

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN THE SEOUL METROPOLITAN REGION: WHO, WHERE AND WHY?

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1. Introduction

An understanding of the reasons households move and the extent of such mobility is important in helping to analyze social, economic and policy changes in urban areas. Although seemingly unrelated, there is a close correspondence between residential mobility and other areas of social, economic and political change. Population growth in a given area or region is in part the outcome of net mobility (in-migration minus out-migration) and can be influenced by changing rates of family formation - a social/demographic change - relocation of jobs and industry - an economic change - or decisions by governments to target housing and urban development - a policy change.

Our understanding of the process and outcomes associated with residential mobility has been conditioned by studies mainly emanating from developed countries, and especially from the USA, UK and European countries. Within the sociological literature, although Wirth (1947), Merton (1948) and Chapin (1974) commented on the process of residential mobility as part of their investigations into the sociology of housing, the most important work to emerge during much of the early period of research was the seminal study by Peter Rossi (1955)- *Why Families Move*. Rossi, working with a sample of households from a survey in Philadelphia concluded that residential mobility was the process whereby "families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes" (Rossi 1955: 10). Since Rossi's investigation the value of social surveys in understanding the process whereby households move has been acknowledged with a plethora of works emerging.

Although some researchers have been critical of trying to link changing life cycle stage with mobility without taking account of

other factors (Coupe and Morgan 1981, Houghton 1993), most authors tend to agree with Rossi's thesis and see mobility as being associated with household's attempts to better reflect their needs, wants or desires in their residential environments. Studies by authors such as Clark et al. (1994) and Deurloo et al. (1994) find that some variation of life cycle changes impact on residential location decisions. Others find that life cycle in conjunction with other factors is important (Lu 1998; Withers 1998).

Concurring with these types of studies have been those focusing on residential mobility in the cities of the developing or developed world, or more generally with cities in the wider Asia region (Alshuwaikhat and Alkhars 1993; Guest et al. 1994; Dokmeci and Berkoz 2000). Alshuwikhat and Alkhars (1993) identified the significance of demographic and socio-economic characteristics and residential mobility considering the factors that control the choice of new residence in Al-Hasa, Saudi Arabia. Guest et al. (1994) examined migration patterns in Thailand paying particular attention to mover's demographic and educational characteristics.

Following the interest in residential mobility in cities of the developing or newly developed world this paper investigates the process of residential mobility within the Seoul Metropolitan Region in the Republic of Korea. By using responses documented in the Report on the Internal Migration survey, together with information outlined in the Annual Report on Internal Migration Statistics and the Annual Report on Vital Statistics, the discussion contained in this paper addresses two broad questions of interest to studies of mobility - why do households and individuals move and what distinguishes movers from non-movers. In what follows we further establish the context for the paper by profiling the study area (the Seoul Metropolitan Region) before turning to consider the first of the research issues - why do households move. Following this, the paper turns to an analysis of mover and non-mover households prior to providing some concluding comments.

2. The Seoul Metropolitan Region

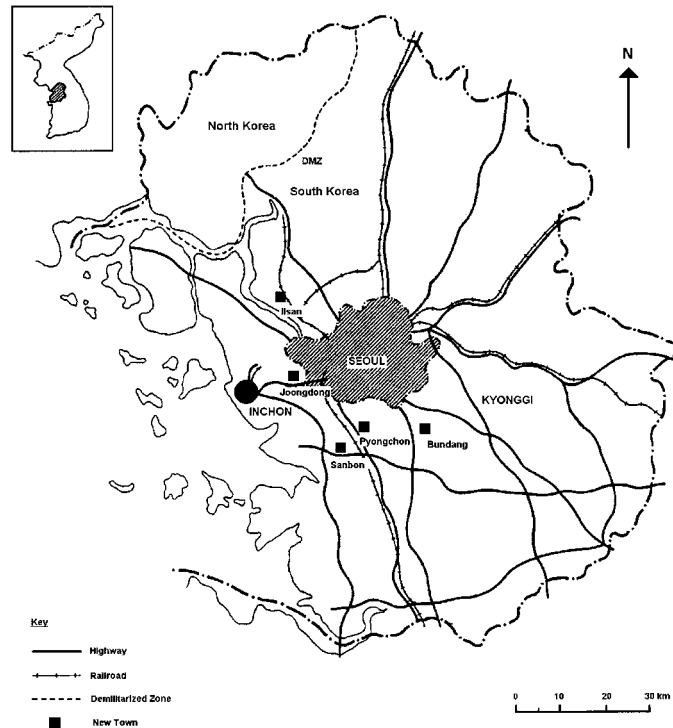
The Seoul Metropolitan Region (SMR) consists of the contiguous urban area centered on the City of Seoul and the adjacent provinces of Kyonggi and the City of Incheon (figure 1). The extended region has for a considerable period of time been the major population centre in South Korea and commensurately, has also been the country's major

centre for industry and services and has played an important role in culture, entertainment and tourism.

In population terms the Seoul Metropolitan Region accounts for about 21 million people, 44.9 per cent of the country's population and is almost six times as big as the next largest urban centre, Pusan. The present high population concentration in the region is the result of a sustained period of population growth, fuelled during much of the early period of economic and social development by the movement of refugees from North Korea and to significant rural-to-urban migration. As has been the case in many Asian countries industrialization has resulted in the movement of population to urban areas, especially large established metropolitan areas. In Korea, factors including the success of industrialization in creating jobs in urban areas, the higher level of perceived well-being available in urban areas and social opportunities available in urban areas, combined to act as pull factors, drawing population to the city of Seoul and later to the Seoul Metropolitan Region (Kim and Choe, 1997). In 1955 the capital city represented 73 per cent of the national total population. In the early stages of economic development this had increased to 9.6 per cent and 13.3 per cent (1960 and 1965) and had reached 20 per cent by the mid 1970s. By the late 1990s the population of Seoul had reached 9.8 million, which represented a quarter of South Korea's population.

The metropolitan region's dominant population position is reflected in its importance in the economic, political, social and cultural life of South Korea. In the early to mid 90s the Metropolitan region dominated the industrial structure of the economy with almost 50% of South Korea's industrial establishments and over 50% of the country's employees (Kim and Choe 1997). Industries located in the region contributed 66 billion Won or 45% of the country's value added, while the importance of the region both nationally and globally is reflected in the concentration of producer services jobs- 59.8% of South Korea's total. Moreover, the region also has the highest concentrations of foreign embassies, foreign news agencies and conventions (Hong 1996) and additionally, it contains the largest share of human service activities such as hospitals and educational institutions (Kim and Choe 1997).

Figure 1: Seoul Metropolitan Region



As a rapidly expanding area the Seoul Metropolitan Region has witnessed significant urban change characterized by the early development of residential zones in the inner sectors-those located in the original City of Seoul- together with newly developing residential zones in the region's outer areas. Most notably this "suburban" development has been characterized by the development of a series of new towns, plans for which were a direct outcome of the government's housing and urban redevelopment policy. In terms of understanding residential mobility across the region, the chronology of urban development has resulted in certain parts of the region offering a variety of housing, amenity and accessibility mixes and this is likely to be reflected in the decisions households make. For example, the City of Seoul has always had the highest quality educational institutions and this may influence the residential location choices of some households. In this respect Kim and Choe (1997: 96) remark:

A proper path to the best high schools and universities, particularly in Seoul, is believed to lead to a successful career for Korean children... Therefore it is essential for parents to search for and locate the best school system that fits the need of their children, most notably secondary school districts in Seoul.

Similarly, the development of new towns in Kyonggi has resulted in higher levels of housing amenity outside the City of Seoul, and such a factor may be important for households looking to improve their housing quality or size.

3. Moving in the SMR

To begin to understand the process of residential mobility within the Seoul Metropolitan Region, it is useful to first consider the extent of mobility taking place. For much of the period of the late 1990s, mobility between the three regions in the SMR accounted for a large proportion of all inter-provincial moves. Of the total inter-provincial moves occurring within South Korea in the late 1990s almost one-third took place between the City of Seoul, Kyonggi and Incheon.

Table 1 presents data relating to the extent of mobility between the three areas making up the Seoul Metropolitan Region. The strongest patterns of mobility throughout the 1990s were between the City of Seoul and Kyonggi. Moves from the capital to Kyonggi accounted for between 46.3 per cent and 55.3 per cent, while moves in the opposite direction-Kyonggi to the City of Seoul - accounted for between 24.2 per cent and 31.9 per cent. Moves from the City of Seoul to Kyonggi peaked in the mid 1990s with a movement of 599 411 people. This accounted for a level of net mobility of 336 518 people. Population movement from Kyonggi to the City of Seoul declined to the mid 1990s prior to increasing towards the end of the period.

Movement between the City of Seoul and Incheon and between Kyonggi and Incheon has been, by comparison, small. Over the period of the 1990s between 5.8 per cent and 10.1 per cent of all moves in the SMR took place between the capital and Incheon, the number of movers declining throughout the period. Moves in the opposite direction accounted for only around 4 per cent across the period with the popularity of Seoul declining over time. Throughout the 1990s the City of Seoul has been a net loser of population to Incheon.

Movement from Incheon to Kyonggi accounted for between 4.6 per cent and 7.3 per cent of all moves in the SMR with the largest number of moves occurred in the late 1990s. Movement from Kyonggi to Incheon has accounted for between 6.9 per cent and 3.1 per cent of

all moves. Kyonggi has been a net gainer of population from Incheon throughout the period.

Table 1: Mobility within the Seoul Metropolitan Region, number and per cent of all moves

	1990	1995	1998
<i>Seoul to</i>			
Kyonggi	473 889 (46.3%)	599 411 (55.3%)	407 050 (46.9%)
Incheon	103 533 (10.1%)	62 695 (5.8%)	53 946 (6.2%)
<i>Kyonggi to</i>			
Seoul	282 914 (27.7%)	262 893 (24.2%)	276 685 (31.9%)
Incheon	71 539 (6.9%)	56 281 (5.2%)	27 188 (3.1%)
<i>Incheon to</i>			
Seoul	43 247 (4.2%)	41 601 (3.8%)	38 404 (4.4%)
Kyonggi	47 519 (4.6%)	61 931 (5.7%)	63 176 (7.3%)

4. Why households move

Within much of the sociological and geographical literature, an understanding of why households move generally sits within the context of dissatisfaction with housing and residential environments and the housing and location requirements of individuals and households at different stages of their life cycles and housing careers. In short, as noted in the introductory comments to this paper it is generally recognized that mobility is the process whereby families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes (Rossi 1955: 10).

In the context of this broader understanding several concepts are important. These include the idea that households find themselves either in housing equilibrium or dis-equilibrium, and that stressors within the residential environment may act as a trigger to mobility.

The idea that households are at an equilibrium or dis-equilibrium in their choice of residential environments has been expressed in various forms by various authors. In early research Wolpert (1965) developed

the notion of place utility which was the “net composite of utilities which are derived from individual’s integration at some position in space” (Wolpert 1965: 162). In this schema housing dis-equilibrium occurs when there is a reduction in place utility, leading to the decision to move. Later authors including Moore (1986) used similar concepts to develop their model of residential mobility, while Clark and Cadwallander (1973) and Deurloo et al (1994) have all pointed to the impact that dissatisfaction and a disequilibrium between needs, wants and current housing has on decisions to move and how these are associated with individual and household life cycles and housing careers. Considering Rossi’s work, disequilibrium is seen to come about through reasons outside of the household’s control (for example a change in jobs or a change in marital status) or due to reasons within the household’s locus of control (space complaints, change in tenure).

When circumstances change to a sufficient extent so as to bring about housing dis-equilibrium a stressor is said to exist which triggers several possible responses, one being a decision to move. As Clark and Cadwallader (1973, 30 : 31) suggest:

The decision to move can be viewed as being a function both of the household’s present level of satisfaction and of the level of satisfaction it believes may be attained elsewhere. The difference between these levels can be viewed as a measure of stress created by the present residential location.

Moreover, the authors state that:

The decision to move can be viewed as being a function both of the household’s present level of satisfaction and of the level of satisfaction it believes may be attained elsewhere. The differences between these levels can be viewed as a measure of “stress” created by the present residential location (30 : 31).

Residential Dissatisfaction

From the above we can begin to understand the process whereby households might undertake residential mobility by considering responses to social surveys relating to housing and location conditions. Dieleman et al (2000) emphasized that housing dissatisfaction is a major antecedent for residential mobility, while Little (1980) highlighted that the negative externalities of urban accessibility and

environmental quality are an important factor for move. The data presented in tables two and three highlight several possible areas of residential dissatisfaction and suggest that the factors leading to dissatisfaction, housing disequilibrium and possible residential mobility might differ between households residing in different parts of the Seoul Metropolitan Region.

Overall, housing related factors are more significant than broader neighborhood and environmental amenities in explaining resident's level of dissatisfaction with their current living circumstances. The percentage of households dissatisfied with their current dwellings in the SMR ranges between 34.5 per cent in Kyonggi to 38.2 per cent in the City of Seoul. In contrast dissatisfaction with neighborhood and environmental amenities ranges between 28.4 per cent in Incheon and 30.6 per cent in the City of Seoul.

When considering the level of dissatisfaction with neighborhood and environmental amenity (table 2) residents living in Seoul were most dissatisfied with parking (23.2 per cent), traffic (commuting) (19.1 per cent) and living in untidy surroundings (19.8 per cent). Other factors including environmental problems (16.9 per cent) and crime (2.2 per cent) were above the South Korean average. Similar problems were expressed by those living in Kyonggi with parking (18.2 per cent) and traffic (commuting) (24.9 per cent) being problems. Additionally being far from amenities and facilities (24.9 per cent) was a problem for households living in Kyonggi. Education problems (6.8 per cent) and the high cost of living (3.5 per cent) were above the South Korean average. Environmental problems (23.4 per cent), parking problems (21.9 per cent) and traffic (commuting) problems (18.8 per cent) were of most concern to residents in Incheon. When comparing the importance of factors across the regions it is important to note that the highest percentage of dissatisfaction in each region was different. The parking problem (23.2%) was the most dissatisfaction factor in Seoul, while the traffic (commuting) problem (24.9%) is the most problematic in Kyonggi. Interestingly, in Incheon the highest percentage of dissatisfaction (23.4%) lies on environmental untidy (noise, smell and pollution).

Turning to the data on dwelling related dissatisfaction (table 3) people living in the City of Seoul were most dissatisfied with the small size of their house (35.6 per cent), deterioration of their dwelling (20.0 per cent) and insufficient sunshine and ventilation (12.4 per cent). People in Seoul also considered that their house lacked sufficient piped water and sewage facilities (4.8 per cent) and that the rents were too high

(4.7 per cent). Similar responses were given by those living in Kyonggi, with the main difference being a smaller proportion of people considered that their dwelling was too small (30.1 per cent) and that it had insufficient ventilation and sunshine (8.9 per cent). A larger proportion of people in Kyonggi stated that deterioration was a problem. For those living in Incheon, the small scale of their house was a problem (36.6 per cent) as was deterioration (22.4 per cent). Additionally, Incheon residents also stated that their house had insufficient heating (11.1 per cent). Incheon residents also considered that their dwelling was not economic value (7.4 per cent). This was above the level for South Korea as a whole. The most important reason for dissatisfaction across all three regions was the size of the dwelling (too small), with Kyonggi recording a smaller per cent than the other two regions.

Taken as a whole, and in the context of the previous work on residential mobility, housing dis-equilibrium and stressors, the data relating to dissatisfaction suggests that across the three separate regions factors related to housing and local amenity and environment may be important in driving decisions to move. In situations where households are dissatisfied with the size of their current dwelling (a housing reason), the express reason for moving would likely to be to increase housing size. Likewise, if households state that they are dissatisfied with the local environment, residential mobility may be undertaken so as to improve environmental conditions.

Given the above data on residential dissatisfaction, it is now interesting to consider the reasons households give for moving.

Table 2: The Reasons of the dissatisfaction related neighborhood and environmental amenity in SMR (2001)

Region (per cent stating dissatisfaction)	Untidy Surroundings	Traffic (commuting) problem	Far from Facilities	Parking problem	Environmental (noise, smell, air pollution)	Education problem	High costs of Living	Frequent Crimes	Others
Seoul (30.6)	19.8	19.1	9.4	23.2*	16.9	5.2	2.4	2.2	1.8
Kyonggi (29.7)	10	24.9*	21.2	18.2	11.6	6.8	3.5	1.1	2.8
Inchon (28.4)	13.2	18.8	11.7	21.9	23.4*	4.6	2.5	1.5	2.3
South Korea (26.7)	13.5	22.6*	16.7	17.4	16.1	6.7	2.7	1.8	2.5

* Highest percentage in each region, Source: Social statistical survey (2001), National Statistical Office, Republic of Korea

Table 3: The Reasons of the dissatisfaction related dwelling in SMR

Region (per cent stating dissatisfaction)	Small-scale of the house	Deterioration	Insufficient heating	Inconvenient bathroom	Insufficient piped water & sewage facility	Insufficient sunshine & ventilation	Not economic value	High rent	Others
Seoul (38.2)	35.6*	20	8	6	4.8	12.4	5.9	4.7	2.5
Kyonggi (34.5)	30.1*	29.5	8.4	7.2	3.6	8.9	5.9	3.7	2.7
Inchon (25.9)	36.6*	22.4	11.1	6.9	3.8	7.3	7.4	2.1	2.3
South Korea (34.4)	29.4	30.1*	8.3	7.8	3.7	7.9	6.9	3.2	2.6

* Highest percentage in each region, Source: Social statistical survey (2001), National Statistical Office, Rep. of Korea

Table 4: Reasons for choosing new location, intending inter-province movers within SMR

	Vocation	Housing	Family	Education	Environment	Other	Total (n) '000
Seoul to Kyonggi & Incheon	5.1	69.5	10.6	1.5	3.5	9.6	652
Incheon to Seoul	11.4	56.9	9.7	8.1	10.6	3.2	123
Kyonggi to Seoul	7.0	52.7	11.6	9.7	16.1	2.9	516
Incheon to Kyonggi	6.0	69.1	10.1	0.7	7.9	7.4	149
Kyonggi to Incheon	7.3	66.5	10.5	2.8	6.7	6.1	313

Source: National Statistical Office, Republic of Korea, Report on the Internal Migration survey, 1997

Reasons for moving

The Internal Migration Report provides data on both the reasons why people chose a particular region (i.e. movers) and the reasons given by people identified as intending movers. Whilst the data on movers would have been useful, only the data on intending movers allowed a desegregated approach by region to be considered. The main categories are presented in table four.

Of the respondents considering a move in the future, 10.3 per cent stated that they would move within the Seoul Metropolitan Region. Respondents who were intending to move were presented with a list of 38 factors that may influence their choice of destination and were asked to indicate the factor most important to their decision. Based on the respondent's most important reasons, the 38 factors can be clustered into 6 groups: vocation, family, housing, education, environment and others.

The data relating to dissatisfaction suggested that housing reasons may be an important factor in the decision to move. Not surprisingly, of the six possible factors for destination choice, those relating to housing factors were the most important. The proportion of intending movers considering housing factors as most important ranged from 69.5 per cent for intending movers from Seoul to Kyonggi and Incheon, to 52.7 per cent for intending movers from Kyonggi to Seoul. Family factors were also important accounting for nearly 10 per cent of all intending moves.

The major difference between the reasons given by intending movers is the higher importance placed on environmental factors by people intending to move to the City of Seoul. Environmental factors include better transport, cultural or living facilities and better security and the concentration of these factors in a city have been considered an important pull factor in mobility decisions. Vocation reasons were less important for moves to Seoul than was the case in long-distance mobility with only intending movers from Incheon to Seoul considering this an important reason for destination choice (11.4 per cent). Additionally, education factors are important for intending movers to Seoul, with 8.1 per cent of those intending to move from Incheon to Seoul, and 9.7 per cent of those intending to move from Kyonggi to Seoul stating education factors as being important.

5. Movers and non-movers

The previous section has addressed the first substantive issue being raised in this paper, the question of why households move. Apart from knowing why households move, a significant amount of attention has been given to understanding the difference between those households who move and those who do not. There is of course a close association between the reasons why households move and the distinction between movers and non-movers. As housing needs and preferences change throughout life, so too does the propensity for households to move, leading to differentiation between mover and non-mover households based on their stage in the life cycle and other socio-economic identifiers.

Table 5 presents data relating to the desire to move, broken down by selected socio-economic and demographic variables. Life cycle stage is significantly associated with mobility intentions, with younger persons more likely to move than older persons. Of respondents aged less than 34 years, 68.1 per cent considered moving, while for those aged 35 to 44 years, 68.8 per cent considered moving. From age 45, the likelihood of moving declines with 59.3 per cent of the age group 45-54 stating they intended moving and just under 50 per cent of those aged 55 years and older stating they intended to move. This finding is consistent with the findings from other researchers including Pickles and Davies (1991), Hassan et al. (1996), and Kendig (1990). The other marker of life cycle, marital status delineated as either married or unmarried does not appear to be significantly related to mobility intentions, although slightly more married people (68.3) than unmarried people (63.4) intended to move.

Length of residence has been found to be a significant factor in residential mobility (Lu, 1998; Poot, 1987; Withers, 1998). The figures for the Seoul Metropolitan Region suggest that up to three years, a longer period of residence increases the likelihood of moving, before declining for periods of residence over three years. Specifically, 60.7 per cent of households who were resident for less than one year intended to move, while 73.2 per cent of those resident for one to two years and 74.0 per cent of those resident two to three years intended to move. A smaller proportion (69.1 per cent) of households who were resident for more than three years intended moving.

Neither educational status nor labor force status was significantly associated with mobility intentions. Although more educated people- those with graduate school qualifications- were more likely to say they intended to move (70.0 per cent) than those with less than high school

level education (61.5 per cent), this was not statistically significant. For respondents who are employed, 67.7 per cent considered that they would move, compared to 60.0 per cent of those who were unemployed. Again this was not statistically significant.

Two housing related factors have been included in the analysis- the size of the dwelling and tenure. Housing related factors have been shown elsewhere to be important drivers of mobility (Hassan et al. 1996). Dwelling size is statistically significant with respondents in smaller dwellings more likely to say they intend to move than households in larger dwellings. This is not surprising given the housing related reasons for moving outlined in the previous section. Almost 7-out-of-ten respondents living in dwellings smaller than 19 pyong intended to move, while 50.0 per cent of those in larger dwellings (greater than 30 pyong) intended to move. Like other research, the data for the SMR illustrates that respondents who own their homes are less likely to move, when compared to respondents in other forms of tenure (see Hassan et al. 1996). Only 44.2 per cent of respondents that own their home intended to move compared to 71.0 per cent of respondents in Chunsei arrangements. « Chunsei » is a unique long-term lease with the capitalized value of the rent paid up front but returned at the end of the lease period, the earned interest on the Chunsei constitutes the landlord's rental income.

Table 5: Household intentions to move, Selected socio-economic factors in the SMR

	Desire to move	N
<i>Age Groups **</i>		
Less than 34 years	68.1	569
35-44	68.8	296
45-54	59.3	48
55 years and over	49.0	26
<i>Marital status</i>		
Married	68.3	723
Unmarried	63.4	215
<i>Length of residence **</i>		
Less than one year	60.7	390
1 to 2 years	73.2	334
2 to 3 years	74.0	145
3 or more years	69.1	21
<i>Educational status</i>		
Less than high school	61.5	123
High school and some college	67.3	512
4 year university degree	69.4	261
Graduate school	70.0	18

<i>Labor force status</i>		
Employed	67.7	875
Not in the labor force/ unemployed	60.0	63
<i>Size of the dwelling **</i>		
Less than 19 pyong	69.6	802
20-29 pyong	56.5	117
Greater than 30 pyong	50.0	19
<i>Tenure **</i>		
Owned outright	44.2	103
Chunsei	71.0	613
Other rental/other tenure	73.0	222

**= significant at 0.05% level, when compared to the response "desire not to move"

In order to further investigate mobility intentions, a logistic regression analysis of the dichotomous mobility variable on the independent variables discussed above was undertaken. Because our dependent variable-mobility intentions - is binary, logistic regression is the most appropriate multivariate modeling tool. The independent variables used include age, marital status, length of residence, education, labor force status, size of dwelling and tenure status. The results of the logistic regression are presented in Table 6, and the exponentials of the coefficients (β) indicate the likelihood of moving for a given category of independent variable. The model chi-square indicates that the model fit the data significance at 0.001 level.

For the sample of households from the Seoul Metropolitan Region five variables appeared in the final model- tenure, household size, level of education, marital status and length of residence. Concentrating on the direction of the coefficients rather than the level of significance, the logistic regression equation suggests that compared to other renters/ tenure (the tenure reference group) owners are less likely to say they will move, while households in the Chunsei form of tenure are more likely to say they will move. In terms of dwelling size and length of residence, respondents in smaller dwellings are more likely to say they will move when compared to the other groups, while those living in their dwellings for less than a year or more than 3 years have low mobility intentions. The variable accounting for socio-economic status suggested that mobility intentions rise with education level, while the marital status variable indicates that unmarried respondents are less likely than married respondents to say they will move.

The exponential of the beta coefficients ($\exp \beta$) provide an indication of the likelihood of moving, given a particular outcome on the independent variable. Concentrating on some of the significant beta-coefficients the analysis suggests that owners are only 0.40 times as likely as other renters (the reference group) to have high mobility

intentions, while Chunsei are 1.33 times more likely to say they will move. Compared to married respondents, unmarried respondents are only 0.82 times as likely say they will move. Finally, when compared to people who have been living in their dwelling for 3 or more years, respondents resident less than a year are only 0.5 times as likely to say they will move.

Table 6: Logistic regression equation, final form

	BETA (B)	STANDARD ERROR	EXP B
<i>Tenure (ref cat other rent/tenure)</i>			
Owned	-0.915 **	0.114	0.40
Chunsei	0.284 **	0.084	1.33
<i>Dwelling size (ref cat greater than 30 pyong)</i>			
Less than 19 pyong	0.229	0.142	1.25
20 to 29 pyong	-0.188	0.157	0.83
<i>Level of Education (ref cat graduate school)</i>			
Less than high school	-0.351	0.148	0.70
High school and some college	-0.006	0.111	0.99
4 year university degree	0.194	0.127	1.21
<i>Marital status (ref cat married)</i>			
Not married	-0.190 **	0.072	0.82
<i>Length of residence (ref cat greater than 3 years)</i>			
Less than one year	-0.540 **	0.109	0.58
1 to 2 years	0.140	0.118	1.15
2 to 3 years	0.216	0.149	1.24
Constant	0.518	0.169	
Model chi-squared = 116.1**			

6. Conclusion

This article has undertaken an investigation of residential mobility in the Seoul Metropolitan Region in South Korea. At the outset the paper attempted to address two questions-why households move and what is the difference between mover households and non-mover households.

Several patterns have become evident from the data and analysis presented in this article. Firstly, it appears that housing dissatisfaction is likely to impact on mobility decisions for certain households. When dissatisfaction levels were considered, residents were more often dissatisfied with aspects of their housing and this could be seen flowing through to the reasons households gave to move. Importantly, people moving between the capital and the outer areas gave housing reasons more often, a finding reflecting the greater housing opportunities available in the outer region. In contrast, reasons such as vocation or educational opportunities were more likely to be given by those moving into the City of Seoul from outer areas, reflecting the greater opportunities in terms of jobs and education closer to the center of the region.

When considering the second question-who moves - the findings relating to the Seoul Metropolitan Region showed, as with research elsewhere that a common set of factors discerned between movers and non-movers. Movers can be differentiated by life cycle stage associated with age and marital status, length of residence and tenure and dwelling characteristics. From the multivariate analysis undertaken it was shown that households that owned their dwelling were less likely to move than those in other tenure situations, married people are more likely to move than unmarried people and households who have been living in a dwelling for between 1 year and three years have a higher likelihood of undertaking mobility.

The research presented in this paper goes a long way towards providing an understanding of residential mobility in South Korea's largest urban agglomeration. While it has highlighted several important points, further multivariate research is needed in order to understand how the patterns of mobility taking place between the different regions might be influenced by the combination of household types, levels of residential dissatisfaction and mobility reasons. It is expected that this further level of analysis will be the subject of a future article.

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