## RESEARCH DIALOGUE



Check for updates

## The socio-ecological psychology of residential mobility

Department of Psychology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, USA

#### Correspondence

Shigehiro Oishi, Department of Psychology, University of Virginia, P.O. Box 400400, Charlottesville, VA 22904-4410, USA. Email: soishi@virginia.edu

#### Abstract

From ancient time, Homo sapiens moved around in search of a better life. Although the development of agriculture and industrialization no longer necessitates frequently moving to find new food sources, people today still change their residences for a variety of reasons. This article highlights key findings from residential mobility, focusing on its implications for the self, social relationships, societies, and well-being. Generally, residential mobility shifts individual attention away from collective attributes toward personal attributes. It also changes people's relationship styles and preferences, leading individuals to favor wider social networks, more open communication, low-commitment groups, and egalitarian helpers. In addition, it increases tolerance for norm violations and moral deviations. Lastly, residential mobility can explain some cross-national and within-nation variations. This article reviews recent psychological research on residential mobility and then discusses limitations, paradoxical findings, and future directions.

#### KEYWORDS

relational mobility, relationships, residential mobility, self, well-being

Residential mobility is defined as the degree to which individuals change their residence. At the level of individuals, it refers to the number of times they change their residence in a given period (e.g., age 5 to 18). At the level of the neighborhood, the city, the state, or the country, it refers to the percentage of residents who changed their residence in a given period (e.g., January 1st, 2020, to December 31st, 2020). The change of residence is often accompanied by a cascade of changes in neighborhoods, schools, social networks, and daily routines. Not surprisingly, the importance of residential mobility has long been recognized in behavioral and social sciences, such as demography (Clark & Onaka, 1983), sociology (South &

Crowder, 1998), economics (Hoyt, 1993), political science (Squire et al., 1987), and epidemiology (Prothero, 1977). By contrast, relatively few researchers in psychology have paid attention to the role of residential mobility until around 2000 (see Oishi, 2010 for a review). However, over the last two decades, psychological research on residential mobility and relational mobility (the degree to which an individual can form new relationships and exit from undesirable relationships, Schug et al., 2010; Yuki & Schug, 2020) has proliferated. The present review features major psychological studies on residential and relational mobilities (see Oishi, Schug, et al., 2015, for an extensive earlier review).

Accepted by Lauren Block, Editor; Associate Editor, L. J. Shrum

Introduction: L. J. Shrum. Residential mobility: Implications for consumer psychology https://doi.org/10.1002/jcpy.1308

Commentary 1: Yajin Wang. Residential mobility or mobile residentiality? Exploring the effects of place stability and variety in consumer psychology https://doi.org/10.1002/jcpy.1311

Commentary 2: Minkyung Koo. Residential mobility and consumer psychology through a cultural lens https://doi.org/10.1002/jcpy,1309

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2022 The Authors. *Journal of Consumer Psychology* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC on behalf of Society for Consumer Psychology.



#### WHY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY?

First, residential mobility captures one aspect of human agency. The anthropologist David Graeber and the archeologist David Wengrow (2021) argue in their ambitious book "The dawn of everything: A new history of humanity" that the history of humanity could be written in terms of its creative solutions to the common struggle between individual freedom and social dominance. According to Graeber and Wengrow, there are three fundamental forms of freedom: the freedom to move, the freedom to disobey orders, and the freedom to reorganize social relations. These freedoms are not the product of modernity. Since the ancient civilizations such as Catalhöyűk on the Konya Plain of central Turkey circa 7400 BC, people have moved seasonally-even in an agricultural society-and have organized their social lives differently in different seasons. During a conflict or under an oppressive government, people have frequently exercised their freedoms to move for a better life. These movements have important consequences for individuals who move away and those who are left behind alike, and the society that absorbs newcomers and for the society that loses its residents alike (Carson & Gimpel, 2019; Stevenson et al., 2019; Talhelm & Oishi, 2014).

Second, residential mobility illuminates a process underlying some cross-national differences (Oishi, 2010).

For instance, one of the most fundamental cultural dimensions is individualism—collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; Shavitt et al., 2011; Triandis, 1989). Triandis (1989) speculated that, in addition to complexity and affluence, residential mobility is one of the antecedents of individualism. Indeed, a recent cross-cultural study found that countries high in relational mobility were also more individualistic in terms of Hofstede's score (Thomson et al., 2018).

Despite the long history of human mobility, there are enormous diversities in the rate of residential mobility across societies and times (see Figure 1). For instance, the United States has always been known for its high rate of residential mobility since colonial days (Turner, 1921; van Minnen & Hilton, 2002). In Sangamon County, Illinois, 80% of households living there in 1840 moved elsewhere by 1850; in Boston's Jamaica Plain district, half of the household heads listed in 1880 were gone by 1890 (Fischer, 2002). By contrast, Germans are known for residential stability, despite rapid economic growth in the post-World War II period. The rate of residential mobility in Germany in the 1980s was equivalent to the rate in the 1830s (Hochstadt, 1999). Many of the youth who moved to the cities for jobs eventually returned to their villages.

These cross-national differences in the general tendency to move can have a lasting impact on national culture. For instance, corporate culture in the United States has emphasized that future managers and executives are

#### Residential Mobility by Country (2016)

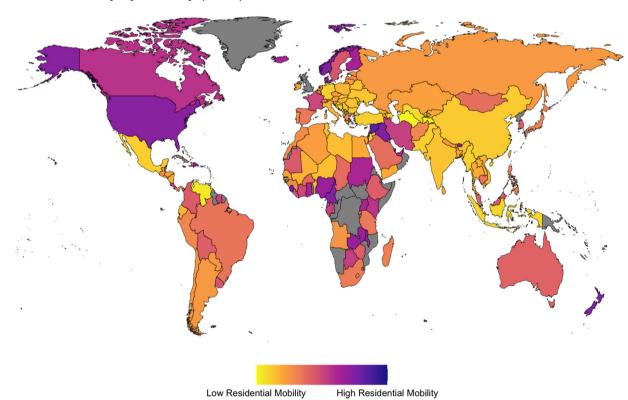


FIGURE 1 Residential mobility by country. Darker and more purple indicate countries that are higher in residential mobility. Lighter and more yellow indicate countries that are lower in residential mobility. Gray indicates no data. Data from the 2016 Gallup World Poll [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



transferred to various branch offices in different regions, thereby familiarizing themselves with the entire organization (Whyte Jr., 1957). In 1997, the American retail corporation Wal-Mart entered the German market through the acquisition of Wertkauf with an estimated cost of \$1.04 billion. In July 2006, however, Wal-Mart declared its defeat in Germany. What happened? Landler and Barbaro (2006) reported in the New York Times as follows: "Compounding the problem, Wal-Mart shut down the headquarters of one of the chains, infuriating employees who opted to quit rather than move. Such a decision would have been routine in the United States, where Ms. Keck said, 'moving is a big part of the Wal-Mart culture'. In Germany, she said, it prompted an exodus of talented executives." As such, some cultural clashes and differences could be explained in part by differential familiarity with residential mobility (Oishi, 2010).

Third, residential mobility can explain within-country changes over time as well as within-country regional variations. Even though the United States as a whole is a mobile country, some states are more mobile than others (see Figure 2). For instance, Nevada, Arizona, and Florida are far more mobile than Pennsylvania and West Virginia. U.S. states with higher levels of residential mobility have more loose cultures (fewer strongly enforced rules and more tolerance for deviance) than the states with lower levels of residential mobility (Harrington & Gelfand, 2014). Even within the same country, the rate of residential mobility changes over time rather dramatically. In the United States, over 20% of the population moved from one year to another in the 1950s. The annual rate of mobility in the United States went down to less than 10% in 2019. The decrease in the rate of residential mobility was associated with the decline in optimism and generalized trust and the increase in fatigue, anxiety, and tribalism (Buttrick & Oishi, 2021).

Finally, at the level of individuals, some have moved a lot while growing up, while others have not. These individual differences are associated with how people define themselves, how they interact with others, and how they make decisions. Likewise, even within the same person, expecting to stay in one place for a long time versus expecting to stay in one place briefly makes a noticeable difference in terms of various intrapersonal and interpersonal strategies. In sum, residential mobility captures situational, individual, historical, regional, and cross-national differences in the degree to which people change their residence.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

#### **Implications for the self**

#### Identity

According to the philosopher Charles Taylor (1989), people used to have a clear sense of who they are in part because their identities were based primarily on permanent attributes such as their family origin, community, religion, and social class (see also Baumeister, 1986). In a traditional community, the family name was not just a "name"; it was a title that could communicate the local history, social standing, or prestige of a family. In addition, people must perform their given social roles (e.g., being a son) in such a community. Thus, social roles signal important information about a person in a residentially stable community. In a residentially mobile community, however, there is no longer shared knowledge about most families, and group affiliations and social roles are only temporal parts of identification, rendering them not useful for identifying those with nomadic lifestyles.

Therefore, residential mobility forces individuals to base their identities on their own attributes (e.g., hardworking and outgoing) more than their family origin, groups, and roles. When participants in a study were asked to describe who they are using their own words, individuals who had moved twice or more while growing up were more likely to describe who they are in terms of personal attributes (e.g., intelligent and athletic) than those who had never moved (Oishi, Lun, & Sherman, 2007). Furthermore, 18.48% of those who moved twice or more did not use any group affiliations in their self-descriptions, whereas only 4.76% of those who never moved did not use any group affiliations in their self-descriptions. Likewise, individuals in a mobile mindset viewed the ability to perform one's role as less important than those in a stable mindset did (Chen et al., 2009). Thus, residential mobility seems to shift their self-definition from collective attributes and social roles to personal attributes.

As people move, their personal identification and place become detached (Easthope, 2009). A longitudinal study of young adults found that those who moved more than 50km (31 miles) between assessments had weaker local identity (i.e., less strongly identified with the region of their residence) than those who stayed. Weaker local identity was associated with having a romantic partner, friends, or family members living in far-away locations and an increase in geographical distance to close others over time (within-person, Borschel et al., 2019). Residentially mobile individuals' weaker local identity is instead replaced with a larger global identity, which also leads them to be more likely to donate to a far-away place (Wang et al., 2021).

#### Internal locus of control

As people move, they seem to place more centrality on internal attributes over external attributes. For example, relationally mobile individuals (who think it is easy to form new relationships and exit from undesirable relationships) tend to see someone else's actions as a result of their personal volition, whereas relationally stable individuals tend to see someone else's actions as a result of

5327663, 2022, 3. Downloaded from https://myscp.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/gcpy.1310 by Test, Wiley Online Library on [14022025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/rerms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

# Residential Mobility in the United States Data from 2014 - 2019

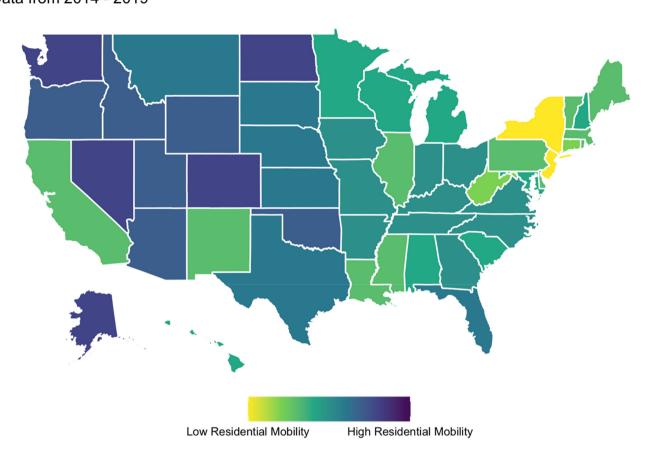


FIGURE 2 Residential mobility in the United States by state. Darker and more blue colors indicate high residential mobility. Lighter and more yellow colors indicate low residential mobility. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

situational constraints. This suggests that relational mobility is associated with a greater internal locus of control, while relational stability is associated with a greater external locus of control (San Martin et al., 2019).

Furthermore, relational mobility and internal locus of control are associated with analytic thinking, whereas relational stability and external locus of control are associated with holistic thinking (San Martin et al., 2019; Zhou et al., 2012). Relationally mobile individuals tend to be good at cognitive tasks that require focusing on the central figure while ignoring the context, whereas relationally stable individuals tend to be good at cognitive tasks that require understanding the relationship between the central figure and the background.

#### Familiarity-seeking

Moving itself is a stressful life event (Holmes & Rahe, 1967), and it is accompanied by a host of other stressful events such as a change in living conditions, schools, neighbors, friends, and affiliations. When people are under stress, they like to cling to familiar

objects. The most famous psychological example is Mary Ainsworth's (1979) Strange Situation procedure. In the presence of a mother, an infant explores the world, playing with new toys and searching new territory. Once the mother leaves the scene, however, the infant freezes, cries, and clings to a familiar object (e.g., a teddy bear). In a similar way, an adult under threat is soothed by holding their partner's hand (Coan et al., 2006).

Extending this logic, Oishi, Miao, et al. (2012) hypothesized that residential mobility would increase familiarity-seeking. They found that U.S. states with a higher rate of residential mobility (e.g., Nevada) have more national chain stores such as Target and California Pizza Kitchen than states with a lower rate of residential mobility (e.g., Pennsylvania). This association held, even after controlling for the total population and median income. Second, they found that participants who moved more while growing up preferred national chain stores (e.g., Starbucks) to local stores to a greater extent than those who did not move. In a final series of studies, they used Zajonc's (1968) mere-exposure paradigm, showing some Chinese characters more often (familiar Chinese characters) than others (unfamiliar Chinese characters).

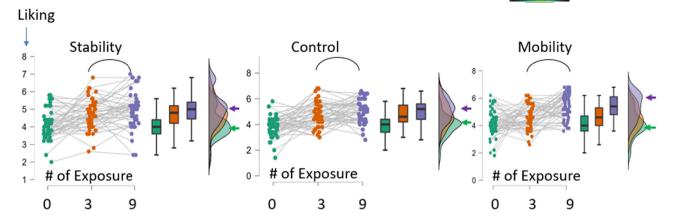


FIGURE 3 Residential Mobility and Familiarity-Liking. Participants in the mobility condition showed a stronger familiarity-liking effect (liking a familiar object more than an unfamiliar one) than those in the control and stability conditions: d = 0.63 in the mobility condition vs. d = 0.27 in the control, d = 0.32 in the stability condition for the comparison between the exposure of 3 times and that of 9 times. The figure was recreated from the data in Oishi, Miao, et al. (2012) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Replicating Zajonc, they found that participants, in general, liked the familiar Chinese characters more than unfamiliar ones. However, consistent with the hypothesis, participants who had imagined their lives after college being very mobile showed a stronger familiarity-liking effect than those who had imagined their lives after college being very stable (see Figure 3).

More recently, an experiment found that participants who imagined a residentially mobile lifestyle were more likely to pick household products with more traditional designs (roughly 10 out of the 15 products), whereas participants who imagined a residentially stable lifestyle were equally likely to pick household products with novel designs and traditional designs (Ito et al., 2019, Study 2). In short, residential mobility seems to shift people's preferences to seek familiarity.

#### Subjective well-being

A residential move is particularly stressful for children because they are most likely to move not of their own volition but of others'. A longitudinal study that followed over 7000 American adults over 10 years found that respondents who had moved frequently during their childhood reported lower levels of life satisfaction, lower levels of positive affect, and higher levels of negative affect. However, this negative association between childhood mobility and adulthood well-being was moderated by extraversion: The association was virtually absent for extraverts, but it was strongly negative for introverts. Lastly, the residential mobility-by-extraversion interaction effect on well-being was explained by the quality of social relationships (Oishi & Schimmack, 2010). In general, respondents who moved a lot in childhood had lower levels of social relationship satisfaction than those who did not move. The inverse association between childhood residential mobility and the quality of social relationships in adulthood was particularly strong among introverts, whereas this association was absent among extraverts. In other words, extraverts who moved frequently in childhood were still able to build good social relationships in adulthood and therefore were quite happy in adulthood. In contrast, introverts who moved frequently in childhood were unable to build quality social relationships in adulthood and therefore were less happy in adulthood.

Most shockingly, the 10-year follow-up data showed that introverts who had moved a lot in childhood had a substantially higher rate of mortality risk (they were far more likely to be dead by the 10-year follow-up) than introverts who had not moved at all. For extraverts, there was no association between childhood moves and mortality risk (Oishi & Schimmack, 2010). Consistent with the mortality findings, a subsequent study found that European American college students who had moved frequently in childhood and self-reported as introverted showed higher levels of cortisol (stress hormone) compared to those who had moved frequently in childhood but self-reported as extraverted (Oishi, Krochik, et al., 2012). These findings suggest that extraversion serves as a buffer from the potentially negative effects of childhood residential mobility.

#### Residential mobility during development

As seen above, childhood residential mobility has been shown to have critical lasting consequences. A metaanalysis found that frequent residential mobility in childhood, described as moving 8 or more times, was associated with higher levels of behavioral and emotional problems, increased probability of teenage pregnancy, earlier onset of drug use, depression in adolescence, and reduced continuity of health care (Jellyman & Spencer, 2008). It is also associated with a greater number of adverse childhood experiences, which leads to a greater risk of smoking and suicide during adolescence

(Dong et al., 2005). In addition to adverse health outcomes, high childhood residential mobility was associated with lower socioemotional behavioral functioning, even if the move was to a more-advantaged neighborhood (Mollborn et al., 2018).

Frequently moving during adolescence also has adverse consequences. Adolescence is a critical time for development, both physically and socio-emotionally. Moving adds stress, which can impede these critical processes. One study examining 3700 first-year university students found that residential mobility in adolescence, but not early childhood, predicted poorer overall mental health and poorer academic performance (Li et al., 2019a). Frequent moving during adolescence is also associated with greater amounts of social anxiety and impedes development of fear circuit maturation and affective regulation (Hasler et al., 2020). Young adults who moved frequently between ages 10 and 16 had lower concentrations of brain-derived neurotrophic factor (BDNF), which plays a central role in the development of the prefrontal-amygdala circuit during adolescence, and more abnormal amygdalaorbitofrontal functional connectivity later on, increasing the risk of social deficits.

In addition to these correlational studies, one study was able to show causality by using an experimental design to test the effect of residential mobility on behavioral and educational outcomes in low-income families (Schmidt et al., 2018). In this study, families were randomly assigned to either residential mobility, by moving out of public housing into lower-poverty neighborhoods using a rental subsidy voucher, or no change in residence. In this sample of over 2800 youth, residential mobility caused higher delinquency among boys who were 13–16 during the transition time than those in the stability condition. However, residential mobility did not increase delinquency among boys who were 5–12 during the transition or among girls (regardless of age). A similar pattern emerged for educational problems. Thus, these findings suggest that the age at the time of a move plays an important role in the potentially adverse effect of the move, and that the age effect could be moderated by gender and other factors that most likely affect social relationships.

#### Personality and residential mobility

Childhood moves are driven mainly by parents. Thus, there are not many personality differences between those who moved a lot and those who did not in childhood (Oishi & Schimmack, 2010). By contrast, adulthood moves are driven by one's own hopes, fears, and desires, and thus should be associated with their personality. So, who is more likely to move? While demographic variables, such as age, education, marital status, and employment status can influence migration

decisions (Détang-Dessendre et al., 2002), personality traits are also associated with migration behavior. In the United States, high openness to experience and low agreeableness were related to more residential mobility within and between states, while high extraversion increased within but not between state migration (Jokela, 2009). On the global scale, high extraversion and neuroticism increased the probability of international migration (Silventoinen et al., 2008). Similar patterns occur within Australia (Campbell, 2019), Europe (Jokela, 2021; Jokela et al., 2008), and Japan (Yoshino & Oshio, 2022).

Personality traits are also associated with reasons for moving. Some of the most frequent reasons for moving include employment, education, family, housing, and neighborhood. Openness to experience is associated with more residential mobility for all reasons and is stronger for education and employment reasons than for other reasons (e.g., family). Extraversion is associated with more residential mobility for neighborhood, housing, and family reasons than for employment reasons. Individuals high in these dimensions, who are outgoing and open-minded, desire more stimulation in their social and physical environment, and therefore are likely to move to areas that suit these needs (Jokela, 2014, 2021). Agreeableness is associated with less residential mobility, specifically for neighborhood and education reasons. Individuals high in agreeableness tend to form stronger bonds with their community and therefore are deterred from moving away (Jokela, 2021; Jokela et al., 2008). Neuroticism is associated with more residential mobility for housing and family reasons than for employment and education reasons (Jokela, 2021). Individuals high in neuroticism tend to be less satisfied with their housing and family relationships, which drives them to seek better opportunities in other locations (Jokela et al., 2008).

A longitudinal study of study abroad students (Zimmermann & Neyer, 2013) showed that those who chose to study abroad at the beginning of the academic year were more extraverted than those who did not. Furthermore, those who did study abroad became more open to experience, more agreeable, and less neurotic at the end of the academic year. Finally, the changes in openness to experience and neuroticism were explained in part by the changes in supportive social relationships. To the extent that study abroad students gained international friendships, they became more open and less neurotic over time.

#### **Implications for social interactions**

#### Relationship strategies

Oishi and Schimmack's (2010) findings on the protective role of extraversion suggest that extraverts' relationship



strategies might be particularly adaptive under a residentially mobile condition. In a stable society, one can expect family and friends to be there when one needs them. Thus, a relatively small social network could be sufficient. In a residentially mobile society, one cannot always expect family and friends to be there to help. Therefore, it is logical to form a larger social network to buffer some of the uncertainty. Indeed, a computer simulation showed that a broader, weak-tie strategy is most adaptive under a residentially mobile condition, whereas a narrower, deeper-tie strategy is most adaptive under a residentially stable condition (Oishi & Kesebir, 2012). Furthermore, a survey showed that those who live in a residentially mobile zip code were happier if they had a wider, weaker-tie strategy than if they had a narrow, deep-tie strategy; by contrast, in a residentially stable zip code where the median household income is low, people are happier if they had a narrow, deep-tie strategy than if they had a broader, weak-tie strategy (Oishi & Kesebir, 2012, Study 2).

In another set of studies, residential mobility was associated with friendship diversification (Lun et al., 2013). Specifically, individuals who moved around more while growing up tended to have different friends for different activities (e.g., a movie friend is different from a study friend), whereas individuals who did not move tended to engage in different activities with the same group of friends if they valued social support in friendship (Study 1). The association between residential mobility and friendship diversification was also observed using a residentially mobile versus stable mindset (Study 2). In short, just as investors in a volatile market diversify their financial investments, people living in volatile interpersonal markets seem to diversify their friendship networks as well.

A series of experiments also showed that participants who were led to imagine a life after college in which they had to move every other year (a residentially mobile mindset condition) were more motivated to expand social networks than those who were led to imagine a life after college in which they had to stay in one place for 10 years (a residentially stable mindset condition) and those who described their typical day (the control condition; Oishi et al., 2013). These differences in motivation to expand social networks were explained by anticipated levels of loneliness (Oishi et al., 2013, Study 2). Those in the mobility mindset condition spontaneously mentioned more loneliness and sadness than those in the stability and control conditions; the more loneliness and sadness they anticipated, the more motivated they were to make new friends. A recent study, however, found that when people are moving to a new location with their family members, friends, or romantic partner, they are not as motivated to expand their social networks as when they are moving to a new location without any close others (Li et al., 2021).

While mobility is associated with motivation to expand social networks (Oishi et al., 2013), it is also associated with greater effort to maintain existing relationships. This is presumably because those living in a relationally mobile environment must be worried about their partner exiting from the relationship to a greater extent than those living in a relationally stable environment. For example, married respondents living in more relationally mobile environments, who have more new relationship opportunities, gave gifts to their partner more frequently than those living in relationally stable environments who have fewer relationship opportunities (Komiya et al., 2019, Study 2). Likewise, a large study in Turkey also found that married respondents who moved from their hometown were more likely to rely heavily on their spouse for emotional support than those who still lived in their hometown (Yilmaz et al., 2022, Study 1). A subsequent study also found that those who moved placed more importance on the romantic partner than those who did not (Study 2). Overall, residential mobility seems to accentuate the centrality of existing close relationships.

#### Communication style

When one is new to a town, one needs to get to know others who could help them quickly (Whyte Jr., 1957). This means a newcomer must be friendly and outgoing to attract others. Individuals who perceive their environments to be relationally mobile are more willing to share their thoughts and opinions than those who perceive their environments to be relationally stable (Schug et al., 2010). Furthermore, the more self-disclosure to strangers, the easier it becomes to form intimate relationships (Yamada et al., 2015).

In a residentially mobile context, an individual's emotions and emotional expression become a central cue in interpersonal communication, as other information (e.g., family name) is less informative. It is then reasonable that individuals in a mobile context pay more attention to and are better at coding others' facial expressions. For example, individuals who have moved around more frequently were quicker to detect the disappearance of a smile in a change detection task than individuals who had not moved (Ishii et al., 2020, Study 1). Replicating the individual difference findings, participants who were led to think about a mobile life in the future detected the disappearance of a smile more quickly than those randomly assigned to the residentially stable condition (Ishii et al., 2020, Study 2). These findings show the centrality of positive emotional expression in residentially mobile contexts.

#### Compensation vs. apology

When an interpersonal conflict arises, the offender typically apologizes and/or compensates if some damage was done. These reconciliatory behaviors facilitate

5327663, 2022, 3. Downloaded from https://myscp.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/gcpy.1310 by Test, Wiley Online Library on [14/02/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons Licensean Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use of us

forgiveness and the maintenance of social relationships (McCullough et al., 2014; Ohtsubo & Watanabe, 2009). In a residentially mobile context, it seems logical to get compensation for certain right away, since it is not clear whether the individual will have a long-term relationship with the offender in the future. In a residentially stable context, in contrast, there is a good chance that the offended individual will have a long-term relationship with the offender. Thus, even if the offended party does not get compensated immediately, there will likely be other opportunities to be compensated in other ways. A recent study found that individuals who had moved around while growing up preferred immediate compensation more than individuals who had never moved (Komiya et al., 2020). In contrast, residential mobility did not affect the preference for an apology.

#### Preferred groups

Newcomers with no prior acquaintance in a town like to join groups to make new friends. Whyte Jr. (1957) famously observed that "the transients' defense against rootlessness, as we have noted, is to get involved in meaningful activity; at the same time, however, like the seasoned shipboard traveler, the wisest transients don't get too involved" (p. 403). The key is to keep the delicate balance of getting involved in a group, but not too much.

What kinds of groups or organizations? Not all groups are equally attractive to transients. Ideally, the group is easy to join and easy to leave. In terms of religious organizations, megachurches (more than 2000 attendees at a weekend service) fit the bill. They are easy to join because they usually do not have a certain period of tentative membership that traditional churches typically have. Indeed, megachurches have proliferated in the U.S. states where there are a lot of newcomers (e.g.,

Georgia and Texas) but not in the low mobility states such as Pennsylvania and West Virginia (Oishi, Talhelm, et al., 2015, Study 1; see Figure 4). By contrast, there are more traditional Protestant churches in less residentially mobile states than in more mobile states, controlling for the total population and the median income (r = -0.48, p < 0.001). Thus, low-commitment religious organizations proliferated in residentially mobile states, while high-commitment religious organizations were more prevalent in residentially stable states. A follow-up study also found that individuals who moved frequently while growing up joined low-commitment student groups more than those who never moved (Oishi, Talhelm, et al., 2015, Study 4). Likewise, data from a large internet service provider in Japan found that residents of residentially mobile areas were more likely than those living in residentially stable areas to prefer a low-commitment, short-term plan over a high-commitment, long-term plan (Oishi, Talhelm, et al., 2015, Study 3).

#### Preferred people

Just as highly mobile people have preferences for certain groups, they also have preferences for certain individuals. In a series of studies, participants were asked to indicate which of the two individuals they liked better: an individual who helped a classmate as well as a best friend (egalitarian helper) or an individual who refused to help a classmate but spent extra time helping a best friend (loyal helper). Participants who moved around while growing up were more likely to choose the egalitarian helper over the loyal helper. In contrast, participants who did not move were equally likely to choose the egalitarian helper and the loyal helper (Lun et al., 2012, Studies 1 and 2). Moreover, participants who were led to think about visiting and staying in a certain city temporarily

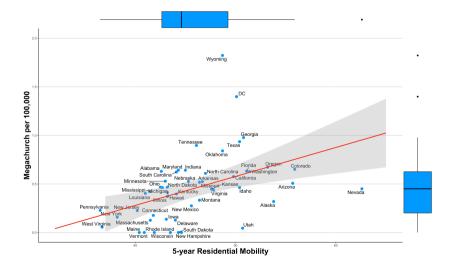


FIGURE 4 Residential Mobility & Megachurch per 100,000 Residents. R(49) = 0.43, p = 0.002. When two outliers in megachurch (i.e., Wyoming and DC) are removed, r(47) = 0.47, p < 0.001. The data are from Oishi, Talhelm et al. (2015, Study 1) [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



liked the egalitarian helper better than the loyal helper, whereas participants who were led to think about living permanently in a certain city liked the egalitarian and the loyal helpers equally (Lun et al., 2012, Study 3).

Likewise, relationally mobile individuals seem to reward honesty more than relationally stable individuals. For example, in a reward allocation task, individuals in the mobility condition gave an honest stranger more monetary rewards, than those in the stability condition did (Wang et al., 2011; Wang & Leung, 2010). The flip side of this is that mobile individuals seem to punish dishonesty more than relationally stable individuals. That is, mobile individuals seem to be more sensitive to honesty vs. dishonesty than stable individuals are. Specifically, participants who perceived their career to be mobile excluded a dishonest partner more aggressively in an experimental game of Cyberball than those who perceived their career will be stable (Whitson et al., 2015, Experiment 2). Additionally, in relationally mobile contexts, people did not pay much attention to enemies, perhaps because they can avoid them. By contrast, in relationally stable contexts, where people cannot avoid enemies, people pay more attention to them, literally, as measured by an eyetracker (Li et al., 2018). That is, mobile individuals appear to be more motivated to curate the social networks filled with egalitarian helpers and honest individuals, and actively distance themselves from enemies, unhelpful or dishonest individuals to a greater degree than residentially stable individuals.

#### Weaker in-group favoritism

In-group favoritism is one of the fundamental social psychological insights (Tajfel et al., 1971). By age 6, children are more likely to punish out-group members who show selfishness than in-group members in an artificial minimal-group situation (Jordan et al., 2014). Thus, ingroup favoritism is considered part of human nature. Yet, residential mobility seems to weaken in-group favoritism by blurring the boundary between in-group and out-group members. For instance, a large survey study in Iceland found that Icelanders with a personal history of residential mobility showed more tolerance toward immigrants than Icelanders who had never moved before (Bjarnason et al., 2020). The association between residential mobility and tolerance toward immigrants held significant, controlling for age, gender, education, employment status, income, and generalized trust.

Furthermore, when participants were randomly assigned to imagine living in a country where people change their jobs frequently (the mobility condition), they rewarded a friend and a stranger equally, and punished a friend slightly less than a stranger. On the other hand, those assigned to imagine living in a country where people do not change their jobs often (the stability condition) differentiated between their friend and

a stranger: they punished a stranger a lot more than a friend and rewarded a friend a lot more than a stranger (Wang et al., 2011, Experiment 3).

A recent experiment also found the typical in-group favoritism in a helping situation among participants experimentally induced to hold a residentially stable mindset (expected to live in the same city for a long time), but no sign of in-group favoritism among those who were induced to hold a mobile mindset (Li et al., 2019b, Study 1). That is, those who thought they would be living in the same place for a long time were far more willing to help someone in the same department (in-group) than someone in another department (out-group). By contrast, those who thought they would be living in a different city every other year were willing to help someone in another department as much as someone in the same department. In a subsequent study that utilized the Dictator Game (Study 2), participants in the residentially stable condition offered more money to the in-group member than the out-group member. By contrast, participants randomly assigned to the residentially mobile condition offered virtually the same amount of money to the in-group and out-group member.

A recent study extended these findings to racial ingroup bias in perceived pain ratings (Xu et al., 2021). Chinese participants in the residential stability mindset condition perceived more intense pain in Asian faces (racial in-group) relative to Caucasian faces (racial outgroup), whereas participants in the residential mobility mindset condition did not show racial in-group bias (Study 1). Moreover, a psychophysiology study showed that N1 amplitudes (an indicator of early, selective visual attention) increased and P3 amplitudes (an indicator of task demand) decreased to a greater extent when looking at racial in-group faces than out-group faces among participants in the residential stability condition; no such differences were observed in the residential mobility condition (Study 2). Finally, transcranial direct current stimulation of the left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex increased the racial in-group bias in pain perceptions among participants in the stability condition but not in the mobility condition (Study 3). Using psychophysiological measures that are not susceptible to impression management and socially desirable responses, these studies show that the residential mobility mindset decreases racial in-group bias in pain perception. That is, residential mobility appears to blur racial group boundaries in pain perception, whereas residential stability appears to intensify the demarcation between in-group and out-group members.

#### **Implications for community**

#### Social norms

Residential mobility has many implications for the role of social norms as well. For example, residential mobility is positively associated with cultural looseness, where

there are fewer strongly enforced norms and greater tolerance for deviance (Harrington & Gelfand, 2014). This finding also holds at the individual level. One study conducted in China examined attitudes about norms in various residentially mobile settings. Across five studies, the researchers found that residentially mobile individuals—those that were either living in a temporary residence, were in a residentially mobile mindset in a laboratory, or grew up moving around more—were more tolerant of social norm violations (Luo et al., 2020). This pathway was found to be linked by perceived threats to reputation. In a residentially stable setting, individuals are more concerned about damage to their reputation and find deviant behavior more costly. Therefore, they are more likely to view norm violations as inappropriate. Conversely, residentially mobile individuals do not face the same damage to their reputation and are more likely to view norm violations as tolerable.

This reactance to social norm violations can also be observed on a neural level as well. A psychophysiological study using EEG showed that the N400 component, the neural marker for detecting social norm violations, reacted more strongly to minor social norm violations among participants in the residentially stable mindset condition than those in the residentially mobile mindset condition (Luo et al., 2019). In other words, residential mobility reduced the brain's reaction to social norm violations.

#### Moral deviations

If residential mobility is associated with tolerance for minor social norm violations, then it is not surprising that it is also associated with criminal activities (Haynie & South, 2005). As previously mentioned, residential mobility leads individuals to favor weak ties and decreases in-group commitment. Therefore, residentially mobile individuals are more likely to act out of self-interest. One study found that a residential mobility mindset manipulation increased bribe-giving intention in bribery scenarios and that this effect was mediated by self-interest (Chen et al., 2021, Study 1–2). Additionally, a residential mobility mindset led individuals to display more actual bribing during a behavioral game (Study 3). Another study showed that individuals who moved around while growing up were more likely to cheat on a knowledge test than those who never moved (Zuo et al., 2018, Study 1). A subsequent experiment showed that the residential mobility mindset manipulation increased the likelihood of cheating to gain more monetary rewards (Zuo et al., 2018, Study 2).

Likewise, if residentially mobile individuals do not care about reputational damage as much as residentially stable individuals (Luo et al., 2020), social monitoring should not function as deterrence of crime for residentially mobile individuals. Su et al. (2016, Study 1) used

the number of journalists as a proxy for social monitoring and found that residentially mobile cities had a higher rate of violent crime than residentially stable cities, but this association was moderated by the number of journalists. Consistent with their hypothesis, among residentially stable U.S. cities, the more journalists in the city, the lower the crime rate was. In other words, among stable U.S. cities, social monitoring had a crimedeterring effect. Among residentially mobile U.S. cities, however, more journalists did not deter crime.

In a follow-up laboratory experiment, social monitoring was manipulated using the presence or absence of CCTV. In the task, participants could potentially cheat to get more money. Relational mobility was measured prior to the laboratory experiment. As predicted, participants low in relational mobility cheated less under the social monitoring condition than under no monitoring condition. In contrast, participants high in relational mobility cheated at a similar level regardless of social monitoring. Thus, individuals with stable social networks seem to rely more on social monitoring to guide their moral behaviors, whereas individuals with mobile social networks seem to rely more on themselves to guide their moral behaviors.

#### Conditional investment in community

A series of studies also showed that residents of a residentially mobile community are less likely to engage in pro-community actions than those in a residentially stable community (Oishi, Rothman, et al., 2007). For example, residents of the Minneapolis-St Paul area were more likely to have purchased a critical habitat car license plate, which charges an extra fee to support the critical habitat in Minnesota, than a regular license plate if they lived in a residentially stable zip code area than in a mobile zip code area (Study 1). Furthermore, the Major League Baseball home game attendance records showed that residents of residentially stable cities (e.g., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh) attended home games regardless of the team's performance, whereas residents of mobile cities (e.g., Houston and Atlanta) attended the game only when the team was doing well (Study 2). A follow-up study in Japan using Nippon Baseball League's home game attendance data replicated the U.S. findings (Oishi et al., 2009). Finally, participants who were assigned to a mobile group were less likely to help another group member who asked for help than those randomly assigned to a stable group (Oishi, Rothman, et al., 2007 Study 3). In general, residentially mobile individuals tended to identify with a particular group when it was portrayed positively (e.g., the University of Virginia is the best public university in the United States) more than when it was portrayed less positively (e.g., the University of Virginia is no longer the best public university in the United States). Such conditional identification

5327663, 2022, 3, Downloaded from https://myscp.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/gcpy.1310 by Test, Wiley Online Library on [14/02/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons. Licensee and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/erms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons.

is problematic when it comes to collective problems such as power outages and climate change, because unconditional identification is required to tackle collective, longterm problems.

#### **Implications for culture**

As summarized above, situational, individual, and regional variations in residential mobility have numerous implications for the self and identity, moral behaviors, cognitive tendencies, interpersonal relationships, intergroup relationships, and community involvement. In addition, recent studies found that some cross-national differences in psychological outputs are due in part to the differences in residential or relational mobilities.

#### **Emotion expressions**

Residential mobility explains some of the cultural differences in emotion expression. For instance, some cultures (e.g., the United States, Australia, Canada) are very explicit in terms of emotional expression, while others are not (e.g., Japan, Germany, and Russia). In a residentially stable and homogeneous context, an explicit mode of communication is not always necessary, as an implicit code of conduct sufficiently provides concrete guidelines as to what is acceptable and what is not. By contrast, in a residentially mobile and heterogeneous context, there is less of a shared implicit code of conduct. Therefore, more direct communication is needed in a mobile society where there is not much shared background knowledge. In one study, participants in 32 countries were asked to indicate the degree to which expressing anger, contempt, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise in public and private is appropriate (Rychlowska et al., 2015, Study 1). Those living in residentially mobile countries were far more likely to say that it is appropriate to express those emotions both in public and in private than people living in residentially stable countries. In the second study, participants in nine countries rated possible reasons for people to smile. Participants in residentially mobile countries were more likely to say that social bonding (wanting to be a friend) was the main reason for smiling than those in residentially stable countries.

Similarly, within the United States, residents of states higher in residential mobility expressed their positive emotions more explicitly in their Facebook pages than those living in the states lower in residential mobility (Liu et al., 2018). When one is interacting with the same group of individuals, one can rely on an implicit mode of communication such as tone and gesture. By contrast, when one is interacting with individuals from different backgrounds, one must be very direct and explicit in their communication.

#### Self-disclosure

Relational mobility can explain cultural differences in self-disclosure. Generally, Americans are far more willing than Japanese to disclose about themselves to strangers (Schug et al., 2010). Americans perceive more opportunities to form new relationships and greater ease in exiting undesirable relationships than Japanese. The more relational mobility participants perceived in their environment, the more self-disclosing they were. This relationship was mediated by a desire to strengthen personal relationships. In relationally mobile societies, people can exit relationships at a lower cost. Therefore, people are more motivated to signal their desire to maintain or strengthen relationships and do so with self-disclosure. More recently, a large cross-national study found that people living in societies with higher relational mobility self-disclose and seek social support more than those living in societies with lower relational mobility (Thomson et al., 2018).

#### Generalized trust

Cultural differences in generalized trust can be explained in part by relational mobility. For instance, Americans are far more trusting of strangers than Japanese are (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). In general, the United States is much more residentially mobile than Japan. A computer simulation study found that as the rate of residential mobility increases from 10% to 90% of a population, the level of trust toward strangers increased monotonically (Macy & Sato, 2002). The researchers suggest that in low mobility areas, people are familiar with each other and trust friends, but rarely encounter strangers and are therefore distrustful toward them. However, in moderately mobile areas, people are more practiced at reading character, and can therefore have more trust in others. Thomson et al.'s (2018) cross-national study empirically showed that participants living in societies with higher relational mobility (e.g., Brazil and Canada) showed a greater degree of generalized trust than those living in societies with lower relational mobility (e.g., Hungary and Hong Kong).

#### Friendships

Mobility also plays a role in how different cultures view friendships. A classic MIT dorm study found that people tend to become friends with someone who happened to live close by (Festinger et al., 1950). In a residentially and relationally mobile context, however, people can make friends with others who share similar interests and values outside the dorm. Thus, friends tend to share similar interests and values in the United States (Byrne et al., 1967). This is called the similarity-attraction effect. In Japan, however, friends tend to be determined by propinquity and other chance factors (which courses they happen to take), and therefore there is little similarity-attraction effect (Heine & Renshaw, 2002). A follow-up study explicitly measured relational mobility and showed that the United States–Japan difference in the similarity-attraction effect was indeed mediated by cultural differences in relational mobility (Schug et al., 2009). That is, to the extent that Americans see greater opportunities to form new relationships, they seek someone who share the same values and interests. By contrast, to the extent that Japanese do not see much opportunity to form new relationships, they stay friends with someone they got to know by chance.

Relational mobility also affects the degree to which people are cautious about others (Li et al., 2015). In areas with high relational mobility, people have a greater sense of freedom to form new relationships and exit undesirable relationships. Because there is an exit option, people are not afraid of expanding their social networks. Indeed, Americans have very positive views of friendships, associating friendships with such positive words as trust and respect (Adams & Plaut, 2003). By contrast, in Ghana, where people do not move around often, it is very difficult to end undesirable friendships. Thus, Ghanaians are quite cautious about friendships, associating friendship with ambivalence and guardedness (e.g., caution and accusation). Findings about enemyship show mirrored patterns. People from low mobility areas, such as Hong Kong and West Africa, are very concerned about enemyship because once they make an enemy, it is very hard to escape. In contrast, people from high mobility areas such as the United States think that an enemy is not a big deal; one just has to avoid them.

Given a greater degree of self-disclosure and similarity in relationally mobile contexts, it is understandable that people who live in a relationally mobile society (Canada) report more intense intimacy toward their friends than those in a relationally stable society (Japan; Yamada et al., 2015). The cultural differences in intimacy were explained by the degree to which people perceived freedom to form new relationships and exit from existing relationships.

#### Subjective well-being

Cultural differences in relational mobility can also explain differences in sources of subjective well-being. For example, previous cross-cultural studies have found that self-esteem is more strongly associated with life satisfaction in individualistic countries than in collectivist countries (Diener & Diener, 1995). Interestingly, this connection is moderated by relational mobility. In mobile societies, relationships are "competitive" because they are determined by choice, and most people will want to

associate with desirable people. This means that they in turn must also be desirable to be chosen. In this competitive market, having high self-esteem or a high desirability would result in more connections with valued others, leading to greater happiness. In a less relationally mobile society, the social relationships market is not as competitive, and therefore self-esteem should not play as much of a role in happiness. As predicted, Americans perceive their environment to be more relationally mobile than Japanese, and Americans also based their life satisfaction judgments more on self-esteem than did Japanese. Furthermore, even within Japan, citizens who live in prefectures with higher levels of residential/relational mobility base their life satisfaction judgments more on self-esteem than those living in lower levels of mobility (Yuki et al., 2013).

Similarly, residential mobility affects the type of trust that is functional for relationships. For instance, a large recent study in China (N = 10,968 from 28 provinces) found that in residentially mobile provinces, trust toward strangers was associated with lower levels of depression to a greater extent than in residentially stable provinces (Wang & Li, 2020). By contrast, in residentially stable provinces, trust toward well-known others, such as neighbors and colleagues, was associated with lower levels of depression to a greater extent than in mobile provinces. In short, trust toward strangers was associated with better well-being in residentially mobile provinces, whereas trust toward neighbors and colleagues was associated with better well-being in residentially stable provinces. This is perhaps because, in residentially stable communities, people can get help mostly from their close others. Thus, those who cannot trust their neighbors and colleagues will suffer more during hardship. These findings indicate that residential mobility at the level of the city or providence could shape the type of well-being, whether it is based on self-esteem and trust of strangers or on bonding with in-group members.

# SUMMARY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In sum, psychological research has shown that residential and relational mobilities play an important role in the self and identity, interpersonal strategies and relationships, group affiliations, in-group vs. out-group distinctions, social norms, morality, well-being, and pro-community and antisocial behaviors. In general, residential mobility appears to shift an individual's focus away from collective attributes and social roles to personal attributes and from collective well-being to personal well-being. It also weakens the in-group/out-group distinction, pushing individuals to prefer egalitarian helpers and low-commitment groups rather than loyal helpers and high-commitment groups. Recent research has also revealed that some of the cross-nation or

#### **Implications for culture**

Residential mobility leads to more open communication and disclosure, generalized trust, and higher well-being

#### **Implications for communities**

Residential mobility leads to more tolerance for social norm violations and moral deviations, and less investment in community interests

#### **Implications for groups**

Residential mobility leads to less defined boundaries for ingroup and out-group distinctions, which results in preference for egalitarian individuals and low commitment groups

#### Implications for relationships

Residential mobility leads to a wider social network, more diversification, and greater investment in relationships

#### **Implications for individuals**

Residential mobility leads to placing identity more in individual attributes, more familiarity seeking, and is associated with personality traits and developmental outcomes

FIGURE 5 Summary of findings in residential mobility at different ecological levels

within-nation variations could be explained in part by relational mobility (see Yuki & Schug, 2020 for a recent review, Figure 5).

#### Divergent findings across different levels of analysis

While there are many pieces of converging evidence at multiple levels of analysis (Li et al., 2019b; Oishi, Miao, et al., 2012), there has been some divergent evidence across different levels of analysis. For instance, at the individual level, residential mobility is consistently associated with lower levels of well-being (Jellyman & Spencer, 2008; Oishi & Schimmack, 2010). By contrast, residential mobility at the level of the city has been associated with higher levels of well-being (Oishi, Saeki, & Axt, 2015). That is, while individuals who moved a lot in childhood tend to be less satisfied with their lives than those who did not move, those currently living in a residentially mobile city report higher levels of life satisfaction than those living in a residentially stable city. This suggests that residential mobility captures different kinds of experiences at different levels of analysis. At the level of individuals, residential mobility, particularly in childhood, might capture cumulative stress, whereas residential mobility at the level of the community might signal opportunities and economic growth. It is important to explore the differential roles of residential mobility at multiple levels of analysis in conjunction in the future.

Similarly, there are also some inconsistent or paradoxical findings that require further interpretation and theorizing. Several previous papers found that residential and relational mobilities are positively associated with generalized trust (e.g., Macy & Sato, 2002; Thomson et al., 2018). By contrast, recent studies in China showed the opposite pattern: Residential mobility was associated

with lower levels of trust (Zhao et al., 2021). Specifically, Chinese participants who moved more often reported lower levels of interpersonal trust than those who did not. It is important to explore potential moderators of these divergent findings in the future.

Another paradoxical finding emerges in research regarding life satisfaction and crime. Some research has shown that at the state (Talhelm & Oishi, 2014) and city (Oishi, Talhelm et al., 2015) levels, and residential mobility is positively associated with life satisfaction. However, at the neighborhood level, residential mobility erodes collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997), which leads to more crime. In addition to the paradox of happiness and crime, the link between residential mobility and criminal behavior could vary depending on local culture as well. For instance, the U.S. South is famous for its culture of honor (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), where reputation is important. Cohen (1998) found that the argumentrelated homicide rate was higher in more residentially stable rather than in mobile Southern and Western states. By contrast, the argument-related homicide rate tended to be higher in residentially mobile states than in stable Northern states. The results from the U.S. South seem contradictory to the extant findings on the surface. Cohen explains that residential stability means the old tradition continues, in the case of the South, the culture of honor, increasing the prevalence of the argumentrelated homicide rate. Thus, the role of residential mobility could be moderated by local culture. This needs to be further investigated in the future.

#### **Conceptual distinctions**

Although research on residential mobility at the level of community has often statistically controlled for other related variables such as median income and population

density, other research has not explored the role of residential mobility distinct from other related variables such as multicultural experiences, cosmopolitanism, globalization, and social mobility.

There is a large literature on multicultural experiences, or the effect of living abroad on various psychological phenomena (see Maddux et al., 2021 for a recent review). For example, multicultural experiences are shown to be associated with creativity (Leung et al., 2008), selfconcept clarity (Adam et al., 2018), generalized trust (Cao et al., 2014), and reduced stereotyping (Tadmor et al., 2012), but also immoral behavior (Lu et al., 2017). These findings are generally consistent with the literature on residential mobility. Furthermore, they suggest that residential mobility might be potentially associated with self-concept clarity and creativity. However, there is an important distinction between residential mobility in general and multicultural experiences: Multicultural experience involves moving to another country, whereas residential mobility could be within a limited geographical and cultural region. As the literature on residential mobility matures, it is important to explore the role of both geographical and cultural distance in the future.

To the extent that the majority of residential moves are related to jobs, and jobs are more abundant in urban areas, the majority of residential moves are toward urban areas (Lucas Jr., 2004). In wealthy countries at least, urban areas are also more cosmopolitan. Recently, psychologists have studied various correlates of cosmopolitanism (see Leung et al., 2015). For example, cosmopolitanism is associated with the value of cultural diversity, cultural openness, and global prosociality. Cosmopolitan values are endorsed more by individuals high in openness to experience and extraversion, the same personality predictors of residential mobility (Sevincer et al., 2017).

Similar to cosmopolitanism, globalization also involves individuals moving to a new place, this case a new country, and also everyday interactions with foreigners and foreign cultures. Globalization is supposed to compress the psychological distance between cultures, while simultaneously accentuating the differences (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). When a foreign culture poses a psychological threat, people show defensive responses to globalization (Torelli et al., 2011). In that case, residential mobility could have assimilating or contrasting effects on an individual, depending on how a destination is construed. Like globalization, residential mobility presents both opportunities and challenges. When challenges are highlighted, mobility evokes conservative reactions such as familiarity-seeking (Oishi, Miao, et al., 2012), whereas when opportunities are highlighted, mobility evokes exploratory behaviors such as self-disclosure (Schug et al., 2010) and generalized trust (Thomson et al., 2018). It is critical in the future to investigate how a psychological threat associated with a residential move might serve as a moderator of residential mobility effects.

Lastly, it is important to explore how residential mobility interacts with changes in socioeconomic status. People often move when they find a better job (upward mobility) or when they lose a job (downward mobility). While intergenerational upward social mobility, the degree to which one moves up or down the economic ladder compared with their childhood socioeconomic status, has been intensely investigated (Destin, 2019), more research is needed on how the effects of residential mobility are nullified or amplified during these changes.

#### Remaining questions

Much of the current literature has focused on the associations of residential mobility at static time points (e.g., the amount of residential mobility in the past 5 years), yet rates of residential mobility are constantly changing, bringing with them a host of psychological consequences. For example, the United States' current rate of residential mobility is half of what it was in the 1970s. This shift was accompanied by decreases in individualism, happiness, trust, optimism, and endorsement of the notion that hard work leads to success (Buttrick & Oishi, 2021). Whereas residential mobility has been decreasing in South Korea, Japan, Australia, and the United States over the last few decades, mobility in Austria, Hungary, and Spain has been recently rising (Alvarez et al., 2021). There is still much to learn about how rates of change in mobility affect individuals and cultures.

Next, more attention should be paid to the type of move, specifically the location from and to which one is moving. How the socio-ecological factors in these locations come into play is still understudied. For example, one study found that childhood residential mobility was associated with worse cognitive performance and self-regulation, but this effect was moderated by rates of poverty in origin and destination neighborhoods. Specifically, mobile children who moved out of high poverty neighborhoods performed better than stable children who remained in high poverty neighborhoods. By contrast, mobile children who moved out of low poverty neighborhoods performed worse than those who stayed in low poverty neighborhoods. Poverty level at the destination neighborhood also mattered: mobile children who moved into low poverty neighborhoods performed better than those who stayed in low poverty neighborhoods, but mobile children who moved into high poverty neighborhoods performed worse than stable children in high poverty neighborhoods (Roy et al., 2014). If these researchers had examined mobility alone and ignored the context of the original and new residential areas, these important distinctions would not have been found.

While the consequences of residential mobility have been widely explored, less attention has been paid so far to its antecedents. Other disciplines such as economics

JCP SCP SOCIETY FOR

and policy have looked at structural factors (e.g., housing supply, access to credit) that impact the ease of residential mobility. In psychological studies, various personality traits tend to predict mobility behavior. Additionally, expecting versus not expecting a move can have effects on actual moving behavior (Kan, 1999). Some moves are desired, such as wanting to live in an area with a more matching political ideology (Carson & Gimpel, 2019; Motyl et al., 2014); other moves are forced, such as losing a job and having to relocate to one elsewhere. Future investigation is needed as to how various reasons interplay to influence moving behaviors and their associated consequences.

In conclusion, psychological research on residential mobility over the last two decades has dramatically increased, shedding new light on diverse, central issues in psychological science, ranging from self-concepts, identity, and well-being to friendships and romantic relationships, and from group affiliations and intergroup relations to community involvement and cultural differences. There are, however, numerous issues that remain to be resolved. We hope this article will spark new research on the role of residential mobility in various aspects of consumer psychology.

#### ORCID

Shigehiro Oishi https://orcid. org/0000-0002-4185-960X Shelly Tsang https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7239-8607

#### REFERENCES

- Adam, H., Obodaru, O., Lu, J. G., Maddux, W. W., & Galinsky, A. D. (2018). The shortest path to oneself leads around the world: Living abroad increases self-concept clarity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 145, 15–29.
- Adams, G., & Plaut, V. C. (2003). The cultural grounding of personal relationship: Friendship in North American and West African worlds. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 333–347.
- Ainsworth, M.S. (1979). Infant–motherattachment. *American Psychologist*, 34(10), 932–937. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.34.10.932
- Alvarez, M., Bernard, A., & Lieske, S. N. (2021). Understanding internal migration trends in OECD countries. *Population Space and Place*, 27(7), e2451.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1986). *Identity: Cultural change and the struggle for self.* Oxford University Press.
- Bjarnason, T., Stevenson, C., Shuttleworth, I., & Meckl, M. (2020). Spatial mobility and tolerance towards immigrants: The case of Northern Iceland. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(10), 1813–1832.
- Borschel, E., Zimmermann, J., Crocetti, E., Meeus, W., Noack, P., & Neyer, F. J. (2019). Me and you in a mobile world: The development of regional identity and personal relationships in young adulthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(5), 1072–1087. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000677
- Buttrick, N., & Oishi, S. (2021). The cultural dynamics of declining residential mobility. *American Psychologist*, 76(6), 904–916. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000881
- Byrne, D., Clore, G. L., & Griffitt, W. (1967). Response discrepancy versus attitude similarity-dissimilarity as determinants of attraction. *Psychonomic Science*, 7, 397–398.
- Campbell, P. (2019). Dispositional traits and internal migration: Personality as a predictor of migration in Australia. *Journal of*

- Research in Personality, 78, 262–267. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2018.12.009
- Cao, J., Galinsky, A. D., & Maddux, W. W. (2014). Does travel broaden the mind? Breadth of foreign experiences increases generalized trust. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 5, 517–525.
- Carson, C., & Gimpel, J. G. (2019). Political implications of residential mobility and stasis on the partisan balance of locales. *Political Geography*, 71, 103–114.
- Chen, J., Chiu, C.-Y., & Chan, S. F. (2009). The cultural effects of job mobility and the belief in a fixed world: Evidence from performance forecast. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(5), 851–865. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015950
- Chen, Y., Liu, X., Lan, T., & Hong, Y. (2021). Move more and bribe more? The impact of residential mobility on bribe-giving. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(2), 237–248. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12492
- Chiu, C.-Y., & Cheng, S. Y. Y. (2007). Toward a social psychology of culture and globalization: Some social cognitive consequences of activation two cultures simultaneously. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 1(1), 84–100.
- Clark, W. A. V., & Onaka, J. L. (1983). Life cycle and housing adjustment as explanations of residential mobility. *Urban Studies*, 20(1), 47–57.
- Coan, J. A., Schaefer, H. S., & Davidson, R. J. (2006). Lending a hand: Social regulation of the neural response to threat. *Psychological Science*, 17(12), 1032–1039.
- Cohen, D. (1998). Culture, social organization, and patterns of violence. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75(2), 408–419.
- Destin, M. (2019). Socioeconomic mobility, identity, and health: Experiences that influence immunology and implications for intervention. *American Psychologist*, 74(2), 207–217. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000297
- Détang-Dessendre, C., Piguet, V., & Schmitt, B. (2002). Life cycle variability in the microeconomic determinants of urban-rural migration. *Population*, *57*(1), 31–56. https://doi.org/10.3917/pope.201.0031
- Diener, E., & Diener, M. (1995). Cross-cultural correlates of life satisfaction and self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(4), 653–663.
- Dong, M., Anda, R. F., Felitti, V. J., Williamson, D. F., Dube, S. R., Brown, D. W., & Giles, W. H. (2005). Childhood residential mobility and multiple health risks during adolescence and adulthood. Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 159(12), 1104–1110. https://doi.org/10.1001/archpedi.159.12.1104
- Easthope, E. (2009). Fixed identities in a mobile world? The relationship between mobility, place, and identity. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture & Power*, 16(1), 61–82.
- Festinger, L., Schachter, S., & Back, K. W. (1950). Social pressures in informal groups: A study of human factors in housing. Harper.
- Fischer, C. S. (2002). Ever-more rooted Americans. *City & Community*, 1(2), 177–198. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6040.00016
- Gallup. (2016). Gallup analytics. https://analyticscampus.gallup.com/ Graeber, D., & Wengrow, D. (2021). The dawn of everything: A new history of humanity. Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.
- Harrington, J. R., & Gelfand, M. J. (2014). Tightness-looseness across the 50 United States. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 111(22), 7990–7995.
- Hasler, G., Haynes, M., Müller, S. T., Tuura, R., Ritter, C., & Buchmann, A. (2020). The association between adolescent residential mobility and adult social anxiety, BDNF and amygdala-orbitofrontal functional connectivity in young adults with higher education. Frontiers in Psychiatry, 11, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2020.561464
- Haynie, D. L., & South, S. J. (2005). Residential mobility and adolescent violence. *Social Forces*, 84(1), 361–374.
- Heine, S. J., & Renshaw, K. (2002). Interjudge agreement, self-enhancement, and liking: Cross-cultural divergences. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 442–451.

- Hochstadt, S. (1999). Mobility and modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989. University of Michigan Press.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations. Sage.
- Holmes, T. H., & Rahe, R. H. (1967). The Social Readjustment Rating Scale. Journal of Psychosomatic Research, 11, 213-218.
- Hoyt, W. H. (1993). Tax competition, Nash equilibria, and residential mobility. Journal of Urban Economics, 34(3), 358-379.
- Ishii, K., Komiya, A., & Oishi, S. (2020). Residential mobility fosters sensitivity to the disappearance of happiness. International Journal of Psychology, 55(4), 577-584.
- Ito, K., Tan, T. S.-M., Lee, A., & Li, L. M. W. (2019). Low residential mobility and novelty-seeking consumption. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 50(10), 1242-1252.
- Jellyman, T., & Spencer, N. (2008). Residential mobility in childhood and Health Outcomes: A systematic review. Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health, 62(7), 584-592. https://doi. org/10.1136/jech.2007.060103
- Jokela, M. (2009). Personality predicts migration within and between U.S. states. Journal of Research in Personality, 43(1), 79-83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2008.09.005
- Jokela, M. (2014). Personality and the realization of migration desires. In P. J. Rentfrow (Ed.), Geographical psychology: Exploring the interaction of environment and behavior (pp. 71-87). American Psychological Association. https://doi. org/10.1037/14272-005
- Jokela, M. (2021). Personality traits and reasons for residential mobility: Longitudinal data from United Kingdom, Germany, and Australia. Personality and Individual Differences, 180, 110978. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.110978
- Jokela, M., Elovainio, M., Kivimäki, M., & Keltikangas-Järvinen, L. (2008). Temperament and migration patterns in Finland. Psychological Science, 19(9), 831-837. https://doi. org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02164.x
- Jordan, J. J., McAuliffe, K., & Warneken, F. (2014). Development of in-group favoritism in children's third-party punishment of selfishness. Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, 111(35), 12710-12715.
- Kan, K. (1999). Expected and unexpected residential mobility. Journal of Urban Economics, 45(1), 72-96. https://doi.org/10.1006/ iuec.1998.2082
- Komiya, A., Ohtsubo, Y., Nakanishi, D., & Oishi, S. (2019). Gift-giving in romantic couples serves as a commitment signal: Relational mobility is associated with more frequent gift-giving. Evolution and Human Behavior, 40, 160-166.
- Komiya, A., Ozono, H., Watabe, M., Miyamoto, Y., Ohtsubo, Y., & Oishi, S. (2020). Socio-ecological hypothesis of reconciliatory tactics: Cultural, individual, and situational variations in willingness to accept apology or compensation. Frontiers in Psychology, 11, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.01761
- Landler, M., & Barbaro, M. (2006). Wal-Mart finds that its formula doesn't fit every culture. New York Times. http://www.nytimes. com/2006/08/02/business/worldbusiness/02walmart.htm
- Leung, A. K.-Y., Koh, K., & Tam, K.-P. (2015). Being environmentally responsible: Cosmopolitan orientation predicts proenvironmental behaviors. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 43, 79-94.
- Leung, A. K.-Y., Maddux, W. W., Galinsky, A. D., & Chiu, C.-Y. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity: The when and how. American Psychologist, 63(3), 169-181.
- Li, L. M. W., Adams, G., Kurtiş, T., & Hamamura, T. (2015). Beware of friends: The cultural psychology of relational mobility and cautious intimacy. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 118(2),
- Li, M., Li, W.-Q., & Li, L. M. W. (2019a). Sensitive periods of moving on mental health and academic performance among university students. Frontiers in Psychology, 10, 1–11. https://doi. org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01289

- Li, W.-Q., Li, L. M. W., & Li, M. (2019b). Residential mobility reduces in-group favoritism in prosocial behavior. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 22(1), 3-17.
- Li, W.-Q., Li, L. M. W., & Lou, N. M. (2021). Who moved with you? The companionship of significant others reduces movers' motivation to make new friends. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 25(2), 319-335.
- Li, L. M. W., Masuda, T., & Lee, H. (2018). Lower relational mobility leads to greater motivation to understand enemies but not friends and acquaintances. British Journal of Social Psychology, 57(1), 43-60
- Liu, P., Chan, D., Qiu, L., Tov, W., & Tong, V. J. C. (2018). Effects of cultural tightness-looseness and social network density on expression of positive and negative emotions: A large-scale study of impression management by Facebook users. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 44(11), 1567-1581.
- Lu, J. G., Quoidbach, J., Gino, F., Chakroff, A., Maddux, W. W., & Galinsky, A. D. (2017). The dark side of going abroad: How broad foreign experiences increase immoral behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 112, 1-16.
- Lucas, R. E., Jr. (2004). Life earnings and rural-urban migration. Journal of Political Economy, 112(1), S29-S59.
- Lun, J., Oishi, S., & Tenney, E. R. (2012). Residential mobility moderates preferences for egalitarian versus loyal helpers. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48, 291-297.
- Lun, J., Roth, D., Oishi, S., & Kesebir, S. (2013). Residential mobility, social support concerns, and friendship strategy. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 4(3), 332-339.
- Luo, S., Kong, Q., Ke, Z., Hunag, L., Yu, M., Zhu, Y., & Xu, Y. (2020). Residential mobility decreases the perception of social norm violations. Social Indicators Research, 148, 961-986.
- Luo, S., Kong, Q., Ke, Z., Zhu, Y., Huang, L., Yu, M., & Xu, Y. (2019). Residential mobility decreases neural responses to social norm violations. Frontiers in Psychology, 10, 2654.
- Macy, M. W., & Sato, Y. (2002). Trust, cooperation, and market formation in the U.S. and Japan. Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, 99, 7214-7220.
- Maddux, W. W., Lu, J. G., Affinito, S. J., & Galinsky, A. D. (2021). Multicultural experiences: A systematic review and new theoretical framework. Academy of Management Annals, 15(2), 345-376.
- McCullough, M. E., Pedersen, E. J., Tabak, B. A., & Carter, E. C. (2014). Conciliatory gestures promote forgiveness and reduce anger in humans. Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, 111, 11211–11216. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.14050 72111
- Mollborn, S., Lawrence, E., & Root, E. D. (2018). Residential mobility across early childhood and children's kindergarten readiness. Demography, 55(2), 485-510. https://doi.org/10.1007/s1352 4-018-0652-0
- Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Oishi, S., Trawalter, S., & Nosek, B. A. (2014). How ideological migration geographically segregates groups. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 51, 1-14. https://doi. org/10.31234/osf.io/25myb
- Nisbett, R. E., & Cohen, D. (1996). Culture of honor. Westview Press. Ohtsubo, Y., & Watanabe, E. (2009). Do sincere apologies need to be costly? Test of a costly signaling model of apology. Evolution and Human Behavior, 30, 114-123. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolh umbehav.2008.09.004
- Oishi, S. (2010). The psychology of residential mobility: Implications for the self, social relationships, and well-being. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5, 5-21.
- Oishi, S., Ishii, K., & Lun, J. (2009). Residential mobility and conditionality of group identification. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45, 913-919.
- Oishi, S., & Kesebir, S. (2012). Optimal social network strategy is a function of socio-economic conditions. Psychological Science, 23, 1542-1548.

- Oishi, S., Kesebir, S., Miao, F. F., Talhelm, T., Endo, Y., Uchida, Y., Shibanai, Y., & Norasakkunkit, V. (2013). Residential mobility increases motivation to expand social network: But why? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49, 217–223.
- Oishi, S., Krochik, M., Roth, D., & Sherman, G. D. (2012). Residential mobility, personality, and wellbeing: An analysis of cortisol secretion. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 3, 153-161.
- Oishi, S., Lun, J., & Sherman, G. D. (2007). Residential mobility, self-concept, and positive affect in social interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 131–141.
- Oishi, S., Miao, F. F., Koo, M., Kisling, J., & Ratliff, K. A. (2012). Residential mobility breeds familiarity seeking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102, 149–162.
- Oishi, S., Rothman, A. J., Snyder, M., Su, J., Zehm, K., Hertel, A. W., Gonzales, M. H., & Sherman, G. D. (2007). The Socio-ecological model of pro-community action: The Benefits of residential stability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 831–844.
- Oishi, S., Saeki, M., & Axt, J. (2015). Are people living in walkable areas healthier and more satisfied with life? *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, 7(3), 365–386.
- Oishi, S., & Schimmack, U. (2010). Residential mobility, well-being, and mortality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98(6), 980–994.
- Oishi, S., Schug, J., Yuki, M., & Axt, J. (2015). The psychology of residential and relational mobilities. Advances in Culture and Psychology, 5, 221–272.
- Oishi, S., Talhelm, T., Lee, M., Komiya, A., & Akutsu, S. (2015). Residential mobility and low commitment groups. *Archives of Scientific Psychology*, *3*, 54–61.
- Prothero, R. M. (1977). Disease and mobility: A neglected factor in Epidemiology. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 6(3), 259–267
- Roy, A. L., McCoy, D. C., & Raver, C. C. (2014). Instability versus quality: residential mobility, neighborhood poverty, and children's self-regulation. *Developmental Psychology*, 50(7), 1891– 1896. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036984
- Rychlowska, M., Miyamoto, Y., Matsumoto, D., Hess, U., Gilboa-Schechtman, E., Kamble, S., Muluk, H., Masuda, T., & Niedenthal, P. M. (2015). Heterogeneity of long-history migration explains cultural differences in reports of emotional expressivity and the functions of smiles. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(19), E2429–E2436.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277, 918–924.
- San Martin, A., Schug, J., & Maddux, W. W. (2019). Relational mobility and cultural differences in analytic and holistic thinking. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 116(4), 495–518.
- Schmidt, N. M., Krohn, M. D., & Osypuk, T. L. (2018). Modification of housing mobility experimental effects on delinquency and educational problems: Middle adolescence as a sensitive period. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 47, 2009–2026. https://doi. org/10.1007/s10964-018-0859-9
- Schug, J., Yuki, M., Horikawa, H., & Takemura, K. (2009). Similarity attraction and actually selecting similar others: How cross-societal differences in relational mobility affect interpersonal similarity in Japan and the U.S.A. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 12(2), 95–103.
- Schug, J., Yuki, M., & Maddux, W. (2010). Relational mobility explains between-and within-culture differences in selfdisclosure to close friends. *Psychological Science*, 21(9), 1471–1478.
- Sevincer, A. T., Varnum, M. E. W., & Kitayama, S. (2017). The culture of cities: Measuring perceived cosmopolitanism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 48(7), 1052–1072.
- Shavitt, S., Torelli, C. J., & Riemer, H. (2011). Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism: Implications for understanding

- psychological processes. In M. J. Gelfand, C. Y. Chiu, & Y. Y. Hong (Eds.), *Advances in culture and psychology* (pp. 309–350). Oxford University Press.
- Silventoinen, K., Hammar, N., Hedlund, E., Koskenvuo, M., Ronnemaa, T., & Kaprio, J. (2008). Selective International Migration by social position, health behaviour and personality. The European Journal of Public Health, 18(2), 150–155. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckm052
- South, S. J., & Crowder, K. D. (1998). Leaving the 'Hood: Residential mobility between Black, White, and integrated neighborhoods. *American Sociological Review*, 63(1), 17–26.
- Squire, P., Wolfinger, R. E., & Glass, D. P. (1987). Residential mobility and voter turnout. American Political Science Review, 81(1), 45–65.
- Stevenson, C., McNamara, N., Kellezi, B., Easterbrook, M., Shuttleworth, I., & Hyden, D. (2019). Re-identifying residential mixing: Emergent identity dynamics between incomers and existing residents in a mixed neighbourhood in Northern Ireland. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49(2), 413–428.
- Su, J. C., Chiu, C.-Y., Lin, W.-F., & Oishi, S. (2016). Social monitoring matters for deterring social deviance in stable but not mobile socio-ecological contexts. *PLoS One*, 11(11), e0167053. https:// doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0167053
- Tadmor, C. T., Hong, Y.-Y., Chao, M. M., Wiruchnipawan, F., & Wang, W. (2012). Multicultural experiences reduce intergroup bias through epistemic unfreezing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(5), 750–772. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029719
- Tajfel, H., Billig, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 149–178.
- Talhelm, T., & Oishi, S. (2014). Residential mobility affects self-concept, group support, and happiness of individuals and communities.
  In P. J. Rentfrow (Ed.), Geographical psychology: Exploring the interaction of environment and behavior (pp. 219–239). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14272-012
- Taylor, C. (1989). Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity. Harvard University.
- Thomson, R., Yuki, M., Talhelm, T., Schug, J., Kito, M., Ayanian, A. H., Becker, J. C., Becker, M., Chiu, C., Choi, H.-S., Ferreira, C. M., Fülöp, M., Gul, P., Houghton-Illera, A. M., Joasoo, M., Jong, J., Kavanagh, C. M., Khutkyy, D., Manzi, C., ... Visserman, M. L. (2018). Relational mobility predicts social behaviors in 39 countries and is tied to historical farming and threat. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA*, 115(29), 7521–7526. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1713191115
- Torelli, C. J., Chiu, C.-Y., Tam, K.-P., Au, A. K. C., & Heh, H. T. (2011). Exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures: Effects of simultaneous exposure to cultures in globalized space. *Journal of Social Issues*, 67(4), 716–742.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96(3), 506–520.
- Turner, F. J. (1921). *The frontier in American history*. Henry Holt and Company.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2019). Geographic mobility by selected characteristics in the United States, 2014–2019 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=S0701&tid=ACSST5Y2019.S0701
- van Minnen, C. A., & Hilton, S. L. (2002). Nation on the move: Mobility in U.S history. VU University Press.
- Wang, Y., Kirmani, A., & Li, X. (2021). Not too far to help: Residential mobility, global identity, and donations to distant beneficiaries. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 47, 878–889.
- Wang, C. S., & Leung, A. K.-Y. (2010). The cultural dynamics of rewarding honesty and punishing deception. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(11), 1529–1542.
- Wang, C. S., Leung, A. K.-Y., See, M. Y. H., & Gao, X. Y. (2011). The effects of culture and friendship on rewarding honesty and punishing deception. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(6), 1295–1299.

- Wang, Y., & Li, L. M. W. (2020). Does your trust in strangers or close acquaintances promote better health? Societal residential mobility matters. The Journal of Social Psychology, 160(4), 416-427.
- Whitson, J., Wang, C., Kim, J., Gao, J., & Scrimpshire, A. (2015). Response to normative and norm-violating behavior: Culture, job mobility, and social inclusion and exclusion. Organization Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 129, 24-35.
- Whyte, W. H., Jr. (1957). The organization man. Doubleday Anchor
- Xu, Y., Chen, S., Kong, Q., & Luo, S. (2021). The residential stability mindset increases racial in-group bias in empathy. Biological Psychology, 165, 108194.
- Yamada, J., Kito, M., & Yuki, M. (2015). Relational mobility and intimacy in friendships and romantic relationships: A crosssocietal study between Canada and Japan. Japanese Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 55, 18-27.
- Yamagishi, T., & Yamagishi, M. (1994). Trust and commitment in the United States and Japan. Motivation and Emotion, 18, 129–166.
- Yilmaz, C., Selcuk, E., Gunaydin, G., Cingöz-Ulu, B., Filiztekin, A., & Kent, O. (2022). You mean the world to me: The role of residential mobility in centrality of romantic relationships. Social Psychological and Personality Science. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211061017
- Yoshino, S., & Oshio, A. (2022). Personality and migration in Japan: Examining the tendency of extroverted and open people to migrate to Tokyo. Journal of Research in Personality, 96, 104168. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2021.104168
- Yuki, M., Sato, K., Takemura, K., & Oishi, S. (2013). Social ecology moderates the association between self-esteem and happiness. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49, 741–746.

- Yuki, M., & Schug, J. (2020). Psychological consequences of relational mobility. Current Opinion in Psychology, 32, 129-132.
- Zajonc, R. B. (1968). Attitudinal effects of mere exposure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9(2, Pt.2), 1-27. https://doi. org/10.1037/h0025848
- Zhao, N., Xu, K., & Sun, L. (2021). Residential mobility and trust: The moderating role of cognitive need for closure. Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology, 15, 1-9.
- Zhou, X., He, L., Yang, Q., Lao, J., & Baumeister, R. F. (2012). Control deprivation and styles of thinking. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102, 460–478, https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026316
- Zimmermann, J., & Neyer, F. J. (2013). Do we become a different person when hitting the road? personality development of Sojourners. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 105(3), 515-530. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033019
- Zuo, S., Huang, N., Cai, P., & Wang, F. (2018). The lure of antagonistic social strategy in unstable socioecological environment: Residential mobility facilitates individuals' antisocial behavior. Evolution and Human Behavior, 39(3), 364-371. https://doi. org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2018.03.002

How to cite this article: Oishi, S. & Tsang, S. (2022). The socio-ecological psychology of residential mobility. Journal of Consumer Psychology, 32. 519-536. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcpy.1310