversations with you [interviewer], in the past that maybe wasn't possible.

As the participants opened up and explored the neighbourhood on their own, they all found their own places in which they could expand their social life and where they felt well.

5.2. Places in the Neighbourhood

The safe and familiar environment of the cohousing community enabled the participants to explore their wider surroundings. Most of the participants became acquainted with the neighbourhood when they moved into the cohousing community. They all had to get used to their new environment and gradually grew attached to places in the neighbourhood as they became aware of the opportunities these places offered them. At least to some extent, the respondents' neighbourhood was advantageous for them since the availability of food products from the Antilles

in the local supermarkets and market[6] enabled them to keep connected with important aspects of everyday life and living in their home country. Furthermore, they valued the 'greenness' of the neighbourhood which they enjoyed by taking walks. The natural environment also acted as a reminder of what most of them described as the 'beautiful nature' of their home country.

Although they all valued amenities located in the immediate vicinity of the apartment building for their closeness, the social environment provided experiences that participants named as significant to their wellbeing. For Joanie, the market played an important role. In all the places she had lived in the past, finding and visiting the local farmers' market had become an important part of developing a sense of belonging. In the interview, but even more in her photo series, she described the 'market atmosphere' and how she could wander around, observe daily life and have a chat with the market traders. She describes most of the Dutch traders on the market as extraordinary as she finds their friendliness, helpfulness and openness a contrast to 'the Dutch'. Figure 1 shows Joanie at her favourite market stall, the flower stall, were she experiences this friendliness and helpfulness in particular. The market became a means through which she could develop attachment to the neighbourhood. Visiting the market provided a bridge as well as a sense of continuity; it made her feel 'in place'.

Fig. 1. Joanie at her favourite market stall
Source: Joanie

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[6] The availability of Antillean food products can be attributed to the relatively large community of Antillean people living in the neighbourhood. Compared to the city's average of 1%, around 4.5% of the population of the neighbourhood is of Antillean descent (ONS, 2011).

Teagle had similarly positive experiences with regular visits to the local store. However, his interview also reveals what might be called a milestone for his sense of belonging. He explained:

[People say to me:] 'Sir, I have known you since I was a little girl, little boy. You come to our shop for fifteen years'. When I enter the shop, they know me. […] Next year I live here for thirty years. I live at one place.

Teagle felt he had become a part of the neighbourhood and a sense of place *for others*. The exchange in the shop had confirmed his sense of belonging and his recognised belongingness to the neighbourhood boosted his self-esteem and wellbeing.

5.3. A Place of their Own: the Home

In the shared spaces of the cohousing community, as well as the public places in the neighbourhood, the participants have to conduct a lot of identity work to demonstrate they are either Antillean, Dutch or a bit of both. Therefore, the retreat to private, unsupervised spaces can form a relief. The participants drew a sense of wellbeing from their homes, as they could do the things they wanted to do without depending on others. Indeed, being independent was a key theme than ran throughout all interviews, albeit with different examples given by the participants.

In the interviews the participants highlight that they particularly valued their homes because they were *not* like the ones in the Antilles where it would be common, for example, to share one's home with the extended family. Although Omaira, for example, honoured Antillean family tradition by helping out her children when in need (see also Merz *et al*., 2009), she had become used to the more individualised Dutch way of life, and was glad when both she and her children had found their own place. She described:

My daughter came here to study, and she lived with [my son and his family] for some time. And then she got pregnant, and I came to live with them too [to care for the baby]. Then we were living there, all of us in one house. And one by one, we left the house. [...] So now, everyone's in place 'laughter'. We have found our places, everyone is in place, everyone is doing their own things now, and yes we enjoy it.

Finding a home within the cohousing community helped her establish this independence without losing her cultural context and a sense of extended family due to the presence of like-minded others.

Kiyana and Joanie related their sense of self to their home. Joanie saw her modern interior as symbolic of how youthful she felt: 'I am a young oldie' and Kiyana described her home as a place where she could be herself. She enjoyed to retreat to her own place and experience the peaceful feeling she derived from

being there. Whilst Joanie valued the view of her own apartment ('When I'm sitting on the couch and I don't have anything to do, I feel happy, because it is just as I wanted it to be'), Kiyana highlights the view outside. The view over the neighbourhood from her window had a restorative quality for her (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The views of the trees and other vegetation instilled a sense of freedom and rest (see figure 2). Being at home also prepared Kiyana for her role as hostess of the cohousing community, which addressed her more active and social self.

Fig. 2. The view and dream away with a cup of tea
Source: Kiyana

Whilst the participants valued their independence, their attachment to and wellbeing in their homes would not have been possible without the interdependence of children, family members, friends and especially the members of the cohousing community. Although most of the participants were in relatively good health and were still mobile, support from the community members in doing chores and grocery shopping for each other enabled them to lead a comfortable independent life in their own house (White and Groves, 1997). They all worried about having to move into a care home when their health would deteriorate, which they perceived as a loss of control over their daily lives (Peace *et al*., 2006). Furthermore, ageing in a care home frightened them as they described it as a place dominated by Dutch older people in which they would not experience the sense of belonging the cohousing community provides.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Attachment to place contributes to older people's wellbeing: they derived a sense of autonomy, control, self-confidence and social identity from it. In the case of migrants, it also results in a feeling of being culturally grounded. In this article, we discussed how the participants derive a sense of wellbeing from their everyday places: the cohousing community, places in the neighbourhood and the home. The cohousing community acted as a central setting of experience as it enabled them to keep connected to their home country. The sharing of Antillean practices and memories of the home country surrounded the participants with familiarity. The safe environment of the cohousing community allowed them to explore their wider surroundings. Over time, they grew attached to different places in the neighbourhood, which they valued particularly for their social contexts. As the participants valued the social environment of the cohousing community and places in the neighbourhood, the home place acted as a place of retreat from their busy social lives. They valued their independence that the home represented.

It must be noted that, while experiencing attachment to their everyday places, the participants also remained embedded in the places they left behind. They had a high level of knowledge of the Antilles, identified as Antilleans, and experienced a sense of belonging to the Antilles. This 'in-betweenness' did not impaired their self-perceived wellbeing as their own home in the Netherlands had become the place that they longed for when being away. However, their wellbeing could be jeopardised if they were not able to travel anymore and could not physically be in and experience the places they attach to.

This study provided in-depth knowledge of the meanings that the participants attached to their everyday places. However, as some had difficulties with expressing themselves in the Dutch language and the interviewers had to get used to the participants word use and accents, stories may have been misinterpreted. Furthermore, as we discussed the self-perceived wellbeing of the participants, the validity of the research outcomes could be strengthened by developing a better understanding of the meanings the concept holds for the participants (for an example of developing a cultural sensitive measure of wellbeing see Ingersoll-Dayton, 2011).

With this study, we have contributed to migrant perspectives within the body of research on 'ageing in place'. Place attachment literature in this field still seems to be predominantly focused on the importance of temporal depth that marks place attachment for older people (Milligan, 2009). However, the life histories of migrants *and* of new generations of older people are generally characterised by more mobility in residential locations than previous cohorts. Further research should therefore investigate how different pathways/mobilities change the nature of place attachment and wellbeing for older people (for a theoretical exploration of the changing nature of belonging and identity in old age, see Phillipson, 2007). The focus on senior cohousing communities could be of particular interest, as this way

of living is gaining in popularity in Western European countries and constitutes one of the many dimensions of 'ageing in place' (Phillipson, 2007).

In this study, the cohousing community played a pivotal role in the development of attachment to the everyday places of the participants through promoting social integration. This made it possible for the participants to live an active and social life that made them feel well. As active ageing has increased in importance in policy-terms in the past decennia, due to the expectation of self-reliance by governments, special attention should be directed to older migrants who often retain marginalised positions in society.

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PART II

ARTICLES

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF REAL ESTATE MARKET VERSUS EFFICIENCY OF ITS PARTICIPANTS

Abstract: Real estate markets (REMs) may be classified as strong-form efficient, semi-strong-form efficient or weak-form efficient. Efficiency measures the level of development or goal attainment in a complex social and economic system, such as the real estate market. The efficiency of the real estate market is the individual participant's ability to achieve the set goals. The number of goals is equivalent to the number of participants. Every market participant has a set of specific efficiency benchmarks which can be identified and described. In line with the theory of rational expectations, every participant should make decisions in a rational manner by relying on all available information to make the optimal forecast. The effectiveness of the real estate market is a function of the efficiency of individual market participants.

This paper attempts to prove the following hypothesis: the effectiveness of a real estate market may be identified by analysing the effectiveness of its participants. The authors also discuss methods based on the rough set theory which can influence the efficiency and efficacy of market participants, and consequently, the effectiveness of the real estate market and its participants.

Key words: subject efficiency, rough sets.

1. INTRODUCTION

The real estate market is one of the most rapidly developing goods markets that attract massive investments. The contemporary real estate market attracts investments from large corporations, specialist companies, small contractors and individuals. The objective of every market participant is to obtain a profit on the investment. In such a scenario, an in-depth analysis of the real estate market

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is highly complex because the behaviours of all market participants are (most probably) impossible to trace. Nonetheless, such analyses have to be carried out to diagnose the structures and the functioning of contemporary real estate markets. The resulting knowledge supports the decision-making process based on the structure and the functions assigned to the real estate market system.

What is the key challenge in analyses investigating the efficiency of real estate markets? In answering this question, the following factors have to be taken into account:

– the object of research, i.e. the real estate market – its efficiency, structure, functions, market environment;

– real estate market participants – their preferences, motivation, information resources, skills, capabilities;

– level of knowledge about the market and its participants – of both active market participants and the researcher performing the analysis;

– applied research methods – lack of appropriate measures, the need to find adequate, existing methods, search for new methods;

– unavailability of systems for gathering and analysing real estate market data – evaluating the information efficiency of a real estate market.

As an object of research, the real estate market poses numerous problems. The market can be analysed in various categories and from various perspectives. The following determinants can be a source of uncertainty in market evaluations:

– market effectiveness – the achievement of the desired level of development by market structures and functions, the ability to maintain system processes (dynamic and informational balance), crisis survival ability (stability), the ease and possibility of controlling processes in the short-term, mid-term and long-term perspective, and many others;

– market structure, namely the configuration of market institutions and organisations – market structure may be well developed (highly developed markets, e.g. in Great Britain), developing (emerging markets, e.g. in Poland) or weakly developed (e.g. in Belarus);

– market functions – the ability to satisfy market participants' basic needs and cater to changing demands;

– market environment – the social and economic framework in which the RE market operates and which can be a source of crisis.

Real estate market participants are the most important entities in the real estate market system who are charged with the highest responsibility for conducting market transactions. Market participants are the most complex and problem-ridden factor in market analyses and surveys. They are responsible for the functioning of the entire real estate market. This problem will be discussed at greater length in the following section.

The level of knowledge about the market and its participants is a factor that determines the efficiency of the RE market, but is often disregarded in market

analyses. Knowledge gaps may originate with active market participants who have limited information about the system and its constituent elements. Other market participants may also have limited knowledge in this area. The knowledge manifested by entities conducting transactions on the RE market is (according to theoretical assumptions) limited or negligent. The above implies that market participants conduct transactions without mutual knowledge which leads to asymmetry in the decision-making process. This could lower the efficiency and, consequently, the effectiveness of the entire market. Researchers analysing the RE market should also demonstrate a sufficient level of knowledge about the mutual relationships between the subjects and objects of market transactions.

From the analytical point of view, the solution to the problem requires the selection of appropriate methods for analysing the available information rather than, as it is often observed in practice, the adaptation of the existing information to popular analytical methods, such as econometric models. In the era of globalisation, quick and unified solutions (procedures, algorithms) are needed to enhance the objectivity and the reliability of research results. The preferred solutions should address the problem on a global scale while accounting for the local characteristics of the analysed markets and the relevant information.

In the 21st century, a real estate market cannot be evaluated without the involvement of effective systems for gathering and processing information. The popularity of computerised systems for collecting and processing of real estate market data has soared in recent years. Despite the above, comprehensive and effective systems that facilitate analyses of real estate market data, support real estate management and other market analyses continue to be in short supply. The above results from the specificity of the real estate market which embodies various procedures and decisions, as well as the specific nature of real estate information. These shortcomings obstruct the smooth flow of comprehensive data which is required for initiating actions and making decisions regarding economic processes, business, investment, financial and promotional projects in the area of real estate.

2. EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY OF REAL ESTATE MARKETS

Any discussion concerning the efficiency of real estate market participants would be incomplete without a reference to the classical approach to market effectiveness (in particular capital markets). In line with the assumptions made by this study, efficiency determines effectiveness, and effectiveness is – in a way – determined by efficiency. This section discusses the rudimentary concepts of market effectiveness vs market ineffectiveness, market equilibrium vs market imbalance, perfect vs imperfect markets. Those concepts will be further defined in section 3.

2.1. Theory of Market Effectiveness and Its Consequences

According to research in the area of real estate market efficiency, a market is (theoretically) efficient if it fulfils the following assumptions (Wiśniewski, 2008):

− it has an infinite number of participants who appraise the value of real estate independently in an effort to maximise the profit generated by real estate;

− a single participant is unable to change real estate prices;

− information that could affect real estate prices is generated in an uncorrelated manner;

− information instantly reaches all market participants;

− information is freely available;

− there are no transaction costs;

− all investors make instant use of the received information;

− every investor has identical expectations as regards the information's effect on real estate prices and the expected return rate;

− all market participants have identical investment horizons.

In line with the above assumptions, prices are determined as follows (cf. http://www.naukowy.pl/...; Grossman Stanford and Stiglitz, 1980):

− prices ideally reflect the value of real estate at any moment;

− prices change instantly in response to new information, and they remain stable until new information enters the market;

− higher than average profits cannot be generated in the long run;

− prices change independently.

The causes of anomalies on real estate markets differ from those encountered on other markets, including capital markets, due to the specific nature of real estate. According to the definition proposed by Kucharska-Stasiak (1999) and Bryx (2006), based on the general concept of a perfect market, a perfect real estate market has the following attributes:

− there is a large number of buyers and sellers – no participants have sufficient 'market power' to set the price of a product, buyers and sellers have to be dispersed;

− product homogeneity (uniformity and full substitution) – when products are homogenous, the decision to buy a given product will be determined by the price rather than variations in the product's nature and transaction conditions;

− perfect information (market transparency) prices and quality of products are assumed to be known to all consumers and producers;

− utility and profit maximisation – in addition to maximising their profits, decision-makers also attempt to maximise their security or significance;

− zero entry or exit barriers – a competitive market is freely available to all participants, owners can move their capital to market segments generating higher revenues, the capital market is marked by a high degree of liquidity.

Research studies analysing perfect markets (including the real estate market) also investigate market imperfections. The following factors contribute to real estate market imperfections:

1. Speculation.

2. Monopolistic practices, such as the policies adopted by municipalities.

3. Large spread between prices quoted for similar real estates – the prices on local markets, in particular weakly developed markets, may differ even several-fold due to:
   – unavailability of information,
   – specific features of a transaction,
   – specific features of real estate,
   – financing method,
   – subjective evaluation of real estate's utilitarian value,
   – underestimation of prices in property deeds.

4. Low asset liquidity – real estate is difficult to sell at a price equal to its market value.

5. Sporadic market equilibrium – on the real estate market, supply and demand are usually out of balance due to:
   – market outlook,
   – fluctuations in return rates,
   – specificity of the local market,
   – the return on alternative investments,
   – situation on the construction market,
   – state policy,
   – frequent legislative changes.

6. Small number of transactions – real estate turnover is low.

7. Irrational behaviour – buyers' and sellers' decisions are influenced by factors other than the price, including trends, neighbourhood, tradition and advertising. Irrational behaviour may result from:
   – subjective evaluation of real estate's utilitarian value,
   – unequal access to market information,
   – mutual dependencies between parties,
   – acting under coercion.

8. Insufficient information, differences in interpreting data.

The efficiency of real estate markets may be impossible or difficult to maintain due to the specific nature of the studied object, i.e. the specificity of real estate. The distribution of real estate prices shows an absence of linearity and the presence of outlying observations (asymmetric, right-skewed distribution) that distort the classical equilibrium and affect the stability of the real estate market. If those two assumptions are not met at the stage of preliminary analysis, the above leads to the formulation of incorrect conclusions, such as the overestimated value of coefficient R^2.

According to Peters (1997, following Pareto), a distribution has fatter tails (suggesting the inefficiency of a market where prices do not follow random walks) when information reaches the market irregularly or when the investors' response to information is delayed. When the information flow exceeds critical

values, investors respond to all information that had been previously ignored. This implies that, contrary to Newton's theory where every action produces an instant response, market participants demonstrate a non-linear response to information.

The attributes describing real estate are often intuitively selected, and in some cases, this produces measurable results – the 'human' factor prevails, but it significantly affects the decision-making process on the real estate market (often leading to inappropriate decisions). The actions initiated by real market participants (behavioural) are difficult to forecast, and they are even more difficult to objectify. The above results from a high number of decision goals (objective functions) that the investors set for real estate. In this context:

– real estate can satisfy the participants' housing needs and/or a need for prestige;

– real estate can be a source of present, future and regular income;

– market participants expect that the capital invested in real estate will grow with time;

– the capital invested in real estate may secure additional sources of financing (loans, credits) for future investments.

2.2. Equilibrium and Stability of the Real Estate Market

In an equilibrium, most of the characteristic features describing a given market are in a steady state. Those steady states are known and predictable. The above implies that a real estate market system features predictable relations or relations whose probability can be deduced from the registered states of every characteristic trait describing the market.

A state of equilibrium is marked by an absence of factors that can be referred to as 'distortions' (such as behavioural factors related to the participants' emotions). In a defined state of equilibrium, a state of near equilibrium is a simplified expression of market behaviour. In a practical approach, illustrated by, for example, the investors' linear response to information, an equilibrium state is easy to interpret and analyse, but it also implies the absence of growth.

Every economy is a dynamic system. A free market economy, of which the real estate market is a part, undergoes (re)evolution processes. The use of models (which simplify reality) to illustrate this system is difficult, and it should not result in excessive simplification. Models have to account for the discussed distortions, thus bringing the 'model state' closer to the 'real state'. In the worst case scenario, the failure to account for market dynamics could distort the investigated phenomenon, leading to false conclusions or, at best, it could prevent researchers from deepening their knowledge about the market.

The concept of equilibrium, which embodies the perfect state, should not be negated. Above all, it needs an appropriate definition. Equilibrium in a real estate

market, a complex, changing and often unpredictable system, can and should be analysed in non-linear (non-proportional) categories. According to Domański (2002), equilibrium does not have to be a point (as it is the case in linear systems), but it may be a closed curve which repels or attracts the system trajectory.

Stability is yet another element that is closely related to the equilibrium of a real estate market. According to Bertalanffy (1984), a state of stability (self-regulation) is characterised by steady proportions of components derived from the environment, regardless of the magnitude and the composition of such supplies and the distortions produced by the environment. According to Kucharska-Stasiak (1999) and Bryx (2006), the absence of equilibrium on the real estate market results from the following factors:

– the features of real estate as a commodity (including permanent location, low substitutability, capital intensity, long construction cycle);

– monopolistic practices;

– external effects of activities initiated on the real estate market (e.g. construction of freeways, hypermarkets, functional changes in the land development plan);

– unequal distribution of incomes, preferential loans, housing bonuses;

– neglectful practices in the past;

– poor growth of supply.

3. EFFICIENCY OF REAL ESTATE MARKET PARTICIPANTS

The concepts discussed in section 2 are related to market effectiveness, a concept that has been developed since the early 20th century, as well as the consequences of market ineffectiveness or 'limited effectiveness' of a real estate market. This section discusses the problem of efficiency of real market participants.

3.1. Concept of 'Efficiency of Real Estate Market Participants'

The titular concept of 'efficiency of real estate market participants' immediately breeds a methodological problem. The discussed approach relies on the term 'efficiency of real estate market participants', but could the notion of 'real estate market efficiency' be used interchangeably? As noted in this paper, the concept of 'efficiency' should be reserved for evaluating the outcomes of actions initiated by market participants, rather than for assessing the market as a whole (figure 1). The term 'effectiveness' should be used to evaluate the achievement of goals planned for the entire real estate market. Effectiveness measures the level of goal attainment in the entire system, rather than the achievement of individual goals by market participants.
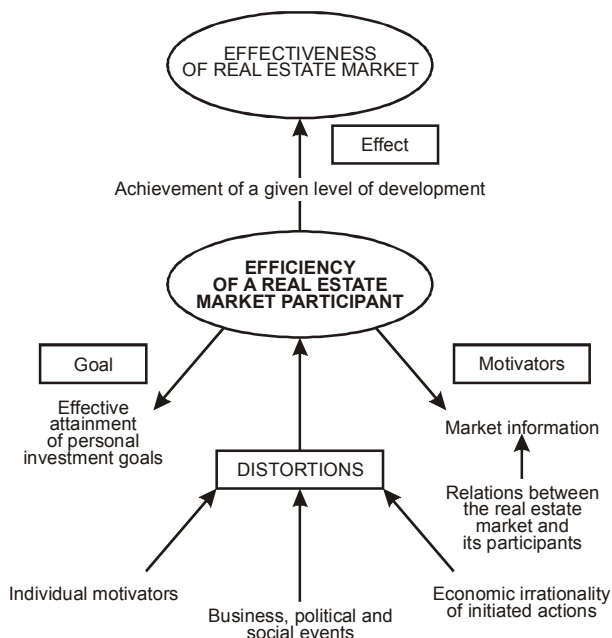
Fig. 1. Efficiency of market participants and the effectiveness of real estate market
Source: authors' study

The introduced nomenclature should not separate the two concepts. The proposed terminology has a symbolic character, and its purpose is to better organise our cognitive apparatus. By following this approach, 'efficiency' at the market level should be termed 'effectiveness', whereas the 'effectiveness of market participants' should be referred to as the 'efficacy and efficiency of market participants' (figure 2). In article assume that for the distinction from the individual efficiency of the subject, the efficiency of the property market will be called his effectivity. In the real estate market system, each concept occupies an immanent place – one at the individual level, and the other at the global level. They are closely interconnected and necessary to foster an understanding of the processes that take place in that system.

The efficiency of the real estate market can be defined as *the individual participant's ability to achieve the set goals within the structures of the real estate market system.* Efficiency evaluates the manner in which market participants pursue their goals, and it relates to the executive plane. Efficiency is the result of initiated actions, and it is described by the correlation between the achieved effects and the borne outlays. It is an indication of the optimal results achieved in production, distribution, sales, promotion etc. By investing on the real estate market, every participant is forced to identify, plan, execute and evaluate development processes. These stages should involve every market participant, both a small-scale proprietor

who buys a piece of land with the aim of building a small service outlet and a giant developer pursuing a network development scheme.
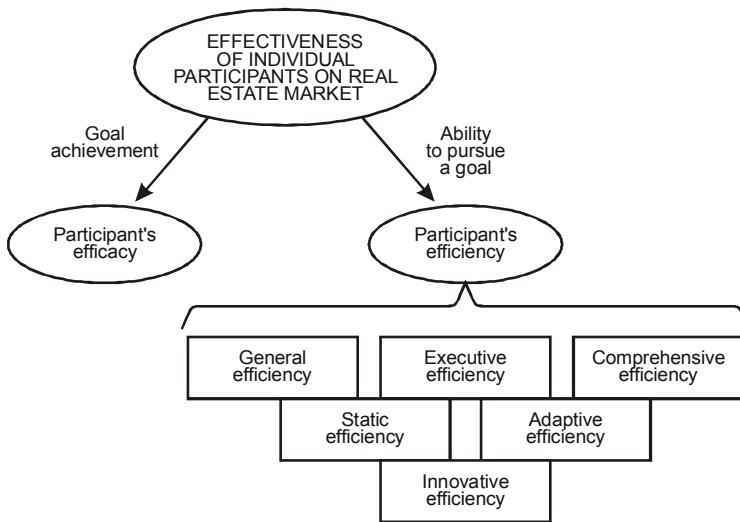
Fig. 2. Effectiveness of individual participants on real estate market
Source: authors' study

The efficiency of real estate market participants implies not only 'doing things the right way' – general efficiency, but also 'doing the right things' – executive efficiency. As shown in figure 2, general efficiency is the ability to initiate adequate actions which require outlays and generate outcomes, i.e. it is the achievement of results which commensurate with the outlays borne (e.g. effort, time, capital, knowledge). Executive efficiency is the ability to choose the appropriate goals and actions that minimise costs and outlays (e.g. effort, time, capital, knowledge). Efficient actions are actions that are performed in the most productive manner, but they do not always guarantee the achievement of the planned result. Reasonable and desirable outcomes can be attained only through the development of comprehensive efficiency which combines general and executive efficiency. In this case, a market participant adapts to market requirements, he can use those requirements for own needs, he can respond to market changes, he demonstrates an adequate level of knowledge and skill, he is aware of the existing threats (risks) and opportunities, he can evaluate his performance, he has an innovative approach to planning, decision-making, action and assessment.

As regards real estate market participants, efficiency should be analysed as a dynamic concept. In the process of pursuing their goals, market participants are influenced by the immediate and the more distant environment. The set goals should be analysed in view of the participant's 'place' in the system (local real estate market). This 'place' in the market space, described as: x, y, value, time,

has a decisive impact on various factors that affect market participants' efficiency. The immediate and the more distant environment exerts a dynamic influence on the participants. From this perspective, the efficiency of real estate market participants may be analysed in terms of static, adaptive and innovative efficiency.

Static efficiency is the ability to preserve organisational, functional and technological structures in periods of normal operation when the market is not growing dynamically, when market activity is stable between the phases of recession and intensive growth.

Adaptive efficiency is the ability to gradually adapt to changes in the immediate and the more distant environment. It enables market participants to recognise and solve the problems that emerge.

Innovative efficiency is the ability to introduce innovations, namely methods that enhance decision-making, organisational, executive and evaluation processes on the real estate market.

The differences in operational efficiency are an important source of variations in the income generating capacity of market participants (competitors) for two significant reasons. Firstly, higher efficiency affects the distinctiveness of market participants and the level of borne costs. Secondly, effective operations in the market place, which are related to organizational structures, improve the employees' individual productivity and working comfort (cf. Rogers, 1998).

Operational efficiency may be a source of competitive advantage. In the long-term perspective, operational efficiency does not suffice. According to Rogers (1998), a 'rapid diffusion of optimal actions', including organisational efforts, may affect total efficiency and may generate higher profits. Strategic tools, such as the optimisation of an organisation's overall operating costs, also affect competitiveness and market effectiveness.

3.2. Innovative Efficiency of Real Estate Market Participants and the Application of Methods Based on the Rough Set Theory

The innovative efficiency of real estate market participants creates numerous applications for various innovative solutions on the real estate market. The specific nature of the real estate market, including real estate itself, spurs the search for convenient solutions addressing this area of research. One of such solutions are methods based on the rough set theory. Their origin suggests that they can be used to investigate phenomena characterised by imprecision, excessive generalisation and uncertainty in the process of data analysis.

The rough set theory and the methods derived from it have various applications in the area of economy, banking, urban planning, medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, sociology, acoustics, linguistics, general engineering, neural engineering and machine diagnostics. Those methods are suitable for analysing real estate market data because they are derived from a theory of knowledge (theory of IT systems),

and they can be used as tools for describing knowledge that is uncertain and inaccurate. Methods based on the rough set theory are used in approximation, modelling decision-making systems, feature recognition systems and classification.

According to the authors, the methods and algorithms based on the rough set theory (Renigier-Biłozor, 2006, 2008a, b, 2010, 2011; Renigier-Biłozor and Biłozor, 2007, 2008, 2009a, b, c; Renigier-Biłozor and Wiśniewski 2011) which are used by real estate market participants can improve the participants' efficiency, in particular innovative efficiency. Figure 3 presents various options of improving the quality of data analyses and information flows in the context of distortions that obstruct the process of achieving the set goals on the real estate market. There are four types of innovative efficiency (figure 3):

– *decision-making efficiency* – related to the introduction of innovations in the process of selecting goals and methods of goal achievement;

– *organisational efficiency* – related to the development of innovative solutions in organisational structures as part of which participants function on the real estate market;
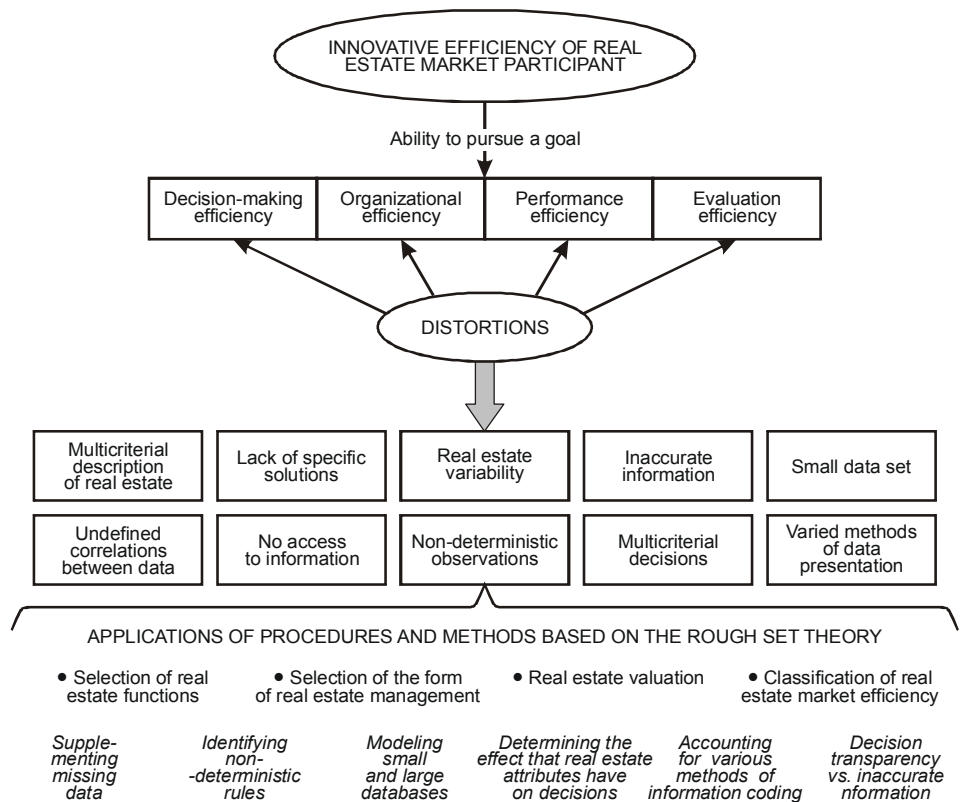
Fig. 3. Innovative efficiency of real estate market participants determined with the use of methods based on the rough set theory

Source: authors' study

– *performance efficiency* – related to the participants' ability to propose innovative solutions: maximising gains, lowering operating costs and furthering their performance on the real estate market;

– *evaluation efficiency* – participants who have successfully attained this level of efficiency are able to evaluate their performance in an innovative manner.

With the above definition of innovative efficiency, the decision-making process may be obstructed by a number of distortions. Such distortions directly and indirectly affect the undertaken actions and their outcomes. As shown by figure 3, the methods based on the rough set theory can be adapted to the needs of the real estate market to alleviate or eliminate the negative consequences of market distortions. In addition to the detailed solutions presented in figure 3, the application of the proposed methods on the real estate market supports:

– determination of minimum data sets (data minimisation), e.g. the increase of analytic capacity on small real estate markets by implementing systems facilitating the decision-making process;

– determination of the significance of real estate attributes, e.g. indispensable in decision-making procedure/process for direct variables identification;

– grouping of similar real estates, e.g. necessary in real estate valuation;

– development of decision-making rules which may be used to create expert systems, e.g. it significantly enhances the effectiveness of defining alternative decisions and planning future solutions for real estate resources utilisation;

– development of systems for making strategic decisions in the area of real estate management, e.g. improving and standardisation of decision-making criteria;

– identification of non-deterministic rules in data sets for the pre-selection of data (*a priori* analyses) which may be applied to build various models. e.g. useful in decision rules reduction.

According to the authors (Renigier-Biłozor, 2008a, b, 2010, 2011; Renigier-Biłozor and Biłozor, 2008, 2009a, b, c; Renigier-Biłozor and Wiśniewski 2011; Rogers 1998; Szyszka 2003), the algorithms shown in figure 3 are an important tool which supports strategic decision-making in the area of real estate management, including the selection of real estate functions, real estate management and operation methods, real estate valuation and evaluations of real estate market efficiency. In view of the specific nature of the real estate market, the rough set theory and the valued tolerance relation (Renigier-Biłozor, 2011; Renigier-Biłozor and Biłozor, 2009a, b, c; Renigier-Biłozor and Wiśniewski 2011; Rogers 1998; Szyszka 2003) offer an innovative approach to improving the effectiveness of a real estate market and the efficiency of its participants.

3.3. Efficiency of Real Estate Market Participants and a Perfect Market

The discussed attributes of a perfect market affect the efficiency of the real estate market. Each characteristic applies both on the macro (market) and micro

(participants) scale. This is not to imply, however, that those attributes deliver similar effects. Their outcomes are evaluated from different perspectives.

On the macro scale, the attributes determine the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the entire market. A market participant's individual efficiency is analysed indirectly. The performance of a market participant has a primary character, and the effects of that performance are registered by the system. A participant's behaviour (influence) is registered only after it has been processed by the market system. On a micro scale, market attributes determine whether individual participants are able to achieve a given level of efficiency. A market participant's actions are analysed indirectly, and the outcomes of those actions can be observed.

Let us analyse the effect that the attributes of a perfect market have on the efficiency of real estate market participants. *A large number of buyers and sellers* – a participant observing the market is aware that he is unable to directly change the market's general function because similar actions would be undertaken by other market participants. He realises that his actions and the pressure exerted by the competitors enable him to 'play the game to his advantage' at any moment. He is supported in his efforts by the dispersion of other market participants – the absence of participant consolidation implies the absence of consolidated information about the participants' behaviour. A large number of market participants contributes to efficiency.

Product homogeneity (uniformity and full substitution) – homogeneity does not contribute to the efficiency of real estate market participants. Participants who own similar (homogeneous) real estate are unable to demonstrate their distinctiveness. They would have to adopt similar patterns of behaviour, which is unacceptable for participants keen on preserving their individual efficiency. The differences between real estates or the terms of transaction support efficiency – a participant who has certain knowledge and skills can use them to maximise own efficiency. The substitution of products and services also has a detrimental impact on efficiency because it enables a potential buyer to choose a different solution which, in turn, detracts from the seller's efficiency.

Perfect information (market transparency) – all market options are assumed to be known to all buyers and sellers – *rarely*, market prices are assumed to be known to all buyers and sellers – *often*. Therefore, market participants' actions are not driven by opportunity (knowledge of the existing solutions), but by prices. In this situation, participants who have accumulated more knowledge, skills and information have a chance of improving their efficiency.

Utility and profit maximisation – in addition to maximising their profits, decision-makers also attempt to maximise their security or significance. In order to become more efficient, market participants have to maximise utility and profit. This attribute contributes to the efficiency of participants on the real estate market.

Zero entry or exit barriers – a competitive market is freely available to all participants, owners can move their capital to market segments generating higher

revenues, the capital market is characterised by a high degree of liquidity. This attribute describes the effectiveness of the market and the efficiency of its participants. Every participant should be entitled to freely shape his market position.

The efficiency of market participants is a derivative of their organisational, planning, performance and evaluation efficiency. The key factors limiting the efficiency of market participants are:

− unavailability of information and insufficient information on market processes;
  − specific features of a transaction;
  − market outlook;
  − fluctuations in return rates;
  − the return on alternative investments;
  − situation on the construction market;
  − state policy;
  − frequent legislative changes.

The remaining attributes, which are often quoted as factors that lead to market imperfection, support (in a way) the efficiency of participants on the real estate market. They describe individual scenarios which may be used by a market participant to improve his efficiency. One of such attributes is termed as *irrational behaviour – buyers' and sellers' decisions are influenced by factors other than the price, including trends, neighbourhood, tradition and advertising*. This approach may not contribute to the effectiveness of a market as a whole, but it benefits the individual efficiency of its participants. Factors such as subjective evaluation of real estate's utilitarian value, unequal access to information on local markets, mutual dependencies between parties and acting under coercion influence the participants' efficiency. Those attributes provide market participants with a competitive advantage that is not available to other participants.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This paper discusses the theoretical and practical aspects of describing the efficiency of real estate market participants. Different types of efficiency demonstrated by market participants have been defined. A correlation between the effectiveness of a real estate market and the efficiency of its participants has been determined. The efficiency of market participants has been classified into the following sub-categories: general efficiency, executive efficiency and comprehensive efficiency. In a dynamic approach, the efficiency of market participants can be further sub-divided into static, adaptive and innovative efficiency. The effect of various efficiency types on a market participant's efficiency has been demonstrated. The concept of innovative efficiency has been introduced as a factor that

significantly contributes to the participants' performance on a modern real estate market.

Innovative efficiency has been discussed in the context of methods that are based on the rough set theory. The authors have presented decision-making procedures which create various applications for the rough set theory.

The proposed solutions offer a sound theoretical basis for solving problems in the area of intelligent decision-making systems. They constitute a good venture point for application studies investigating the efficiency of real estate market participants.

The authors assume that real estate markets are ineffective (or of low effectiveness) in the context of information effectiveness. Thus, considering the likelihood of obtaining overaverage profits in this respect is purely theoretical. However, it is the market of buyers and sellers, which is regulated by market forces. Therefore, the effectiveness and efficiency analysis of economic subjects operating on the real estate market is not to be avoided.

In this context, it is necessary to define economic subjects' ability to achieve their aims (i.e. their efficiency). This article tackles and presents the analysis of the above mentioned efficiency.

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YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, AGEING AND REGIONAL WELFARE: THE REGIONAL LABOUR MARKET POLICY RESPONSE TO AGEING IN SWEDEN

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to discuss the regional labour market policy response to demographic ageing in Sweden and its consequences on the labour supply of young adults. Regions with ageing problems already experience significant problems at the labour market. The overall conclusion is that labour market policies in Sweden addressing the consequences of ageing fail to include young adults and the policies do not address regional heterogeneity regarding e.g. ageing and youth unemployment.
Key words: youth unemployment, ageing, labour market institutions, labour market policies, rural labour markets.

1. INTRODUCTION

The future will be influenced not only by demographic processes, but also by the political and economic choices made by individuals and institutions in the ongoing adjustment process designed to help utilise scarce resources more efficiently. The size of the labour force and the share of the labour force that is actually in work are, however, short-term aspects of economic growth, prosperity and welfare. Long-term economic growth, prosperity and welfare are determined by factors such as e.g. the capability to produce technological innovations, the social capability to adapt to new technology, the educational level of the labour force and the attitudes in society towards economic activity and existing institutions (Abramovitz, 1995; Kuznets, 1967; Lucas, 1988; Romer; 1986, Solow, 1956).

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The causality between demographic change and general economic performance is however anything but clear-cut. It is ambiguous to say the least – both in terms of direction and magnitude. Population decline and changes in the population structure may entail positive as well as negative economic development depending on the institutional and organisational changes that take place (Rosenberg and Birdzell, 1994; Kelley and Schmidt, 1994; Coppel *et al*., 2001). Population ageing is a slow process to which society as a whole has plenty of time to adjust (National Research Council, 2001).

The Nordic population is projected to continue growing – at least until 2030 – and the increase is envisaged to take place in the population aged 65+ (Rauhut *et al*., 2008). As in most of Europe, the population and work force will become older in Sweden. This process of ageing will however be unevenly distributed across the country. Young adults are moving out of the periphery, headed for the metropolitan areas, with the result that the ageing in the periphery increases even more. The metropolitan areas will have a significantly more favourable age-structure due to this (Eðvarðsson *et al*., 2007). Labour immigration can only cover for some of the labour need in Sweden (Bengtsson and Scott, 2010), partly because labour immigrants are reluctant to move to peripheral areas (Rauhut and Johansson, 2010). The future domestic labour supply is especially unfavourable for peripheral regions in Finland and Sweden, while metropolitan areas will do well (Dall Schmidt *et al.*, 2011).

The population structure and population development will influence the competence supply for employers, which will have consequences for production. Employers must, in one way or another, adjust to the new labour market situation (Ohlsson and Broomé, 1988). The various branches and sectors of the economy will be affected differently depending on their ability to adjust and respond to the challenges raised by the labour force generation shift According to them, *quantitative changes* in the labour force have simply not occurred as they note that 'the general fear that Sweden is heading towards a situation characterised by a weakening labour force is unfounded and incorrect' (Ohlsson and Broomé, 2003, p. 9). Other changes will, however, occur:

Qualitative changes will occur due to the upcoming labour market generation shift, as 40% of the current labour force, which possesses the experience, insight, overview, adaptation capacity, mentorship and cross-sectoral capacity will disappear from the labour market. In a more or less difficult personnel restructuring process within companies, this group will be replaced by a somewhat larger group of young people who lack experience, but have a whole range of other skills and talents. This group of young people has knowledge and competence, particularly technical competency, in several new areas. They possess new values and outlooks, physical vigour, youthful energy and commitment. It is this qualitative change that the labour force generation shift is mainly about (Ohlsson and Bromée, 2003, p. 9; italics in original).

The institutional structure of the labour market will have to adjust to the new situation due to the labour force generation shift and the outcome here will depend

on how dynamic the institutions are (Ohlsson and Broomé, 2003). Policy norms in respect of employability potential are built upon the notion that the current order should be preserved. Therefore, to change the organisational setup in the labour market the policy norms must change in the Nordic countries (Andersen *et al.*, 2007).

Youth employment is a challenge in Sweden where high unemployment and considerably lower employment levels persist among young people (Kahila and Rauhut, 2009). As regards enhancement of employability in the EU member states, various efforts of labour market policy have shown positive results in terms of increase in employment rates of women and recently also to some extent of ageing population, but attempts to increase young adults employment rates have been rather limited (Fredericks *et al.*, 2010). As a result, young adults have restricted opportunities to qualify for the social insurance schemes. Furthermore, if they are unemployed too long they will become unemployable and thus not contribute to the financing of the welfare.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the regional labour market policy response to demographic ageing in Sweden and its consequences for the labour supply of young adults. The study proposes to answer the following questions: (1) are young people addressed in the policy responses to ageing and its consequences for labour supply in Sweden? (2) Is ageing and its consequences for the labour supply addressed in regional policies? (3) To what extent are labour market institutions dynamic and able to adjust to ageing and its consequences at the regional level?

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to standard economic theory, the demand for labour depends on the fluctuations of short-term business cycles. In a short-term perspective, the opportunity cost of replacing labour with capital, i.e. investing in new technology, will be too high. If the labour shortage continues, or even worsens, over time, the opportunity cost of not substituting labour will be too high. In a long-term perspective, labour shortage is not about being short of labour, but about lacking the capacity to adjust to the structural changes in the economy (Elliott, 1991). In a market economy, there is really no such thing as a true shortage. If you want more of something, you can simply pay more to have it. When employers say that there is a labour shortage, what they really mean is they cannot get enough workers at the price they want to pay (Björklund *et al.*, 1996).

An increase in wages is to be expected when labour is scarce, which leads to an increasing wage ratio in the production. When the marginal cost of a continued increase in production is higher than the marginal cost of substituting capital for labour, institutional, organisational and technological changes will be required in

order to replace the scarce and expensive factor commodity labour in production (Fallon and Verry, 1988).

Ageing will cause a change in the relative supply of labour, ΔL_S, something which will lead to a change in the relative factor price for labour, ΔRP_L. This will stimulate a structural change, SC, in the economy. A structural change in the economy will lead to a relative change in the demand for labour, ΔL_D, qualitatively and quantitatively. A consequence of a change in the relative demand for labour will be that welfare, ΔW, in general terms, will also change. Both the relative supply of labour, L_S, and the relative price for labour, RP_L, will be affected by a relative change of welfare in a broad sense.

The links between L_S and RP_L, between RP_L and SC, and between SC and L_D will be determined by the flexibility in the institutional framework, ΔI. I contains elements from institutional economics (Olsson, 1982; North, 1999; Schön, 2000), the segmented labour market theory (Doeringer and Piore, 1971, McNabb and Ryan, 1990) and New Economic Geography (Krugman, 1991; Behrens and Thiesse, 2007; Maskell, 2001). If the institutional framework is dynamic the adjustment to new conditions will be relatively rapid and easy while a static and un-dynamic institutional framework will obstruct a structural change in the economy. The result will then be a long and painful process of adaptation to the new conditions.

Three distinct implications from I can be identified: (i) it is theoretically possible for the actors to keep I at a constant level, i.e. no institutional changes take place although changes in L_S, RP_L, SC and L_D take place; (ii) it is theoretically possible to keep I constant when the other variables in the model change; (iii) I is dependent on the context in which it operates. The laws, regulations, norms and alliances that are the lubricants of one economic and social structure may constitute bottlenecks in another. At a higher level of abstraction flexibility may then be expressed as a tendency by I to respond to – i.e. be determined by SC and ΔW. If we assume that the flexibility in the institutional framework, I, has a value between 0 and 2, i.e. $0<I<2$, the flexibility in I can be quantified.

There are several other factors that can change the supply of labour and change the relative factor prices for labour. This means that the causes of a structural change do not have to be triggered by demographic factors at all. Eðvarðsson *et al.* (2007) show that the regions in the Nordic countries have experienced an ongoing process of de-industrialisation since the early 1990s; this de-industrialisation is nothing but a structural change. The causes of this structural change in the Nordic regions are mainly connected to increasing competition and globalisation (Andersen *et al.*, 2007). This has, in turn, changed the relative factor prices, not only for labour.

Since not only the supply of labour has an influence on the relative factor pieces for labour it is a good idea to use the relative factor prices for labour as a point of departure in the theoretical framework. The model below summarises the reasoning:

$$\frac{\partial SC}{\partial RP_L} \cdot \frac{\partial L_D}{\partial SC} \cdot \frac{\partial W}{\partial L_D} = \frac{\partial W}{\partial RP_L} \tag{2.1}$$

The model shows that the marginal change of RP_L will determine the marginal change of welfare, W. The institutional framework and dynamics must, however, be included in the model:

$$I = \frac{\partial W}{\partial RP_L} \tag{2.2}$$

Since the focus in this study is the welfare policy response the model can be expressed as

$$\partial W = \partial RP_L \cdot I \tag{2.3}$$

The model has to be supplemented by a spatial dimension to allow for regional differences, both in terms of labour supply and welfare but also in institutional dynamics. The regional differences will be included as i in the model. All changes in the model will however not take place immediately after one of the indicators changes; time lags are to be expected and they are labelled *t-n*.

$$\partial W_{i,t} = \left(\partial RP_{L,i} \cdot I_i\right)_{t-n} \tag{2.4}$$

In equations 2.3 and 2.4 the importance of a functioning labour market, with dynamic institutions, is in focus; dynamic labour market institutions have an implication on the relative factor prices of labour e.g. through the matching efficiency at the labour market (Björklund *et al.*, 1996).

Three hypotheses derived from the theoretical framework will be tested in this study: (1) young adults are not an explicit part of the labour market policy response in the Nordic countries to ageing and its effect on labour supply; (2) the policies addressing ageing and its consequences are focusing on the regional level in the Nordic countries; (3) if questions 1 and 2 are confirmed, something is obstructing an efficient and functioning regional labour market which is able to respond to supply changes at the labour market in a dynamic way.

3. A STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

The regions in Sweden with present and future problems of an ageing population and eroding work force also suffer from several other problems. In figure 1 it is shown that the correlation between the proportion of persons aged 65+ in the region and the regional open unemployment rate for young adults is so high that it cannot be ignored; in figure 2 the same strong correlation exists with regard to

the share of persons aged 65+ in the region and the regional share of young adults aged 18–24 in unemployment schemes. Both figures show data for 2010. So, the higher the percentage of persons aged 65+, the more difficult it is for young adults to find employment.
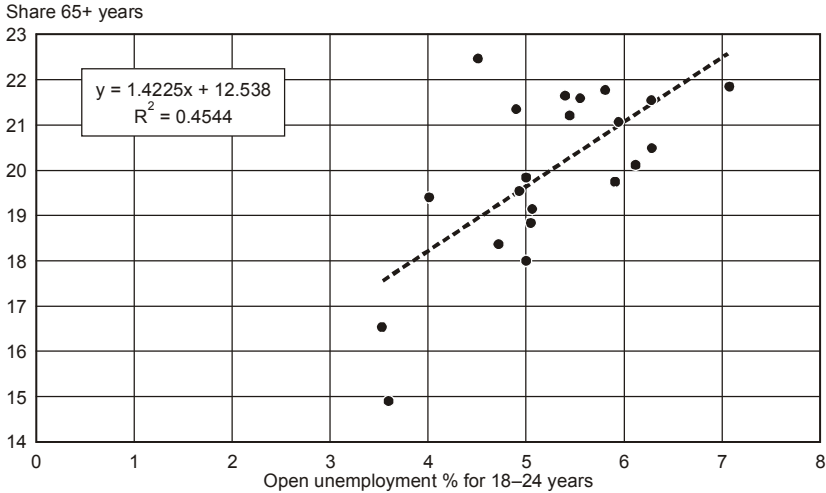
Fig. 1. The correlation between the share of persons aged 65+ in the region and the regional open unemployment rate for young adults aged 18–24 in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from Statistics Sweden Population database and the National Labour Board

Fig. 2. The correlation between the share of persons aged 65+ in the region and the regional rate of young adults aged 18–24 in unemployment schemes in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from Statistics Sweden Population database and the National Labour Board

This is not the only challenge these regions face. The higher the regional youth unemployment rate, the higher the regional average spending on social transfers (figure 3). Again, the correlation is so strong that it cannot be ignored. We do not, however, believe that young people refrain from employment to pick up social benefits; it is the other way around – the high regional social transfers partly depend on high youth unemployment. If young adults cannot provide for themselves (in cases they have not qualified for the unemployment scheme), they will at least be provided for through economic assistance.

Open unemployment % 18–24 years

$y = 0.2817x + 10.613$
$R^2 = 0.5963$

Average regional transfers, 1000' SEK

Fig. 3. The correlation between the regional open unemployment rate for young adults aged 18–24 and the average regional social transfers (SEK 1000's) in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from National Labour Board and the National Social Insurance Board

The high social transfers in regions with high rates of youth unemployment are also connected with high percentages of labour force on long-term sickness leave (figure 4). Also this time the correlation is so strong that it cannot be ignored. So, regions with high youth unemployment rates also face high percentages of long-term sick, besides the high proportion of persons aged 65+.

One further observation of interest is that regions with high youth unemployment also have low vacancy rates (figure 5). This is logical: with few vacancies it is difficult for entrants (in this case young adults) into the labour market to compete with more experienced labour for the jobs. Furthermore, one could expect a high share of population on long-term sickness leaves to increase the vacancy ratio, but it is actually the opposite (figure 6): the higher the share of long-term sick, the lower the vacancy ratio. The correlation is so strong that it cannot be ignored.

Open unemployment % 18–24 years

$y = 0.5794x + 0.2514$
$R^2 = 0.4592$

Long term sick in population (20–844 years) %
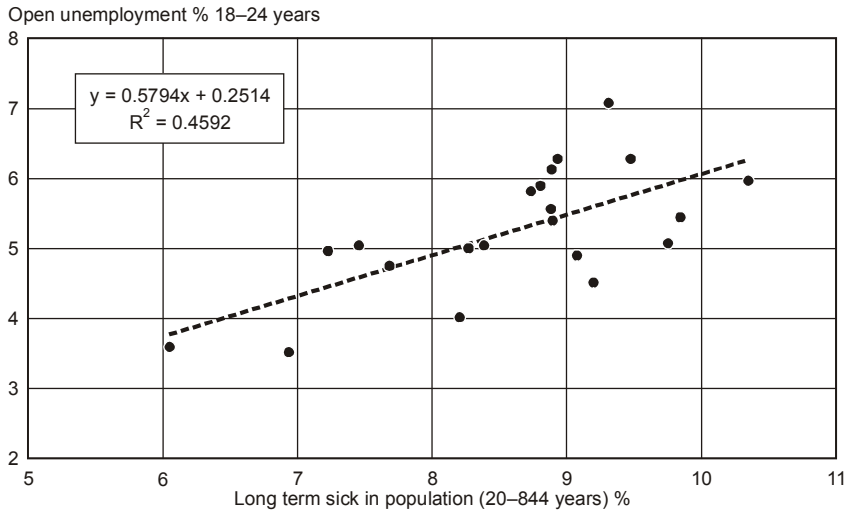
Fig. 4. The correlation between the regional open unemployment rate for young adults aged 18–24
and the share of long-term sick as a share of the regional work force in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from National Labour Board and
the National Social Insurance Board

Open unemployment % 18–24 years

$y = 1.8214x + 7.4879$
$R^2 = 0.2749$

Vacancy ratio

Fig. 5. The correlation between the regional open unemployment rate for young adults aged 18–24
and the regional vacancy ratio in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from Statistics Sweden Population database and
the National Labour Board

Long term sick in population (20–64 years) %
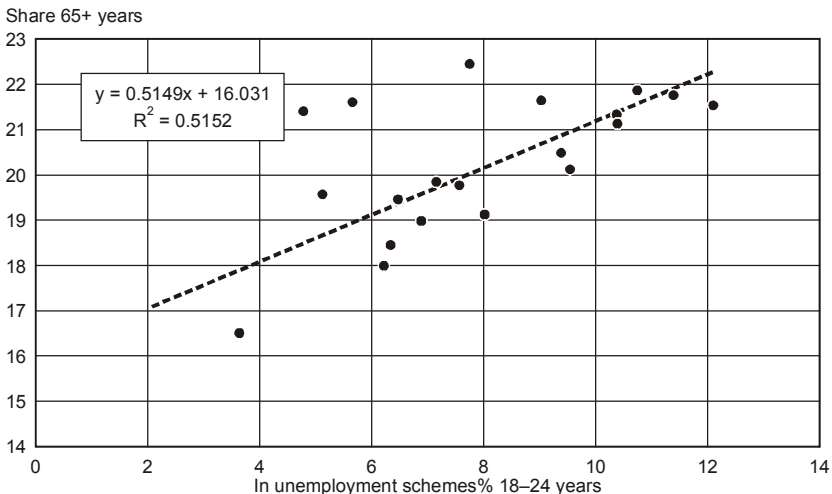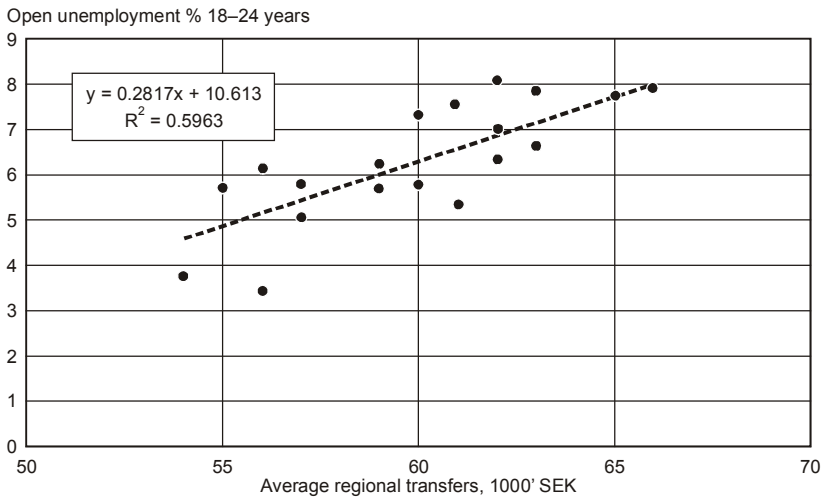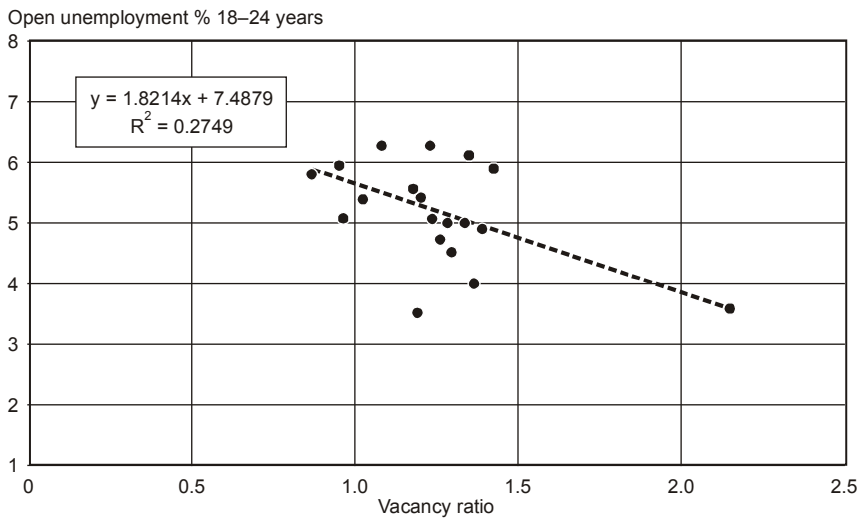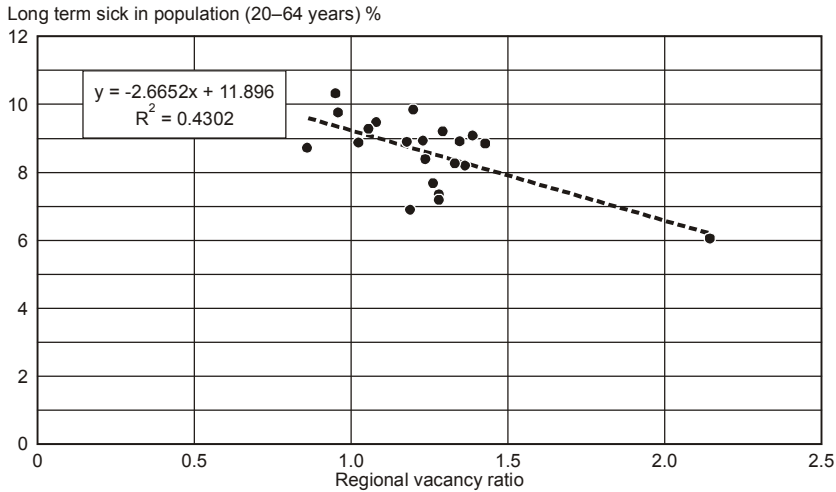

Fig. 6. The correlation between the regional open unemployment rate for young adults aged 18–24 and the regional vacancy ratio in 2010
Source: authors' calculations from National Labour Board and the National Social Insurance Board

This short overview indicates that the regions with ageing problems actually face a number of significant problems at the labour market. Eðvarðsson *et al*. (2007) argues that many of the regions with a high share of population aged 65+ also have experienced a de-industrialisation process over the last decades. Consequently, an institutional inertia slows down the adjustment to a post-industrial economic structure (Rauhut and Kahila, 2008; Kahila and Rauhut, 2009).

4. CURRENT POLICIES

The *Lisbon Strategy* aimed at full employment and the strengthening of social cohesion by 2010 (European Commission 2004a, b). Since then, specific targets have been defined on overall employment rates (70%), employment rates of women (60%) and employment rates of older workers (50%) (European Commission 2005). Inevitably the *Lisbon Strategy* failed to reach its ambiguous targets because it did not have any clear instruments to reach the targets (Cantillon, 2010). Its successor, the *Europe 2020 Strategy*, targets to achieve an employment rate of 75% by 2020 (European Commission, 2010a). In order to meet these challenges, the EU has to raise employment rates especially for women, young and older workers by focusing on four key priorities (European Commission, 2010b). Some of the prioritised issues are to avoid early exits from the labour market and promote older labour to learn new skills.

The Nordic *Cooperation Programme on Labour Market and Working Environment 2005–2008* aimed at increasing female and older people's employment rates in order to reduce the outflow from labour markets (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2005). The programme did not reach its goals. Despite this programme, the Nordic countries have not included matching instruments or approaches in respect of current and future challenges in the labour market (Rauhut and Kahila, 2008). The present programme, *Nordic Cooperation on Working Life 2009–2012*, focuses on advancing employment, labour market policy, the working environment and labour law to favour women and older persons (Nordisk Ministerråd, 2008). The present order should be protected in this programme instead of promoting adjustment (Kahila and Rauhut, 2009).

Sweden has a long tradition of active labour market policies which have been implemented side by side with the development of the welfare state (Junestav, 2007). It however lacks a comprehensive strategy to advance the labour market situation of ageing people, and the policies have thus far developed almost solely in relation to the different incentives related to welfare services (Kangas *et al*., 2010). The policies have targeted the general development of the labour market and upgrading skills across the labour force in order to achieve full employment in the country. A number of important steps have been taken in relation to improving the labour market participation of older workers (Finansdepartementet, 2007). These incentives should however be reinforced and targeted on the demand side in the labour market (OECD, 2003b).

Several reforms have taken place over the last ten years in the Swedish labour market. Reforms have abandoned vocational training and subsidised programmes so that unemployed will have more personal responsibility in terms of finding a new job. Also, they now have to face a number of new 'activation requirements' in return for receiving income support from the state (Köhler *et al*., 2008). The present labour market policy targets two specific groups: (1) long-term sick who have been transferred from the sickness insurance and are denied further benefits from the sickness insurance and (2) newly arrived immigrants who need to be introduced at the Swedish labour market; unemployed young adults are not prioritised. The only programme for them is 'Jobbgrantin'.[3] Furthermore, the programmes to improve employability are either national or local (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011). The programmes to improve employability for young adults are not very efficient; the programmes administered by municipalities are at the bottom of the scale regarding matching efficiency while the programmes that are age-neutral are at the top of the scale, also for young adults (Forslund and Nordström Skans, 2006). When the conditions for young adults to establish themselves in the labour market

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[3] This programme can last for maximum 6 months and contain an investigation of the individual's potentials as well as guidance on studies and professions for 3 months. After that a shorter education can be offered or a work (with reduced pay) to get some experience.

are examined young adults experience considerably less favourable labour market conditions in Finland and Sweden than in the other Nordic countries (Olofsson and Wadensjö, 2007) European Union policies emphasise the importance of a greater devolution of responsibilities and tasks as well as the integrated delivery of labour market and social services (European Commission, 2002). The labour market policy integration of services will bring clear advantages as services for disadvantaged people can be organised separately with sufficient resources and qualified personnel. Welfare and work are now ever more connected in terms of different measures of activation and rehabilitation.

Several of the 'Regional Growth Programmes' mention labour market issues, usually in the forms of stimulating life-long learning, increasing employment rates amongst immigrants, reducing long-term sickness and increasing equality regarding salaries, education and physical capabilities; young adults are just mentioned briefly (Västra Götalandsregionen, 2008; Region Blekinge, 2008; Region Örebro, 2009; Länsstyrelsen i Jämtlands län, 2009; Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län 2007; Gotlands kommun, 2008). These programmes are, however, silent on how they are going to achieve their goals. The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth does not mention labour market issues in their analysis and assessment of the 'Regional Growth Programmes' (Tillväxtverket, 2011).

The national level in Sweden retains a significant degree of power over regional labour market services. Most of the implemented policies focus on how to keep ageing labour in the workforce and postpone labour market exit for ageing workers. Ineffectual attempts have, in addition, been made to improve the situation for e.g. young adults and persons with an immigrant background. To a large extent ageing, welfare provision and labour supply are *regional challenges*. Alas, the policies implemented thus far address only the national level (Rauhut and Kahila, 2008).

5. POLICY NORMS, INSTITUTIONAL INERTIA AND VESTED INTERESTS

Many short-term policies have been launched, e.g., the raising of the retirement age, enabling older people to work longer, changes in labour market legislation to favour older workers and the promotion of labour immigration. Rauhut and Kahila (2008) show that few, if any, medium to long-term policies have been launched and implemented to deal with the upcoming challenges of welfare. At first glance this may seem odd, but not when a fuller picture is understood. When discussing long-term policies this becomes clearer. One such policy is to promote the necessary structural change in the economy to enable the post-industrial economy to create its own labour market institutions. This would not only produce new institutions, but also a different type of demand for labour. This is not welcomed by the vested interests of the industrial economy. Who will benefit from a structural

change in the economy – the old or young labour? Definitely the young labour as it will be in demand.

Andersen *et al*. (2007) argue that the institutions governing the labour market and the educational systems need to be reassessed and remodelled. They also emphasise the need for the Nordic population to work more and longer and the easiest way to reach this goal is to improve the employment rates for marginal groups (e.g. young adults, persons with an immigrant background and persons aged 50+). By reforming the public services, the labour market and educational institutions the foundation of the 'Nordic model' can be defended even if ageing and globalisation put it under pressure. 'What has worked well in the past is unlikely to be good enough in the future' (Andersen *et al*., 2007, p. 158).

After a restructuring phase new jobs are normally not created in the same branches or locations where jobs were lost during the restructuring phase. Therefore, mobility and matching are essential parts of the restructuring of enterprises and improvements of the employment. The introduction of new technologies and competition between enterprises are the most important motivations behind the change, which leads to the creation as well as reduction of jobs (Magnusson, 2006). When the young adults move from the periphery to the metropolitan areas, in many cases just to break the vicious circle of unemployment, they challenge of the existing institutions in the peripheral regions to change. By *voting with their feet* they put pressure on the existing institutions as labour disappears, the tax base narrows and the reproduction potential erodes (Rauhut *et al*., 2008).

While the production system in a post-industrial service economy is different to an industrial, it is often the case that labour market institutions lag behind and often remain tied to the policies and dictums of the industrial economy. Labour shortages, mismatch between job-seekers and employers, low mobility etc., are all outcomes of the inertia in the labour market institutions and their inability to quickly adjust to the post-industrial economy (Rauhut and Kahila, 2008).

The development we see today is a predictable outcome of an unfinished or incomplete structural change in the economy. The vested interests of the industrial economy are unwilling to enter the post-industrial economy. Institutional dynamism is therefore vital for progress, both economic and social. If the dynamism of its institutions disappears so will the prosperity of the country. The remnants of industrial society's vested interests groups would however be the losers (Kahila and Rauhut, 2009).

An extensive theoretical literature on this topic exists. Institutions can contribute to both change and stability in political, social and economic life. Instead of being mere echoes of social forces, institutions, by transcending moral individualism and self-interest, buffer or transform social currents and define the norms, interests and beliefs in society (March and Olsen, 1989). Institutions play an important role in a society reducing uncertainty by establishing a stable, though not necessarily efficient, structure to human interaction. Resource inputs in production terms from land, labour and capital are involved in the transformation of physical attributes into

goods and in transactions for those goods. Together they constitute the total costs of production. In consequence, the institutional framework can stimulate or obstruct economic change with regard to production inputs (North, 1999).

This institutional dynamism is vital for progress, economic or social. The more dynamic are our institutions the more prosperous is our society. A prosperous society however leads to vested interests with the aim of rent-seeking, which, consequently, will reduce institutional dynamism. If the institutional dynamism disappears, so will the prosperity of a country (Rosenberg and Birdzell, 1986; North, 1999). Organisations for collective action take a long time to establish themselves, but when they are established social collapses etc. are often needed to make them disappear. The longer the period of time they manage to function the deeper they are able to penetrate society (Olsson, 1982).

Rauhut and Kahila (2008) find the policies to improve labour market imbalances in the Nordic countries implemented on national level, and welfare service provision on national or local levels. The labour market imbalances are embodied predominantly on regional level and, therefore, require regional approach. Within this regional context, could we expect that welfare service provision is also to larger extent a regional and not national or local challenge? National regulations and frameworks decide the most significant aspects of the ageing agenda, e.g. questions related to retirement, to the structure of welfare services and the labour market. The provision of welfare services is sensitive to administrative reforms. Therefore national-regional policy harmonisation is a crucial element of policy delivery in order to encourage efficiency and improve labour market incentives (Kahila and Rauhut, 2009).

The policies used to deal with labour market problems have been designed to solve the problems in an industrial economy on national level. This has been the reason for the moderate results in solving the problems of the post-industrial economy on regional level. Since the problems at the post-industrial labour market are somewhat different than the problems at the industrial labour market, the policy tools must be designed to deal with them. This means that new ideas, new trains-of-thought and long-term visions are needed to design new policies in regions, and labour market institutions must adjust to the post-industrial reality. An increasing regional diversity on the labour market and ageing have made policies in line with a 'one-size-fits-all' ideology outdated. Nevertheless, we still hang on to it.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The overall conclusion is that labour market policies addressing the consequences of ageing must include two aspects: (1) they must allow for regional variations as ageing and the population structure is not evenly distributed geographically,

and (2) they must focus on the labour market inclusion of young adults – if young adults face such long unemployment and exclusion so that they become unemployable, who is then going to work and pay for the welfare of our elderly?

The welfare was organised to deal with the problems of an industrial society in Sweden. In the context of a post-industrial service society however the model is unable to deal with the welfare provision needs of its citizens particularly in a situation where vested interests try to slow reform to ensure the old model lives on (Rauhut and Kahila, 2008). What has this to do with population ageing? Nothing. Instead of taking the notion of an ideologically infused debate on the organisation of welfare head on it is easier to raise the bogeyman of 'population ageing' (Rauhut, 2010). Consequently, neither the *explanans* nor the *explanandum* of the current policy debate on ageing, its consequences and countermeasures are convincing.

The current policy response to ageing in Sweden suffers from the fact that issues related to young adults entering the labour market are simply not adequately addressed nor, indeed, is the regional perspective. This means that significant *lacunae* in the argument exist. The metropolitan areas in Sweden will not face any future problems with ageing, but the rural, peripheral and disadvantaged regions certainly will.

The policy approach has been to improve the employment opportunities and incomes of people in their municipality or region as a response to the failure of markets. The question, however, remains as to whether this is a policy designed to actually develop or simply to sustain such regions. The employment and development policies implemented thus far have not proven capable of removing regional disparities in regional attractiveness. The negative level of development seen in many regions has not been addressed by the creation of policies to improve their regional attractiveness thereby attracting labour and business (Eðvarðsson *et al.*, 2007). Now when the young adults move away from these regions to escape unemployment and marginalisation, 'ageing' is used as a scapegoat.

Questions over the retirement age are often placed on the back burner although discussion over the issue continues. The retirement age and how to keep the older labour active and in the labour force are however only short-term measures in the labour market; more focus must be on long-term measures such as stimulating a structural change in the economy, to let relatively weak groups on the labour market enter it and allow for regional labour market policies. The young adults, *i.e.* future labour and tax-payers, will gain from these suggestions. And so do we.

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REVIEW ARTICLES AND REPORTS

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EVALUATING THE PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY: EVIDENCE FROM A 27-NATION EUROPEAN SURVEY

1. INTRODUCTION

For many years, it was assumed that informal workers were low-paid waged employees working under exploitative 'sweatshop-like' conditions as a last resort when no other options were open to them (Bender, 2004; Davis, 2006; Sassen, 1997). Over the past decade or so, however, there has been growing recognition that much informal work is conducted on a self-employed basis and is not always purely a survival practice. Until now, however, studies of this phenomenon in a European context have been limited to small-scale surveys of particular populations (Boren, 2003; Leonard, 1994; Persson and Malmer, 2006; Surdej, 2005; Salmi, 2003; Williams, 2006). No extensive pan-European surveys have been conducted. This paper seeks to fill that gap.

To do this, the first section will review the existing literature on the magnitude and character of the informal economy in Europe and beyond. Identifying that no extensive European surveys have been so far conducted of self-employment in the informal economy, the second section then bridges this gap by reporting the findings of a 2007 Eurobarometer survey comprising 26,659 face-to-face interviews in the 27 member states of the European Union (EU-27). Revealing the variable rates of participation in informal self-employment both across different populations and locations, as well as the varying ratios of involuntary-to-voluntary participation in such work, the final section draws some conclusions and implications for future research and policy-making.

At the outset, however, the informal economy needs to be defined, or what is sometimes called the 'undeclared', 'shadow', 'underground', 'cash-in-hand',

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'hidden' or 'off-the-books' sector/economy (Williams, 2004). Reflecting a wide-spread consensus, the informal economy is here defined as paid work that is not declared to the authorities for tax, social security and/or labour law purposes when it should be declared (Dekker *et al.*, 2010; European Commission, 2007; OECD, 2002; Schneider, 2008; Williams, 2004, 2006; Williams and Windebank, 1995). The only difference between formal and informal work, therefore, is that informal work is not declared for tax, social security or labour law purposes when it should be declared. If other differences exist, then it is not here defined as the informal economy. If the goods and/or services traded are illegal (e.g., drug-trafficking), for example, then this is here defined as part of the wider 'criminal' economy, and if unpaid it is part of the separate unpaid economy. Of course, in practice, the boundaries between spheres, such as informal and criminal activities, sometimes overlap in certain spatial contexts, and also sometimes blur, such as when in-kind favours or gifts are involved in exchanges. To overcome this, only legal goods and services, and only transactions involving strictly monetary exchanges, are here defined as informal work. Finally, only wholly informal work is here included. We do not here include formal employees receiving from their formal employ-er two wages, a declared wage and an undeclared ('envelope') wage (Williams, 2009), not least because the focus in this paper is upon self-employment rather than waged employees in the informal economy.

2. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN EUROPE AND BEYOND?

It is now widely recognised that the informal economy is a sizeable and expand-ing feature of the contemporary global economy (Charmes, 2009; ILO, 2002a, b; Jütting and Laiglesia, 2009; Schneider, 2008). An OECD report estimates that of the 3 billion working population globally, nearly two-thirds (1.8 billion) are in the informal economy (Jütting and Laiglesia, 2009). The ILO (2002b), meanwhile, find that some 48% of non-agricultural employment in North Africa is in the in-formal economy, 51% in Latin America, 65% in Asia and 72% in sub-Saharan Africa. Until now, however, the proportion of the European workforce in the in-formal economy has not been estimated.

Until recently both in Europe and beyond, it was commonly assumed that informal workers were low-paid waged employees working under exploitative 'sweatshop-like' conditions as a survival practice when no other options were available to them (Ahmad, 2008; Davis, 2006; Sassen, 1997). Since the turn of the millennium, however, firstly, informal workers have been re-read as often work-ing on a self-employed basis and secondly, as often doing so as a matter of choice (Cross, 2000; De Soto, 1989, 2001; Temkin, 2009).

Reading informal workers as sometimes self-employed first emerged in a third (majority) world context in recognition of the vast number of informal street vendors, micro-entrepreneurs and petty traders (Cross, 2000; De Soto, 1989, 2001; ILO, 2002a; Temkin, 2009). Indeed, the ILO (2002b) have estimated that in sub-Saharan Africa, 70% of informal workers are self-employed, 62% in North Africa, 60% in Latin America and 59% in Asia. Over the past decade, this representation has also spread to a European context (Chavdorova, 2005; Evans *et al.*, 2006; Round *et al.*, 2008; Small Business Council, 2004; Williams, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010). Until now, however, few estimates exist of the proportion of the informal workforce operating on a self-employed basis in Europe. Neither have there been extensive surveys of who conducts this informal self-employment, how it varies across various socio-spatial contexts or why people engage in such work at an EU level. The only European studies so far undertaken are small-scale single-nation studies, focusing upon particular aspects of the character of informal self-employment (Boren, 2003; Leonard, 1994; Persson and Malmer, 2006; Round *et al*., 2008; Williams, 2004, 2006).

Meanwhile, most studies in Europe and beyond seeking to explain self-employment in the informal economy have adopted a structure/agency approach depicting participants as doing so either out of necessity or willingly due to a desire to exit the formal economy (Marlow, 2006). Indeed, four contrasting schools of thought can be discerned. A first school depicts the informal self-employed as universally doing so out of necessity such as due to the absence of alternative options (Moore and Mueller, 2002; Raijman, 2001; Sassen, 1997), and they have been variously labelled the 'necessity', 'involuntary', 'dependent', 'forced' or 'survivalist' self-employed (Böheim and Muhlberger, 2009; Kautonen *et al*., 2010; Temkin, 2009; Travers, 2002).

A second school of thought argues the opposite, depicting them as universally doing so voluntarily, not least so as to avoid the costs, time and effort of formal registration (De Soto, 1989, 2001; Gerxhani, 2004; Maloney, 2004; Small Business Council, 2004). A third school, however, transcends their depiction as universally either involuntary or voluntary participants (Lozano, 1989; Williams, 2006). Instead, the ratio of involuntary-to-voluntary informal self-employment has been evaluated, revealing the higher prevalence of necessity in deprived localities and willingness in affluent localities (e.g., Williams, 2006). A fourth and final school, meanwhile, has recently challenged the representation of necessity and choice as separate categories constituted via their negation to each other (i.e., doing so out of necessity means participants are not engaging out of choice). Instead, it has argued that both can be co-present in an individual's motives (e.g., Williams, 2010). Such findings until now, however, are confined to very specific populations. Whether it is more widely valid has not been evaluated.

In sum, few, if any, extensive pan-European evaluations exist of the commonality of self-employment in the informal economy, where it is located, who conducts such endeavour and why they do so. Below, therefore, an attempt is made to start to fill these gaps.

3. EXAMINING SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

In May and June 2007, a survey, which one of the author's of this paper helped design, was conducted as part of wave 67.3 of Eurobarometer. This involved 26,659 face-to-face interviews in the 27 member states of the EU, ranging from 500 in smaller member states to 1,500+ interviews in larger EU countries. In all nations, a multi-stage random (probability) sampling method was applied. A number of sampling points were drawn with probability proportional to population size (for total coverage of the country) and to population density according to the Eurostat's NUTS II (or equivalent) and the distribution of the resident population in terms of metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling units, a starting address was then drawn at random. Further addresses (every nth address) were subsequently selected by standard 'random route' procedures from the initial address. In each household, meanwhile, the respondent was drawn at random (following the 'closest birthday rule'). All interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes and in the appropriate national language with adults aged 15 years and over. Data was collated using CAPI (computer assisted personal interview) where this was available and then loaded onto SPSS in order to analyse the data.

The interview schedule, adopting a gradual approach to sensitive questions, firstly asked questions about the respondents' attitudes towards the informal economy and secondly, having established some rapport, asked questions regarding their purchase of goods and services in the informal economy in the last 12 months along with their reasons for doing so and thirdly, questions regarding their supply of informal work including the type of work conducted, hours spent doing such work, the hourly wage rate, who they worked for and their reasons for doing so. The usual socio-demographic data was also collected. In this paper, the focus is upon the 944 respondents who reported undertaking informal work on a self-employed basis.

Prior to reporting the findings, however, their reliability and validity needs to be addressed. Interviews lasted a mean of 45 minutes, and 51 minutes amongst those reporting informal work on a self-employed basis. Respondent cooperation was deemed excellent in 57% of cases, fair in 33% and average in 9%. In only 0.4% of interviews was cooperation deemed bad by the interviewer.

Hence, even if the informal economy is hidden from the state, it is not so far as discussing it with researchers is concerned. Below, in consequence, the results are analysed.

4. EXTENT AND NATURE OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN THE EU-27

What proportion of work in the informal economy is conducted on a self-employed basis? Until now, although there are estimates for third world regions, no estimates have been available for the western world. Here, for the first time, such an estimate is provided. In the EU-27, 5% of the surveyed population had participated in the informal economy over the prior 12 months and some three-quarters (77%) had done so on a self-employed basis (which is slightly higher than in other global regions), 57% working for closer social relations (e.g., kin, neighbours, friends, acquaintances and colleagues) and 20% for other private persons or households. There are, however, marked variations across EU regions, with 83% of all informal work being conducted on a self-employed basis in Nordic nations, 77% in Continental Europe, 67% in East-Central Europe and 76% in Southern Europe. In some populations, moreover, greater proportions of informal work are conducted for closer social relations; 70% in Nordic nations, 63% in Continental Europe, 42% in East-Central Europe and 40% in Southern Europe. Self-employment in the informal economy therefore represents the vast bulk of informal work throughout the EU-27.

Analysing the extent of informal work conducted on a self-employed basis, table 1 displays that some 1 in 28 (nearly 4%) of the 26,659 adults surveyed reported engaging in informal self-employment over the last 12 months, spending 73 hours on average in such work and earning an average €11.05/hour, producing a mean annual income from informal self-employment of €806. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of this informal self-employment is conducted for closer social relations (e.g., kin, neighbours, friends, acquaintances and colleagues). Just over one-quarter (27%) is conducted for previously unknown other private persons and households.

Participation in informal self-employment, however, is uneven across EU regions, populations and sectors. Some 9% of the adults surveyed engaged in informal self-employment in Nordic nations but just 3% in Continental Europe, 4% in East-Central Europe and 2% in Southern Europe. In Nordic nations, therefore, one finds 11% of all informal self-employment despite only 4% of the surveyed population being located in this EU region. Far more informal self-employment, however, is conducted for closer social relations (84%). Informal self-employment is significantly under-represented, meanwhile, in Southern Europe where one finds

Table 1. Commonality and character of informal self-employment in the EU-27: by region and population group

Population	% engaged in informal self-employment in past year	% of all informal self-employed surveyed:	% of surveyed population	Average total hours	Average hourly informal earnings (€)	Mean total annual informal earnings (€)	% of informal self-employment conducted for:	
							closer social relations	other private persons/household
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
EU27	4	100	100	73	11.05	806	73	27
EU region:								
Nordic	9**	11	4	39***	13.85***	536**	84***	16
Continental	3	49	48	58	12.78	742	83	17
East-Central	4	24	22	90	7.48	673	64	36
Southern	2	16	26	133	7.58	1,006	53	47
Gender:								
Man	4**	63	48	75**	11.71***	878***	79***	21
Woman	2	37	52	69	8.13	561	64	36
Age:								
15–24	6***	30	15	76***	9.61***	736***	75***	25
25–39	5	43	26	58	12.01	700	58	42
40–54	3	24	26	68	11.25	769	71	29
55+	<1	3	33	69	8.50	591	0	100
Education ended:								
15	2**	15	25	115***	9.52***	1,100***	62***	38
16–19	3	40	42	70	10.51	736	76	24
20+	4	25	23	46	13.13	605	80	20
Still studying	6	20	10	66	8.84	584	69	31

Table 1 (cont.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Employment status:								
Self-employed	6***	12	7	34***	17.39***	582**	72***	28
Managers	2	7	10	49	12.25	605	88	12
Other white	3	9	12	55	9.47	521	83	17
Manual workers	4	29	22	74	11.71	870	75	25
House persons	2	6	9	115	10.20	1176	71	29
Unemployed	6	11	6	92	7.59	718	62	38
Retired	1	8	25	66	7.84	522	74	26
Students	6	18	10	66	8.84	585	69	31
Gross formal income/month:								
<€500	6**	18	14	82***	7.43***	610***	62***	38
€500–1,000.99	4	20	20	68	9.94	672	89	11
€1001–2000.99	4	29	31	51	12.28	620	90	10
€2001–3000.99	6	21	15	49	14.53	709	83	17
€3001+	2	12	20	46	18.80	874	74	26
Urban/rural area:								
Rural area	4*	40	32	79***	10.40**	822***	80**	20
Small/medium town	3	40	42	68	10.72	732	68	32
Large urban area	3	20	26	61	11.28	693	71	29

Statistical significance: * = 0.05 (5% probability), **=0.01 (1%) and ***= 0.001 (0.1%).

just 16% of all identified informal self-employment but some 26% of the surveyed population. This is perhaps due to the non-monetisation of community and kinship exchange in southern Europe compared with northern nations. In Nordic nations, that is, there appears to have been a monetisation of work conducted for closer social relations. Money changes hands either to avoid the need for reciprocity at a later date, or to redistribute money in a manner where there is no connotation of 'charity' since the money is being given for work undertaken. This has previously been identified in smaller-scale studies in northern Europe (Boren *et al.*, 2003; Persson and Malmer, 2006; Williams, 2004). In Southern Europe, meanwhile, much of this work is perhaps still conducted on an unpaid basis.

Even if participation rates are lower in Southern Europe, the informal self-employed work longer hours and earn a greater amount of money. In Nordic nations and Continental Europe, where work for closer social relations is more prevalent, the informal self-employed work fewer hours but the hourly wage rate is higher. Meanwhile, in those EU regions where informal self-employment is conducted more for previously unknown people, the average hours worked is longer but the hourly wage rate lower. The intimation, therefore, is that the informal self-employed earn a higher wage rate when working for closer social relations. This is indeed the case. Informal self-employment for previously unknown persons earns an average per hour of €10.49, but €11.55 when working for closer social relations.

Which population groups are more likely to engage in informal self-employment? The groups over-represented and with higher participation rates include men, younger age groups, those with higher educational qualifications, the self-employed, manual workers, unemployed people, students, lower- and middle-income groups, and those living in rural areas. Far more informal self-employment is conducted for closer social relations, however, amongst those with higher participation rates (e.g., men, younger age groups, those in rural areas). The outcome is a segmented workforce which both mirrors and reinforces the formal labour market in the EU. Women, for example, earn only 69% the average hourly wage rate of men (€8.13 compared with €11.71). Similarly, those with fewer years in education earn less than those with higher levels of education, as do those not working (e.g., the unemployed, retired, students) earn less than the employed and self-employed, those with lower gross formal incomes earn significantly less than those with higher gross formal incomes, and those living in rural areas have lower hourly wage rates than those in urban areas. Self-employment in the informal economy, therefore, reinforces the inequalities in the formal labour market.

Neither is this work evenly distributed across all sectors. Some 25% takes place in the household services sector (compared with just 3% of all surveyed self-employment), 19% in the construction industry (12% of all self-employment), 11% in the personal services sector (17%), 9% in repair services (4%), 6% in the

hotels and restaurant sector (4%), 5% in agriculture (13%), 4% in industry (5%), 4% in transport (3%) and 3% in the retail sector (23%), with 14% in other sectors (16%). Those engaging in self-employment in some sectors (e.g., household services and construction) are therefore more likely to work on an informal self-employed basis than in other sectors (e.g., retail, personal services). This provides strong evidence of where state authorities responsible for tackling the informal economy should be targeting their efforts in the EU-27.

4.1. Rationales for Participating in Informal Self-Employment

Are those engaging in self-employment in the informal economy involuntary or voluntary participants? The 944 respondents doing such work were asked whether they agreed with a range of closed-ended statements about their reasons for participation. Multiple answers were possible. The reasons considered were: both parties benefited from it (cited by 50% as their reason for participating in informal self-employment); it is just seasonal work and it is not worth declaring it (cited by 25%); working in the undeclared economy is common in this region/sector so there is no real alternative (17%); they could not find a regular job (14%); taxes and/or social contributions are too high (11%); the person who acquired it insisted on the non-declaration (11%); the bureaucracy/red tape to carry out a regular activity is too complicated (8%); they were able to ask for a higher fee for their work (5%), and the state does not do anything for you, so why should you pay taxes (5%).

To collate these responses, those participating in self-employment in the informal economy because either: they could not find a regular job; the person who acquired it insisted on the non-declaration and/or that working in the undeclared economy is common in this region/sector so there is no real alternative, were categorised as involuntary or 'necessity-driven' participants in informal self-employment. Meanwhile, those asserting that either: they were able to ask for a higher fee for their work; both parties benefited from it; taxes and/or social contributions are too high; the bureaucracy/red tape to carry out a regular activity is too complicated; it is just seasonal work and it is not worth declaring it, and/or that the state does not do anything for you, so why should you pay taxes, were categorised as 'voluntary' participants driven by a desire to exit the declared realm. Those stating a mixture, furthermore, were classified as both involuntarily and voluntarily engaging in informal self-employment.

As table 2 displays, 60% cited purely voluntary reasons, whilst 17% stated purely involuntary reasons. The remaining 23% reported both pull and push factors, displaying that the reasons for engagement are perhaps more complex than can be captured by dichotomous representations depicting those engaged in informal self-employment as driven by either choice or necessity.

Table 2. Are those participating in informal self-employment doing so out of choice and/or necessity? By EU region and socio-demographic group

Population	Purely voluntary	Purely necessity-driven	Both voluntary and involuntary factors
EU-27	60	17	23
By EU region:			
Nordic	77***	6	17
Continental	60	17	23
East-Central Europe	60	15	25
Southern Europe	49	26	25
Gender:			
Men	63***	13	24
Women	56	23	21
Age:			
15–24	55**	20	25
25–39	64	15	21
40–54	65	16	19
55+	52	16	32
Education, end of:			
15–	45***	25	30
16–19	54	21	25
20+	78	11	11
Still studying	65	10	25
Employment status:			
Self-employed	65**	14	22
Managers	82	4	14
Other white collar	64	20	16
Manual workers	57	19	24
House person	51	33	16
Unemployed	51	17	32
Retired	51	20	29
Students	64	10	26
Gross formal income/ month:			
<€500	56**	27	17
500–1000.99	65	18	17
1001–2000.99	63	18	19
2001–3000.99	80	1	19
3001+	63	8	29
Urban/rural area:			
Rural area or village	61**	15	24
Small/medium town	56	19	25
Large urban area	63	18	18

Statistical significance: * = 0.05 (5% probability), **=0.01 (1%) and ***= 0.001 (0.1%).

There are also significant variations in the rationales across EU regions and population groups. In Nordic nations, where informal self-employment is more likely to be embedded in networks of familial and community support, voluntarism is more commonly cited, whilst in Southern Europe and East-Central Europe, where informal self-employment is more usually for previously unknown private persons/households, necessity is more often stated. Similarly, the informal self-employed who are in lower-income brackets, women, with lower educational levels and not formally working (e.g., the retired, house persons) are significantly more likely to be necessity-driven, whilst those participating in higher-income brackets, men, middle-aged workers, the better educated, and managers, the self-employed and other white collar workers, along with students, are significantly more likely to be willing participants. Those citing purely necessity-driven rationales, moreover, earn just €7.60 per hour, which is significantly less than the EU mean of €11.27 per hour earned by those citing purely voluntary reasons and the €11.89 citing both push and pull factors.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Reporting a 2007 Eurobarometer survey involving 26,659 face-to-face interviews, this paper has revealed that 1 in 28 of the EU population surveyed had undertaken informal self-employment during the previous year. However, this overarching figure masks significant socio-spatial variations. Participation in informal self-employment, for example, is much higher in Nordic nations where 9% had engaged in such endeavour during the previous year, whilst just 2% had done so in Southern Europe. Given that a significantly smaller proportion of this informal self-employment is conducted for closer social relations in Southern Europe, this lower propensity towards informal self-employment has been here tentatively explained by the non-monetisation of kinship and community exchange in Southern Europe. The groups most likely to engage in such work, meanwhile, are those working in construction and household services, men, younger age groups, those with higher levels of education, the lowest- and middle-income groups, the self-employed, manual workers unemployed and students along with those living in rural areas.

Analysing the reasons for participation, 60% cite factors associated purely with a desire to voluntarily exit the formal economy, whilst 17% cite purely necessity-driven factors and 23% a mix of the two. Rationales, however, vary across different populations. Those conducting informal self-employment in Southern Europe, lower-income brackets, women, those with lower levels of education, those not working and those living in urban areas, are significantly more likely to be necessity-driven, whilst those participating in informal self-employment in Nordic nations, higher-income brackets, men and the better educated are significantly more likely to be willing participants.

Given how many combine involuntary and voluntary rationales when explaining their participation, richer more nuanced understandings of what leads different groups to participate in informal self-employment in different contexts are now required. In particular, the theoretical and methodological issue that 'necessity' and 'choice' are not opposites needs to be further unravelled, as does the varying meanings of 'necessity' and 'choice' across populations. For example, the opportunity structures within which a person operates his/her 'choice' to exit the formal economy may vary considerably and this will be important to explore. So too will it be important to understand how rationales vary in other global regions. Both wider as well as more in-depth research on self-employment in the informal economy is therefore now required.

There are also important policy implications. Until now, national tax, labour and social security authorities responsible for tackling undeclared work have generally not fully understood the nature of such work or why it is undertaken. This paper has revealed that it is inappropriate to adopt a blanket-approach. Not everybody or all EU regions are equally likely to engage in informal self-employment. Significant variations exist across populations. A more variegated approach is therefore required. This paper has highlighted on an EU-level those groups and populations most likely to engage in informal self-employment. Further detailed surveys are now required of who needs to be targeted in particular populations and why they do such work. Unless their motives are better understood, policies cannot be tailored to tackle the reasons for their participation. In some places, policies might need to focus upon the costs, time and effort required to comply with the regulations of the formal economy. In others, creating more formal job opportunities or improving social support for those excluded from the formal economy might be more important.

In sum, this survey of self-employment in the informal economy has revealed not only its extent, nature and the reasons underpinning it, but also how it varies across different groups and EU regions. Richer accounts are now required so as to generate more nuanced context-bound understandings, as well as surveys of what groups need to be targeted in different contexts and what policies are required to tackle their reasons for engaging in such work. If this paper stimulates such richer textured studies of self-employment in the informal economy in different settings and populations, as well as more nuanced approaches towards how it might be dealt with, then it will have achieved its objectives.

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HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL TRUST – THE CASE OF ŁÓDŹ AND THE DISTRICTS OF ŁÓDŹ VOIVODESHIP

1. INTRODUCTION

The rationale behind the current interest in social trust is undoubtedly manifold. One reason is surely the transition from the so-called 'hard' institutional explanations to the 'soft' cultural values (known as 'the culturalism turn'). Thus, it is increasingly difficult to downplay the role of trust in the social, political and economic life. Moreover, trust is often viewed as a remedy for different maladies. It is associated among other things with an opportunity to build a society resting upon citizen self-organisation and collective social problem solving. It is also expected to improve the condition of the economic system and to shape civic attitudes.

Therefore, the benefits of trust are multiple. Unfortunately, Polish society is among those with the lowest level of social trust. The culture of mistrust is typical of people living in the rural and urban areas alike, which we intend to prove in this paper.

The paper's chief objective is to analyse the social trust of the citizens of Łódź and the country districts in Łódź voivodeship across three dimensions: a vertical one (in relation to different institutions) and two horizontal ones – private (towards individuals one knows) and generalised (towards most people). An additional objective is to determine the level of trust in the analysed groups as well as to point to attributive determinants of the types of social trust mentioned above.

The empirical basis for this article is research of quantitative nature. The first part of the research was done in the period of 2005–2006 based on questionnaire

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interviews with a representative (977) group of adult members of rural communities under the grant *Social Capital and Civic Participation in the Light of Economic Growth in Districts of the Rural Areas of Łódź Voivodeship*. The second part was conducted in 2010 on a representative sample of adult citizens of Łódź (497) under a supervisor grant *Social Capital – Resourceful Attitudes and Life Quality of Łódź Citizens*.

2. THE CONCEPT OF 'TRUST' AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The term 'trust' is multifaceted. In psychological terms it is defined as 'believing somebody fully, faith in somebody; confidence' while a trusted person is somebody one can rely on and trust, somebody reliable (*Słownik języka polskiego*, 2002). Trust can also be understood as a type of calculation (Coleman, 1990; Hardin, 2002), as an effect of proper socialisation (Uslaner, 2002) or social learning (Bandura, 2007). Other scholars define trust as an agreement in an uncertain situation (Uslaner, 2002; Sztompka, 2007). As is stated by Sztompka (2007, p. 70), 'trust is a bet on some uncertain future actions of others'. A slightly different definition is given by F. Fukuyama. He believes that 'trust is a mechanism based on the premise that other members of a given community are characterised by honest and cooperative behaviour based on norms' (Fukuyama, 1997, p. 38). Trust might also be viewed pragmatically. Then, it is defined as an 'informal norm' which reduces the costs of an economic transaction, i.e. the costs of making inspections, concluding contracts, settling disputes and executing formal agreements (Inglehart, 1997). There is substantial evidence suggesting that trust takes the form of a culturally-determined value as it is 'inherited' (Putnam, 1995; Fukuyama, 1997; Guiso *et al.*, 2008).

This means that the level of social trust is a relatively permanent feature of each society and it reflects the society's historical experience. As is posited by Inglehart (1997), stable societies which are characterised by confidence and predictability, by stable and respected legal, moral and customary rules, are marked by high trust levels. Therefore, trust depends largely on what Polish people failed to develop because of their specific historical experiences of the last two hundred years. Among those negative experiences a crucial one is the communist period distinguished by passivity, apathy, fleeing into the private domain, social atomisation and a stark 'authority-society' opposition, which destroyed the 'soft' social bonds, trust being the major one of these. However, a vital starting point for trust is not the communist legacy alone but also the post-communist trauma. It is known that changes which are sudden, unexpected, profound and far-reaching by definition generate trauma, even if they are in fact positive. The society is thrown out of their routine, which brings in instability in all spheres of life. This pertains

above all to the knowledge and understanding of the world, to a normative chaos, to a decrease in the level of ontological security, to the predictability of situations, disintegration of social bonds or, finally, a trust crisis.

Many researchers share the view that the key to dealing with the communist legacy and rebuilding the social bonds is to increase trust towards the political system, its institutions and the political class. It is a precondition for forming trust gradually, as a cultural norm (Miszalska, 2004). But bearing in mind that in the case of Polish society mistrust towards the addressees mentioned above has been high for a number of years, reconstruction of trust seems quite difficult. Low social trust is then a discerning feature of Poles, which has been repeatedly confirmed by research (CBOS, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2010a, b; Frykowski, 2003; Fedyszak-Radziejowska, 2006). Trust remains high predominantly in the private sphere. Regretfully, this type of trust holds little promise since it is limited to co-operation with only those people who belong to that private world. Trust becomes truly functional once it transcends the group and contributes to building interpersonal ties with individuals we do not know. Only then are people able to cooperate for the benefit of their local community, to pursue social activities, to solve local problems or to help improve the functioning of the social, political and economic systems. And this is especially significant in the case of transformations and incertitude. Such circumstances are, doubtless, accompanied by a sense of anxiety concerning the future, the success of one's actions and cooperation with anonymous people. Once we assume that other people's actions will influence us negatively, we might avoid change or participate in transformations passively. Therefore, to face the future actively and productively we have to show trust: 'politicians must trust the efficiency of their own strategies, [...] inventors must trust the reliability and usefulness of their products, and regular people must trust all those who represent them in the fields of politics, economy, technology, science and the like' (Sztompka, 2007, pp. 45–46).

A review of literature and empirical research on social trust makes it clear that trust is not an outdated resource typical only of traditional societies but, as modern social forms are developing, it became an indispensable element of the modern society (Sztompka, 2007). And even though it might seem to have been sufficiently discussed, trust remains an interesting subject of deliberations and research, which is confirmed by numerous empirical and theoretical studies.

The interest in social trust has many sources. These include: the transition from a society based on fate to one based on human subjectivity, global interdependence, heterogeneous social structure, new threats and dangers, unpredictability of human actions, limited transparency of social surroundings and increasing anonymity of people who influence our lives (Sztompka, 2007). We are, hence, affected by generational replacement, demographic changes and the growing role of the media (Hardin, 2009, p. 19). These changes bring uncertainty regarding others' actions, a sense of being lost in the world of computer science and globalisation,

fear of some negative consequences of civilisational and technological developments and the like. Consequently, trust becomes a critical resource that makes it possible to cope with the changeability of social life. All the more so because it is integrated into political, economic and social structures.

'The political benefits of increased trust mean greater stability of the social system and legitimisation of the ruling class' (Domański, 2009, p. 143). According to Paxton (1999), a high level of social trust is crucial in a democratic system as individuals have to entrust power to 'the people'. Trusting those who represent the society is an important factor guiding the electorate's decisions. Inglehart (1999) claims trust is inextricably linked to a stable and lasting democratic system. That is why it could be said that by shaping civic attitudes social trust is an important element of the political culture. In other words, a high level of social trust is vital in reinforcing democratic values as well as stabilising and strengthening the political, social and economic system.

Trust can also be viewed economically. This is the argument put forward by Fukuyama in his book *Trust: The Social Virtues and The Creation of Prosperity* where he advances the thesis that the prosperity of a given country and its ability to compete depend on the level of trust in that society. Within that framework trust is pragmatic for as an informal norm it reduces the costs of an economic transaction, i.e. the costs of making inspections, concluding contracts, settling disputes and executing formal agreements (Inglehart, 1997). This view is strongly supported by the American economic science Nobel Prize laureate Douglass C. North who posits that the source of both historical stagnation and underdevelopment of Third World countries is the societies' inability to create the conditions for decreasing transaction costs (quoted in Zack and Knack, 2000).

In the context of those observations one might refer to the concept of social capital which is seen as one of the major resources in the development of communities and societies and whose indispensable element is social trust itself. In a large portion of empirical research trust is used as an indicator of social capital. Putnam considers social capital and trust to be inseparable:

> To cut a long story short, people who trust others are better citizens, and those engaged in community life are both most trustful and trustworthy. In contrast, inactive people in their capacity of citizens are convinced that they are surrounded by rogues and they feel less obliged to act honestly. These features create a syndrome so powerful that their interrelations can be untangled experimentally (Putnam, 2000, p. 137).

As far as the relation between social capital and trust is concerned, there are some influential contributions by Fukuyama who emphasises the role of trust, treating it as the most important cultural property which determines economic success. Placing one's trust in people has a positive impact on economic relations, thus improving the system's efficiency. 'Trust is, therefore, the most valuable variety of social capital' (Sztompka, 2007, p. 244).

3. TRUST IN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERES

Social trust is typically investigated in three dimensions: a vertical one – public (in relation to different institutions), and two horizontal ones – private and generalised (CBOS, 2006). According to Inglehart, vertical trust, which is of a rational sort, changes as a result of new experiences quite quickly and in a predictable fashion. The second type of trust referred to above is seen as a kind of social trust. It is determined by expectations and feelings of moral nature and it is harder to reach because cultural transformations are necessarily slower, often occupying the span of one generation (Inglehart, 1997, 1999).

Poland's characteristic feature is that the levels of the two dimensions of social trust, i.e. generalised trust towards others and trust towards political life institutions, are low. Still, trust in the private sphere remains high, which means that relations between relatives, acquaintances, colleagues at work, neighbours or parishioners permanently rest upon trust. It should be noted that while trust towards one's closest family members is usually unlimited, trust towards other close people is characterised by a degree of mistrust (CBOS, 2008, 2010b).

Table 1. Trust in the private sphere (inhabitants of rural areas in Łódź voivodeship)

To what extent do you trust:	I trust			I mistrust			Hard to say
	absolutely	in most cases	Total	in most cases	absolutely	Total	
	in %						
Your closest family	79.1	17.02.2011	96.3	2.0	0.4	2.04.2011	13
Your more distant family	34.0	48.4	82.4	11,5	2.01.2011	13.06.2011	1.04.2000
Your neighbours	20.08.2011	53.3	74.1	17,3	2.08.2011	20.01.2011	5.08.2011
Your co-workers	14.08.2011	41.8	56.6	9.0	1.08.2011	10.08.2011	32.6
Inhabitants of your town	8.09.2011	52.9	61.8	15.0	1.02.2000	17.0	21.02.2011

Source: authors' survey.

These regularities have been reconfirmed by the results presented here. In the case of adult members of districts in Łódź voivodeship trust towards one's closest family is most common and it is most clearly declared (see table 1). When asked about trust towards their closest family, almost 80% of respondents chose the answer 'absolutely, I trust'. It is worth pointing out that no such resoluteness

is noticeable in any other question. Trust in some more distant family members is common, if less unequivocal. The third position in the ranking is taken by neighbours. They are trusted by 74% of the total number of respondents. Those polled are slightly less positively disposed to the inhabitants of their town – the dominant answer is 'I trust in most cases' which was selected by nearly 53%. The respondents' trust is lowest (56.6%) in the case of co-workers.

A summary trust index in the private sphere confirms the claim that inhabitants of rural areas will trust people from their closest circle more. The average score here, measured on a 0–5 scale, amounted to 3.79. Thus, the majority of respondents scored above the average.

Table 2. Trust level in the private sphere

Number of subjects, respondents declare trust	Number of respondents	%
0	10	1.1
1	29	3.2
2	98	10.8
3	184	20.2
4	267	29.3
5	323	35.5
Total	977	100.0

Source: authors' survey.

With five subjects comprising the private dimension (see table 2), 35% of respondents declared trust towards all the subjects. Less than 30% of respondents show trust in relation to four of the investigated addresses. As little as 3.2% trust only one subject and ten individuals trust none of the subjects. Therefore, the overall trust level in the private sphere reaches the level of 76%, similarly to what is suggested by national research. In 2010 it amounted to over 70% (CBOS, 2010b).

However, apparently, high trust level in the private sphere is typical of individuals from rural areas and the inhabitants of Łódź alike. In the latter case trust is also highest towards relatives or those from respondents' environment – neighbours and colleagues from work. The summary index amounts here to 3.13 (on a 0–4 scale), which means that the overall level of private trust is under 80%.

Similarly to what was the case with the inhabitants of the Łódź voivodeship districts, the majority of respondents reach a score above the average. All the addresses comprising the private sphere are trusted by less than 60% of respondents, three of them by 20.5% and two of them by 9%. A large proportion of respondents, i.e. over 11%, trust only one of the investigated subjects. Some of the polled chose none of the addresses of horizontal trust – these respondents correspond to 3%.

As far as the frequency distribution of the particular variables is concerned, it appears that almost all respondents declare their trust towards their closest family

– similarly to adults from rural areas. Trust towards neighbours looks slightly different. In the case of Łódź it is lower and amounts to under 60%. Similarity can be noticed in terms of trust towards people the respondents work with and other individuals from their area while the latter category is characterised by the highest level if mistrust in the case of Łódź citizens.

Table 3. Trust in the private sphere – Łódź citizens

To what extent do you trust:	I trust		I partly trust and partly mistrust	I mistrust	
	absolutely	in most cases		absolutely	in most cases
	in %				
Your closest family	79.8	11.9	5.8	1.4	1.1
Your neighbours	25.2	34.5	23.2	8.5	8.7
Your co-workers	22.7	24.7	26.7	19.8	6.1
Other citizens of your town	7.3	10.9	33.5	29.6	18.8

Source: authors' survey.

As the table 3 shows, nearly 50% of respondents mistrust other citizens of their own town. This is certainly related to the fact that we primarily tend to trust people we know. Therefore, there is little mistrust towards co-inhabitants in respondents from small local communities (17%).

It should also be noted that in relation to the three subjects comprising the private trust dimension respondents quite often opted for the 'I partly trust and partly mistrust' category. Uncertainty is lowest (5.8%) in the case of closest family and highest in the case of other citizens (33.5%). This reconfirms the thesis about Poles' trust being high above all towards their closest family. Unfortunately, for trust to be benefitied from it should be present in other domains of social life and not only in the private but also in the public sphere. Research shows, however, that trust towards public life institutions looks completely different from trust towards the addresses within the analysed private sphere (see table 4).

To begin with, trust is more diversified in that case. For a number of years Poles have trusted particularly charity organisations (Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity – 88%, Caritas – 82%, Polish Red Cross – 78%) as well as Roman Catholic Church (78%), the military (76%), scouting organisations (68%) and the EU (60%). In terms of trust slightly less successful are such institutions as the television and courts as well as public administration officials. Among the least trusted there are the Polish parliament (21%), political parties (14%) and above all Sejm and Senat (chambers of the parliament) – these are mistrusted by the alarming number of 68% of respondents. The summary trust index in the public sphere (12.08; 0–23 scale) compared with the trust index in the private sphere (5.58; 0–8 scale) indicates that Polish people 'half-trust' the institutions under scrutiny (CBOS, 2010a, b).

What can be said about the trust of individuals from rural areas in Łódź voivodeship, then? As table 4 shows, in relation to the thirteen institutions included there is some domination of trust over mistrust. Inhabitants of rural areas show greatest social trust in the Roman Catholic Church (74.7%), followed by their local parish and priests (71.8%).

Table 4. Vertical trust of individuals from rural areas

To what extent do you trust:	I trust			I mistrust			Hard to say
	absolutely	in most cases	total	in most cases	absolutely	total	
	in %						
Municipal/ Community Council	4.9	43.2	48.1	21.2	5.7	26.9	25
Municipal/ Community authorities: mayor and community board	7.7	44.5	52.2	21.5	5.8	27.3	20.2
Local parish and priests	19.7	52.1	71.8	12.5	5.1	17.6	10.4
Office workers of municipial administration	7.4	50	57.4	18.1	4.2	22.3	20.1
Courts	3.3	28.4	31.7	20.9	10.1	31	37
Trade unions	0.2	1.5	1.7	14.4	8.1	22.5	67.8
Political parties	0.1	3.6	3.7	32	32.3	64.3	31.8
Environmental movements	2.5	27.5	30	9.4	7	16.4	53.3
The current government	0.5	6	6.5	35.2	48.2	83.4	9.9
The current parliament	0.3	6	6.3	34.9	48.3	83.2	10.4
The Police	4.9	45.9	50.8	16.9	13.1	30	19.1
The Roman Catholic Church	21.2	53.5	74.7	11	4	15	10.1
The European Union	5.2	37.9	44.1	15.7	8.1	23.8	33.2

Source: authors' survey.

Distrust is particularly strong in relation to institutions of power and political parties. These institution, compared with others considered in the analysis, are mistrusted very unequivocally. This confirms the claim that trust towards the government, Sejm and Senat as well as political parties borders on deligitimisation. Political parties are trusted by less than 4% of all respondents, the government is trusted by 6.5% and the parliament by 6.3%. Trust is also low in the case of trade unions, which could be conditioned by the lack of crystallised views on that issue (67.8 % of respondents answered 'hard to say').

Regarding trust in the public sphere, it might be added that respondents opted for 'hard to say' much more frequently there than in the private domain. This could be accounted for by the fact that public institutions are more intricate than the addressees of horizontal trust who belong to our circle and whom we know personally. It might thus be presumed that respondents lack knowledge and expertise to give reliable answers concerning trust towards the different addressees of vertical trust. There is also probability that the knowledge they utilise is influenced by cultural factors such as stereotypes and prejudice (Sztompka, 2002b). Still, the group under scrutiny displays greater trust in the private sphere than towards institutions of public life. The claim is empirically validated by the summary trust index in the public sphere which in this case amounts to 5.79 (0–13 scale). As the graph below indicates (see figure 1), among 13 institutions considered in the analysis of public life institutions, all of them are trusted by a mere 3% of respondents. Over 4% of respondents trust none of the institutions. The largest number of respondents (15.8%) declare they trust five of the institutions.
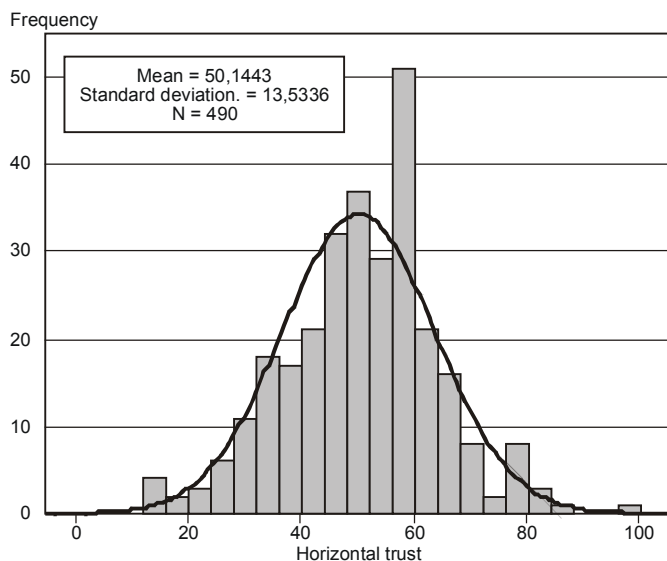

Fig. 1. Trust in the public sphere (among inhabitants of rural areas)
Source: authors' survey

It appears, though, that low trust levels in the public sphere are not limited to inhabitants of rural areas. The situation is similar with the citizens of Łódź, as is shown in table 5.

Table 5. Vertical trust of Łódź citizens

To what extent do you trust	I trust		I partly trust and partly mistrust	I mistrust		Hard to say
	absolutely	in most cases		absolutely	in most cases	
	in %					
City Council	4.4	9.9	31.9	21.6	20.4	11.9
City president	5.4	8.5	24.7	21.1	**26.2**	14.1
Priests from local parishes	**13.5**	14.3	25.8	10.5	**28**	8
Office workers from municipial administration	5.4	10.5	36.6	16.5	22.7	8.2
Courts in Łódź	9.7	19	26.6	10.5	14.5	19.8
City police	9.9	24.1	31.2	9.7	14.9	10.3
Banks operating in Łódź	**13.5**	28.4	27	10.5	11.5	9.1
Health institutions in Łódź	7.2	18.1	28.2	17.7	**24.7**	4
Educational institutions in Łódź	**17.9**	31	27.8	6.4	5.2	11.7
Private companies in Łódź	6.4	20.7	33	9.9	12.1	17.9
Political parties	2	2.1	27	22	32.3	9.7
The current parliament	2.8	9.1	27.2	19.4	31.7	9.9
The current government	3.6	8.3	29.6	19.2	31	8.3
The European Union	10.1	19.1	33.6	10.9	14.7	11.7
The current president of Poland	5.4	12.5	28	13.7	20.6	19.8
The public television	11.1	13.7	33.1	13.7	19.4	9.1
The Polish Episcopate	7	11.5	28.2	12.1	**26.4**	14.9

Source: authors' survey.

Adult citizens of Łódź are largely opposed to trusting the public life institutions listed. Mistrust is highest towards political parties, Sejm and the government. Similarly to what was the case with the inhabitants of Łódź voivodeship districts, trust toward these institutions borders on deligitimisation. City inhabitants display strong distrust towards church authorities (26.4%), health service

institutions in Łódź (24.7%) and representatives of local authorities. They trust the city's education institutions (17.9%), banks (13.5%) as well as priests from their local parishes (135%). It ought to be emphasised that respondents often answered 'I partly trust and partly mistrust'. Another frequent answer was 'hard to say'. One could, hence, assume that the people of Łódź, too, perceive public life institutions as more complex and they lack a crystallised opinion about them. (Because it is easier to assess those we know). The noticeable difference between people living in the city and in the analysed districts is the perception of priests from local parishes as well as Church representatives. These are trusted much more by members of rural areas, which is related to the level of religiousness being considerably higher in small local communities than in urbanised areas (CBOS, 2010b).

To sum up, in the case of subjects comprising the public dimension mistrust appears to be dominant. This is corroborated be the summary index which here amounts to 6.06 (0–17 scale). With 17 public life institutions analysed, only 1.4% of respondents trust all of them. Nearly half of the subjects (44.8%) trust none of the institutions. The largest number of respondents (10.3%) declare they trust five or six of the institutions.

Nonetheless, to analyse the overall trust level of Łódź citizens towards public life institutions an index of vertical trust was created. It operates as the total of the individual items of the scale for estimating vertical trust. The index took values between 17 and 119 whereby the higher the value the higher the trust. Values of the variable are graphically represented below in the histogram with a bell curve (see figure 2).
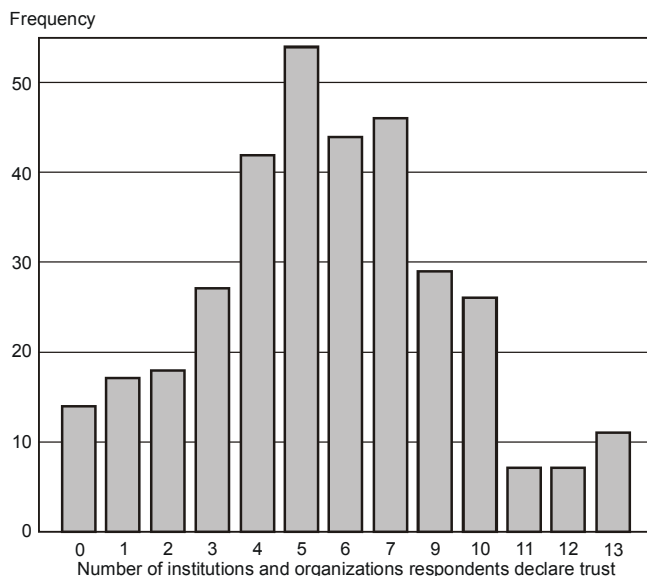

Fig. 2. Histogram presenting the distribution of the quantitative variable 'vertical trust' of Łódź citizens
Source: authors' survey

The mean level of trust towards the subjects comprising the vertical trust dimension amounted to 50.14. Viewed against the variable's potential range (from 14 to 97) the value implies that the respondents' trust towards public life institutions is low – analogously to what could be observed for the synthetic indicator referred to above.

The calculation of descriptive statistics of the variable under scrutiny indicates that within the analysed set there is one modal value of 56. What we are dealing with here is, therefore, unimodal distribution. An analysis of result dispersion shows that standard deviation equals 13.53. The dispersion is not very large. The spread, i.e. the difference between the highest and the lowest scores, equals 83.

The skewness value for the analysed variable is 0.073 – it can, therefore, be said that the distribution of the vertical trust variable is nearly symmetrical. The kurtosis value of 0.49 implies that the distribution is leptokurtic (the curve is more slender than in normal distribution).

Validity of the created vertical trust scale was checked with Cronbach's alpha measure. It amounted to 0.933. Thus, it can be assumed that the scale is a reliable measuring instrument.

4. GENERALISED TRUST OF ŁÓDŹ VOIVODESHIP INHABITANTS

Despite relatively high trust levels in the private sphere and trust towards some of the public life institutions (church, local parish, local authorities), city inhabitants and respondents from Łódź voivodeship districts alike emphasise the need to remain cautious in contacts with others. The sense of mistrust is more visible in Łódź citizens, though. Over 73% of respondents are of the opinion that 'in contacts with other people one should act with caution'. As for adult inhabitants of rural areas, less than 60% of respondents are convinced it is necessary to act with caution in relations with others (see table 6).

Table 6. Generalised trust

Do you generally can conclude that:	Inhabitants of rural areas in the Łódź voivodeship (N = 977)		Łódź citizens (N = 497)	
	number	%	number	%
Most people can be trusted	313	32	60	12.7
In contacts with other people one should act with caution	566	58	347	73.2
Hard to say	98	10	67	14.1

Source: authors' survey.

The conviction that most people can be trusted is shared by 32% of respondents from rural areas and less than 13% of Łódź citizens. These findings are undoubtedly concurrent with the regularities from American research where generalised trust is highest in small towns. According to representative analyses conducted by one of the American research centres, individuals from rural areas and small towns are by far more trustful than their 'cousins from big cities'. These results indicated that in the case of citizens from largest cities 'high trust towards others' reached the level of 23%, average trust – 24% and low trust – 46%. In rural areas the proportions appear to be inverse: high trust was declared by 43% of respondents, average trust by 23% and low trust by 30% (Pew Research Center, 2006). These findings, therefore, prove that population growth is in proportion to a decrease in trust. Putnam (2000) argues that this can be explained by greater anonymity in big cities and lower sense of security because trust is generated in situations of stability and dominates in societies where laws are abided by. In line with the view proposed by Giddens in his book *Modernity and Self-Identity*, an emotional sense of security provides basic trust. The security of everyday life and trust are linked closely together (Giddens, 2004). The issue of security appears to be central to the atmosphere of trust.

The hypothesis that personal security forms the conviction that people can be trusted was verified inter alia in the European Social Survey. It was found that the sense of personal security and limited threats of terrorism produce attitudes of trust, irrespective of an individual's social position. 'A sense of insecurity and awareness of dangers decrease trust even if one lives in a stable democracy, in a friendly environment and leading a life of relative ease' (Domański, 2009, p. 167).

CBOS research indicates that the majority of Polish society (86%) feel safe in their neighbourhood. 'The feeling of security in one's place of residence is highest among inhabitants of villages and small towns (with a population of up to 20 thousand). Only every sixteenth respondent living in a village (6%) states that their area is not safe or calm but the view is shared by every fifth inhabitant of the largest Polish conurbations' (CBOS, 2010a). Therefore, the correlation of trust and sense of security could account for the sense of trust being higher among the inhabitants of Łódź voivodeship districts than among the citizens of Łódź.

In addition to security, other factors conditioning social trust are: age, place of residence, income, professional status and education (CBOS, 2008, 2010a, b). Similar correlates of trust were obtained in the American research referred to above (Pew Research Center, 2006).

These relationships are by and large valid for the results presented here. Both in the case of the inhabitants of Łódź voivodeship districts and the citizens of Łódź, being open is mainly related to one's financial situation, education, position as well as age. In view of these findings, the following adjectives could be used to describe a person who trusts others: young, educated, wealthy and having a high professional position.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The findings on social trust presented in this paper apparently confirm the claim that Polish society is characterised by low levels of vertical trust and generalised trust towards others. Distinctively, the respondents declared attitudes of generalised suspicion and distrust in relations with others and towards institutions of power and the political class. In other words, the attitude that others should not be trusted becomes common.

The trust level remains high in the private sphere, though. Both in the case of individuals living in the countryside and in the city, trust towards one's closest family is typical of nearly all community members.

However, this is not a conditioning factor of the culture of trust where trust functions as a 'social fact' shared by the entire community, i.e. as a common norm. For trust to become a norm there should also be trust towards public life institutions, including above all institutions of power as well as the political class.

There should also be normative stability for it plays a vital role in building social trust. Sztompka (2002, p. 318) claims that 'if the system of social rules designating desirable objectives and appropriate measures is well-articulated, coherent, clear and legitimised, a sense of order, predictability, regularity and existential security is created' and by this trust and the conviction that good rules over evil are produced. The opposite is moral anomie which builds a sense of danger, insecurity and incertitude, thus becoming an inhibitor that hinders the creation of the culture of trust.

One should remember, though, that normative stability is not the sole determinant of the generalised 'climate' of trust. Other significant factors that give rise to the current structural context are: transparency of social organisation, stability of social order, subordination of power to the rules of law as well as consistent execution of rights and responsibilities (Sztompka, 2002a). Another factor not to be underestimated, but one beyond our control, is history. In the case of Polish society historical legacy significantly influences the level of social trust. Polish people's negative experiences make them inclined to be pessimistic and suspicious. In Sztompka's view, what we experienced and what we are experiencing constitutes social and cultural traumas which surely contributed to the mistrust syndrome in Poland (Sztompka, 2007).

But since trust brings a range of benefits, the syndrome has to be eliminated and the culture of trust should be promoted.

This is the task of politicians who need to improve structural factors but also the task of the members of society. 'Simply put, the culture of trust depends on the society's affluence and people's honesty' (Sztompka, 2002a, p. 325). The question arises if Polish society can handle this. My optimistic belief is that it can. There are a few reasons for such a positive conviction.

First of all, we trust that being cognizant of the benefits of social trust, which is a fundamental component of social life, will become the driving force behind

the actions meant to promote it. And indeed, the benefits of trust are multiple. Apparently, they are most measurable in the economic domain. Trust reduces transaction costs (Whiteley, 2000), stimulates enterprising behaviours, triggers initiative and motivates activeness, by this influencing affluence and economic effectiveness (Knack and Keefer, 1997; Paxton 1999; Delhey and Newton, 2005). Politically, the benefits of trust are mainly about reinforcing stability of the social system and building civic society (Theiss, 2007; CBOS, 2006, 2010b). Finally, trust also influences optimism and life satisfaction (Freitag, 2003). It is, thus, a profitable investment.

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Divya Praful TOLIA-KELLY, *Landscape, Race and Memory: Material Ecologies of Citizenship*, **Ashgate, Farnham 2010, 172 pp.**

This fascinating monograph is anchored in British geography, drawing on both a scholarly tradition and a colonial and post-colonial history. Divya Tolia-Kelly challenges the concept of Britishness by reflecting on life routes and intimate landscapes of South Asian women who are first generation migrants (from South Asia and East Africa) and now live in North West London. Her research questions the construction of a cultural post-colonial citizenship in the UK on the scale of everyday life through past, present and idealised mobilities, landscapes and memories. To answer these questions and grasp the place of memory for mobile cultures and landscape dynamism, she conducted ethnographic fieldwork with these women. She organised group meetings to discuss about their biographies, life routes and their memories using film and landscape evocations. She then met the women individually in their houses and asked them about objects that matter to them. Doing so, Divya Tolia-Kelly gives a voice to these women and empowers them along the research process. Throughout the monograph and as she moves between the individual and collective strata of memory and identity, the emotional and political content of the materials she analyses is present.

Throughout her book, Divya Tolia-Kelly questions what it is to become a citizen and to create the situation of being 'in place', to belong somewhere when being a migrant. She shows that the concept of diaspora, part of the British Empire, in which many Othernesses meet, is at a tension with the concept of Englishness. She suggests that the cultural interrelations English people have with landscape (Matless, 1998) can be extended to the experiences of Britishness and contribute to its construction and the construction of an ecological identity. The connection she makes between the ideas of citizenship and naturalisation helps her to deal with multi-national experiences of landscapes and places that are articulated in memories, narratives and objects that are ecological. She draws on the work by Lorraine Code (2006) to deal with the concepts of diaspora and citizenship ecologically, referring to the notion of habitability. Whilst interrogating the connections to places the women have lived in, she considers the body as situated, acting in/out of place and goes beyond the racialised – and reifed – body. This allows her to develop her analysis of cultural Asianness and political Blackness outside cultural, racial and ethnic categories (p. 69), looking at discontinuities and how they are part of Britishness.

This is where memory plays a great role. While she insists on the qualities of social and sensory memories of places in shaping an ecological citizenship, the concept of re-memory, borrowed to Tony Morrison and defined as 'a process engaged with the 'interiorlife' of post-colonial groups who are constantly negociating between past landscapes and the

present territories of citizenship' (p. 96), allows her to reflect on politics of identification at the individual and collective level. Finally, Divya Tolia-Kelly explores the presence of nostalgia in the construction of ideal landscape of home. The analysis of visual experiences and material ecologies at the domestic and intimate scale offers an alternative and critical geography of diaspora, mobility and landscape of the everyday in England nowadays. Divya Tolia-Kelly 'examines the effect of post-colonial migration on imagined, material, and cultural landscapes of identification' (p. 24) and she recalls how women leaving East Africa often in a violent context had to abandon most of their belongings. This makes the analysis of their memories striking. Indeed, she suggests that the feeling of being inside and belonging to a place – being positioned – and the making of home are constructed through a visualisation of England and an embodied encounter with cultural codes that defines British heritage and memory. However, these notions and these codes are disrupted by the migrants' mobility and colonial history. She aims to trace back the multiple landscapes that South Asian women have encountered and cherish through the analysis of visual iconographies, arguing that these iconographies are negotiated, foreign to a Western episteme. Whilst women speak about their experiences of the cinema, in the different places they lived, it appears that it acts as both a social-network connection – a place of encounter – and a visual and sensual evocation of home through the visualisation of South Asian landscapes and the reminiscences of objects, habitudes and sensations.

She then explores the trajectories of women in different places and describes how the feeling of doubleness is also anchored in their past experiences of places and their present lives in London based on 'fluidity between being native and non-native' (p. 67). Diaspora creates a multimodal citizenship that is materially and visually constructed by women in their homes through gardening or importations of objects – sacred or profane – evoking landscapes, animals, ecologies or ways of doing. Through their narratives and the construction of home, these women are politically placing themselves at the node between different cultures and environments. The objects such as photographs, animals paintings or sacred items are both media for entertaining their memories, constructing a symbolic around 'family networks and moral living' and narratives the researcher listens to.

She finally proposes, with the collaboration of the women participants and the artist Melanie Carvalho, a visualisation of ideal memories and landscape of home through painting. The discussions around what is landscape are an interesting example of the complexity of the notion. The encounter allows her to think of other ways of making landscape connections tangible. The paintings and drawings succeed to give a feeling of these ideals landscape. The presentation of women's descriptions of landscapes and final propositions by Melanie Carvalho at the end of the book are welcome to measure the constant exchange between the participants to the research, the researcher and the artist and thanks to the cover, we can have a sense of the colours of these landscapes made tangible.

Her study suggests only lightly the place of urban London or rural UK in the narratives of the South Asian women she met. Is there a total absence of these landscapes within their narratives or the homes she has been introduced into, or was this too far from her research objectives? This could be an interesting element to address in complement to the study of the mobile citizenship and multi-ethnic Englishness[1] and this shows the potential of the approach Divya Tolia-Kelly has developed. Her reflexive methodology could certainly benefit

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[1] This has been partly addressed by Divya Tolia-Kelly on another project (Tolia-Kelly, 2007).

undergraduate and postgraduate students' research and will surely inspire any researcher interested in memory, gender, racial or migration studies. Divya Tolia-Kelly's work proves how entangled colonial and post-colonial histories, geographies and memories are. She successfully proposes an understanding of these processes at the intimate and mundane scale whilst she demonstrates how geographical the notions of gender and race are, how they are fully part of landscape studies and her research opens a route for many other studies.

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Allison E. SMITH, *Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods. Place Attachment and Social Exclusion*, **Ageing and the Lifecourse Series, The Policy Press, Bristol 2009, 242 pp.**

Allison Smith provides a thought-provoking and inspiring account of older people's experiences of place in deprived urban neighbourhoods. The book consists of rich qualitative accounts of older people ageing in their own homes, coping with the challenges that everyday life in a deprived urban neighbourhood entails. The study was carried out in Manchester, UK, and Vancouver, Canada. The participants' accounts of the places in which they live are thoroughly embedded in theory, and Smith's analysis contributes to the development of a new conceptual framework. While the book is situated in the field of environmental gerontology, it is equally relevant for areas such as cultural geography, environmental psychology, and urban planning.

Ageing in Urban Neighbourhoods begins with a brief Introduction (chapter 1), which contains the general topic and outline of the rest of the book. The book consists of three parts: 'Part One: Revisiting the Person-Environment', in which different theoretical perspectives on ageing in urban settings are outlined; 'Part Two: Rethinking the Person-Environment', which contains the results from Smith's fieldwork in Manchester and Vancouver and an inductive conceptual model grounded in both existing theory and results; and 'Part Three: Refocusing the Person-Environment', which discusses the meaning of the results for policies on ageing in urban settings, the main current and future challenges in the field, as well as a general conclusion.

The first part consists of two chapters (2: Environmental Gerontology and 3: Urban Ageing). The second chapter provides broad general insight into the literature on ageing and place in environmental gerontology and the gaps in it. It does so by discussing the

concepts of *ageing in place* and *place in ageing*, which is illuminating since they serve to tease apart physical and psychological aspects of place. Ageing in place is about the wish of many older people to stay in the place where they live, whereas place in ageing focuses on the emotional bonds that people have with places. Chapter 3 gives an overview of literature on ageing well in cities. In this context, daily challenges such as crime, congestion, noise, low-quality housing, and poor access to services are brought up as factors negatively influencing quality of life in old age. Here, I think that Smith largely misses out on the opportunity to compare older people with other groups. Such a comparison would have been insightful, as the daily challenges mentioned are all issues likely to affect the population in general and other vulnerable groups in particular. For instance, the quality of life of families with young children is probably relatively low in areas characterized by high crime rates, congestion, and poor housing facilities.

The second part forms the literal bulk of the book (pp. 49–153) and contains the results of the study. In chapter 4 (Skid Row? Area Profiles), the studied neighbourhoods, Cheetham, Longsight and Moss Side in Manchester, and Downtown Eastside and Grand-view-Woodland in Vancouver, are introduced. The expert area profiles, provided by three participants who took photographs of places they liked and disliked in their neighbourhoods, form a useful further introduction to the areas.

Chapter 5 (Ageing in Deprived Neighbourhoods), consists of the participants' experiences with ageing in deprived urban neighbourhoods. These experiences are classified according to the relation that the participants expressed to their environment: environmental comfort, environmental management and environmental distress (based on Lawton's Ecological Model of Ageing). In brief, environmental comfort combines low environmental pressure with high personal competences, resulting in attachment to place and a relatively high quality of life. Environmental management is characterised by high experienced press from the environment (e.g. drug-related crime), combined with adequate personal competences to deal with this. Environmental distress is the most negative category, combining high external press with low personal competences, resulting in low quality of life and an often strong desire to move out of the neighbourhood. Smith presents the results by discussing eight case studies of older people (out of a total of 52 interviewees aged 60 and over). Although the data presented are rich, appealing, and do give insight into the three different environmental categories, there are some critical remarks to be made as well. It seems that Smith wanted to do justice to all the respondents and all data she collected: although she presents the results of the study in eight case studies, she also provides quite a lot of information on the 44 other participants, through the biographies in Appendix B. This raises the question why she indicates that she 'focuses' on the case studies in the first place. Then, while the eight case studies are already quite a lot to digest, it is slightly confusing that only one of the three expert photographers from chapter 4 returns as a case study in chapter 5. In effect, the reader is introduced to ten in-depth life histories, the details of which make it difficult to focus on the general storyline and argumentation. Then, with regard to the presentation of the data, Smith chooses to discuss the case studies in turn, in each case beginning with a description of the data, followed by her analysis. This results in a lot of detailed information and repetition. Combining data and analysis would have avoided that, and created a more integrated results-section. To conclude, I think that the voices of older people would have come across more strongly if they, for instance, had been presented according to analytical theme, while leaving out some of the individual detail.

In chapter 6 (Reconceptualising the Person-Environment Relationship), Smith aptly brings results and theory together, in a conceptual model of person-environment relationships. The models consists of the categories of environmental comfort, management and distress described above, along the dimensions of quality of life and sensitivity to the environment, and in the context of intervening variables such as life history and religion. Although the dimension of 'sensitivity towards the environment' remains relatively underexplored, the model is an improvement on the existing ones. It does provide a more flexible and dynamic representation of the relation between older people and their environment. Towards the end of the chapter, Smith discusses the quality of life and identity of her participants. There, it would have been relevant to draw on the concept of *place identity* to illuminate the link between people's sense of self and sense of place.

In the final part of the book, ageing in urban neighbourhoods is put into a broader policy and societal perspective. Chapter 7 (The Way Forward – Building Sustainability) raises relevant themes for policy, such as the integration of care, health and housing, recognising the limits of ageing in place, and the need to invest in older people. The chapter focuses on the UK, but it is not made clear why the Canadian context is excluded. Chapter 8 (Influences, Opportunities and Challenges) contains current and future factors and trends in thinking about the relation between place and ageing. In chapter 9 (Conclusion), Smith rightly states that she has given voice to older people, something which had largely been lacking in studies on older people and place to date. Perhaps more importantly, I think, she has done justice to the complexity of these voices, by no means an easy task. It will be interesting to delve into these complexities by addressing, for instance, gender issues, the role of religion, and ethnicity in more depth.

Ageing in urban neighbourhoods is a recommendable read for scholars in the broad field of ageing research, from disciplines such as urban planning, cultural geography, population studies, housing or real estate, and environmental psychology, in particular because of the depth in which personal experiences of ageing and place are explored.

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Alexander H. J. OTGAAR, Leo VAN DEN BERG, Christian BERGER and Rachel XIANG FENG, *Industrial Tourism. Opportunities for City and Enterprise*, Ashgate, Farnham 2010, 229 pp.

Industry and tourism: it is not usual that these two words occur in the same sentence. As a matter of fact, they are exact opposites of each other according to the public opinion. Therefore, a book dealing with industrial tourism seems to be an interesting and maybe a bit strange effort. The ongoing trends of deindustrialisation and terminalisation give a special significance to this volume since a lot of industrial centres experience economic problems recently.

The book aims to give policy recommendations for local governments and companies for developing successful tourism based on former or contemporary industrial activities.

As an introduction the authors present the conceptual background of industrial tourism, giving proper definitions and typology. They also describe the main causes of the increasing tourist demand for industrial destinations. As they emphasise, tourists demand new kinds of attractions beside the 'traditional' ones. This creates new opportunities for cities which are not on the 'must see' list – at least not yet. For example, the branded or handicraft goods (and the making of them) can be often attractive to the tourists.

After the introduction the edited volume presents six case studies from various cities (five of them are from Europe while the sixth is Shanghai, China) – each of them has a significant industrial background. All of the case studies employ the more or less same logic: after introducing the city they present the bases of the industrial tourism (i.e. the companies and products) and in the end they analyse its situation and potential. The authors also identify the main target groups in all six locations showing that tourists, local residents, employees or business partners all can be considered as potential visitors.

All the presented cases show the importance of the adequate organisational structure. To develop successful industrial tourism effective cooperation between the firms and authorities could be vital. However, significant differences can be observed in the analysed practices: in some cases the local authorities are completely left out from the organisation, while in other cases the local government is one of the key actors.

One of the strengths of the book is that it presents the opportunities related to globally known brands (such as Airbus, Fiat or Volkswagen) and smaller, locally or regionally known firms (e.g. Aurora or Gufram in Piedmont, Italy) as well. This variety of scales illustrates what kinds of opportunities can be utilised in industrial tourism and that almost every industrial activity can become a destination.

The authors convincingly introduce how the industry related tourism works and develops in the analysed cities, but some questions may come to mind. For example, some of the presented case studies show that the touristic use of factories or other manufacturing locations is still just a possibility rather than an existing and blooming practice. The number of tourists and the income usually are not very high – except in the Autostadt (Wolfsburg) which is the most popular destination presented in the book. This shows that although this kind of tourism can contribute to the economic development but mainly as a supplemental instrument which helps to differentiate the economy. But as the authors highlight, the profit and economic development is just one side of the story. Opening the doors for public can be a useful marketing tool as well which shapes positively the image of the companies. Finally, tourism can be a useful learning tool, too, by which visitors could not only gain knowledge about certain products and technologies but also can develop a certain kind of affection towards the company.

The geographical focus of the book also raises some questions. It would be interesting to analyse the opportunities of industrial tourism in regions where manufacturing is in heavy crisis (e.g. regions of heavy industry in Eastern Europe). What kinds of possibilities are there for this type of developments in those areas?

The six case studies present six different interpretations of industrial tourism. For examples in Rotterdam the definition used by the main stakeholders is quite narrow while in Shanghai it is much broader: industrial tourism means not only visiting industrial locations but service providers as well. Cologne prefers not to use the term 'industrial tourism' because it can be associated with the manufacturing industries which does not fit into the city's image. This diversity clearly illustrates that industrial tourism is a culturally embed-

ded concept which is shaped by several factors from economic structure to the history of the location.

The final chapter of the book sums up the results from the case studies and also offers some policy recommendations for developing industrial tourism. The authors emphasise the importance of clear objectives, definitions, quality standards and cooperation. This part of the volume can be used as a kind of reference book for successful tourism development.

In my opinion the importance of this volume is twofold. Firstly, it helps to change our view on industrial heritage. Secondly, it offers experiences and practices for those who aim to transform this heritage into a tourist destination. The book demonstrates that tourism and industry are not direct opposites *at all*.

<div style="text-align:right">

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David DOLOREUX, Mark FREEL and Richard SHEARMUR (eds.), *Knowledge-Intensive Business Services. Geography and Innovation*, **Ashgate, Alderhsot 2010, 246 pp.**

Studies focused on knowledge-intensive business services (KIBS) have been embedded into and stimulated by academic discourses over theorisation of 'knowledge' and 'learning' in the contemporary (global) capitalism (see e.g. Lyotard, 1984; Harvey, 1989; Bryson *et al.*, 2004) and also by practical (policy) debates over competitiveness of firms and national economies for the last three decades. As various fields and disciplines got involved in conceptualising the production and circulation of knowledge, research approaches towards KIBS grew increasingly transdisciplinary, and concerned with space – analysing intra-firm and inter-firm relations across geographical scales, and revealing their socio-cultural embeddedness (Amin and Cohendet, 2004). Although, such studies are focused dominantly on 'advanced' economies of the traditional core regions, they provided and increasingly sophisticated view of knowledge-production as an engine of economic restructuring.

This book contributes to understanding the role of knowledge intensive business services as drivers of innovation (how KIBS support innovation and how KIBS innovate themselves) and also to explaining uneven development in the context of production, management and exchange of knowledge. The studies published in the book are 'resolutely empirical' (p. 8), discussing KIBS activities in different institutional and cultural (basically, in European and North American) contexts. The nine case-studies provide a deep insight into the drivers and mechanisms of knowledge production, discussing the types of knowledge that are produced and exchanged and how people and organisations interact in this process. Although the analyses are focused on different geographical scales, discussing the globalisation of KIBS, their role in regional differentiation of a national economy, and the knowledge flows in regional innovation systems and also within KIBS firms, the majority of studies suggest that knowledge production and exchange take place across geographical scales – and yet, they are shaped by particular local and regional contexts largely.

In lack of space for a detailed review of results, I do not follow the logic of book that is organised around geographical scales. Instead, the authors' findings shall be discussed in relation to key issues well known in service studies, such as the conceptualisation of KIBS, the production of knowledge and innovation within the KIBS firms, and the inter-firm relations through which KIBS stimulate innovation in other organisations – all interpreted as processes producing space.

The authors share the widely discussed and accepted *conception of KIBS* as producers and mediators of knowledge. This role rests on a highly complex and diverse process of information and knowledge sourcing (see Trippl and Tödtling in chapter 8) and on a creative manipulation of those in particular organisational and spatial contexts – the constant reproduction of the core asset (expertise) of KIBS firms (see Warf in chapter 2 and Muller, Zenker and Héraud in chapter 10). In geographical terms, KIBS are conceptualised as highly networked *and* locally (regionally) embedded activities that act across geographical scales while sourcing and mediating knowledge. Nevertheless, putting knowledge in the focus drove some authors to conceptualize KIBS in the wider context of social reproduction (e.g. considering medical services and higher education as knowledge-intensive business services; see Warf in chapter 2), which might stimulate further debate over the definition, and over KIBS-related policies. Moreover, the discussion of KIBS' role in different macroeconomic and socio-cultural contexts (cultural milieu and social practices) highlighted how diverse knowledge production and exchange are in core economies, and thus, how conceptualisation of KIBS is shaped by local/regional processes and conditions (see Shearmur; Aslesen and Isaksen; Kautonen and Hyypiä; Doloreux, Defazio and Rangdrol in chapters 3, 5, 6 and 9).

To understand the role of KIBS providers as 'innovators in their own right' (Freel, p. 75), knowledge sourcing, development of new ideas and expertise, and the management of such processes within firms are key issues analysed by most of the authors. Studies focused on *knowledge sourcing* argue against simplified approaches that rest on local buzz and global pipelines dichotomy. The authors' empirical results suggest a highly diverse process in which a number of agents (clients/users, competitors, suppliers, R&D institutions, universities, development agencies, networked professional communities) are acting as sources and/or co-producers of knowledge at different geographical scales through various (formal and informal) channels of information flow (see chapters 4, 5, 6, and 8 by Freel; Aslesen and Isaksen; Kautonen and Hyypiä; Trippl and Tödtling). The book suggests that knowledge sourcing is a diverse process that depends on the nature of services provided (professional expertise-based vs. technology-related activities/P-KIBS vs T-KIBS), on the size KIBS firms, and on the business (innovation) strategy adopted by a particular organisation. Moreover, as KIBS innovations rely highly on localised formal and informal relations (advantages of agglomeration economies and network externalities), knowledge sourcing should be discussed as a locally/regionally embedded process. Studies focused local context of knowledge sourcing (see Kautonen and Hyypiä; Trippl and Tödtling; Doloreux, Defazio and Rangdrol in chapters 6, 8, 9) highlight, how uneven development in metropolitan/non-metropolitan, core/peripheral, and in high-tech-based/public sector-oriented regions are driven by having (or not having) access to information and expertise.

Knowledge production is also discussed as a networked process (co-produced with other agents, primarily, with clients) that is ranging from customisation of well-known recipes to innovative solutions to the clients' problems (see chapters 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 by Warf;

Shearmur; Freel; Landry, Amara and Doloreux; Trippl and Tödtling). The studies suggest that, project-based work that grew dominant in the KIBS sector is a source of new expertise and diverse knowledge management practices (codification, developing tacit knowledge and the combination of those). Nevertheless, it is also stressed that knowledge production rests on capacities of KIBS firms, primarily, on the skills of KIBS staff and the use of advanced technologies (see Landry, Amara and Doloreux; Trippl and Tödtling in chapters 7 and 8). An in-depth analysis of this process is provided by Muller, Zenker and Héraud (chapter 10), who identified the key agents of knowledge production ('knowledge angels'), searched their skills and qualities – that are over-arching disciplinary and organisational boundaries, and rest on professional expertise as well as on creative capacities – and defined their strategic functions within intra-firm and wider networks.

The widely discussed role of *KIBS as mediators of knowledge*, and as such, stimulators and supporters of innovation (technological and organisational change, problem solving, crisis management, knowledge transfer etc.) in other organisations is also put in the focus of the book. Types of knowledge produced and mediated, channels and methods of exchange, and the geography of those was researched empirically in different regional and national contexts.

A key issue discussed by most of the authors is the problem of tacit and codified knowledge. As the results of Landry, Amara and Doloreux, as well as of Trippl and Tödtling (chapters 7, 8) suggest, we should shift from this dichotomy: both types of knowledge are (re)produced and exchanged at once in client-KIBS provider relationships. For this, we should understand the complexity of knowledge exchange in various organisational and spatial contexts. This problem was discussed in a particular spatial context by the authors who adopted regional innovation system (RIS) approach as a conceptual framework. Aslesen and Isaksen (chapter 5) analysed the role of KIBS as mediators between agents (business/institutional) of RIS that have different knowledge basis; Trippl and Tödtling (chapter 8) focused on distinct types of KIBS as mediators by their innovative activities in the Vienna software cluster, while Doloreux, Defazio and Rangdrol highlighted (chapter 9), how knowledge mediation is culturally embedded and how this function works within more distant relationships in Canada.

The authors are also concerned with the *geography of knowledge mediation*. Although knowledge production in KIBS firms is stimulated by locally (regionally) embedded relations that produce hierarchical and centralised spatial structures, knowledge mediation does not necessarily follow such patters. It occurs across geographical scales, linking users and providers, connecting different regional innovation systems, and local businesses to global flows, as it is suggested by Shearmur, Freel, Kautonen and Hyypia (chapters 3, 4 and 6).

Although there are no strikingly new concepts in the book, it helps the reader to understand knowledge production and exchange as a highly complex, multiscalar process, that is shaped by intra-firm processes, different socio-cultural contexts (spaces and places interlinked by various networks), by macro-economic processes of national markets, as well as by local 'buzz' of interpersonal/inter-organisational relations. Moreover, the presented empirical results make the reader uneasy enough to re-think 'settled' definitions and categories, and open further discussion on knowledge-related issues in social sciences. Finally, the authors highlight how uneven development is driven through knowledge production, and how inequalities are being (re)produced by being involved or excluded from flows of information and expertise.

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